“Migration and Interracial Marriage in Contemporary Brazil”

By

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Abstract

Migration from a person's community of origin can facilitate the formation of behavior outside of the social norm, including interracial marriage. In Brazil, despite race mixture being part of the national myth of origin, interracial marriages are the minority of marital unions (Petruccelli 2001; Ribeiro and Silva 2009; Silva 1987; Telles 2004). Drawing on the 2009 Brazilian National Household Survey (PNAD), I examine whether internal migration facilitates interracial unions. I find that while internal migration predicts being in a cross-color marital union, the effects differ depending on the color combination of the partners.

Freedom from the social constraints of a person's community of origin often facilitates behavior outside of the norm. In the U.S. context, recent rises in nontraditional unions such as interracial and same-sex marriage have been partially attributed to an increasing "age of independence" of young people (Rosenfeld and Kim 2005). Namely, increased displacement from individuals' community of origin allows them to enter non-traditional marital unions with more frequency than their non-migratory counterparts. In addition, while many scholars have emphasized the role of social proximity in leading to interracial marriage, social distance may also be part of the story.

Marriages across color are far more common in Brazil than in the U.S. (Telles 2004), suggesting that race mixture as a contemporary practice is less stigmatized in the Brazilian context. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of marriages in Brazil take place between people of the same color (Petruccelli 2001; Ribeiro and Silva 2009; Telles 2004). In addition, qualitative studies suggest that race mixture as an actual occurrence, particularly between the very darkest and lightest Brazilians, is more stigmatized than relationships involving same-color couples (Azevedo 1955; Barros 2003; Moutinho 2004; Osuji 2011; Staley 1960). For these reasons, migration may facilitate interracial unions in Brazil. In addition, since couples at opposite ends of the color spectrum are less common than those that are closer together, migration may be more important for particular color combinations than others.

In this paper, I examine the role of internal migration in facilitating interracial marital unions in Brazil. Drawing on 2009 data from the Brazilian National Household Survey (PNAD), I find that displacement from community of origin predicts the likelihood of being involved in a cross-color relationship in Brazil. This pattern remains across levels of education, age cohorts,

region, and urban/rural status. In addition, migration has different effects depending on the color combinations of the couple. This study illustrates how in the Brazilian context as well, leaving a community of origin is one of the forms of acceptance of interracial marriage.

Background on Interracial Marriage in Brazil

As early as the Portuguese conquest of Brazil, distinct patterns of race mixture and intermarriage emerged, producing initial populations of mixed-race Brazilians. Far from their families of origin and female co-ethnics, Portuguese men engaged in relations with black and indigenous women while working in conquest and trade. These relationships often took place between unequals, such as masters and their female slaves, and often involved hegemony and coercion (citation). While the early state and the Church condemned interracial sex and marital unions (Marx 1998), they were largely uncontrollable.

With abolition in 1888, formal prohibitions against interracial unions were eradicated and these relationships increased. In fact, elites advocated race mixture between non-white Brazilians and low status whites, particularly European immigrants, while discouraging interracial unions in their own circles (citations needed). This was a part of an ideology of whitening that was influenced by the scientific racism of the time, in which race mixture could help "bleach out" non-white populations (Skidmore 1974; Stepan 1991). Decades later, Gilberto Freyre praised Brazil's history of race-mixing and popularized the notion of Brazil as a "racial democracy" with its harmonious relations between Brazilians of different colors (Freyre 1933; Hasenbalg 1985). Racial democracy became a part of the Brazilian national ideology with race mixture as the backbone of the national myth of origin.

Nevertheless, several scholars illuminated how marriage across colors was infrequent in the Brazilian context (Azevedo 1955; Staley 1960). Today, the Brazilian census collects data on

color involving 5 different categories: black (*preta*), brown (*parda*), white (*branca*), yellow (*amarela*), and indigenous (*indígena*). Intermarriage across these different color categories comprises only 30% of all marriages (Petruccelli 2001; Ribeiro and Silva 2009). While rates are much higher than the U.S., where interracial marriages are only 10% of all marriages (citation needed), it is small given the ideology of racial democracy in which interracial marriage is a widely prevalent practice.

Distance, Internal Migration and Interracial Marriage

Scholars have often emphasized population sizes and proximity when explaining patterns of interracial marriage (Blau, Blum and Schwartz 1982; Harris and Ono 2005; Kalmijn 1998; Qian and Lichter 2001). For instance, in Brazil whites marry nonwhites at higher rates in regions where nonwhites are the majority of the population (and vice versa) (Telles 2004). The same is true for socioeconomic status; due to the concentration of whites in the middle class, highly educated nonwhites are more likely to intermarry than their lower educated counterparts (Ribeiro and Silva 2009; Schwartzman 2007). In addition, when interracial marriages occur, they are often between individuals of proximate color categories, such as between *brancos* and *pardos* and between *pardos* and *pretos* (Petruccelli 2001; Ribeiro and Silva 2009; Silva 1987; Telles 2004).

However, recent research suggests that distance rather than proximity may also influence rates of intermarriage and illuminate new conditions of acceptance. For example, in the phenomenon known as "status exchange", non-whites compensate by having higher socioeconomic status when they intermarry with whites (Davis 1941; Gordon 1964; Merton 1941). In Azevedo's study of Brazilian "elites of color," he found that although rare, when interracial marriages occurred, they were more accepted when the darker person was in a higher

social status position than their lighter partner (1955). Recent quantitative evidence shows that this continues to be the case; nonwhites who interracially marry have much higher levels of education than their white partners (Ribeiro and Silva 2009; Schwartzman 2007; Silva 1987; Telles 2004). This suggests a conditional acceptance of nonwhites by whites in which they are not accepted unless they have higher (non-racial) status positions.

In the U.S., distance from an individual's community of origin is one social mechanism for entering or maintaining interracial relationships. According to Rosenfeld and Kim, non-traditional marital unions, such as interracial marriage and same-sex unions, are more likely among the geographically mobile (2005). They argue that distance from a person's community of origin provides freedom from the constraints of kinship, allowing individuals to enter into relationships that they would not engage in otherwise. In Brazil, there is some evidence suggesting that migration may be part of the social mechanisms of interracial marriage. In Staley's 1950s qualitative study of interracial marriages in Brazil, he found that many couples were "social isolates", far from their friends and families of origin. However, recent studies of interracial marriage in Brazil have largely neglected the possible role of internal migration.

Like many countries in the Global South, Brazil has experienced a great deal of internal migration over the last several decades. Beginning in the 1950s, industrialization, large-scale capital investment in agriculture, and declines in environmental and economic conditions prompted a "rural exodus" of millions of Brazilians to more urban centers (Gries, Kraft and Pieck 2011; Póvoa Neto 1994; Yap 1976). Since then, rural-to-urban migration has continued with the majority coming from the Northeast to the more industrial Southeast region of the country, with São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro as primary destinations. These *nordestinos* or northeasterners have come to represent the migrant worker, who is stigmatized as poor and

backwards in the public imagination. While there has been some degree of "return migration" from the Southeast to the Northeast, migration in the opposite direction as well as within regions still remains dominant (Barbosa, Araujo and Araujo 2010).

Internal migration often forces people to create new social ties, providing opportunity for more racially heterogeneous networks in a context freer from social controls. Furthermore, distance from a community of origin can aid in the maintenance of an interracial marriage by providing freedom from those who could exert the most social control. Since causality can go in both directions, migration may be associated with the likelihood of interracial marriage within the population. Despite the body of literature on interracial marriage, the role of migration in facilitating these unions is unclear in contemporary Brazilian society.

Using the approach of distance from the community of origin has implications for the extent to which interracial marriage as a contemporary occurrence is fully accepted today. Given the impact of internal migration on Brazil, examining its influence on interracial marriage patterns can provide a new way of understanding one social mechanisms of interracial marriage and family formation. In addition, it can illuminate one of the pathways through which nonwhites are accepted in Brazilian society.

Migration and Interracial Marriage

This study examines whether there is a link between migration from community of origin and marriage to a person of a different color. As mentioned before, the majority of marriages in Brazil take place between individuals who fall within the same color category (Ribeiro and Silva 2009; Telles 2004), despite interracial marriage being a part of the national ideology. However, the decrease in social constraints of friends and families that migrants experience could permit them to engage in relationships that they would not otherwise, including interracial marriage.

Based on this argument, I present this hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: Migration from region of origin facilitates marriage to a person of a different color.

In addition, intermarriage occurs most often between proximate color categories such as between whites and browns and between browns and blacks (Ribeiro and Silva 2009; Telles 2004). This may represent the decreased social distance between members of these categories in contrast to individuals at the poles. For this reason, migration may not be a factor in relationships involving less social distance in comparison to those involving more social distance (*brancos* and *pretos*). Migration may operate differently depending on the color of the individuals within the couple.

Therefore I also test this hypothesis in this paper:

Hypothesis 2: Migration has a different effect depending on the color of the individuals.

Methods

I examine household data from the Brazilian 2009 PNAD, a dataset that is collected by the IBGE. It is a geographically stratified sample of the entire country covering 153,837 households and 399,387 individuals. I examined households in which the household head is in a heterosexual marital union with a cohabiting partner in which both partners were at least 18 years of age. In total, I examine 122,656 individuals in 61,328 marital unions.

As mentioned before, the IBGE collects data on color involving 5 different categories: black (*preta*), brown (*parda*), white (*branca*), yellow (*amarela*), and indigenous (*indígena*). Due to small representation of the latter two categories in the data, I excluded households with marital unions involving indigenous individuals and "yellow" (Asian) individuals. I also excluded cases

in which color information on the respondent was missing. I defined interracial marriage as marital unions occurring between any of these color categories.

In order to capture migration, I measured being a migrant based on a series of PNAD questions asking individuals if they had lived in another state and the length of time that they have lived in their current state of residence. I coded migration within the couples as whether either the husband or the wife was a migrant.

Education levels, population composition of individuals within the different racial categories within a given region, and urban/rural residence all influence the likelihood of interracial marriage (cite Ribeiro and Silva) (Silva 2006; Silva 1987; Telles 2004). For these reasons, I controlled for these factors in the analysis. Education was coded to include four categories measured as a series of dummy variables: having less than grammar school, completion of grammar school, high school, and college. The effect of migration may be due to the concentration of whites and browns and blacks in particular areas of the country. Given the strong correlation between region and racial identification in Brazil and Latin America in general (Wade 1997), I used a series of dummy variables to represent the five regions in Brazil: the Southeast, South, Center West, North, and the Northeast. I controlled for the racial composition of the place where couples are currently residing, allowing me see if migration is a predictor regardless of where the couple lives. Urban residence was a dichotomous variable based on the PNAD question about the couples' census tract.

Since the PNAD survey does not ask about when the marital union began, it is not possible to disentangle whether migration occurred before or after the migration. Migration may facilitate entry into interracial marriages at the same time that it may aid in the maintenance of interracial relationships due to a lack of social control (Rosenfeld and Kim 2005). While this

paper does not delve into the timing of marriage for internal migrants, it makes it possible to examine whether a relationship exists between interracial marriage and migration. Migration may delay marital timing for male migrants (2004) or it may accelerate marriage for migrants once they return to the sending community (Jampaklay 2006). In addition, during the largest waves of internal migration, the PNAD survey did not ask questions about color. Also, as mentioned before, there has been a great deal of return migration at older ages. For these reasons, I look at the effects of internal migration across age groups rather than focusing only the youngest cohorts. This approach allows me to generally examine the relationship between migration and interracial marriage for both younger migrants as well as older migrants who may have migrated during larger, previous waves of internal migration.

I controlled for the year of birth of respondents by creating a series of dummy variables for cohorts. These were: those born before 1950, in the 1950s, the 1960s, the 1970s, and the 1980s and on. I used the husband's cohort when the husband's out-marriage is the unit of analysis and the wife's cohort when the wife's out-marriage is the unit of analysis.

In the first part of the analysis, I use logistic regression in order to test the effects of internal migration on interracial marriage. For the sake of parsimony, in this part of the analysis, I collapsed *preta* and *parda* into one non-white category. I examine the effects of migration for white and non-white relationships vs. same-color marital unions for both whites as well as nonwhites. Specifically, for the dependent variable in the logistic regression, I characterized each couple in the sample as being in a same-color couple if they were whites married to whites or if they were non-whites married to other non-whites. The dependent variable is the odds of marrying a different color person in comparison to marrying a same-color individual.

To account for potential differences of social distance, I conducted a series of multinomial logistic regressions to examine the effect of migration on interracial marriage for individuals within each of the three (*preto, pardo, branco*) color categories. For the dependent variable, I characterized each couple in the sample as being a same-color couple if both individuals were members of the same color category. Couples were coded as different color couples if individuals were of different color categories. The null comparison category would be the same color couple. For example, a white person with a brown spouse as well as a brown person with a black spouse would all be coded as different-color couples. In the analysis, I compared the odds of whites marrying a brown spouse instead of another white person. Multinomial regressions were conducted each for whites, browns, and blacks.[i]

Findings

Table 1 shows that the overwhelming majority of Brazilians marry partners of the same color. The majority of whites marry other whites and the majority of brown individuals marry other brown people. However, slightly more black husbands marry brown wives than black wives, however this is not the case among black wives, who marry black husbands more often.

[INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Table 2 examines the wives' migration status by her color category among couples in Brazil. It shows that close to a third of all women have migrated between states. The breakdown by color shows that women migrants are similar to their non-migrant counterparts in terms of their colors, with the majority of both groups identifying themselves as white, followed by brown, and then black females. Table 3 shows a similar situation for male migrants and non-migrants, with little to no discrepancy between how migrants and non-migrants are classified.

[INSERT TABLES 2 AND 3 ABOUT HERE]

In Table 4, for all the couples in the study, I show the wives' region of prior residence by her region of current residence. This table reflects the large amount of migration from the northeast to the southeast of the country. In all of the other regions, wives are mostly "stayers", with their region of prior residence corresponding to their region of current residence. This is not true of wives who formerly lived in the northeast, where more of them now live in the southeast than stayed in the northeast. As seen in Table 5, this finding is also true for husbands who formerly lived in the northeast; more of them currently live in the Southeast than stayed in the northeast.

[INSERT TABLES 4 AND 5 ABOUT HERE]

Table 6 shows the first of several logistic regressions examining the odds of a whites marrying a non-white partner.[1] The effect of migration did not differ by color or gender, thus I have included only the model involving whites. Table 6 examines the odds of marrying a non-white person (brown or black) for white husbands and wives. Model 1 shows that for whites, having a migrant in the couple is positively associated with the odds of being married to a non-white, increasing the odds of intermarriage by over 30%. Model 2 introduces the education and cohort variables into the model and shows that the effect of having a migrant in the relationship still remains. It also shows that in comparison to individuals with less than a grammar school education, those with grammar, high school, or college completed all have lower rates of marrying a non-white individual. It also shows that in comparison to individuals born in the 1970s, older cohorts are less likely to be married to a non-white individual. At the same time, there is no significant different between individuals born in the 1970s and the 1980s.

[1] I also ran models for white husbands and white wives separately and had the same results. The same is true for brown and black individuals. I also had models for whether the husband or wife was the migrant and also had the same results. Those models are available upon request.

[INSERT TABLE 6 ABOUT HERE]

Model 3 includes all of the variables in the model, controlling for current region of residence and urban residence. It shows that having a partner that is a migrant in the relationship is still significant, associated with a 15% increase in the likelihood of marrying a non-white. Educational levels are still significant. However, with the age cohorts, being born in the 1970s is not different statistically from being born in the 1980s or 1960s in terms of odds of marriage to non-whites. When controlling for all of the other variables in the model, living in an urban area is not significant in terms of predicting marriage to nonwhites. Nevertheless, in comparison to individuals living in the Southeast, people in all of the regions save the South are more likely to be married across color. This is not surprising, given the south is predominantly white, with many descendants of Italian, Portuguese, and German immigrants. Overall, Table 6 shows how controlling for education, age cohort, urban residence and region of residence, having either the husband or wife as a migrant increases the likelihood of whites marrying nonwhites.

Table 7 offers a multi-nomial logit regression of the odds of marrying across colors for whites, browns, and blacks. Model 1 shows the odds of white partners marrying a brown spouse instead of a white spouse. It shows that from the perspective of white partners, having a migrant in the marital union increases the odds of marrying a brown partner instead of a white one by 14%. In addition, similar to Table 6, whites with grammar, high school, or college degrees were less likely to marry brown spouses than those with less than grammar school, showing intermarriage for whites is a lower-educated phenomenon. However, this effect increases with educational level; whites with grammar school education are 40% less likely to marry a brown whereas those with a college education are 75% less likely to marry a brown individual. The reverse is true when looking at age cohorts. Individuals born before the 1970s are less likely to

marry a brown person than those born in the 1970s. Marrying a brown person increases over cohorts, although those born between 1980 and 1992 are only different significantly at the .1 level. Urban residence does not impact being married to a brown person. In comparison to whites living in the southeast region, whites in the other regions were more likely to marry brown individuals, likely due to the presence of more brown individuals in those areas of the country. The reverse is true for the South, which has fewer brown individuals and thus more opportunities to marry whites. Nevertheless, controlling for all of these factors, having a migrant in the relationship increases the odds of interracial marriage for white husbands and wives.

[INSERT TABLE 7 ABOUT HERE]

Model 2 shows the odds of whites marrying black individuals instead of other whites. Migration does not affect the likelihood of marrying a black individual for whites. This may be due to blacks' small proportion of the population and black-white marriages being a small proportion (3%) of all marital unions. Nevertheless, the coefficient for migration is going in the same direction of increasing the likelihood of intermarriage, even though it is not statistically significant, suggesting the small size of the black population is a factor.

Whites also have a decreased likelihood of marrying a black person as they increase their level of education with those with college being 80% less likely to be married to blacks than whites with less than grammar school. At each step of the educational ladder, whites have descreasing likelihood of marrying blacks: whites who completed grammar school are 30% less likely and those with high school degrees are 50% less likely to be married to blacks than whites with less than a grammar school education. This is likely due to the predominance of whites at higher levels of education. In terms of age cohort, Model 2 shows that those born in the 1940s and 1950s are less likely to marry blacks than whites born in the 1970s. The coefficients on

cohort suggest that younger cohorts are more likely to marry blacks. However, there is no significant difference between those born in the 60s or between 1980 and 1992 from whites born in the 1970s. The regional variables run in the same direction as for whites marrying browns with southerners having a decreased likelihood of marrying black in comparison to southeasterners. However, whites in the other regions are more likely to marry blacks, most likely due to smaller white populations in the north, northeast, and center west regions.

Models 3 and 4 show the odds for brown individuals marrying across colors instead of marrying another brown person. As seen in Model 3 of Table 7, controlling for educational level, cohort, and region of residence, having a migrant in the couple is associated with an increase in the odds of marrying a white partner instead of a brown one. Having a migrant in the relationship is related to an increase of 17% in the odds of marrying a white spouse instead of another brown person.

Educational level for brown individual shows the exact opposite effect that it did for whites in terms of marrying across colors. As mentioned before, higher levels of education for brown individuals increases their odds of marrying a white person. Those at the college level experiencing more than a doubling of their odds of marrying a white person in comparison to those who did not finish grammar school. On the other hand, brown partners with high school experience increase have an increase of 59% in their odds of marrying a white person instead of a brown person in comparison to those with less than grammar school. Those who finished grammar school also have a greater likelihood of marrying a white person instead of another brown partner. When looking at age cohort, the model shows that age has no effect on their odds of marrying a white person instead of a brown person. This suggests that increases in brown-white marriage in recent decades are related more to whites opening their marriage options and

less to browns doing so instead of marrying within their own color. Urban residence increases the odds of brown individuals marrying a white person instead of another brown person, with an increase of 14% in their odds of marrying a white person. Examining the effects of region show that browns living in regions such as the South experience an increase in their odds of marrying whites in comparison to their counterparts in the Southeast. This is in contrast to browns living in the center west, north, and northeast regions, who experience a decline in marrying whites in comparison to other browns.

As seen in Model 4, for browns who marry blacks instead of other browns, there is no effect of migration on their marital choices, when controlling for other variables in the model. When looking at levels of education, browns who completed grammar school or high school see a decreased likelihood (16% and 18% respectively) of marrying a black person instead of a brown person in comparison to those who did not complete grammar school. However, there is no difference for browns who marry blacks and those that marry other brown people at the college level in comparison to browns with less than grammar school. This is probably due to the small number of brown and black individuals with college experience.

Once again, age has no effect on the experiences of browns choosing non-brown partners over other brown individuals. However, urban residence also increases the odds of intermarriage with blacks by 51%. Region of residence is significant in terms of marrying a black spouse instead of a brown spouse, with those in the center west, north, and northeast regions all being less likely to marry black spouses than in the southeast of Brazil. The same is true for individuals living in the South, although the coefficient is only statistically significant at the .1 level.

The following equations shown in Models 5 and 6, show the odds for blacks marrying white and brown spouses instead of other blacks. Model 5 shows that when examining the blacks marrying a white spouse instead of another black person, having a migrant in the couple increases the likelihood by over 50%. (This is in contrast to the effects of internal migration for whites or browns marrying a black person instead of someone of the same color, for whom migration was not significant.) Black people who completed grammar school were not statistically different from those with less education in terms of their odds of marrying whites. However, high school- educated blacks experienced a 37% increase in the odds of their marrying a white person in comparison to another black person with less than grammar school completed. Blacks with college experience saw more than a doubling of their odds of marrying a white person in comparison to another black person. Similar to brown individuals, this reflects the overrepresentedness of whites at the college level. Furthermore, similar to brown individuals, when compared to whites who tend to have lower levels of education to intermarry, this finding shows evidence for status exchange, even when controlling for the other variables in the model.

Similar to browns who marry white spouses, age does not have a strong, significant effect on the odds of blacks marrying a white person instead of another black person. Blacks born after 1980 see an increase on the odds of marrying a white person instead of another black, however, it is only significant at the .1 level. Urban areas has no effect for black spouses marrying a white spouse, however, region continues to have a significant effect. Blacks living in the south, center west, or north parts of the country are more likely to be married to a white partner than if the couple lives in the southwest. However, blacks living in the northeast, where the predominantly black state of Bahia is located, are less likely to marry whites controlling for the other factors.

The final model of Table 7, Model 6, shows the odds of interracial marriage for blacks who marry brown instead of black spouses. I find that controlling for other variables in the model, having a migrant in the couple increases the odds of blacks marrying brown spouses by nearly 40%. This is starkly different for both whites who marry blacks instead of other whites as well as for browns who marry blacks instead of other brown partners, because migration was not a factor in these marriages. However, migration facilitates these marriages from the perspective of blacks choosing non-blacks as partners.

Black partners' educational levels were not significant in terms of predicting marriage with brown partners. Only blacks born since 1980 in comparison to the 1970s experience an effect of age cohort in predicting marriage to brown partners. Once more, urban residence does not predict intermarriage for blacks choosing non-blacks and partners, even when the partner is brown. However, region of residence impacts the likelihood of intermarriage with browns. Blacks living in the south are the only ones who experience lower rates of marriage with browns instead of blacks in comparison to those in the southeast. Blacks living in the center west, north, or northeast states experienced a greater likelihood of marrying a brown person. This is particularly true for the North, where there was almost a tripling in the likelihood of marriage to a white instead of a black person.

Conclusion

When whites and browns marry blacks instead of members of their own color categories, migration status did not matter for their entering these relationships. However, when blacks marry whites instead of other blacks, migration is clearly a part of the marital process. The next table, Table 8, shows the results of the multinomial logistic regression for black husbands and wives. It shows that migration is statistically significant for entering into interracial relationships

with whites. It also shows that whether the husband or the wife is the migrant does not matter across gender. This is particularly striking given migration's lack of significance for black spouses in previous marriages and shows that this disaggregated approach to looking at interracial marriage is useful in demonstrating these distinctions by color.

Interestingly, the coefficients for black husbands and black wives go in opposite directions. While educational level is not universally significant as a predictor of marriage with whites for black spouses, coefficients suggest that higher levels of education correspond to higher intermarriage with whites. For black wives, higher levels of education suggest less intermarriage with whites. Nevertheless, the coefficient for black wives with a high school degree shows that these wives are statistically less likely to marry whites than those with less than a grammar school education. This finding complicates ideas that nonwhites universally are more likely to interracially marry as they gain more education. Black women are the exception to this rule.

While urban residence mattered for whites who married blacks, it shows no effect for black husbands and wives and their likelihood of marrying white instead of black. Only black husbands born since the 1980s experience an increased likelihood of marriage with whites in comparison to those born in the 1970s; the other age cohorts are no different in likelihood of marrying whites. Once more, region successfully predicts intermarriage with whites, with people in the Center West, North, and Northease being more likely to marry whites than those in the Southeast. Despite it's larger white population, blacks in the South are less likely to marry whites in that area of the country than in the Southeast versus marrying other black partners.

As seen in Table 9, when examining the likelihood of blacks marrying brown individuals, migration increases the likelihood of intermarriage instead of intramarriage when controlling for

other variables in the model. However, one exception occurs for black wives when they are the migrant; black migrant wives who marry brown husbands instead of black husbands do not necessarily see an increased likelihood of choosing brown over black men. However, black wives see an increased likelihood of choosing a brown instead of a black husband if the brown husband is a migrant. Black men and women at the highest levels of education experience an increased likelihood of marrying brown spouses, albeit for black women, only at the highest level.

Similar to the experiences of browns who intermarry in general as well as blacks who marry whites, age cohort does not predict interracial marriage for blacks who marry browns instead of other blacks. Whether or not black spouses are urban residents also does not matter for their marriage to brown instead of other black partners. Region also matters, with people in the South, North, and Center West regions experiencing higher likelihood of interracial marriage than individuals in the Southeast. However, individuals in the Northeast region have a lower likelihood of interracially marrying than people in the Southeast.

Overall, Table 6 shows how controlling for region of residence, urban residence, age cohort, and education, having either the husband or wife as a migrant increases the likelihood of the couple being an interracial couple. This shows that migration facilitates relationships outside of the norm.

Conclusions and Discussion

The findings from this study show that internal migration is a factor in interracial relationships in Brazil. A minority of all couples in Brazil, interracial couples are facilitated through geographic mobility. For whites, migration mattered only for marriages to brown individuals, even when controlling for factors such as education, region or urban residence. For

brown individuals, migration impacted their choosing white spouses instead of brown partners. Migration was not a significant predictor of marriage to blacks, likely due to their smaller proportion of the population in comparison to members of other color categories. However, from the perspective of black partners, migration was related to their choosing both brown or white partners instead of other black spouses.

Freedom from communities of origin allow individuals freedom to choose nontraditional mates such as those who are of a different color. This is true even in Brazil, a country that has historically prided itself on the lack of social distance between people of different colors. These results complicate the notion of proximity in interracial marriages by introducing the role of physical distance via geographic mobility from communities of origin. Migration is important even for white-brown intermarriage, despite their closer proximity on the color spectrum and seemingly, less social distance.

The implications of this study is that sociologists often assume that marriage markets correspond to societies such that there is one marriage market in one society. However, different marriage market dynamics have more or less influence depending on the characteristics of the individual, such as color and gender. My findings demonstrate that rather than thinking of only one marriage market in a given society, there are really a variety of marriage markets occurring at the same time. This means that given an individual's social position, they will experience it in a different way.

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Table 1: Wife's Color by Husband's Color

Husband's Color	**Wife's color**			**Total**
	White	Brown	Black	
White	36.12	11.2	1.54	48.87
Brown	13.18	28.43	1.88	43.49
Black	1.93	2.94	2.77	7.64
Total	**51.24**	**42.58**	**6.19**	**100.00%**

PNAD 2009: Brazilian National Household Survey

Table 2: Wives' Migration Status by Color

Type of Migration	Wives' Color			Total
	White	Brown	Black	
Non-migrant	36.18	29.84	4.58	70.6
Inter-state	15.06	12.73	1.61	29.4
Total	**51.24**	**42.58**	**6.19**	**100.00%**

Table 3: Husband's Migration Status by Color

Type of Migration	Husband's Color			Total
	White	Brown	Black	
Non-migrant	34.4	30.64	5.56	70.6
Inter-state	14.47	12.85	2.09	29.4
Total	**48.87**	**43.49**	**7.64**	**100**

Table 4: Migrant Couples' Region of Current Residence by Wives' Prior Region

Wives' Region of Prior Residence	Couples' Region of Current Residence					Total
	North	Northeast	Southeast	South	Center West	
North	49.83	15.22	9.42	3.89	21.64	100.00%
Northeast	13.83	27.39	38.47	2.18	18.14	
Southeast	6.01	24.56	38.96	12.29	18.19	
South	9.59	2.72	25.83	45.05	16.8	
Center West	19.41	11.63	19.96	8.78	40.22	
Total	14.21	19.91	32.21	12.93	20.74	100.00%

Table 5: Migrant Couples' Region of Current Residence by Husbands' Prior Region

Husbands Region of Prior Residence	**Couples' Region of Current Residence**					Total
	North	Northeast	Southeast	South	Center West	
North	47.19	19.50	9.65	4.16	19.50	100.00%
Northeast	14.77	29.27	36.34	2.24	17.38	
Southeast	5.91	28.49	35.66	12.14	17.80	
South	10.71	3.66	25.02	43.09	17.51	
Center West	8.53	31.85	33.34	18.72	7.56	
Total	**9.91**	**29.57**	**32.92**	**17.06**	**10.53**	**100.00%**

Table 6: Odds Ratios of Whites Marrying a Non-White Spouse

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Either Spouse as Migrant	1.33***	1.38***	1.15***
Respondent's Education			
Grammar	0.45***	0.33***	0.47***
High School	0.22***	0.16***	0.23***
College	0.51***	0.44***	0.68***
Respondent's Cohort			
Up to 1949		0.34***	0.45**
1950 to 1959		0.44***	0.61*
1960 to 1969		0.62*	0.81
1980 -		0.87	1.04
Urban area			1.04
Region of Residence			
South			0.38***
Center West			2.20***
North			4.48***
Northeast			3.24***
Constant	0.72***	1.68***	0.71
Pseudo Rsquared		0.13	
Observations		29,970	

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<.1

Omitted categories are having less than a grammar school education, being born between 1970 and 1979, and the southeast region.

Table 7: Multi-nomial Relative Risk Ratios of Interracial Marriage for Migrant Couples

	Whites		**Browns**		**Blacks**	
	(1) Brown Spouses	**(2)** Black Spouses	**(3)** White Spouses	**(4)** Black Spouses	**(5)** White Spouses	**(6)** Brown Spouses
Either Spouse as Migrant	1.14***	1.07	1.17***	0.99	1.54***	1.39***
Education						
Grammar	0.69***	0.51***	1.19***	0.84**	1.15	1.10
High School	0.50***	0.36***	1.59***	0.82**	1.37*	0.93
College	0.25***	0.21***	2.55***	0.97	2.38***	1.07
Cohort						
Up to 1949	0.34***	0.26***	1.22	1.36	1.07	1.49
1950-1959	0.45***	0.45*	1.17	1.50	1.36	1.66
1960-1969	0.61**	0.64	1.12	1.39	1.47	1.68
1980-1992	0.75†	0.77	1.08	1.47	1.89†	2.43*
Urban area	1.05	1.67***	1.14***	1.51***	1.10	0.94
Region of Residence						
South	0.40***	0.39***	2.19***	0.86†	1.53***	0.63***
Center West	2.18***	2.08***	0.85***	0.80**	1.74***	1.75***
North	4.76***	3.35***	0.51***	0.56***	1.77***	2.78***
Northeast	3.57***	2.36***	0.62***	0.70***	0.82*	1.45***
Constant	1.69**	0.26***	0.62**	0.13***	0.53†	0.74
Pseudo Rsquared	0.11		0.03		0.03	
Observations	39,239		35,346		6,785	

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<.1

Omitted categories are having less than a grammar school education, being born between 1970 and 1979, and the southeast region.

[i] I conducted the analyses separately for men and women within each color category and had the same results across race-gender categories. For this reason, I collapsed them for these analyses. The tables for these analyses are available upon request.