SUBCULTURE: A BARGAIN CONCEPT IN MARKETING EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

Marketing educators have expanded the concept of subculture to the point that it is difficult for students to understand its true meaning and appreciate the efficacy and limits of subculture as a marketing tool. This paper examines the roots of subculture and the many definitions and meanings attached to subculture in marketing education. The authors discuss the confusion resulting from a subculture concept that has become "spongy" and absorbed many meanings and definitions, although few applications. An attempt is made to reduce the confusion by specifying what a subculture is, what it is not, and why, and when the subculture concept is relevant to marketing. Recommendations are made for the presentation of subculture in marketing education.

INTRODUCTION

A review of marketing and consumer behavior textbooks and literature reveals that the term subculture has long been used, misused, and overused. In marketing education, it has become intellectually stylish to discover subcultures everywhere. This trend is not new. Valentine long ago developed a partial inventory of social categories that continue to be labeled as subcultures.

The list only begins with (1) socioeconomic strata such as the lower class or the poor. It goes on to include (2) ethnic collectives, e.g., Negroes, Jews; (3) regional populations, Southerners, Midwesterners; (4) age, grades, adolescents, youth; (5) community types, urban, rural; (6) institutional complexes, education, penal establishments; (7) occupational groupings various professions; (8) religious bodies Catholics, Muslims, and even (9) political entities revolutionary groups, for example. Yet this does not exhaust the catalog, for one also finds (10) genera of intellectual orientation, such as "scientists" and "intellectuals"; (11) units that are really behavioral classes, mainly various kinds of "deviants"; and (12) what are really categories of moral evaluation, ranging from "respectable" to the "disreputable" and the "unworthy" poor (Valentine 1968, p. 105).

Marketers' recent additions to Valentine's age groups range far and wide: "Pre-depression Generation," "Depression Generation," "Baby Boomers," "Baby Busters," "Generation X," "Generation Y," (Hawkins, Mothersbaugh, and Best 2007, pp. 126–134) and "senior citizens" subcultures (Arnould, Price, and Zinkhan 2002, p. 209). Other potential new categories for Valentine's list from research and texts are: sexual orientation groups: "gay," "lesbian"; style or attitude groups: "punk"; activity-based groups: snowboarders, golfers, home beer brewers (Hawkins, Mothersbaugh, and Best 2007, pp. 97–98, 230), "Netizens," "Star Trekkers" (Solomon 2007, pp. 485–486); and consumption groups: Harley Davidson bikers (Schouten and McAlexander 1995). This careless usage of the subculture concept whenever the authors wish to emphasize the normative aspects of group behaviors that are different from some general standards or the social-psychological dimensions of groups has resulted in a broadening of the term, blurring the meaning of the term, and the classic "failure frequently to distinguish between two levels of social causation" (Yinger 1960, p. 626).

Confusion and concept expansion may be natural, although pernicious, parts of discipline evolution, but they have added little to marketing practice, thought, or education. Kaufman (1971) observed that as it becomes increasingly difficult to keep up with developments in a field of study, many participants in theory, theory verification, practice, and education feel a need for "bargain words that cost little or no study and can be used in a great variety of contexts with an air of expertise" (Kaufman 1971, p. xlviii). Bargain words, and the concepts they represent, can create confusion, cast doubt on research findings, make replications suspect, and make it difficult for students to become familiar with and master a discipline. These concepts often accomplish little beyond being filler in textbooks and material for tests of undergraduate students. As the number of bargain concepts increases, the discipline and concepts therein become "spongy"[1] and raise the question of the intellectual commitment of those responsible for knowledge creation and transmission.

Marketing, as most disciplines, has its share of bargain words and concepts in research and education. For

example, the use of sex and gender has caused research confusion (Borna and White, 2003). Moreover, descriptions of backward bending demand curves, prestige pricing, and demand curve shifts have all been used carelessly creating misinformation that has found its way into generations of marketing textbooks (Kumcu and McClure 2003; Stearns and Borna 2005; McClure 2005). The following sections consider misuses of and confusion surrounding the use of subculture in marketing and consumer behavior. We discuss the causes of confusion, show how subculture, as currently presented in the discipline, is accomplishing little, and make recommendations for changing the focus of subculture with the hope of making marketing education and marketing theory more precise and, therefore, more efficacious.

SUBCULTURE CONFUSION

The definitions of subcultures have some commonalities but little consensus in marketing education and academic research. Subcultures are most commonly defined as groups within a larger culture that share one or more of the following: values, norms, patterns of behavior, beliefs, common experience, cultural meanings for affective and cognitive responses, environmental factors, the importance placed on motivational domains, combinations of social situations that form a functional unity, assumptions, means of symbolic expression, shared commitment to a product class, brand, or consumption activity, material artifacts, form of living, ethnicity, or some other demographic characteristic. Tables 1 and 2 suggest the definitions used have expanded to the point of undermining the precision and, perhaps, usefulness of the concept. An examination of the uses of subculture reveals that some definitions focus on characteristics of the individual that relate to dimensions like shared values, beliefs, and mores, and some definitions relate to behaviors, sometimes, but not always, related to consumption behaviors.

In recent years, some textbook authors have used the term *microculture* in lieu of *subculture*. Two reasons for this usage can be discerned. First, for some textbook authors, the prefix *sub* means below, subordinate, or secondary. Subcultures related to ethnic groups may then connote inferiority[2] (see, for example, Blackwell, Miniard, and Engel 2006, p. 449 and Solomon 2007, p. 484). Second, in Thompson and Maura's (2002) view, studies of subcultures of consumptions such as "Bikers," "Sky Divers," and "Star Trekkers" address a different social phenomenon than those "classical" subcultures whose shared meanings and practices are uniquely grounded in a particular set of socioeconomic circumstances. Members of a consumption subculture may come from diverse social positions and their primary affiliation is a shared vocational interest and its attendant consumption experiences. Thompson and Maura believe that in comparison to a "classic" subculture, the symbolic boundaries of a consumption subculture are relatively permeable (Thomson and Maura 2002, p. 553). This usually makes segmentation tricky for the marketer targeting these groups and for the educator presenting the concept to students.

In the following discussion the more common term *subculture* will be used because, first, using the prefix *micro* instead of *sub* may not be necessary because *sub* refers only to a subcategory of culture, a part of the whole. The term does not necessarily indicate or imply derogation unless a particular subculture is viewed as undesirable by the members of the dominant or a contrary value system (see also Wolfgan and Ferraculi 1970, p. 135). Second, for reasons discussed later, adding new terms increases rather than reduces the confusion surrounding the concept of *subculture*, especially if terms may be added partially to conform to political correctness.

Evolution of the Concept of Subculture

The concept of subculture, though not the term itself, can be traced back to the research of Frederic Thrasher on Chicago gangs. Thrasher pointed out that gangs have distinct traditions, unreflective internal structure, *esprit de corps* and morals, which serve to separate their members from others outside the gang milieu (Thrasher 1927, p. 57). Hollingshead (1939) made a reference to "the behavior systems of definable functional groups" and Sutherland (1939) used the phrase "a groupway of life" in describing the behavior system in crime.

Notwithstanding a rich literature related to the concept of *subculture* both in anthropology and sociology, the concept has seldom been consistently defined. Among a few formal definitions of the concept are:

> The term subculture . . . refers to cultural variants displayed by certain segments of the population. Subcultures are distinguished not by one or two isolated traits they constitute relatively cohesive cultural systems. They are worlds within the large world of our national culture (Komarovsky and Sargent 1949, p. 143).

Komarovsky and Sargent refer to social classes, racial and cultural minorities, urban and rural communities, and regions as *subcultures*. Arnold defined a subculture as:

> A concept used to refer to a subdivision of national culture, composed of a combination of factorable situations such as class, ethnic background, regional or rural residence, and religious affiliation, but forming in their combination a functioning unity which has an integrated impact on the participating individual (Arnold 1970, p. 17).

Oscar Lewis, in his analysis of poverty, defines subculture as "a way of life handed down from generation to generation along family lines . . ." (Lewis 1966, p. 19). Finally, according to Mercer (1958, p. 34), "A society

TABLE 1
DEFINITIONS OF SUBCULTURE IN SELECTED CONSUMER BEHAVIOR TEXTBOOKS

Publication	Definition
Consumer Behavior Solomon, Michael R., 2007	Subculture: groups whose members share beliefs and common experiences that set them apart from others.
Consumer Behavior Solomon, Michael R., 2007	Microculture: groups formed around a strong shared identification with an activity or art form.
Consumer Behavior Hawkins, Del I., David L. Mothersbaugh, and Roger J. Best, 2007	A subculture is a segment of a larger culture whose members share distinguishing values and patterns of behavior.
Consumer Behavior Blackwell Roger D., Paul W. Minard, and James, F. Engel, 2006	Microculture: groups [who] share common perceptions and cognitions that are different from . . . the larger society.
Consumer Behavior and Marketing Strategy, Peter, Paul J., and Jerry C. Olson, 2005	Subcultures are distinctive groups of people in a society that share common cultural meanings for affective and cognitive responses (emotional reactions, beliefs, values, and goals), behaviors (customs scripts and rituals, behavioral norms) and environmental factors (living conditions, geographic locations, important objects).
Consumer Behavior Schiffman Leon G. and Leslie Kanuk, 2004	Subcultures (religious, ethnic, regional, racial and economic groups) each of which interprets and responds to society's basic beliefs and values in its own specific way.
Consumer Behavior Assael, Henry, 2004	Subcultures: broad groups of consumers with similar values that distinguish them from society as a whole.
Consumers Price, Linda I., Eric J. Arnould, and George M. Zinkhan, 2002	Ethnic subcultures: frequent patterns of association and identification with common national or cultural origins of a subgroup found within the larger society.
Consumer Behavior Hanna, Nessim and Richard Wozniak, 2001	Microculture: subgroups of individuals within the culture whose beliefs, experiences, traditions, and modes of behavior set them somewhat apart from those of the main culture.

contains numerous subgroups, each with its own characteristic way of thinking and acting. These cultures within a culture are called *subcultures.*"

If one excludes from the available definitions of subculture the ones that refer to subculture as certain universal tendencies that seem to occur in all societies (see for example, Linton[3] 1936; Kroeber 1949), two separate meanings of subculture can be identified from both the definitions and the usage of the term. Some researchers and textbook authors, including those in marketing and consumer behavior, use the term to denote the normative systems of sub-groups of a society. This usage emphasizes the ways these sub-groups differ from the larger society in such things as where the group lives (the subculture of south), religion (Muslims, Jews), occupational groupings (subculture of faculty), and so on.

The second meaning of *subculture* refers to norms "that arise specifically from a frustrating situation or from conflict between a group and the larger society" (Yinger 1960, p. 627). Examples of such norms may be found in "Punks," "Skinheads," "Deadheads," and "Outlaw" groups. In order to call attention to these inverse or counter values as opposed to those of the dominant culture Yinger suggests the term counterculture (Yinger 1960, p. 629). According to Yinger:

> The term counterculture is appropriately used whenever the normative system of a group contains, as a primary element, a theme of conflict with the dominant values of society, where the tendencies, need, and perceptions of the members of that group

TABLE 2
DEFINITIONS OF SUBCULTURE IN SELECTED ACADEMIC JOURNALS

Publication	Definition	Evolution of the definition
Journal of Consumer Behavior Deeter-Schmelz, Dawn R. and Jane Z. Sojka, 2005	A group whose members share beliefs and common experiences that set them apart from others in the society at large	Based on deviant behavior.
Essentials of Sociology Lindsey, Linda L. and Stephen Beach, 2003	Segments of a culture that share characteristics that distinguish it from the broader culture.	Based on difference from mainstream culture.
Journal of International Business Studies, Lenartowicz, Tomasz and Kendall Roth, 2001	A secondary group within a societal group that exhibits a shared pattern in the relative importance placed on the motivational domains. It is a subdivision of a national culture, composed of a combination of social situations such as class status, ethnic background, regional and rural or urban residences and religious affiliation, that together form a functional unity which has an integrated impact on the participating individual.	Based on subset of a national culture.
Sports Management Review Green, B. Christine, 2001	Segments of society embracing certain distinctive cultural elements of their own. Subcultural elements typically include a shared set of identifiable beliefs, values, and means of symbolic expression.	Based on values, beliefs, and symbols (both intrinsic and extrinsic).
Journal of Marketing Management Chematony, Leslie de, 1999	Degree to which individuals share similar values and assumptions, but the extent to which these conform to the culture of senior management will vary.	Based on intrinsic values.
Journal of Consumer Research Schouten, John W. and James H. McAlexander, 1995	Subculture of consumption is a distinctive subgroup of society that self-selects on the basis of a shared commitment to a particular product class, brand, or consumption activity.	Based on both tangible and intangible possession.
Advances in Consumer Research Hirschman, Elizabeth C., 1983	A subculture is a group of people who, while sharing some traits in common with the surrounding culture (e.g., language), may be differentiated from it by their beliefs, symbols, and/or material artifacts	Based on tangible posses-sions.
American Journal of Economics and Sociology Katzman, Martin T., 1968	Characteristic orientation toward experience – its design, or pattern, or form of living.	Based on lifestyle related possessions.

TABLE 2 (CONTINUED)
DEFINITIONS OF SUBCULTURE IN SELECTED ACADEMIC JOURNALS

Publication	Definition	Evolution of the definition
Journal of Retailing Wadia, Maneck S., 1965	In a society, group or nation sharing many common culture traits or elements, there may be some characteristic traits that distinguish one group from another; these distinguishing characteristics may be shared by an age group, class group, sex groups, race group, or some other entity.	Based on age, economic class, sex, race, ethnicity, or any other entity. All inclusive definition but there is no pronounced difference between culture and subculture.

are directly involved in the development and maintenance of its values, and whenever its norms can be understood only by reference to the relationship of the group to the surrounding dominant society and its culture (Yinger 1982, pp. 22–23).

The concept of *counterculture* introduces social-psychological factors such as frustration, anxiety, and feelings of role ambiguity to the discussion of subculture.

Subculture and Marketing

The concept of subculture has attracted the interests of marketers and marketing educators primarily because, from conceptual and empirical points of view, subcultures may be relevant units of analysis for market research. Subcultures potentially represent definable segments for specific products and logical units for the possible segmenting of larger heterogeneous markets. When carrying out such analyses, researchers must be certain that this concept, borrowed from sociology and anthropology, satisfies the criteria of segmentation. A marketing axiom is that a segment should be actionable. For a segment to be actionable, it must be identifiable, substantial, accessible, and stable. If a segment comes up short on the relevant segmentation criteria, it will lead to faulty messaging and other marketing mix failures. Although some would argue that understanding subcultures gives insight into culture, and therefore has marketing implications, those implications ultimately funnel back to the efficacy of the concept for segmentation, targeting, and positioning.

Causes of Confusion

Unfortunately, lack of precision and ambiguity related to the conceptualization, definition, and meaning of subculture has rendered the concept of questionable use in marketing education. Based on our review of *subculture* in marketing textbooks, four probable causes of confusion emerge:

1. Broadening the scope of subculture too far;
2. Failing to carefully distinguish between the concepts of *role* and *subculture*;
3. Mixing levels of explanations or social causations, i.e., sociological and social-psychological, for subcultures;
4. Allowing the "sponginess" of the concept to result in confusion about the role of subculture in marketing thought.

Scope of the Term. The usage of the term subculture among textbook authors, especially in consumer behavior, varies so widely that the value of the term relative to its intended meaning by sociologists and anthropologists has been severely eroded. As shown above, the term is used to explain such personality cognitive tendencies as frustration, anxiety, and feelings of role ambiguity (Solomon 2007, p. 485) and to describe the norms of groups not necessarily in conflict or inconsistent with the dominant culture, such as Asian-, Indian-, or Arab- American (Hawkins, Mothersbaugh, and Best 2007, pp. 179–181). The confusion is compounded by the failure of textbook authors to specify whether they refer to the cultural norms or to behavior that is widely observed in a statistical sense. Finally, the term is used for any conceivable demographic variation in the society with little or no attempt to study its exact meaning, its value, or its efficacy.

Roles and Subculture. The sociological concept of *role* has been defined either as complexes of behavior that follow a regular pattern and are determined by the expectations of others, or as the patterns of expectations that apply to a particular social position (Penz 1986, p. 98). In either definition, the *expectations* that structure behavior are essential. These expectations, in terms of rights and duties, make the behavior of individuals occupying particular positions predictable to others and permit cooperation among members of a culture. Roles, in a sense, integrate a group with the rest of the society. Roles do not constitute a subculture. On the contrary, subculture norms separate a group from the dominant culture. We expect to

find many differential role behaviors in *homogeneous* societies but not necessarily many subcultures. Heterogeneous cultures not only exhibit role differentials, but also are much more likely to include subcultures (see also Yinger 1960). Marketing and consumer behavior textbook authors need to be clear about the distinction between roles and subcultures and be careful not to confuse the two in students' minds. Unfortunately, lack of attention to the difference between the concepts of *role* and *subculture* has resulted in some textbooks incorrectly labeling groups in professions such as the hotel, automobile, airline, and computer industries as *subcultures* (Sheth and Mittal 2004, p. 61).

Mixing Levels of Explanations. There is a tendency to use the term subculture to point to the normative systems of groups to give emphasis to the ways these groups differ in such things as language, values, religious beliefs, diet, and style of life from the dominant society of which they are a part. Under this explanation, ethnic groups (Hispanics, Asians) or religious groups (Jews, Muslims) are subcultures. The second usage of the term refers to groups whose norms arise from a perceived frustrating situation or from conflict between the group and larger society. In this usage, groups emerge whose members' norms are a mixture of counter values (as opposed to those of the dominant culture) and normative values of the group. Authors need to be careful about these distinctions and explanations. For example in a study of the "consumption culture" of Harley-Davidson owners, the authors did not distinguish between individuals who ride Harley Davidson motorcycles without any affiliation to "outlaw" groups and those who are members of those groups (e.g., Hell's Angels) (Schouten and McAlexander 1995, p. 44). Yinger (1982) points out some uses of the term subculture introduce social-psychological dimensions because there is direct reference to the personality factors involved in the development and maintenance of norms. The "consumption culture" of Harleys is really two or more distinct market segments.

"Sponginess" of the Concept of Subculture. Gerth and Mills long ago referred to culture as "one of the spongiest words in social science . . ." (1953, p. xviii). Little has changed since this observation. The concept remains elastic and absorbent to the point that it may handicap researchers and confuse students. To avoid the "sponginess" problem, marketing and consumer behavior educators must be able to answer the following questions:

1. How do we determine the *boundaries* of a subculture?
2. What is the *size* of the subculture?
3. What is the acceptable *degree of identification* with a given subculture?

Most marketing textbook authors apparently assume that the existence of organizations and/or groups (religions, age groups, etc.) implies the existence of subcultures. The validity of this assumption depends on what is meant by *subculture* and *sub-structure* or *sub-society*. Research evidence and common sense has long suggested that members of a group such as an "age category" (e.g., senior citizens) may not share common cultural values and behavior (Yankelovich 1974). Obviously, it is also possible that individuals *outside* of an age cohort could share common cultural values of that group. So the question for marketers is whether these groups, often identified as subcultures, represent actionable segments or whether they add to the marketing understanding of a larger society **beyond** the insights gained from demographics?

Assuming some meaningful boundaries can be established, the size of the subculture must be considered. When there is a reference to "youth subculture," for example, it usually is not clear what the real frame of reference is. Even if one limits the scope of the *subculture* of youth to the national scene, one still has to resolve the problem of the significant diversity among youth groups and how the size of each must be factored into segmentation decisions. Although segments exist within the youth subculture, it is difficult to imagine the broad youth "subculture" as a market segment.

Related to the problem of determining the *boundaries* of a subculture is the question of the *degree of identification* within the subculture. If one accepts the widely held view of *subculture* as an organized system of values distinct from the value system of the dominant culture and external to the individual, then the question is how much the individual has to internalize these preexisting values in order to be considered a member of that *subculture*. Consider the statement: I am a Muslim. The statement on one end of the continuum includes individuals for whom being a Muslim is a "full-time" occupation – the faith directs or influences the individual's political and economic beliefs and all aspects of social life. On the other end of the continuum, the statement includes individuals for whom the faith has minimal impact on their way of life. Without a definition of the degree of conformity necessary, it is folly to think of Muslims as a subculture.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Because these problems are never adequately addressed in marketing and consumer behavior textbooks (and rarely in research), we echo Clarke's (1974, p. 428) seminal admonition that if *subculture* were to be introduced today as a new concept in sociology, it might be rejected as worthless. We also believe that even a seemingly unified definition of the term subculture would create the impression that the concept is properly understood as unified, when clearly it is not. This is due to the fact that the term has been adopted in different disciplines (sociology, anthropology, psychology) with different individualistic and moralistic interpretations.

In marketing, market segmentation is the only practical basis or justification for studying subculture. The study of subculture for marketing, absent its use for segmentation is limited to helping students understand the heterogeneity of society and perhaps some general societal influences, and, therefore, a better understanding of cultures as a whole. Whether the latter use adds much to understanding of marketing is debatable, especially in a world that already emphasizes and exposes students to its obvious diversity. Indeed, a case could be made that the discipline of marketing would lose very little, if anything, if the concept were avoided entirely and instead reference made only to societal sub-groups as potential market segments with the usual segmentation criteria applied (identifiable, substantial, accessible, stable, and, most important, actionable). Applying the context of segmentation criteria would be much more likely to add to students' understanding of both marketing and diverse societal groups.

Consequently, we contend that any definition that points out the normative systems of groups smaller than a society, with emphasis on the ways these groups differ from the larger society in such things as language, values, religion, diet, and style of life (see Yinger 1960) may ameliorate the understanding of the meaning of "subculture" for the student.

Additionally, if the concept of subculture is to be used in marketing and consumer behavior, then it should always include a distinction between the terms *subculture* (an organized set of social meanings) and *sub-structure* (social relations). These terms have never been considered synonymous and, therefore, may not be used interchangeably (Clark 1974; Arnold 1970; Gerth and Mills 1953), as they often are in marketing and consumer behavior tests. Additionally, use of the concept should judiciously avoid *a priori* assumptions about the major differences among subcultures, the determinants of these differences, the degree of a subcultures' distinctness, and homogeneity or heterogeneity within subcultures. All of these questions and issues are empirical, yet insightful data beyond simple demographics rarely are available in texts. Appendix 1 provides some demographic information related to subcultures in United States.

CONCLUSION

The term subculture has a long and interesting history in sociology, anthropology, and marketing. Surely, the concept is easy to grasp and, for that reason, has a certain appeal for educators, students, and marketers.

Educators, however, routinely and reflexively identify subcultures in textbooks and in the classroom without really addressing why the concept is useful. If the concept is to be included in marketing education, textbooks should first explain the rationale for examining subcultures, define what they mean by subculture, discuss the anthropological and sociological roots of subcultures, and distinguish the concept from other salient concepts. Additionally, authors should be careful to distinguish between subculture as a tool for understanding larger cultures and its use as a segmentation basis.

If the justification for studying subcultures, however defined, is for market segmentation, then segmentation bases should be addressed and applied and examples of effective communication and positioning strategies based on subcultures should be included in classroom discussions and texts. For example, Hallmark has a Mahogany line of greeting cards that features black characters and sayings. Similarly, Mattel, Tyco Toys offers a variety of African American dolls. In Colorado, Walmart created Denver Bronco T-shirts specifically targeting Hispanic consumers. The Ford Motor Company is tapping into the increasingly lucrative Hispanic auto market by offering the F-150 Lobo Truck. Honda Motor Co. is piggybacking on Boba, a beverage developed in Taiwan that is well known in Asian youth circles. Students can then be shown how, in each of these successful examples of use of the subculture concept, marketers satisfy the criteria they hold dear in other segmentation applications. Then, and only then, will students truly understand the potential and limitations of subculture as a useful marketing concept.

ENDNOTES

[1] In this paper we use spongy to convey the ideas of elasticity and absorbency—the ease with which a term can be stretched and take on several meanings thereby creating confusion.

[2] Some authors use the term microculture instead of subculture without any explanation for their preference. See, for example, Hanna and Wozniak 2001, p. 540.

[3] Linton in the *Study of Man* refers to subculture as pan-human experiences which recur in all societies. For example, good-natured and tyrannical parents may be found in societies that differ widely in the family patterns (Linton 1936, p. 486).

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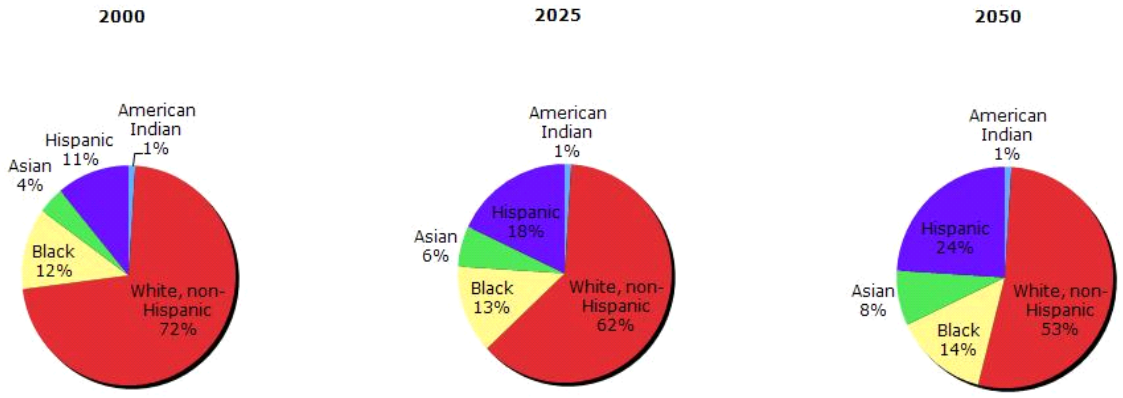
APPENDIX 1

Figure 11.13 U.S. Population by Race and Ethnic Group



274.6 million | 335.1 million | 393.9 million

U.S. population size

Note: This medium series projection assumes annual net immigration of 820,000.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports P25-1130

Figure 11.14 U.S. Households and Average Incomes

	White	African American	Asian	American Indian	Hispanic
Number of households (millions)	77.9	12.2	3.1	0.7	8.6
Median income	$40,600	$25,100	$45,400	$29,200	$26,600

Source: Population Reference Bureau, Population Bulletin, America's Racial and Ethnic Minorities (September 1999), 23, 36.

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