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Demographic Outcomes of Ethnic Inter-marriage in American History: Italian-Americans Through Four Generations

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INTRODUCTION

I want to offer a new approach to the history of American ethnic inter-marriage--to ask new questions and exploit newly available evidence. Inter-marriage patterns have always been important in this country, but in present-day America there is a renewed attention to such patterns, for two reasons. First, new waves of immigrants lead observers to ask whether or not the future of American ethnic life will resemble the past, especially in terms of rapid ethnic intermingling. Second, there has been increasing awareness of multiraciality - the outcome of unions across racial lines. Such mixed offspring are increasing, slowly between blacks and whites but rapidly between whites and others. Discussion of multiraciality - how to define the offspring of such marriages for various purposes--sometimes makes it sound as if we are in a brave new world. It is well to recall, therefore, that multiraciality and multiethnicity are on a continuum conceptually, and not so far apart on that continuum. Consequently, setting multiraciality in the historical context of multiethnicity should be enlightening.¹

The sociological study of inter-marriage is a well-developed field; by contrast, it is astonishing how little historical work has been done on the way inter-marriage operated to enhance the blending of peoples in the American past. Every historical survey of immigration or assimilation will make some mention of inter-marriage, of course; but there is little to say beyond the observation that it occurred and mattered. True, the concern with multiraciality to which I just referred has stimulated some recent historical work on multiracials of earlier periods, and some discussion of the 'social construction of race.' However, these recent studies are concerned with legal arrangements or with narratives of family histories or with imaginative literature. Demographic studies of American inter-marriage patterns in the past are scarce--surely less than half a dozen extended papers or books.² Moreover, even these few historical studies do not address what seems to me the most important aspect of the question. The few historical studies of inter-marriage concentrate on one historical moment, adapting insofar as possible the questions and perspectives of the sociologist.

The sociology of ethnic inter-marriage is stimulated, I think, by two related concerns. One is to show fault lines in the society: social distance is found to be greater across some divisions than across others, and by studying inter-marriage patterns we get a measure of the social distances between groups. This rationale for studying ethnic inter-marriage in turn depends to a large extent on another rationale for the sociology of inter-marriage, namely that inter-marriage is a crucial, probably the crucial, mechanism of ethnic intermingling, and of assimilation (however we chose to define that term).

In discussing the importance of inter-marriage in American history, I pass over a problem of cause and effect. Does inter-marriage bring about social and cultural change or does inter-marriage merely reflect such changes? By the time Crèvecoeur's settlers were ready to inter-marry were they already 'new men' (and women); or did the very fact of inter-marriage make them more 'new' by pulling them--and especially their offspring--away from any particular European heritage? I skirt this dilemma; but clearly the sensible answer must be that typically both processes--causation and reflection--must be operating at once. One source of inter-marriage is weakening ethnic allegiance; but the process of weakening ethnic allegiances is often accelerated by inter-marriage itself, and the offspring develop in that further-weakened ethnic environment.

My interest, then, is not with this dilemma but with the concerns that stimulate the sociology of inter-marriage; as I mentioned, these two concerns derive from fact that ethnic inter-marriage is a crucial process in (and a measure of) the intermingling of peoples over time. Yet if so, our ultimate interest is less with inter-marriage itself than with its effects on the ethnic composition of later generations--the offspring of inter-marriages, in other words, give the topic much of its importance. The point deserves to be appreciated, because sociological studies of inter-marriage have in fact concentrated on the marriages themselves, and given very little attention to the resulting population of children in the next generation.

One might respond that tables about children will show no more than what could be inferred from tables about marriage patterns (modified by fertility differentials). Nevertheless, refocusing attention onto the children changes the perspective sharply, and especially so if we focus not on one moment in time but on the historical transformation of a people, on an ethnic groups (and the rest of society) over several generations.

One effect of shifting the perspective to the impact of inter-marriage on the composition of the future population of the country is to reduce the centrality of some of the sociologists' impressive methodological refinements. A major methodological goal (given the concern with social fault lines that I mentioned earlier) has been to measure the strength of constraints against various sorts of unions--second-generation Greeks and Yankees vs. second-generation Italians and Yankees, for example. Yet the likelihood of any such match is affected not only by the strength of the constraints but also by the size of the relevant populations. If there are vastly more second-generation Italians in the relevant age cohort of the population than second-generation Greeks, random processes alone make it likely that Italian-Americans will marry each other than that Greek-Americans will marry each other. And so methods have been developed to sort out, in the observed inter-marriage rates, the impact of constraint against a particular type of inter-marriage (e.g.: Italian/Yankee) from the impact of the size of the relevant populations (Italians and Greeks in the young adult U. S. population). However, for the historical study of ethnic intermingling, the goal of arriving at inter-marriage rates that are independent of the size of relevant populations, is less crucial than it is for the sociology of contemporary inter-marriage. Or rather these independent rates are only one factor in the historical development, not the whole story. The independent rates are welcome knowledge, but the historical story that needs to be told--about the

creation of blended populations--is a story about the outcome of both independent intermarriage rates *and* group size *and* group-specific fertility rates. It is the cumulative impact of all these, over generations, that leads to Crevecoeur's 'new man' (St. John de Crevecoeur 1782).

One line of recent sociological work would seem to contradict my generalizations about that field: the study of ethnic ancestry has focused on the long-term effects of intermarriage, on the offspring of intermarriage over historical time. Consequently it will be useful to contrast the approach taken here with the approach of the ethnic ancestry studies. One way to think about intermarriage is the way a genealogist would think about social origins. That is, we can ask, for whole groups, questions about parents, grandparents and great grandparents: where did these progenitors actually come from? The answer is going to be complex and confusing, as it should be in a society with extensive intermingling of peoples. But the complexity and confusion is itself what is most illuminating because it tells us that the descendants of Serbs and Croats in this country do not stay Serbs and Croats so very long. By contrast, the study of ancestry provides another way to deal with this mix of origins. We can ask people, including people whose ancestors have lived in the United States for several generations, with what ethnic ancestry, or ancestries, they identify. The U. S. Census Bureau asked respondents that question in 1980 and 1990, and probably will ask it again in Census 2000. This is not the genealogist's approach; one might call it the social psychologist's approach or the cultural anthropologist's approach, in the sense that it calls for a subjective response from the respondent. It says, more or less, we do not care what the actual roots were; the actual origins of people have become too complicated to ask about anyway; what matters now is what people continue to care about, with what origin they 'identify.' Obviously, each of these approaches, that inspired by the analogy of the genealogical record and that of ancestry, will have values and limitations.

I want to stress some of the limitations of the study of ethnic ancestry (based on an 'identity' question) since my approach in this paper will be to press as far as I can the genealogist's sorts of questions--although I will, towards the end of the paper, exploit ancestry data in a carefully restricted way as well. First, identifications with ethnic ancestry is a subjective matter, so that an individual only lists the ancestries that 'feel important', not all those that formed part of the historical record of origins. Second, the 'identifications' so chosen have tended to fluctuate a good deal: in a famous instance, the percentage of Germans and English shifted dramatically when the ordering of the examples on the Census form were changed. A similar shift occurred for Italians. Again, I do not deny that these confusions tell us something of value, but they do not tell us what the historical record of ethnic intermingling actually was. In particular, and perhaps most important to the historian, the answers do not tell us much about timing--when someone tells us they identify with Polish and Italian ancestries, we learn only that at some time in the past, the mixing of ancestors occurred.³

In this paper I experiment with one strategy for extending what I have called the genealogist's perspective. In particular, I am going to focus on an ethnic population over four generations. On the whole, of course, there is a very good reason we have not had more extensive study of such subjects: the data have been unavailable. For fully a century (1880-1970), the United States Census asked individuals about their own birthplaces and about their parents' birthplaces (also, the earlier Censuses of 1850-1870 included the former but not the latter question). But it never went back farther than two generations (and since 1970, the decennial census has asked only about birthplace, not about parental birthplace).

I have no magic to offer. Still, I can make some progress by utilizing an aspect of the census records. I will be exploiting the huge, machine readable from these censuses known as the Integrated Public Use Microdata Samples. These remarkable national samples, never smaller than hundreds of thousands of households, and often involving millions of households, were created by various teams of scholars over the past twenty years, and by the Census Bureau itself. They cover the decennial censuses of 1850-1880, 1900-1920 and 1940-1990. The data on ethnic origins and marital status and children found in these samples now provide an unprecedented source of easily-accessible evidence on American intermarriage across nearly all of the nineteenth century (when older age groups of the earliest of these enumerations are included) and across the entire twentieth century.

Recall that past censuses (1880-1970) asked individuals where they had been born and where their parents had been born. Using this information, we can locate second-generation adult respondents--those adults who said they had been born in the U.S. and that their parents had been born abroad. In the same household, we find their children; and the children of these second generation adults are members of the third generation. Such an approach is limited: it is limited to those members of the third generation who were living with their second-generation parents. So the approach is restricted to the context in which the third generation was growing up, for example to questions about their family background, where they were living, and their early schooling.

And then, finally, at the end of this paper, I will exploit the ancestry data in the context of what we have learned about the third generation; using ancestry data in this limited context, we can sidestep the imperfections of the ancestry data for understanding what the genealogist means by origins. As a result we will be able to trace an important American ethnic population from the third generation to the fourth generation - two generations farther than historians have followed the process of immigrant absorption, and with much more careful attention to the genealogist's meaning of ethnic origins in those last two generations than the sociologists have typically been able to provide.

Paradoxically, perhaps the best way to start is by highlighting a problem with the very concept of ethnic generations--what we mean by first, second and third generations. One might respond, that we mean the immigrants, the children and grandchildren of the immigrants, respectively. However, the concept has limitations even when applied to the second generation, as can be seen in Figure 1. We can distinguish between two ways to define a member of the second generation. One definition is narrower and has the advantage of simplicity; that's the one I call the simplified definition. It tells us that the native-born child of (for example) two Italian-born parents is a second-generation Italian-American child. So far so good, but what about the native-born child of one Italian-born parent? The second parent might be an immigrant from some other foreign country, or the second parent might be born in the United States, of any ethnic derivation whatever. Do we include this child in the definition of second-generation Italians? I am calling the more complex, wider definition that does include this child the maximally inclusive definition of second generation membership. The point may seem trivial; after all, any sociological concept will involve some simplification and some problems of definition. Naturally, then, the simplified, core definition and the maximally inclusive definition vary slightly in scope. No doubt the two definitions of the second generation capture almost the same group of people. That is true, as Table 1 shows for the second-generation Italian-Americans of 1940. Some 84% of all the second-generation members captured by the maximally inclusive definition are also second-generation members in the simplified core-group definition.

THE ITALIAN IMMIGRATION: TIMING, THE PROBLEM OF ENDOGAMY, AND THE SECOND GENERATION

Of course it is true that there will always be some simplification in conceptualizing about social phenomena; but more than that platitude is at issue here. In the rest of this paper, I will be concentrating on Italians in America, for reasons I will explain shortly. And so, before proceeding from the second to the third generation, I introduce some material (in Tables 2-7) on the dynamics of the Italian immigration, and on second-generation Italian-Americans. Much of this material, although not all of it, will be familiar to anyone who has studied American immigrant history.

The Italian immigration occurred during a relatively short period, as such processes go - compared, for example, to the German or Irish immigrations; indeed, a huge proportion of the Italians came during the decade and a half following 1900 (Table 2). Also, remigration was common--large numbers of Italians came and went, as part of seasonal, or at any rate impermanent, immigration (Table 3). This pattern of remigration is part of the reason why the huge gender imbalances obvious in the immigration stream did not lead to high intermarriage in the immigrant generation. For, while many more men than women came, the gender imbalance in the proportions leaving was even greater, so that among the persisters in the United States the imbalance (and the pressure for intermarriage) was considerably less than the annual immigration figures might lead us to expect (indeed, in the unusual decade after 1914, women greatly outnumbered men in the net immigration from Italy). Another reason why the gender imbalance among the immigrants did not lead to extensive intermarriage is that many Italian men appear to have remained unmarried, or at least did so for considerable lengths of time. In the Census of 1920, more than a fifth of the Italian men who had worked in this country for over five years reported themselves as unmarried, whereas very few of the Italian immigrant women had never married (Table 4a). And finally, Italian men who had married could stay within the ethnic fold by marrying the growing number of Italian *second* generation women, the native-born daughters of Italian immigrants. Table 4b shows that Italian immigrant men married second generation Italian-American women some eight times as often as Italian immigrant women married second generation Italian-American men. Only 7% of Italian husbands had out-married; if those who had married second-generation Italian-American women been obliged to out-marry instead, the proportion of men who out-married would have more than doubled. Despite this linkage of first-generation men and second-generation women, it remains true (as Table 1 showed us) that the second-generation members, as late as 1940, were overwhelmingly the offspring of two Italian immigrants, all mixed-marriage patterns remaining minor theme.

Table 5 shows the approximate timing of second-generation birth cohorts⁴. The huge immigration wave of Italian immigrants in the 1900-1914 period is reflected in the giant second-generation cohorts of 1906-35 (Table 6). However, while the immigration wave lasted for some 15 years, the large cohorts last for 30 years. The second-generation Italians born in the last decade or so of this three-decade period, 1926-35, are the products of three sources of immigration. First, Italian immigrants who had arrived in 1900-1914 as young adults, were raising large families over many years time, and the youngest of their children were born when the parents were well into their thirties. Second, a considerable number of Italian immigrants arrived in the United States as young adults in the decade *after* the huge immigration wave of 1900-1914; despite the small numbers arriving during World War I, about half a million Italians arrived during the decade ending in 1924 (see Table 2), nearly half in 1921-22. Many of the children of these last arrivals before the restriction of European immigration fall into the second generation group born 1926-35. Third, there was a small immigration after the restrictions were imposed, of course, and a small percentage of the second generation born 1926-35 are children of those post-restriction arrivals. Fourth, and finally, the late second-generation birth cohorts are also the children of child immigrants--of those immigrants who had arrived in the United States during the peak immigration years of 1900-1914, but had arrived as children.

This last group deserves our careful attention. It is true that the Italian immigration was disproportionately made up of young male workers, and included only a small proportion of young children; but even a small proportion of such a massive immigration amounts to a large number of children (Table 5).⁵ Those who came as children did not, of course, have children of their own until much later. The crucial point for us to appreciate is that those who came as children cannot be called, in any simple sense, members of the first generation; sociologists have recently taken to calling them members of the 1.5 generation. The child immigrant (at least those coming at ages 10 or younger, highlighted in the table) is likely to grow up with experiences that resemble those of the second generation rather than the first--in terms of language, schooling, memories and connections to the old country, work and economic well-being generally. These child immigrants, members of the 1.5 generation, comprise another complexity inherent in the concept of generation. In thinking about the pace of intermarriage and the staying-power of in-marriage, I do not want to focus on the children of child immigrants since these children are farther along on the succession of generations than the term 'second' generation implies.

The point is more subtle than it at first seems, because the child immigrants of the great Italian immigration period came of age at a time when adult immigrants were also still arriving in the United States (albeit in much smaller numbers than in the years just before) and starting families. Consider the period 1926-40. Few adult immigrants arrived in those years (less than 150,000 in those fifteen years). By contrast, nearly a million Italians arrived in the five years preceding 1914, including perhaps 100,000 children who stayed on to become adults and raise children of their own. Thus, it is probable that during the 1930s, a third or a half of the Italian-born in the United States who were reaching the age range 25-34 were in fact not recent arrivals who had come in their late teens or early twenties, but earlier arrivals, of that era's '1.5 generation.'⁶

In sum, I want to avoid a close analysis of the second-generation cohorts born after about 1930, since those second-generation members would have been heavily comprised of the '2.5 generation' or of the children of post-quota arrivals. One reason Richard Alba found strong differences between the Italian second-generation adults who were born 1916-30 and those born 1931-45, then, may have to do not only with changing social contexts that confronted the group reaching adulthood after World War II (the factor he stressed), but also with the fact that the 1931-45 birth cohort included many, and possibly a majority, whose parents, while born abroad, had grown up in the United States (Alba, 1988; Hess, 1988, pages 211-228, especially 223).

The Third Generation

To avoid these limitations, I have focused on children of second-generation Italians in the 12-16 age range, who are found in the 1960 Census. The second-generation parents of these children were born into the largest birth cohorts of second-generation Italians (compare Tables 6 and 7). Only 3% of the second-generation fathers and 9% of the second-generation mothers had been born after 1925; none of the fathers and only 5% of the mothers had been born after 1930. At the other end of the time spectrum, very small proportions of the second-generation parents had been born prior to 1906. So the trends we will be looking at are those that characterize the first, second and third generations related to the great Italian immigration of 1900-14 - adult immigrant arrivals of those years, their children and grandchildren.

We can now leave the wider context of the Italian immigration and return to our examination of the generations of Italian-origin offspring. We saw earlier that there was relatively little difference between denoting the second generation groups by the simplified definition and by the maximally inclusive definitions (Table 1 and Figure 1). Now let us turn to the issue of the third generation. Who is a third generation member? Insofar as we have a working concept of this term at all, I would say that we have in mind the grandchildren of the immigrants. The simplified definition is drawn out in figure 2: four grandparents born in Italy, two parents born in the U. S. and the child is born in the U. S. Notice that we have many more individual identities to define: second-generation membership depended on three peoples' birthplaces--two parents' and their child's. Third generation membership according to this simplified definition depends on seven people's birthplaces--since in addition to the first three individuals, four grandparents are now relevant. By contrast, the maximally inclusive definition of a third-generation Italian-American is based on only three places of birth, including any native-born child of a native-born parent who is in turn the child of at least one Italian immigrant.

To repeat: the simplified definition constrains seven birth places and the maximally inclusive definition constrains three birth places; table 8, which presents the pivotal evidence of this paper, shows just how much complexity occurs when we leave undefined the other four birthplaces. First of all, there is considerable complexity in terms of generational standing: a great many people who were part third generation could be defined as correctly as part of some other-numbered generation--second, or fourth, or higher. Most important, Table 8 shows that people who had an Italian grandparent are likely to have had a grandparent of some other ethnic origin too. The combination of these two insights is clear in one cell of the table, the cell BB (the cell in row B and column B). This cell includes those children covered by the simplified definition of third-generation Italian-Americans. However, only 24.3% of the grandchildren of Italian immigrants included in the maximally inclusive definition were in fact also members of the third generation by the simplified definition. So our effort at conceptual simplification, which works well in the second generation already collapses miserably in the third generation. The overlap between the simplified definition and the maximally inclusive definition covered 84% of the latter in the second generation case, but the overlap in definition *fails* to cover 76% of the latter in the third generation case.

Now there are various caveats about the data; covered in the notes to Table 8.

The most important is that a good many of the third-generation sample members are shown as having had *grandparents* who were native-born (NB), and hence having had *parents* who are native-born of native parentage (NBNP) - children in rows and columns C, F and G of Table 8. However, given the way the census classified individuals, some of these native-born grandparents could themselves have been second-generation Italians (the native-born children of earlier Italian immigrants); the question is how many. If *many* native-born grandparents were second-generation Italian Americans then reading the table as a measure of ethnic intermingling, of the dilution of Italian stock, would be a mistake. However, we can in fact be confident that very few of the native-born grandparents were in fact second-generation Italians (and virtually none were third-or-later-generation Italians). Consequently we can indeed read Table 8 as reflecting high levels of ethnic intermingling. We can be confident of this interpretation because of the narrow range of years (1900-14) in which the Italian mass immigration was concentrated--indeed, this is one crucial reason for focusing on the Italians in the first place. The Appendix works through the logic of the numbers; I estimate there an upper-bound figure for the proportion of children in the table that are shown to have native-born grandparents who might in fact all have been second-generation Italians, and that upper-bound figure is 10%. So relatively minor adjustments in the table would need to be made in order take account of unidentified Italian-only origins. While 32% (observed) - 42 % (observed plus upper bounds estimate for unobserved) had such origins, a solid majority of the entire third generation (using the maximally inclusive definition) had at least one grandparent who was not Italian at all: 58-68% of them. Well over half, and possibly nearly two-thirds of the third generation were the products of ethnic intermingling.

Now in one sense, all this should be very obvious. We know, if only in general terms, that very considerable ethnic intermingling occurred in American history. But it is the rapidity with which extensive intermingling became a reality, the rapidity in generational terms, that I think is striking. We are not speaking of distant origins when we speak of intermingling of descendants here; grandchildren typically know their grandparents. Also, notice that quite possibly a majority of the third-generation Italians had one *parent* who was not of Italian descent at all. I have not tried to estimate the proportion of such children precisely, but it must have been the great majority of those who did not have Italian-only origins: the great majority of 58-68% of the entire third generation.⁷

Recall, now, several other features of the Italian immigration. This was the single largest immigration among the "new" groups that entered America between 1890-1920; consequently, the purely numerical pressure that makes intermarriage more likely (other things being equal) for members of a small compared to a large ethnic group would have worked to *reduce* the level of ethnic intermingling among the Italians compared to other immigrant groups of the time. Moreover, the Italians were overwhelmingly low-skill workers, with plenty of opportunity to form large, closed-in immigrant communities that would discourage intermarriage. For these reasons, the Italians are especially interesting for our purposes; they comprise a kind of 'acid test': if the ethnic intermingling caused by intermarriage was prevalent among this group, it is likely to have been at least as prevalent among most other European ethnic groups in America.

Why So Much Ethnic Intermingling?: A Simple Model

I hope the reader is as struck by these high rates of ethnic intermingling as I am. I now want to consider briefly some aspects of the dynamics of intermarriage in general that help explain these high rates. The crucial point is that, other things being equal, the proportion of adults who intermarry will always be lower than the proportion of offspring in the next generation who are the products of intermarriage. This is because every *two* ethnics who *in*-marry, produce one marriage, while every *one* ethnic who *out*-marries produces one marriage. The out-marrying member of the ethnic group weds someone who, by definition, comes from outside the ethnic group. The insight is crucial, since it is the rate at which marriages involving mixed ethnicity are formed, and not the rate at which individuals decide to out-marry, that determines the proportion of offspring who are the products of ethnic intermingling. Here again, the shift from a concern with intermarriage to a concern for the resultant ethnic intermingling matters. An example may help clarify the distinction between outmarriers and out-marriages. Suppose among 1,000 members of an ethnic group, 900 marry their own (90%) and 100 out-marry (10%). The 900 in-marry create 450 marriages and the 100 who out-marry create 100 marriages. We start with 1000 members of the group, but we end with 550 marriages (involving the 1000 group members plus 100 individuals from outside the group); and of those 550 marriages, 100 involve mixed-ethnicity couples, comprising 18% of all the marriages ($100/550=.18$) - although only 10% of the group members out-married (other things being equal: fertility rates, mortality rates, etc.). In general, if the proportion of ethnics in-marrying is p , and the proportion out-marrying is $1-p$, then the proportion of couples resulting from in-marriage is $0.5p/(0.5p + 1 - p)$; and this formula, in turn, simplifies to the less intuitive but more convenient $p/(2 - p)$. At higher rates of intermarriage, the impact on the ethnic origins of the offspring are dramatic: if a fifth of the group members intermarry, then two fifths of the offspring will be of mixed origin; if third of the group members

intermarry, half the offspring will be of mixed origin; if half of the group members intermarry, two-thirds of the offspring will be of mixed origin. And finally, it should be appreciated that this dynamic will dilute the core population of single-origin individuals in each generation. In our example, 82% of second generation members are of single origin. If, let us say, a fifth of them intermarry, then two fifths of the offspring of the single-origin second-generation members will be of mixed origin. In addition, however, *all* the offspring of the 18% second-generation members who are of mixed origin will be of mixed origin; for no matter whom these 18% marry, the offspring of the unions will be of mixed origin. In this example, in the third generation $.6 \times .82$ will be of single origin - 49% of the third generation members. Fully 51% ($.4 \times .82$ plus $.18$) will be of mixed origin; with only 10% of the first generation members intermarrying, and only 20% of the second generation members of single-origin intermarrying, a majority of the third generation will be of mixed origin.

The Dynamics of Italian-American Intermarriage Across Generations

Now let us turn from an appreciation of the general point, the difference between outmarriers and out-marriages, and ask just how much intermarriage occurred in each generation, and how much did other factors disturb this pure model--factors such as differences in fertility across subgroups. The answer, in a word, is that notable intermarriage rates were overwhelmingly a product of the second, not the first, generation. Table 8a reconfigures some of the information in Table 8 to focus on the intermarriage rates for the (single-origin) parents of our third-generation members. And Table 9 presents intermarriage rates for all members of successive Italian second generation birth cohorts found in the 1960 Census (unfortunately, complete intermarriage data are unavailable in the census data for the years 1930-1950). The rate of intermarriage among first generation was only between 3% and 7% (when both husbands and wives are taken into account--see Table 9). It was stunningly higher in the second generation: among the parents of our third generation members only 44% of the single-origin fathers and 59% of the single-origin mothers married an single-origin Italian spouse. That the figure is higher among the women is familiar from other studies of intermarriage; the point here is that the two rates average out to an out-marriage rate in the range of 50%; and the figures in Table 9 confirm that for the birth cohorts 1906-1925 these rates are in the right range. The table does not tell us whether fertility differences mattered much, but we needn't concern ourselves with such differentials; the crucial point is that whatever the magnitude of fertility differentials, their effect is included in the results we see, the actual numbers of offspring in different cells of the table.

Table 9 also demonstrates the dramatic drop in the proportions of second-generation in-marriage over time, especially in the cohorts that came of age after World War II (cohorts born after 1925). This decline is probably due to several different factors: (1) the socioeconomic advancement of the group, including more extended schooling, jobs outside of ethnic neighborhoods and so on. These led to changes in interactions between Italians and others. (2) Changes in American social life and attitudes more generally, including increasing familiarity with the second generation of southern and eastern Europeans, changes in attitudes related to race during and after World War II, etc. (3) These factors led to changes in attitudes--by Italians toward non-Italians, and by non-Italians toward Italians. Then too, there are two sorts of demographic and numeric factors to consider. (4) The later generations of second generation members were the children of immigrants exceptional in one of two ways that I pointed out earlier: those immigrants were likely to have come to the United States after the end of mass immigration, or they had come to the United States as children, as 'the 1.5 generation.' And finally (5) the rates could reflect changes in the relative prevalence of Italians among the potential mates available. However, the last columns of Table 9 show that this last hypothesis, while not irrelevant, will not explain much of what needs to be explained in this trend. The constraint on Italian intermarriage--independent of the number of ethnic spouses available--was falling sharply over these cohorts. For example, compare the cohorts of women born 1906-10, and 1926-30. In the older cohort, 3.8% of potential mates were of Italian origin nationally, and the constraint against out-marriage was such that second generation Italian-American women married Italian-origin men 279 times as often as non-Italian women married Italian-origin men. For the younger cohort, the percentage of potential Italian-origin mates was even higher (4.3%) yet the constraint against out-marriage had fallen sharply to about a seventh of its former strength--from 279 to 38. And for this reason, not group size, the in-marriage rate in the younger cohort was much lower than in the older cohort: 50% vs. 79%.

We can also note in passing another feature that is probably typical of historical patterns of intermarriage in the earliest years of the second generation. Many of the group members are likely to meet immigrants of the same origin and age who will be much more numerous than second-generation members in that age range (since the mass immigration has been growing). Given the vibrancy of the immigrant culture, the pull for the second generation towards the first also may be greater than it will be later when immigration numbers from that country taper off. In this situation second-generation members may be more likely to in-marry and specifically to marry first-generation members. Since in most immigrations prior to 1930, the immigrants themselves were disproportionately male, the second-generation members affected by this pattern were disproportionately women. Such a pattern affected, for example, the daughters of Italian immigrants born in the late 1880s or the 1890s, over half of whom married immigrant Italian men (see the note to Table 9). When these women came of age, the mass migration of 1900-1914 was in full swing. As I mentioned earlier, marrying a second-generation woman was a way for the immigrant Italians to try to overcome the imbalanced sex ratio among them. But the flip-side of this process concerns the second-generation Italian men. In essence, they would have faced an equal sex ratio but for the newly arriving immigrant men. In fact, the chances of an Italian second-generation man marrying an Italian or Italian-American woman were far lower because the relevant sex ratio for these men included the first generation of the same age cohort, or at least many of them, and the first generation sex ratio was greatly imbalanced. Since the second generation men were much more familiar with everything American than the typical Italian immigrant of the same age, the pressure to solve the problem of too few Italian women (first or second generation) may have been solved by these second generation men out-marrying more often than they would have in the absence of the first generation.

From Third Generation to Fourth Generation

We have followed the descendants of the Italians into the third generation, and seen how a solid majority had mixed origins. We can now take one final empirical step and follow the same birth cohort whom we examined when they were children living in their parents' homes into adulthood, and even examine their marital patterns and the ethnic composition of their own children, the fourth generation of Italian Americans. For this analysis, we must turn to another source. In 1979, a Current Population Survey (CPS, also a Census Bureau product) ascertained not only the birthplaces of individuals and of their parents, but also asked with what ethnic ancestry or ancestries each individual identified. By examining the ancestry of the native-born of native parentage it is possible to learn something about their distant origins. The third-generation children whom we have been studying, 12-16 in 1960, would have been 31-35 in 1979. The CPS data do not, of course, tell us how many generations back in time the ancestors of respondents had come to the United States; however once again we can exploit the special feature of the Italian immigration, and the work already reviewed on the timing of the second generation (especially in Appendix 1). The native-born of native parentage who claimed Italian ancestry, and were adults of about 31-35 in 1979, must nearly all have been members of the third generation. The rest, surely, were fourth generation.

The most severe problem with the ancestry data for our purposes is not the lack of generational information, but rather the problem that I discussed in the introduction to this paper, the fact that the ancestry question does not provide what I referred to as a genealogical answer to origins ('where was each ancestor born?'); rather it follows the approach of the social psychologist or anthropologist ('with which origins does the respondent identify?'). Despite this limitation, it is possible to tease from the ancestry data some useful additional information relevant to our question about ethnic intermingling. Also, the use I will make of the ancestry data tends to bring the weakness of that data - the fact that some ancestries may be dropped by the respondent--to bear *against* the points I will stress. To the extent I can still stress them, we can conclude a fortiori that they would be stronger still if the data were better suited to the purpose.

The use of the ancestry data requires one technical change in my approach: I must slightly restrict the maximally inclusive definition for third generation membership. Specifically, I must exclude from our definition of third (or later) generation membership all children with a foreign-born parent.⁸ These children comprised 11% of the sample in Table 8. The definition for a third-generation Italian in the 1979 CPS is therefore a native-born individual who reports two native-born parents and claims Italian ancestry. Recall too, that this definition will fail to exclude the small proportion of fourth-generation members in the age cohort, probably about 10% of those who meet the definition I must use. Turning back now to the 1960 sample that we used in Table 8, we can make it as comparable as possible to the 1979 data by removing the 11% of the 1960 third generation that had a foreign-born parent. In this more restricted sample (comprising 89% of the original sample members shown in Table 8), the proportion that had four Italian grandparents is 27%, and an upper bound estimate for the single-origin Italian group (including those who had a second-generation Italian grandparent) is 39%.⁹

Well, then, we have made our sample from 1960 comparable to the sample from 1979; but does the 1979 group of respondents report information on ancestry that is consistent with the 1960 information on origins (on parents' and grandparents' birthplaces? No, they do not report consistent information; the respondents of 1979 have simplified their origins in answering the ancestry question, making it appear that they were more homogeneously Italian than the 1960 Census data tells us that they were. Anyone familiar with *From Many Strands* by Stanley Lieberson and Mary Waters, and especially with Waters's own *Ethnic Options*, should not be surprised to learn of this simplifying process. Those studies report the simplification of ancestry as the individual moves further from immigrant origins, and as the reality of historical origins becomes ever more complex due to intermarriage. This pattern can be seen in connection with Italian single ancestry in Table 11. Among the youngest children who are third-or-later-generation Italian-Americans, only 16% are listed with single ancestry. As the age of the respondent rises, so does the proportion with Italian single ancestry. Moreover, *among young adults at the same age*, those still living in the household of their parents are shown less likely to list single Italian ancestry than those who have set up households of their own. The combined effect of these influences is stunning: the proportion with Italian single ancestry rises from 16% to 57%. Now some of this rise may mean that the youngest cohort includes more members of the fourth generation than the older cohorts, and hence is more ethnically mixed than the older respondents. But surely most of the change is not due to this demographic factor, but to differences in reporting predilections. Five year differences in age cohorts seems to have about a five percentage point difference in the likelihood of reporting single ancestry, and setting up one's own household seems to have about a 12 percentage point impact on the likelihood of reporting single ancestry in this group.

For the cohort roughly comparable in age to the 1960 sample members, the proportion reporting single ancestry is 51%--whereas in the 1960 Census the proportion who actually had single origins--in the genealogical sense--was 27-39%. Thus by moving from 1960 birthplace data to 1979 ancestry data, we sharply overstate the extent of ethnic homogeneity in a very comparable population.

So we cannot trust the ancestry data to distinguish single-origin from mixed-origin Italian Americans. However, we can nevertheless use the ancestry data for a less-refined purpose, namely to distinguish Italian-Americans from others, and also to distinguish third-or-later-generation Italian-Americans from first-or-second-generation Italian-Americans. We can, in other words, assume that if an individual reports himself or herself to be of Italian ancestry and to have both parents born in the United States, then the individual is (at least) third generation Italian-American. And we can be reasonably sure that in among those over thirty years of age in 1979, the group so defined is made up of at least 90% third generation members and 10% or less fourth generation members¹⁰. The great advantage of all this is that it allows us the singular opportunity to trace a group of third generation American ethnics into adulthood, to learn about their marriage patterns and then to say something about the consequent ethnic background of their fourth-generation children.

And so, we turn finally to the group of real interest in the 1979 CPS. We first restrict our attention to a sample of children 12-16 years of age and their parents (as we did with the 1960 census sample). The parents are all native-born of native parentage (and of course the children themselves are native-born as well). And the parents report Italian ancestry (either as a single or as part of a multiple ancestry). Because the CPS is a small national sample by comparison to the immense Census samples, we will also glance at the composition of a group that covers a wider age range, 5-16. The results are virtually identical. Table 12 A dealing with fourth-generation children is constructed to be as similar as possible to Table 8, dealing with third-generation children. Among all fourth-generation children, *no more than 8% are reported to have exclusively Italian ancestry*. Moreover, this report is almost certainly biased upward, since their parents have oversimplified their ethnic origins, making a report of single ancestry more common than a report of single origins would have been if based on birthplaces of progenitors. In sum, the cumulative effects of high intermarriage rates in the second generation, coupled with high intermarriage rates in the third generation has virtually eliminated the child of purely Italian origins by the fourth generation.

Thus far we have examined the children of all the third-generation Italian-American parents. But we can also focus more narrowly, and ask about the group of parents who reported only Italian ancestry (Table 12B, which is constructed to be as similar as possible to Table 8A, which dealt with the parents of the 1960 sample). Only about 30% of the fathers and 36% of the mothers marry others who report Italian single-ancestry (of any generation). Given these low proportion of in-marriers, and remembering the distinction between in-marriers and in-marriages, we find that only 22% of the children of a single-ancestry Italian of third (or later) generation had a second parent who reported as single-ancestry Italian.¹¹

Other Groups, Other Times

We have followed the largest of the late-nineteenth century immigrant groups over the course of nearly a century, through four generations. We have seen that while intermarriage rates were very low in the immigrant generation, these rates were high in both the second and third generations, so high that already in the third generation the children of unmixed origin were a minority of all grandchildren of Italian immigrants, and by the fourth generation, children of unmixed origins were less than a tenth of all great-grandchildren of Italian immigrants. The model of the process, based on the distinction between in-marriers and in-marriages, suggested that even moderate rates

of out-marriers will produce such an effect in few generations.

And yet, the model also implies that a demographic basis for some ethnic homogeneity, and hence for ethnic cultural continuity, might sometimes be found. First, the absolute number of the group with unmixed origins might be quite large, even larger than the immigrant group had been, if fertility trends balance or outweigh intermarriage patterns. And, at various times in the history of an immigration from a particular country, ethnic identity may be in part revived by the infusion of new arrivals who marry the offspring of older arrivals, most notably, when first generation men married second-generation women. Finally, ethnic intermarriage might, for whatever reasons, actually have been very much rarer among a few groups in American history than it was among the Italians. After all, among the descendants of east-European Jews, intermarriage rates were probably at least a generation behind those of the Italians of the same period. Perhaps similar patterns existed for other groups whose religion and ethnicity overlapped in special ways: the Greeks or the Armenians for example?

In any event, no historian will come away from this exercise with the Italians convinced that intermarriage has always been as prevalent in American history as it was among the Italians. Before closing I want to address this point in a partial way. The existence of the remarkable machine-readable Census samples, the ease of working with the IPUMS version of these datasets, and the great power and storage capabilities of today's personal computers all combine to permit an analysis that can, for the first time, range across much of American ethnic history. There are, of course serious limitations to the data. First, information on parents' birthplace was collected in the decennial censuses only between 1880 and 1970; and second, the census of 1930 remains closed, and the censuses of 1940 and 1950 asked parents' birthplace of only one member of each household, making the sort of exploration carried out in Table 8 impossible.

Nevertheless, the data necessary for Table 8 can be found for other groups and in several other censuses. Consequently, I constructed such a table for five ethnic groups, each at several points in time - a total of 14 tables comparable to Table 8 for the Italians of 1960. I then drew from each of these tables one key figure, reported in one row of Table 13: the proportion of each group of third-generation children with unmixed origins. I also added an 'upper bound estimate' for the proportion of the children with unobserved unmixed origins through second-generation grandparents. However, it is crucial to stress that the interpretation of this estimation for some of these other groups is far less clear than for the Italians (and the Poles). Among the Irish, Germans and Mexicans, it is impossible to rule out the possibility that some native-born, native parentage grandparents, while not members of the second generation, may have been members of the third, fourth or fifth generation. All three groups have, after all, had long histories of immigration to North America, going back in each case to the colonial era. Thus later arrivals from Ireland, Germany or Mexico who married a person native-born of native parentage could have been marrying later-generation members of their own ethnic group, and indeed single-origin later-generation members of that group. It may not seem likely to the reader that they did so in large numbers; it does not seem likely to me. However, I cannot prove that the pattern was in fact unlikely.

With that caveat in mind, the fourteen comparisons in Table 13 do strongly tend to confirm that the patterns found for the 1960 third-generation Italians can be generalized to numerous other times and other groups. Virtually all third generation groups show high proportions, indeed majorities, of mixed-origin third generation members. Three partial exceptions are the Mexicans, Poles and Italians of 1920, among whom 55-64% of the third-generation members had single-ethnicity origins. On the other hand, given the timing of the mass immigrations of these groups, 1920 was a very early year for the third generation to have been born, let alone attained the ages 12-16. Only among the Mexicans is the proportion of single-ethnicity individuals still high in 1960.

CONCLUSION

It will take more work to better understand long-term patterns of ethnic intermarriage, such as those captured crudely in Table 13. Nevertheless, the general patterns presented here cannot, I think, help but underscore the difficulty of ethnic group preservation in the American context. Within a single family the point is too clear to need further repetition: mixed origins make distinctive ethnic behavior less likely; but the same is probably true at the community level. Given even modest levels of intermarriage, the prevalence of many mixed-origin people, surely often related to the single-origin people, and living among them, cannot help but further dilute ethnic separateness and culturally distinctive behavior.

This last point suggests what may be the most promising direction for further work, which I hope to undertake soon: the connection between patterns of intermarriage and various social characteristics over the long term. For example, to date, I have looked only at national patterns. The connection of intermarriage and ethnic intermingling to geographic dispersion is especially important to clarify. It is probable that in some areas, whether in urban neighborhoods or in smaller rural communities, second generation intermarriage rates were much lower and the proportion of unmixed people were much higher than elsewhere, especially for groups like the Germans with a long immigration history and replenishment of older ethnic stock with newer. Understanding how strong the geographic differences were, and how much of German America was characterized by relatively low intermarriage rates would place cultural patterns in a demographic context. It is also plausible that some cities will show radically different intermarriage rates than others for various groups, even of the same generation, and even after the size of the ethnic population has been taken into account; for example Los Angeles vs. New York for second generation members of the immigrants from southern and eastern European countries.

Also, it will be important to think more about the connections between ethnic intermarriage and social mobility. I do not mean to stress the well-worn point that the upwardly mobile (those who achieved relatively extended education, higher occupational positions, or greater income) were often those who had, or would, intermarry. What is intriguing is rather the conception of the economic progress of an ethnic group over the generations. We speak of how the descendants of the Italians 'made it,' became economically and educationally indistinguishable from the descendants of other groups. However, by the time they made it, they were also the descendants of those other groups. In a sense this point is simply the flip-side of the more obvious hypotheses to which I just referred: class and education, and upward mobility, are likely to be positively correlated with intermarriage rates. But when we speak of the descendants of the Italians making it, those connections get lost. Whether there is some useful reformulation of these issues that will lead to a fruitful research direction, or whether it is simply a matter of stressing an observation remains to be seen.

I want to close with a few more general points about the implications of the patterns observed in this paper, the simple logic of intermarriage rates leading to ever-higher rates of ethnic intermingling, and the messy reality of ethnic marriages across generational lines. First, it seems to me useful to see the extent of intermingling laid out as it is in Table 8 because it suggests how the concept of the ethnic generation, loses its precise meaning sooner than, I think, we typically assume. The concept really works cleanly only for two generations--Marcus Hansen's observations of the upper Midwest notwithstanding (Sollors 1986). Those observations may indeed hold for

subgroups that remained more ethnically distinct (those with four Italian grandparents, let us say), or they may hold even for the very mixed-origin third generation member, because that third generation individual may seek something relevant to only part of his or her background. But the background is surely more complex than the 'law' implied.

And second, it is well to remember the message of extensive intermingling for its predictive value, in the midst of today's immigration, and in the midst of projections that claim American society will be comprised of x% white and y% nonwhite in some future year. It has been a great disservice of the U. S. Census Bureau to present projections that ignore future intermarriage.¹² There is every reason to believe that a great many Americans in some future year will indeed have 'non-white' ancestors; but a great many of these same individuals will have 'white' ancestors too--just as so many in the Italian third generation have had Italian and non-Italian grandparents.

APPENDIX: ADJUSTING TABLE 8 FOR SAMPLE MEMBERS WITH UNOBSERVED ITALIAN-ONLY ORIGINS

Many sample members in Table 8 had at least one, and some as many as three, native-born *grandparents* (those in row or column C, F or G); we know about these grandparents because the relevant sample members' *parents* report themselves to be native-born of native parentage. Some of the native-born grandparents could in fact have been second-generation Italian-Americans. We can be sure that if a native-born grandparent was in fact of Italian origin, this grandparent was a member of the second generation, and not of a later generation (third, fourth, etc)--given what we know of the timing of the Italian immigration.

We do *not* need to determine how many sample members had a native-born grandparent who was actually an unidentified second-generation Italian. Rather, we need to determine how many sample members who had a native-born grandparent in fact had only Italian origins. To meet this criterion, *all* of a sample members' native-born grandparents would have to have been second-generation. Also, no sample member in row or column F can have only Italian origins, regardless of the origins of native-born grandparents--since these sample members have some origins other foreign origins (other than Italian) already stated explicitly in the Census. So only those in rows and columns C and G could conceivably have had unobserved Italian-only origins.

Appendix Table A8.2 visually represents the necessary estimation: rows and columns C and G must each be split into two, C1 and G1 will include those sample members whose native-born grandparents were the offspring of two Italian immigrants, while C2 and G2 include all other sample members with native-born grandparents. The proportions of all sample members falling into C1 and G1 must be estimated.

We can use the older Census records to learn about the generation of the sample members' grandparents. *We estimate the RATIO of second-generation Italian-Americans to Italian immigrants at the time the grandparents were young couples.* That ratio works out to be .11 (see Appendix Table A3). That the ratio is so low, of course, is the key to the whole exercise. It is low because the Italian immigration occurred after 1880 and there had simply not been time for a large fourth generation of adolescents to arrive by 1960¹³.

The numerator of this ratio (.11) refers to the size of the cells in row and column G1 (grandparent couple, both second-generation Italian-American). The denominator in this ratio (1) refers to the identified Italian-only third generation in row and Column B. We now make the additional assumption that the ratio holds across all cells of rows B and G1 and across all cells of columns B and G1.

That is the strategy for calculation, but we should appreciate this 'additional assumption' before undertaking the computation. It can be expressed in terms of generations of ethnics rather than in terms of rows and columns: unobserved third-generation parents (i.e.: in row and column G1) and their ancestors, had patterns of intermarriage and fertility comparable to the observed patterns of second-generation parents and their ancestors respectively (i.e.: in row and column B). This assumption will yield an *upper bounds* estimate for the unobserved group--since the calculation assumes that intermarriage will be no more prevalent (and fertility patterns no more ethnically distinctive) in the unobserved third generation than in the observed second generation, and no more prevalent in the unobserved second generation than in the observed first generation.

The actual computation follows.

$$\text{RATIO} = .11$$

$$\text{cell G1B} = \text{RATIO} * \text{cell BB} = .11 * 24.3.$$

$$\text{cells BG1} + \text{G1B} = 2 * (.11 * 24.3) = 5.4.$$

A somewhat different strategy was used to estimate the proportion of sample members in cells BC1, C1B and C1C1 (children who had an Italian immigrant grandparent married to a second generation Italian-American grandparent). Table 4B, in the text, shows intermarriage rates for long-term Italian immigrants in 1920. From that table, we estimate that roughly 60% of the Italian immigrant grandparents who married an native-born person married a second-generation Italian (8% married to second-generation Italians, 5% married to other U.S.-born: $8/13 = .615$)¹⁴.

$$\text{Thus: BC1} + \text{C1B} + \text{C1C1} = .6 * (4.0 + 2.8 + .9) = 4.6.$$

For the estimates to include the maximally inclusive third generation, we add in cells AC1 and C1A, or roughly $.6 * .7 = .4$.

And so the total upper bounds estimate for the unobserved Italian-only-origin members of the third generation follows.

Sample members with unobserved Italian-only origins

as % of all with an second-generation Italian-American parent:

in cells BG1 and G1B 5.4

in cells BC1 + C1B + C1C1 4.6

in cells AC1 and C1A 0.4

Total adjustment 10.4

The upper bounds for all sample members in Table 8 that have Italian-only origins (observed and unobserved) is thus

adjustment + cells BB, AB and BA: $10.4 + 24.3 + 2.0 + 5.5 = 42.2$.

The upper bounds for all sample members in Table 8 that have two native-born parents and Italian-only origins is: adjustment + cell BB: $10.4 + 24.3 = 34.7$.

The same strategy could be used to estimate other subgroups of interest.¹⁵

Another Strategy

I also used another strategy for comparison purposes. Using the 1979 CPS dataset (described in the text) I focused on the respondents who were 54-68 years of age; in 1960 they would have been 35-49 years of age, the age range that included over four-fifths of both the fathers and the mothers of our sample members (or more precisely, of the Italian-origin parents of our sample members). Again I created a ratio of two types of couples - this time focusing on the parents rather than the grandparents of the sample members: one group included couples with native-born parentage on both sides of the family *and with only Italian ancestry on both sides of the family*. The other group included couples in which both husband and wife were Italian-Americans of the second-generation. The numbers in the CPS for such a narrowly-defined group were very small - only 99 in all. Yet the ratio worked out to be about .09 (SE: .03). So, two independent samples and two largely different methods produced highly consistent results on this crucial point: the proportion of sample members who had second-generation Italian-American grandparents, and as a result only Italian origins, was about a tenth.

Creating the Estimates for Table 13

This table reviews the evidence of ethnic intermingling in the third generation for five groups, each at several points in time, a total of 14 group-time combinations, one in each row of the table. Each row of this table is in turn based on a table with the same structure as Table 8. The figure in the column labeled 'Observed' is the sum of cells BB, BA, AB taken from the corresponding table created for that group-time combination. The 'Upper bounds' figure is an estimate for that group-time combination comparable to the estimate for the Italians worked out in this appendix--that is, the 'Upper bounds' figure adds to the 'Observed' figure an estimate that takes into account those third generation members whose origins on one side of the family date back one generation farther than the census allows us to observe (i.e.: they had second-generation grandparents on that side of the family).

Each of the fourteen estimates for 'Upper bounds' is based on a ratio calculated for

(second generation) / (first and second generation)

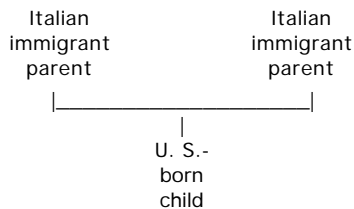
in earlier moments in time than the census year.

For 1880 third generation rows, the ratio was estimated from cohorts found in the Census of that same year. For 1900 third generation rows, the ratio was estimated from cohorts found in the 1880 Census. For 1910 third generation rows, the ratio was estimated from cohorts found in the 1900 Census. For 1920 third generation rows, the ratio was estimated from an average of the cohorts found in the 1900 and 1910 Censuses. (however, for 1920 Poles, the 1920 adjustment for Italians was used, since Poland was not used as a place of birth in the 1910 Census). For 1960 third generation rows, the ratio was estimated from cohorts found in the 1920 and 1960 Censuses.

Finally, In order to reduce computation, I used the age distribution of 1960 second-generation Italian fathers for the age distribution for each group of second-generation fathers. Also, I used the Italian proportion for row and column C1C - .6 as the proportion for determining the proportion C1C for each of the other groups.

FIGURE 1. DEFINITIONS OF A SECOND-GENERATION ITALIAN-AMERICAN

a. THE SIMPLIFIED DEFINITION



b. THE MAXIMALLY-INCLUSIVE DEFINITION

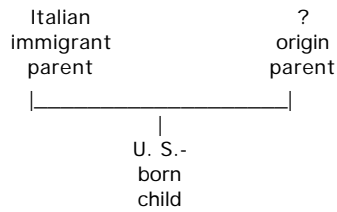


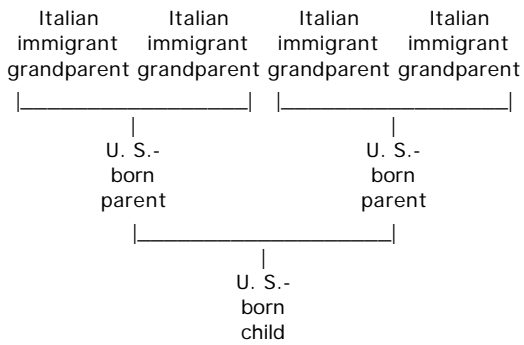
TABLE 1. SECOND-GENERATION ITALIANS BY TYPE OF PARENTAGE, 1940*

Parents	% of all*
2 Italian-born	84
1 Italian-born, 1 other foreign-born	4
1 Italian-born, 1 U.S.-born	12
Total	100

*Includes U.S.-born individuals (ages 16-30) who had at least one parent born in Italy--follows maximally inclusive definition. SOURCE: From IPUMS-98 data (Integrated Public Use Microdata Samples, 1998 release).

FIGURE 2. DEFINITIONS OF A THIRD-GENERATION ITALIAN-AMERICAN

a. THE SIMPLIFIED DEFINITION



b. THE MAXIMALLY-INCLUSIVE DEFINITION

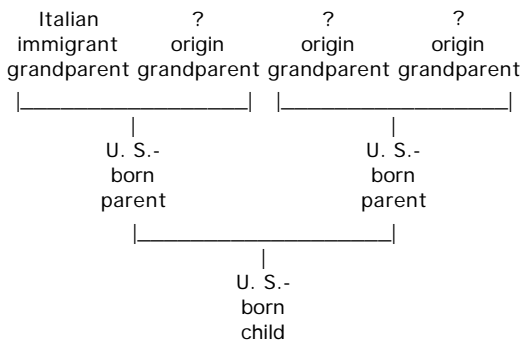


TABLE 2. THE ITALIAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1871-1925

Years	Number of immigrants (000s)	% of all years
1871 - 75	26	1
1881 - 85	110	2
1876 - 80	287	1
1886 - 90	198	4
1891 - 95	288	6
1896 - 00	366	8
1901 - 05	1063	22
1906 - 10	1218	25
1911 - 15	980	20
1916 - 20	185	4
1921 - 25	371	8
Total: 1871-1924	4828	100

NOTE: Only in one year after 1914 did annual arrivals reach the levels of 1900-14: in 1921, when 222 thousand arrived. Immigration restrictions reduced the figure to 40, 47, and 56 thousand in 1922, 1923, and 1924 respectively. SOURCE for Tables 2-3: W. Wilcox, ed., *International Migrations* (New York, 1929) v1, 419-49, 477. During the entire period 1925-1945 another 153 thousand arrived (U. S. Census, *Historical Statistics* (Washington, 1975), v1. 105).

TABLE 3. ITALIAN IMMIGRATION AND REMIGRATION, BY GENDER, 1871-1924

Years	Male/female ratios		Emigrant/immigrant ratios	
	immigrants	immigrants less emigrants	men	women
1871 - 75	3.4	.	.	.
1876 - 80	2.6	.	.	.
1881 - 85	4.6	.	.	.
1886 - 90	3.5	.	.	.
1891 - 95*	3.4	.	.	.
1896 - 00	2.6	.	.	.
1901 - 05	1.0	.	.	.
1901 - 07	2.2	.	.	.
1908 - 10	3.6	1.5	.65	.26
1911 - 13	2.8	1.5	.54	.17
1914 - 18	2.1	.4	.85	.19
1919 - 21	1.6	.4	.78	.17
1922 - 24	2.0	.6	.82	.39

*Sex ratios unavailable for 1893-5; estimated from 1892 and 1896. Gender data on emigrants unavailable prior to 1908. SOURCE: See Table 2.

TABLE 4A. ITALIAN LONG-TERM IMMIGRANTS,* 25-60 YEARS OF AGE, 1920

Characteristic	Men	Women
Number (000s)	650.6	400.8
Ratio of men to women	1.6	
Marital Status:		
-- married spouse pres.	69	90
-- married spouse abs.	6	1
-- divorced or widowed	3	6
-- never married	21	3
-- total	100%	100%
Ratio of men to women excluding the 'never married'	1.3	

*Long-term immigrants refers to those residing in the U.S. for at least 5 years in 1920.

TABLE 4B. THOSE IN TABLE 4A WHO WERE MARRIED, SPOUSE PRESENT

Spouse's origin	Men	Women
Italian immigrant	85%	98%
U.S.-born (Italian or mixed parentage)	8	1
Other immigrant	2	1
Other U.S. born	5	0
Number (000s)	438	352
Ratio of men to women	1.2	-
Ratio with 2 nd generation*	1.1	-

*Ratio of men to women when second generation Italian-American spouses are included.
SOURCE for Tables 4A and 4B: 1920 IPUMS-98; 'Number (000s)' is weighted to reflect population size.

TABLE 5. ITALIAN-BORN MALES IN THE 1920 CENSUS WHO HAD ARRIVED AS CHILDREN*

Year of arrival	% arriving at age 10 or less	N=
1890-1899	20	638
1900-1904	18	898
1905-1909	15	1,042
1910-1914	13	1,241

*Resident in the United States for at least 5 years. Based on the 1920 Census questions about age and year of immigration.
SOURCE: IPUMS-98 for 1920 Census.

TABLE 6. APPROXIMATE SIZE OF SECOND-GENERATION ITALIAN-AMERICAN BIRTH COHORTS, 1871-1924

Birth cohort	Apprx. size of birth cohort (000s)	% of all 2 nd generation members
1871-80	17	0
1881-90	49	1
1891-1900	235	6
1901-05	184	5
1906-10	334	9
1911-15	460	12
1916-20	500	13
1921-25	536	14
1926-30	470	12
1931-35	306	8
1936-40	165	4
1941-50	226	6
1951-60	182	5
1961-70	169	4
1871-1970	3833	100

SOURCE: IPUMS-98 datasets weighted up to population sizes. Most figures are taken from the age group 0-9 (or 0-4 and 5-9) in the relevant censuses:1880, 1900-1920 and 1940-1970. For 1881-90, the 10-19 age group in 1900 (*1.01) was used; for 1921-25 and 1926-30, the 10-14 and 15-19 age groups in 1940 (*1.01) were used. A few second generation members may have been born after 1970, however by that date an immigrant who arrived as a 20-year old in 1924 would have been 64 and an immigrant who arrived as an infant would have been at least 46 years of age.

TABLE 7. SECOND-GENERATION ITALIAN PARENTS OF CHILDREN (AGES 12-16) IN 1960

Age range	Birth cohort	% in age range	
		Father	Mother
under 30	1931-	0	5
30-34	1926-1930	3	9
35-39	1921-1925	21	30
40-44	1916-1920	31	31
45-49	1911-1915	27	19
50-54	1906-1910	11	5
55-59	1901-1905	5	1
60 and over	-1900	2	0
All	-1900-1931-	100	100

If one of the parents was not native-born of Italian parentage, that parent is not included in the table. Parents not in the birth cohorts shown in the table amounted to 1% of all parents.

SOURCE: IPUMS-98.

TABLE 8. ORIGINS OF 3RD-GENERATION ITALIAN CHILDREN, 1960: AGES 12-16
Percentages of children from each type of marriage (sum of all shown=100%)

FATHER	MOTHER						
	All or some Italian origin			No Italian origin			
	All	some					
	born in Italy	U. S. born, parents were:		Other foreign born	U. S. born, parents were:		U. S. born, 2 NB parents
	2 It-par	1 It-par 1 NB		2 OFB	1 OFB 1 NB		
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)
(A)	-	5.5*	.5	-	-	-	-
(B)	2.0*	24.3**	4.0	1.3	6.3	2.6	18.8
(C)	.2	2.8	.9	.2	1.0	.5	4.9
(D)	-	1.3	.3	-	-	-	-
(E)	-	5.1	1.1	-	-	-	-
(F)	-	1.5	.6	-	-	-	-
(G)	-	10.2	4.0	-	-	-	-

It-par Italian-born parents NB native-born OFB other foreign-born (i.e.: not in Italy)

* identified in the census as Italian-only origin.

** 3rd-generation-only.

SOURCE: 1960 IPUMS-98; Sample size: 6,700 (1% sample).

TABLE 8A. SINGLE-ORIGIN SECOND-GENERATION PARENTS: THEIR MARRIAGE PATTERNS (WEIGHTED BY THEIR FERTILITY) AS SEEN IN TABLE 8

Parent	Spouse is		
	single-origin Italian	Mixed-origin Italian	all other
Fathers	44	7	49
Mothers	59	6	36

NOTES TO TABLE 8 AND TABLE 8A:

Table 8.

1) Sample members are children who had at least one native-born parent who in turn had at least one Italian-born parent. Some sample members are siblings of others; if only one child per family had been included, no proportion in the table would have differed by as much as 1 percentage point.

2) Only children in two-parent households are included (92% of identified 3rd generation Italian-American children in the age range).

3) When both of a respondents' parents were foreign-born, the 1960 IPUMS dataset only specified the father's birthplace. In such cases, mother's country of birth was assumed to be same as father's (for evidence that the resulting bias is slight, see Table 1).

4) Some of the sample members had 1-3 native-born grandparents (rows and cols. C and G). Some, but not many, of these grandparents must have been 2nd generation Italian-Americans (see Appendix for estimations). If this bias is corrected, the proportion with Italian-only origins might rise by as much as 10% of the sample (upper bounds for estimated rise) to a total of 42% of all sample members in Table 8; (among this group, 7% of the sample had an Italian-born parent, and an upper bounds of 35% had two native-born parents and Italian-only origins).

Table 8a.

Proportions in Table 8 are based on cell frequencies divided by the total in the entire table. Proportions in Table 8A are based on the cell proportion from Table 8 divided by the total of all cell proportions in the entire row or column in which the cell is found--row B (for fathers) or column B (for mothers). For example, the single-origin Italian fathers who married single-origin Italian women is 26.3 percent (cells BA and BB). Cells for Italian-origin-only fathers (row B of Table 8) sum to 59.3 percent. Thus the percentage of all single-origin fathers who married a single origin mother (weighted by the number of their offspring) is $26.3/59.3 = 44\%$, the figure found in the first cell of Table 8a.

TABLE 9. ITALIAN INTERMARRIAGE RATES BY COHORT AND GENERATION

Birth cohort and generation	% with spouse who is 1 st or 2 nd generation Italian			
	Men	Women		
<i>first generation</i>				
1861-80	94	99		
1881-1900	89	98		
<i>second generation</i>			likelihood of 2 nd generation woman intermarrying	
			available Italian-origin husbands* %	constraint on outmarriage independent of group size *
1891-95	52	78	1.2	589
1896-1900	52	80	1.5	547
1901-1905	57	76	2.6	285
1906-10	60	79	3.8	279
1911-15	57	71	4.9	126
1916-20	52	61	5.0	68
1921-25	49	56	4.8	52
1926-30	38	50	4.3	38
1931-35	30	41	3.3	29
1936-40	13	27	2.3	19

* Constraint calculated as (a/b) / (c/d) where

a= number of 2nd gen. Ital. Women marrying Italian men (any generation)

b=number of 2nd gen. Ital. Women marrying non-Italian men

c=number of non-Italian women marrying Italian men

d=number of non-Italian women marrying non-Italian men.

For a discussion of this odds ratio see Lieberman and Waters, *From Many Strands*, 171-5. Also,

(a + c) / (a + b + c + d) = the percentage in the preceding column.

NOTE: %s of 2nd gen. women marrying 1st gen. men in successive cohorts beginning with 1891-5 (included in the 2nd column percentages, above): 64, 53, 47, 36, 19, 9, 6, 4, 4, 3. See also Table 4B, which shows % 1st gen. men married to 2nd gen. women. SOURCE: IPUMS-98. 1861-80 from 1910 Census; other years from first marriages in 1960 Census. All cells based on Ns over 100; all based on Ns over 450 except 1st row for women, 3rd and 4th rows both sexes.

TABLE 10. SELECTING 3RD AND LATER-GENERATION INDIVIDUALS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN IN TWO DATASETS: THE 1960 US CENSUS AND THE SEPTEMBER, 1979 CPS

3 rd - generation Italian-Americans	1960 Cen.	1979 CPS
1) Maximally inclusive definition	100%	
2) Both parents native-born*	88.7	
<i>Restricting the sample to those in row 2</i>		
3) Both parents native-born	100%	100%
4) Italian origin only	27 - 38**	51

NOTES.

* Omits the following cells in Table 8: row-column AB, AC, BA, BD, CA, CD, DB, DC - which include 11.3% of the sample members found in row 1 of this table.

** Observed and upper bounds estimate for unobserved. See text and Appendix.

SOURCES: 1960 Census figures based on Table 8. 1979 CPS figures from September, 1979 CPS (the dataset for that survey released by the Census Bureau). Selected from the latter are respondents, 31-40 years of age, who are native-born of native parentage and claimed Italian ancestry only or Italian and other ancestry.

TABLE 11. 3RD + GENERATION MEMBERS CLAIMING ITALIAN ANCESTRY: 1979 CPS

Age	Family status	Italian ancestry	
		Single	Mixed
0-10	with parents	16	84
11-15		22	78
16-20		26	74
21-25		31	69
21-25	head or spouse	43	57
26-30		48	52
31-40		51	49
41-50		54	46
51-70		57	43

NOTE: 1) All cells include at least 200 observations. 2) Some living situations not shown, such as 16-20 living as head or spouse.

SOURCE: September, 1979 CPS.

TABLE 12. 4th AND LATER GENERATION ITALIAN CHILDREN, 1979 CPS

A. BY PARENT'S ANCESTRY percentages in each cell sum to 100%

Father - by -- generational status -- type of Italian ancestry	Mother - by gen. status + type Ital. ancestry				
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)
A 1 st or 2 nd ; single	-	2.8*	-	1.3	-
B) 3 rd + ; single	0.8*	7.4**	0.5	1.5	17.0
C 1 st or 2 nd ; mixed	-	2.3	-	0	-
D) 3 rd + ; mixed	0.8	1.5	0	2.0	20.1
E) Other (no Italian ances.)	-	14.5	-	27.7	-

NOTE: N=394. Includes all native-born children, 12-16 in 1979, with a parent who is native-born-of-native-parentage and who reports Italian ancestry. SOURCE: September, 1979 CPS.

B. SINGLE-ANCESTRY PARENTS AND THEIR CHILDREN percentages

<i>Marriage patterns of the parents</i>						
Italian single- ancestry parent	Spouse - by gen. status + type Ital. ancestry					Total
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	
1) Fathers	3	27	2	6	63	100
2) Mothers	10	26	8	5	51	100
<i>Consequent distribution of the children : from panel A, row and col. B</i>						
3) their children	7*	15**	6	6	65	100

NOTE: Row 1 includes all fathers from panel A, row B (N=107). Row 2 includes all mothers from panel A, column B (N=112). Row 3 includes all the children of the parents in Rows 1 and 2 (N=190).

TABLE 13. SINGLE-ORIGIN MEMBERS OF THE THIRD GENERATION: SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS, 1880-1960

Group	Year	Observed: 4 immigrant grandparents from country reported in Census (see Table 8, *)	Upper bounds estimate to include those with 2 nd -gen. grandparents
Irish	1880	29	33
	1900	34	39
	1910	24	34
	1920	20	45
Germans	1880	44	48
	1900	44	48
	1910	38	46
	1920	28	48
Italians	1920	60	64
	1960	32	43
Poles	1920	50	55
	1960	19	30
Mexicans	1920	62	-
	1960	34	54

SOURCE: IPUMS-98. Each row in this table is drawn from an underlying table (not shown) that was constructed like Table 8, above. The 'Observed' figure is the sum of cells BB, BA, AB taken from the relevant underlying table. The 'Upper bounds' figure is presented to take into account those third generation members whose origins on one side of the family date back one generation farther than the census allows us to observe. The estimate is made for each group using the method described in the Appendix. See text and the last section of the Appendix for further details, and limitations of this procedure.

APPENDIX TABLE A1. SIZE OF THE ITALIAN SECOND-GENERATION COHORTS (M+F, OOS)

AGE	Census year							
	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
1-9	234	518	960		459	210	182	161
10-19	50	189	496		974	436	229	175
20-29	12	56	154		951	885	445	227
30-39	5	13	44		432	855	940	433
40-49	2	5	14		122	448	945	886
50-59	1	1	3		36	141	430	827
60-99	0	1	1		13	35	140	438

SOURCE: IPUMS-98, weighted to reflect population size. Includes U. S. born with one or both parents born in Italy.

APPENDIX TABLE A2. ESTIMATING THE PROPORTION OF 4TH-GENERATION DESCENDANTS OF ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS, 1960
Percentages of children from each type of marriage (sum of all shown=100%)

FATHER	MOTHER								
	All or some Italian origin				No Italian origin indicated in Census				
	All		some						
	born in Italy	U. S. born, parents were:		Other foreign born	U. S. born, parents were:		U. S. born, 2 NB parents		
2 It-born		1 It-born 1 NB	2 OFB		1 OFB 1 NB				
	(A)	(B)	(C)		(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)	
			1	2				1	2
(A)	-	5.5		.5	-	-	-		-
(B)	2.0	24.3	*		1.3	6.3	2.6	*	
(C)	1	*	*				*		
	2	.2			.2	1.0	.5		
(D)	-	1.3		.3	-	-	-		-
(E)	-	5.1		1.1	-	-	-		-
(F)	-	1.5		.6	-	-	-		-
(G)	1		*	*				**	
	2	-			-	-	-		

It-born: Italian-born NB: native-born OFB: other foreign-born (i.e.: not born in Italy)

Split rows and columns (C and G): Rows and columns C1 and G1 include sample members whose native-born grandparents were themselves children of two Italian immigrants.

Rows and columns C2 and G2 include sample members whose grandparents were other native-born individuals.

(*) in row and column C1 and G1: 3rd-generation Italian-Americans on one side of the family, 4th-generation Italian-Americans on the other side of the family (their numbers to be estimated, and hence left blank in Table A2). See Table 8 for the sum of proportions in all parts of each cell divided for Table A2 (for example, BG1+BG2=10.2).

-- cell (**) is empty in this table, because the table is limited to third-generation Italian-Americans, and this cell would include fourth-generation Italian-Americans only.

APPENDIX TABLE A3. ESTIMATING THE PREVALENCE OF 2ND-GENERATION ITALIAN GRANDPARENTS IN TABLE 8

Age range	Parents' ages in 1960 (Ital. origin only)		Distribution of Grandfathers across birth cohorts: estimated		Second to first generation: married couples, Italians only*	Estimated adjustment for Table 8: sum (col. e X col. f)
	Father	Mother	birth cohort	distrib.		
a	b	c	d	e	f	g
30-34	.03	.07	1904-1916	.00	6.08	
35-39	.21	.28	1899-1911	.01	2.08	
40-44	.33	.34	1894-1906	.06	.51	
45-49	.28	.22	1889-1901	.16	.16	
50-54	.10	.06	1884-1896	.24	.06	
55-59	.04	.02	1879-1891	.25	.01	
60-69	.01	-	1874-1886	.18	.01	
			1869-1881	.08	.01	
			1864-1876	.02	.00	
TOTAL	1.00	1.00	na	1.00	na	.11

* The ratio of the number of couples in which both husband and wife were first generation to the number of couples in which both husband and wife were second generation in the birth cohort. Col. f is based on the 1920 Census sample for the three oldest cohorts, on the 1960 Census sample for the four youngest cohorts, and on the average of the ratios in each of the two censuses for the 1884-1896 and 1879-91 cohorts (SOURCE: IPUMS-98, for 1920 and 1960).

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1. An earlier version of some of this material was published in Working Paper 230. The present version extends the analysis to a new dataset, carries it forward to a fourth generation, and includes discussion of a new topic (how the gender imbalance of the immigrant generation was overcome without ethnic out-marriage). Also, this paper exploits better estimations than the earlier paper, and a fuller discussion of some conclusions. For these reasons, it seemed preferable to include all the material here, rather than refer repeatedly to the earlier working paper.
2. The classical issues in the intermarriage literature are summarized in Heer (1980); much new analysis appears in Lieberson and Waters (1988), Qian (1993), and Kalmijn (1993) are examples of the methodologically sophisticated present state of work that also do grapple with historical change (especially Kalmijn). On change over time see also Alba and Golden (1986). Nash (1995) is an example of recent concern with the multiracials, and Williamson (1980) a somewhat older example. For other studies of older patterns see Pagnini and Morgan (1990) and Bernard (1980).
3. Alba (1995) summarizes the fluctuating responses to the ancestry question. See also Lieberson and Waters (1988).
4. The figures are based on the youngest second generation cohorts in successive decennial censuses--for example the 1916-20 cohort is based on the number of second-generation Italians 0-4 years of age in the 1920 Census. These figures are no more than a crude guide, since the numbers in successive censuses for the same birth cohort can exhibit considerable instability; nevertheless, the figures do give us a useful sense of the timing of generations . See also Appendix Table A1.
5. This table is limited to those immigrants who stayed for at least a few years, eliminating the very recent arrivals as more likely to be 'birds of passage' who would return to Italy; it is the long-term residents, after all, who will produce the second generation.
6. Assume (given rates of remigration) that three-fifths of the 1 million arrivals of 1909-14 remained in the United States; something like a sixth of those who did remain in the United States had in fact arrived as children under 10 years of age when they arrived (judging from Table 5). These children would number a group of 100,000 permanent immigrants. This group reached ages 25-34 between 1925 and 1940. By contrast, during the period 1925-30 the entire number of immigrants arriving from Italy numbered about 85,000; during the 1930s another 70,000 came. And of course some of these 155,000 arrivals, like the earlier ones, remigrated; while others among them were child immigrants; surely less than 150,000, then, came as adults in the years 1925-1940 and remained in this country to raise members of the second generation. Since United States decennial censuses after 1920 have not asked the exact year of immigration, it is difficult to refine the discussion of these numbers.
7. The goal of the estimation in the Appendix is to find the proportion of sample members with native-born grandparents *all* of whom were children of Italian immigrants. By contrast, to know how many had no Italian origins on one side of the family we would need to also estimate the proportion with native-born grandparents *any* of whom were children of Italian immigrants.
8. This definition has included some children who had one second-generation parent and one first-generation parent (an immigrant parent, whether from Italy or elsewhere). Consider, for example, a child of an Italian immigrant father and a second-generation Italian-American mother. Such a third-generation child, when grown up, would very likely answer the ancestry question by mentioning the immigrant parent's country of origin, those ethnic roots being so fresh. And for parent's places of birth this person would report Italy for father and United

States for mother. We would then have no way to know that on the mother's side of the family this person meets the maximally inclusive definition for third-generation membership. I am also omitting the small group of Italian-American children with a foreign-born parent from a country other than Italy (since I will later want to distinguish single-origin from mixed-origin third-generation adults, and the presence of a foreign-born parent from any country would make that analysis ambiguous).

9. Cell BB in Table 8: $24.3/88.7=27.4$. Cells AB and BA, comprised of single-origin children, are excluded because they have a foreign-born parent. The upper bound estimate for the adjustment for single-origin children with a second-generation grandparent, is reduced from 10.4% to 10% (.6 of the number in cells CA and AC being excluded as having a foreign-born parent). And so the upper bound estimate is $10/88.7=11.3$.

10. This is the generational breakdown among those 12-16 years of age in 1960, who would have been 31-35 in 1979; among older cohorts, still fewer would have been members of the fourth generation.

11. One might protest that the true (unobserved) proportion of single-origin individuals who were endogamous was higher than the 15% shown in Table 12A, since the observed group, as we have stressed, includes some of mixed origin who oversimplified their origins. Presumably, among the true single ancestry group, out-marriage would have been somewhat lower than among this more 'diluted' group. That is likely. However, note that this observation does not affect the larger point based on Table 12, that no more than 8% of the fourth generation children whose parents claimed some Italian ancestry had purely Italian origins.

12. Perlmann (1997a, 1997b) deal with the current classification and future projections of the American population and the relation of this subject to intermarriage patterns.

13. Were we studying an older immigration, for example the Germans, we might have found a ratio well above 1 (or 2), suggesting an upper bound estimate with far more unidentified than identified sample members. Moreover, in the case of an older group like the Germans there could have been still more Germans of fifth, sixth or higher generations. And so, when the second-generation German parent is listed in the 1960 Census as married to a native-born spouse of native parentage, we would be unable to disprove, with this method, the possibility that the spouse was nearly always of pure German descent. With the Italians we do not face this problem.

14. The proportion in-marrying into cell C1C1 (from all of CC) may have been somewhat smaller than 60% (the estimate for cells BC1 and C1B), but the entire cell CC includes less than 1% of the table, so we need not try to refine such a small number.

15. There are also other children of Italian-only origins who are not found in our table because they are not members of the third generation. For example, children defined (in Table 8A2) by the cells AG1 or G1A have an immigrant parent and a third-generation parent. On neither side of the family, then, are the children of these parents members of the third generation. But they are members of the fourth generation on one side of the family. Similarly, there are the children who would fall into cell G1G1, those with NBNP parents on both sides of the family, all of whose *great grandparents* were Italian immigrants. If we limit our consideration to the third generation proper, we want to exclude these individuals.

If we want to calculate the number in the cell G1G1 (fourth generation Italian only, on both sides of the family), we would need to know the in-marriage rate of the third generation. Fortunately, the number must be minute since the larger subpopulation of column G, row G1 amounts to only $.11 * GB$, or $.11 * 10.2 = 1.1$. Even if most of the Italian-origin parents in this group had in-married (had ended up in subcell G1G1), there number had to be less than 1% of the sample members in the entire table.