UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
IRVINE

Shifting Boundaries of Asian America:

Asian American Intermarriage, Ethnic Heterogeneity, and Race Relations in Contemporary United States

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Sociology

by

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2020

DEDICATION

To

My Korean Parents

Kunho and Jeongwon

whose love, dedication, and sacrifices

made this Asian American kid's dreams come true

감사합니다

존경합니다

사랑합니다

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ABSTRACT

Shifting Boundaries of Asian America: Intermarriage, Ethnic Heterogeneity, and Race Relations in Contemporary United States

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The hierarchical racial structure in the United States are products of continuous power struggles among ethnoracial groups and have reinforced continuing white racial dominance throughout history, disproportionately limiting socioeconomic mobility and cultural legitimacy of minorities. In such contexts, Asian Americans—the fastest growing immigrant-origin group, one that is characterized by upward social mobility—occupy an ambiguous racial position as a group. Yet, in discussions of Asian Americans' ethnoracial group positioning, scholars have seldom attended to the increasing ethnic heterogeneity, which have situated Asian Americans in various social structural location, resulting in intra-group tensions and inequalities that further perpetuate the hierarchical racial and ethnic relations in the larger U.S. society.

This dissertation project remedies this gap through rigorous statistical analyses of a nationally representative sample of Asian Americans from eight distinctive ethnic backgrounds.

Using intermarriage as an indicator for ethnoracial group relations, this project investigates the effects of individual-level group processes on Asian Americans' ethnically heterogeneous group boundaries and their implications for the larger U.S. race relations. I provide a critical test of claims that correspond to a specific sociological theory and/or concept in each of the three empirical chapters using data from the 2016 National Asian American Survey and the 2008-2016 American Community Survey (pooled 1-year Micro Public Use Data). The first chapter explores how Asian Americans distinguish each ethnic group using cultural sociological concepts of symbolic and social boundaries, and where these boundaries are crossed the most in marriage. Then, I revisit existing theoretical framework of segmented assimilation to investigate how intermarriage outcomes may vary by ethnic membership and provide distinctive paths of marital integration into the larger society. In the last empirical chapter, I explore gendered implications of ethnically heterogeneous intermarriage patterns for Asian American ethnoracial boundaries by merging theories from minority incorporation and marital racial-status exchange literature.

Together, this project reveals that Asian Americans' incorporation is an on-going social process and that the "mainstream" American society that Asian Americans reach may not always be that of the dominant White racial group. In so doing, I highlight the importance of ethnically disaggregated investigations of pan-ethnic groups to adequately capture and analyze the effect of heterogeneity on their social processes. Ultimately, Asian Americans are not simply subscribing to the existing American racial order, but rather actively participating in nuanced and subtle power struggles both among themselves and with other ethnoracial groups, perpetuating the existing systems of inequality.

"Ethnicity is forged and changed in encounters among groups…members of the subordinate group often have to change their world to adapt to the demands of the outside world. For Asian Americans, changing their world has meant expanding their social frame of reference and assuming a pan-Asian identity. But this process of change has not been simply unilateral. Within the limits of their situations, Asian Americans have transformed not only themselves but also the conditions under which they act."

- Yen Le Espiritu (1992, p.161)

INTRODUCTION

As the fastest growing immigrant-origin ethnoracial minority group, Asian Americans consist of members from over 20 national origin groups with distinctive ethnicities, languages, religions, cultural practices, immigration histories, and perceptions of life in the United States (Pew Research Center 2013; Okamoto 2007). Despite such diversity, these disparate ethnic groups have come to be identified under the pan-ethnic umbrella of "Asian Americans." Shared experiences of racial discrimination and socioeconomic segregation initially propelled Asian immigrations of diverse ethnic backgrounds to mobilize together (Okamoto 2014) and pan-ethnic organizing efforts continued throughout the 1960s, fostering pan-ethnic identity and political solidarity (Espiritu 1992; Maeda 2011). Anti-Asian violence, (pan)ethnic media, and Asian American student organizations and ethnic studies courses on college campuses further contributed to constructing and reinforcing pan-ethnic consciousness among Asian Americans (Espiritu 1992; Kibria 2002; Lowe 1991).

This formation of a pan-ethnic group coincided with the needs for a single group designation to secure economic and political resources from the federal government. Thus, Asian American organizations and leaders successfully lobbied for a pan-ethnic census categorization of "Asian." This census designation allowed Asian Americans to secure access to government services, resources, and opportunities, (Espiritu, 1992; Okamoto, 2014). Ethnic groups that

previously did not identify pan-ethnically with the "Asian" category, like Asian Indians, joined the census category of "Asian" during this process to be a beneficiary of government policies (i.e., Affirmative Action) and related resources (Espiritu, 1992).

Despite the single-group designation, contemporary Asian Americans continue to exhibit internal ethnic heterogeneity in various measures, as pan-ethnicity is "characterized by an acknowledgement of subgroup diversity as well as a broader sense of solidarity" (Okamoto and Mora 2014, p.221). As such, recent scholarship on Asian Americans have increasingly paid attention to growing heterogeneity in Asian ethnic groups' socioeconomic and political positionalities, as well as in their pan-ethnic identity adaptation and salience (e.g., Wong et al. 2011; Lee 2019; Schacter 2014; Lee and Ramakrishnan 2019). Yet, how ethnic heterogeneity shapes the ways in which Asian Americans themselves draw ethnic and pan-ethnic boundaries and their implications for contemporary American ethnoracial[1] group relations and positioning still remain seldom explored. This dissertation aims to fill this gap in the scholarship by exploring various aspects of Asian Americans' ethnic, pan-ethnic, and racial group boundaries and processes that occur at the micro, individual level.

STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

As briefly mentioned above, Asian American pan-ethnicity was forged out of material and political commonalities and needs, rather than cultural similarities and political solidarity (Lopez and Espiritu 1990; Espiritu 1992). Yet, Asian Americans exhibit ethnic heterogeneity in

[1] Through out this dissertation, I use the term "ethnoracial" to capture both ethnic and racial groupness, following Jiménez, Fields, and Schachter's (2015) conceptualization.

almost all sociopolitical measures, as well as in pan-ethnic identity adaptation and salience, especially with the introduction of newer Asian immigrants. These newer groups, such as refugee-origin Southeast Asians and socioeconomically disadvantaged South Asian immigrants of the 1990s, arrived in the United States under different contexts of reception than earlier Asian immigrants (Wong et al. 2011; Lee 2019; Zhou and Xiong 2005; Lee and Ramakrishnan 2019; Ocampo 2014). Even though scholars as well as the general American public are largely aware of such internal diversity (Lee and Ramakrishnan 2019; Okamoto 2010; Espiritu 1992; Ocampo 2013, 2014; Schacter 2014), the study of Asian Americans often overlook ethnic heterogeneity and treat Asian Americans as a singular group. This is particularly problematic considering that individuals of various ethnic backgrounds occupy quite different social structural locations. This leads to intra-Asian tensions and inequalities that further perpetuate the hierarchical racial and ethnic relations in the larger U.S. society.

Consequently, treating Asian Americans as a single ethnoracial group leaves severe gaps in the studies of Asian Americans. Most notably, studies of minority incorporation, or assimilation, largely treat Asian Americans as a singular group. In their seminal *segmented assimilation theory*, Portes and Zhou (1993) posits that most Asian immigrants and their children are considered to have experienced *selective* assimilation, where they achieve rapid socioeconomic mobility while holding on to many ethnic and immigrant community values and solidarity. Although Portes and Zhou do acknowledge that some Asian ethnic groups may diverge from the selective assimilation path, and this was later confirmed in Zhou and Bankston (1997)'s study of Vietnamese youths, such pattern has been treated as anomaly among Asian Americans. Especially, the implications of socioeconomic disadvantages and/or downward

mobility of a certain Asian ethnic group for the ways in which the larger Asian American society acknowledge or distance themselves from this group have not garnered much attention.

Moreover, theories of Asian Americans' integration into the larger mainstream American society have not been updated substantially since Portes and Zhou. For instance, whether there is an ethnic variation in Asian Americans' integration paths and mechanisms and/or the steps that may occur beyond cultural and structural integration in Asian Americans' incorporation process still remain largely unknown, with a few exceptions (see Neckermann, Carter, and Lee 1999; Okamoto 2007; Qian et al. 2012). Especially, Asian Americans' social-racial integration into the larger American society has not garnered much empirical attention, as their non-White racial status is assumed to prevent any meaningful racial integration into the White mainstream (Portes and Zhou 1993). Yet, recent scholarship hints at relaxed racial boundaries between Asian and White Americans, rooted in their comparable structural characteristics and high rates of intermarriage (Alba 2009; Lee and Bean 2010; Wimmer 2008). Then, how does growing diversity among Asian Americans relate to their incorporation paths and mechanisms? What are the implications of Asian Americans' potentially ethnically heterogeneous integration patterns for the larger American conceptualization of race, race categories, and racial group relations? Without investigating such topics, our understandings of Asian Americans' incorporation into the mainstream American society remain overly simplistic.

PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THE PROJECT

To fill the gap in literature presented above, this dissertation project provides the first large-scale empirical examination of racial group boundary transformation among Asian

Americans in the 21st century. In so doing, I examine how ethnic heterogeneity among Asian Americans may be contributing to their changing ethnoracial group boundaries and positioning in the larger society. I use intermarriage as an indicator for individual, micro-level group boundary processes to investigate the relationships among Asian American ethnicity, pan-ethnicity, and racial group positioning. Intermarriage not only reflect group boundary fluctuation and crossing at the interpersonal level, but it also often aligns with relaxed ethnoracial group boundaries and reveals the "culturally accepted parameters" of race and ethnicity (Moran 2001; Kalmijn 1998). Moreover, marriage across ethnoracial group boundaries leads to cultural and socioeconomic changes in the larger society along ethnoracial group boundaries (Roediger 1999; McDermott 2006; Liberson and Waters 1988; Waters 1990; Alba 2009).

The central research question guiding my analyses in this project asks: *How do contemporary Asian American interethnic and interracial marriage patterns reflect their evolving ethnic group boundaries and racial group positioning in the United States?* In each of the three empirical chapters in this dissertation project, I provide a critical test of claims that correspond to a specific sociological theory and/or concept, using data from the 2016 National Asian American Survey (NAAS) and the American Community Survey (1-year Micro Public Use Data) pooled from years 2008 through 2016. My analytic sample includes Asian Americans from 15 ethnic or national-origin backgrounds—Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, Hmong, Thai, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Indonesian, Malaysian, and Sri Lankan—who are between the ages of 18 and 65, heterosexually married in the United States, and have their marital spouse alive and present in the household. Current literature on Asian Americans overwhelmingly focuses on the six largest Asian ethnic groups—Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Vietnamese and Indians. Most of these ethnic groups share

structural similarities as well as immigration histories as predominantly post-1965 immigrants, with the exception of Vietnamese, some of whom benefited from physical proximity to post-1965 Asian immigrant enclaves and relevant resources (Lee and Zhou 2016). Yet, these groups' experiences represent only a part of the pan-ethnic Asian American experiences. I include smaller and more recently immigrated Asian ethnic groups to remedy this gap in literature and to provide more nuanced, yet holistic understanding of ethnic heterogeneity and its implications for Asian Americans' pan-ethnic group boundaries captured in intermarriage.

The first chapter, "Intra-Asian Boundaries and Intermarriage," uses One-Way ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) analyses of my analytic samples from 2016 NAAS and 2008-20016 ACS datasets to examine Asian Americans' inter- and intra- ethnoracial boundary patterns, and how these boundaries align with Asian Americans' intermarriage patterns. Though there exists an abundance of research investigating intergroup relations between whites and Asian Americans (Alba 2009; Bonilla-Silva 2004; Wimmer 2008; Park et al. 2015) and between native-born Americans and immigrants (Lee and Fiske 2006; Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick 2008), how such intergroup relations may vary according to intra-Asian heterogeneity is seldom explored empirically. Relying on socio-cultural theoretical concepts of symbolic and social boundaries (Lamont and Molnar 2002), I examine how Asian Americans draw ethnically distinctive inter- and intra-group boundaries and the implications of such boundaries for Asian Americans' pan-ethnic groupness and positioning in the larger U.S. race relations.

The second chapter, "Intermarriage as a Path of Integration for Asian Americans," extends the theories of minority incorporation (Gordon 1964; Portes and Zhou 1993). Previous studies of Asian Americans' incorporation into the mainstream society do not consider

intermarriage or marital integration as a potential incorporation path and mechanism. Although more recent scholarship on intermarriage reveals that high rates of Asian-white intermarriage is contributing to Asian Americans' socioeconomic and racial integration into the mainstream White society (Lee and Bean 2010; Alba 2009), how such patterns may vary by Asian Americans' ethnic group membership or in Asian American intermarriage with non-white partners remain largely unknown. Using multinomial regression analyses with robust standard errors of the 2008-2016 ACS dataset, this chapter fills this gap by examining ethnic variation in marital integration outcomes, operationalized as spousal race and ethnicity, among Asian Americans.

In the final empirical chapter, "Gendered Patterns of Contemporary Asian American Intermarriage," I examine how ethnically heterogeneous racial status and structural characteristics, coupled with individual-level acculturation, may impact men and women's intermarriage outcome differently. Racial-economic status exchange theory posits that men of lower racial status trade their structural advantages—wealth and education—for a partner's higher racial status (Merton 1941; Davis 1941; Blau 1986 [1964]), but Asian Americans' interracial and interethnic marriage patterns largely reject this theory (Liang and Ito 1999; Livingston and Brown 2017, 2015; Qian 1997; Fu and Heaton 2008; Qian and Lichter 2001). Yet, there is little to no information regarding how such patterns of Asian American intermarriage may vary by ethnicity and spousal race, in addition to gender. Similarly, scholars have not paid much attention to how gendered intermarriage outcomes may have important implications for the ways in which Asian Americans as a pan-ethnic group become ethnoracially integrated into the larger mainstream society. Thus in this chapter, I explore factors behind potential ethnic variation in gendered patterns of Asian American intermarriages in relation to

both racial-status exchange theory and minority incorporation, using the same statistical models from the second chapter, but providing separate analyses for men and women.

I conclude with the discussion of the complex nature of ethnic, pan-ethnic, and racial group membership and boundaries, complicated and perpetuated by structural and cultural forces that reinforce the larger American racial hierarchy, found in the three empirical chapters study. Asian Americans' ethnoracial politics of everyday captured in intermarriage reflect within- and between- racial group power struggles to achieve socially, politically, economically, and culturally advantaged positions. Such power struggles likely redefine the sociopolitical contours and connotations of race and race categories even as the existing systems of inequality continue.

SIGNIFICANCE AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

My dissertation project contributes to the scholarship of race, ethnicity, and minority incorporation in three distinctive, but related ways. *First*, I show that the larger ethnoracial relations and inequalities inform Asian Americans' ethnically distinctive understandings of their groupness. Pan-ethnicity is loosely and ambiguously defined in the scholarship as a collectivity seen as homogenous by outsiders that crosses ethnic boundaries in organizing, cooperating, and building institutions and identities (Lopez and Espiritu 1990; Okamoto and Mora 2014; Lee 2019). As such, ethnicity-specific histories and characteristics often result in the reproduction of inequalities among Asian Americans. Using ethnically disaggregated data further allows for multiplicative approaches to better understand pan-ethnicity as a theoretical concept and empirical tool in relation to members of both the pan-ethnic group and other ethnoracial groups.

Second, I extend the literature on minority incorporation and intermarriage by showing that Asian Americans' social integration paths into the mainstream society is not monolithic. In so doing, my findings contribute to shed lights on the steps that occur beyond cultural and structural incorporation at the individual level and how such steps may or may not occur in accordance with existing theories. Simultaneously, I provide a much needed discussion of racial-social integration that occur at both individual- and group-levels. This is especially valuable given that not only do Asian Americans experience integration differently by ethnicity, but also the destination into which they are integrating may not be the White American society, but a new, ethnoracially diverse "mainstream" predicted by immigration scholars (i.e., Alba and Nee 2009; Alba and Foner 2015).

Third, and relatedly, this project also extends and updates literature on Asian Americans' gender, race and ethnicity, and family formation. Specifically, I explore possible racial-status exchange in Asian American intermarriage, especially in Asian-non-White marriages, and how such phenomenon may vary by ethnicity by examining the relationships among gender, racialization, and ethnically diverse racial status. I show that ethnic heterogeneity in racial status leads Asian men and women to compensate for or leverage existing privileges in gendered and ethnicity-specific ways. This insight further remedies the gap in literature by providing explanations for the lack of racial-status exchange in Asian American intermarriage and further reveals how ethnoracial inequalities will likely persist in the larger society even as the societal conceptualizations and boundaries of ethnoracial categories evolve.

Together, findings from this dissertation project contribute to a more nuanced understanding of Asian Americans as a pan-ethnic group characterized by internal heterogeneity.

Asian Americans are indeed "becoming American" and this process of "becoming American" often requires both resisting and perpetuating existing ethnoracial hierarchy in the larger society. Specifically, ethnoracial minorities like Asian Americans are not simply subscribing to the existing American racial order, but rather actively participating in nuanced and subtle racial power struggles both among themselves and with other ethnoracial groups. This, in turn, may change the ways in which ethnic, pan-ethnic, and racial group membership and boundaries are conceptualized, but continues to uphold existing racial hierarchy, boundaries, and relations. As a result, Asian American pan-ethnicity will likely remain meaningful as both political and social identifiers, despite its internal heterogeneity.

CHAPTER 1:

Ethnic Heterogeneity in Asian American Ethnoracial Group Boundaries and Intermarriage

INTRODUCTION

The pan-ethnic and racial "Asian American" group[2] is characterized by internal heterogeneity, including but not limited to national origin, religion, immigration histories, and cultural characteristics and practices (Pew Research Center 2013; Okamoto 2007). Despite such diversity, pan-ethnic groups forged alliances as Asian American in order to address shared political struggles and needs, leading to the appearance of the "Asian Pacific Islander" designation in the 1990 U.S. census (Espiritu 1992; Okamoto 2004). An abundance of research shows the continuing importance of Asian American pan-ethnicity for political and social recognition of Asians of diverse ethnic backgrounds as well as continuing intra-Asian tensions and inequalities (Wong et al. 2011; Masuoka 2006; Kibria 1996, 2002; Zhou and Xiong 2005; Ocampo 2013, 2014; Schacter 2014). However, such intra-Asian tensions and inequalities are seldom scrutinized in terms of group boundaries.

[2] Throughout this project, I conceptualize race, ethnicity, and pan-ethnicity as the following: *Race* refers to a socially constructed and imposed master category defined on the basis of perceived physical and/or biological characteristics; *Ethnicity* refers to a self-asserted category and/or collective identity based on a common ancestry or homeland, as well as unique cultural elements (Omi and Winant 2014). *Pan-ethnicity* refers to a shared social category among various ethnic groups (Okamoto and Mora 2014). Lastly, *Asian American*, throughout this paper, will refer to individuals of Asian heritage who currently reside in the United States, regardless of their citizenship status, and will be used interchangeably with *Asian*.

Group boundaries are central to understanding how society organizes itself. From Durkheim's *Suicide (*1897) to social network theories and analyses, social scientists have been investigating how individuals identify and organize themselves into different groups and how these groups may have beneficiary or adversary social effects. In particular, ethnoracial group boundaries have been investigated extensively in the social sciences as they reveal the ways in which social stratification and inequality are (re)produced in the United States. Given the depth and pervasiveness of discrimination and violence encountered by African Americans, it is not surprising that much of the research has focused on the Black/White racial boundary. Still, scholarship on between-group as well as within-group ethnoracial boundaries has significantly improved our understanding of the racial landscape in the contemporary American society beyond the black/white binary (Bonilla-Silva 2004; Alba 2009). Historically, scholars have studied the formation and relaxation of ethnoracial boundaries, for example, among Italians, Jews, and Irish Americans (Alba 2009; Waters 1990; Lieberson and Waters 1988). More recently, ethnoracial tensions among Hispanic/Latino individuals and communities have garnered much scholarly attention (Telles and Ortiz 2008; Jimènez 2008; Jimènez, Fields, and Schachter 2015). Yet, much less work has problematized the category of "Asian Americans."

In this chapter, I rely on concepts from cultural sociological literatures on symbolic boundaries and examine how these overlap with more structural or stratification approaches in sociology to examine Asian Americans' inter- and intra- group boundary formation.[3] Group

[3] I acknowledge that there is a robust literature on racial stratification, hierarchy, and white dominance/supremacy. While I am developing my theoretical conceptualization with these issues in mind, as they are inherently relevant to the topic of this study, they are outside the scope of intra-Asian group boundaries and how these boundaries are differently articulated and/or constructed by Asian Americans themselves.

boundaries allow individuals to symbolically distinguish members of in-group and out-groups, and these boundaries shape social inequality and social interactions (Lamont and Molnar 2002). For ethnoracial groups, their boundaries distinguish individuals categorically from one another, and further situate individuals differently in the larger social structure according to their group membership. Individuals are further differently situated *within* a given group according to various factors. Moreover, group boundaries are neither static nor monolithic, and they transform as a result of various structural and ideological factors (Alba 2009). Whereas Asian American pan-ethnic and ethnic solidarity and identity salience have been studied extensively (see Wong et al. 2011; Masuoka 2006), (pan)ethnic group boundaries, both amongst themselves and in relation to other ethnoracial groups, have not been scrutinized explicitly in the prior work. Given that pan-ethnic groupings not only signal who the in-group members are, but also distinguish in- and out-group members from one another (Okamoto and Mora 2014), more work is needed to understand how and whether boundaries exist among the Asian American pan-ethnic group and how these align with other ethnic or socioeconomic divisions.

Using data from the 2016 National Asian American Survey (NAAS) and the American Community Survey (ACS) pooled from years 2008-2016, I explore group boundary formation and crossing patterns among Asian Americans and between Asian Americans and other ethnoracial groups. More specifically, I ask: *How do inter- and intra-group boundary formation and crossing vary by ethnicity among Asian Americans?* To answer this question, I first review the processes of boundary relaxation among Asian ethnic groups that created the pan-ethnic Asian America. Then, I present current understandings of inter and intra-group tensions and intermarriage patterns of Asian Americans in terms of social and symbolic group boundaries before turning to my analyses.

My findings show that Asian Americans align themselves more closely with White Americans than Black and/or Hispanic/Latino Americans symbolically. Such boundary formation is likely informed by existing racial hierarchy of the United States and further reflective of socioeconomic mobility achieved by Asian Americans as a pan-ethnic group. Simultaneously, intra-Asian boundary formation is characterized by patterns discrepant from prior work on ethnic variation in pan-ethnic identity and solidarity salience. However, these discrepancies do not necessarily undermine the importance of Asian American pan-ethnicity as a political project, which remains highly salient across all groups. This seeming "united front" nevertheless masks the presence of ongoing boundary skirmishes, in particular the pronounced symbolic and social boundaries used to distinguish Southeast Asian ethnic groups with refugee backgrounds from other Asian groups. Intermarriage patterns further reveal the nuanced fuzziness of both inter- and intra-group boundaries of Asian America. Particularly, the *types* of symbolic boundaries—rather than their *rigidity*—and the potential socioeconomic changes made possible by marriage dictate marital boundary crossing patterns, : in addition to an ethnic group's compositional characteristics. Together, I show that Asian group boundaries are reflective of ethnic heterogeneity, the inherently fuzzy, dynamic, and unstable nature of pan-ethnicity, and the ambiguous in-between positioning of Asian Americans in the larger U.S. race relations.

ASIAN AMERICANS AS A PANETHNIC GROUP

Construction of a pan-ethnic group requires a new categorical boundary that consolidates different ethnic, tribal, religious, and/or national groups (Okamoto and Mora 2014). This consolidation may occur through relaxation of certain group boundaries. Alba (2009) argues that three conditions must be met for group boundaries to relax: 1) non-zero-sum mobility

characterized by upward socioeconomic mobility that does not threaten or cause downward mobility of the dominant group, 2) social and spatial proximity to the dominant group, and 3) the ideological affirmation of a minority group's moral worth by the dominant group. These processes of boundary relaxation occurred among Asian ethnic groups, leading to the formation of Asian pan-ethnic boundaries.

Prior to the influx of highly educated and skilled Asian immigrants that began after the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act, Asian immigrants were mostly low-skilled workers from countries like Japan, China, Korea, India, and the Philippines and members of each Asian group tried to disassociate themselves from other Asian groups (Espiritu 1992; Okamoto 2007, 2014). Nonetheless, these low-skilled Asian workers were socioeconomically segregated in occupation and residence and experienced similar racialization and racist attacks in the larger American society (Okamoto 2014; Espiritu 1992). Their similar structural location and experiences of racialization, coupled with Asian-driven pan-ethnic mobilization—through the "Yellow Power," the New Left, Antiwar, and Women's movements—fostered pan-ethnic solidarity among Asian Americans from different ethnic backgrounds (Espiritu 1992; Maeda 2011). In doing so, Asian American organizations and leaders lobbied for a pan-ethnic census designation of "Asian," to secure governmental services, resources, and opportunities. Ethnic groups such as Filipinos and Indians that were previously more ambiguously positioned ethnoracially also joined the pan-ethnic mobilization (Espiritu 1992; Okamoto 2014).

Then, in accordance with Alba's (2009) conceptualization, various Asian ethnic groups experienced similar mobility patterns that do not threaten other Asian groups due to occupational segregation. In fact, it was this non-zero-sum *lack of* mobility that facilitated social proximity

among Asian ethnic groups. Furthermore, shared experiences of racialization, injustice, and discrimination likely contributed to the ideological moral affirmation of non-co-ethnic Asians, leading to the development of pan-ethnic solidarity identification as Asian American (Espiritu 1992; Okamoto 2007). Yet, recent population growth led to the diversification in various measures among Asians in the United States. Subsequently, this led to ethnic variations in how Asian Americans understand and distinguish the pan-ethnic "us" from others, both amongst themselves and in relation to other racial groups.

INTRA-ASIAN HETEROGENEITY, TENSIONS, AND GROUP BOUNDARIES

Group boundaries include two dimensions: symbolic and social boundaries (Lamont and Molnar 2002). Symbolic boundaries not only assume categorical differences between groups of people, but also generate feelings of similarity and group membership (Epstein 1992; Lamont and Molnar 2002). Once these meanings are widely agreed upon at the societal level, symbolic boundaries become social boundaries. Thus, social boundaries reflect different groups' unequal structural characteristics and shape identifiable patterns of social exclusion and segregation (Lamont and Molnar 2002).

Asian American Racial Positioning and Group Relations

Asian Americans as a pan-ethnic group emerged out of racialization, where they are defined and othered in relation to other ethnoracial groups. Such racialization of Asian Americans contributed to the development of both symbolic and social intergroup boundaries between Asian Americans and other ethnoracial groups in the United States. Overall, Asian Americans occupy an in-between position between Whites and Blacks in the United States.

Claire Jean Kim's (1999) seminal work on *racial triangulation* illustrates how the racialization of Asian Americans has resembled a dialectical process of ostracization and valorization relative to the Black/White racial binary. Asians Americans have been *civically ostracized* from the White mainstream society as foreigners while simultaneously experiencing *relative valorization* compared to Black racial communities (C. Kim 1999). However, a closer examination of Asian Americans' racial positioning and relations in the United States suggest that Asian American intergroup relations with non-Asians have not only evolved, but also complicates the U.S. racial landscape beyond the Black/White binary. The development of social and symbolic boundaries is central to such intergroup relations of Asian Americans.

During the late 19th century and early 20th century, Asian immigrants were clearly distinguished as non-Americans both symbolically and socially. During this time, Asian immigrants from China and Japan, mostly working in low-wage, menial labor sectors such as agriculture and railroad building, were used as scapegoats for social problems. In addition to the clear social boundaries distinguishing these low-wage Asian workers from the dominant White middle-class mainstream, they were symbolically considered deviant and dangerous as "Yellow Perils" and "Orientals," who were foreign and inferior to the dominant White majority, and therefore, threatening the White civilization (Shim 1998; Aoki 1996). Numerous political cartoons employed racist imagery of grasshoppers or uncivilized apes to depict early Asian immigrants as taking economic resources, threatening while female sexual purity, and causing various social disturbances (Lai and Choy 1972).

However, with the introduction of post-1965 Asian immigrants, the racial imagery of Asian Americans as a group evolved from "Yellow Perils" to the "model minority" (Lee and

Zhou 2016; Tran et al. 2018). The post-1695 Asian immigrants are characterized by their high pre-migration socioeconomic characteristics, which further assisted their group-level upward social mobility, and ultimately achieved lessened social distance between Asian Americans and native-born Whites (Alba 2009; Bonilla-Silva 2004). Furthermore, as "model" minorities, Asian Americans are ideologically affirmed as "good" minorities and enjoyed relatively more relaxed symbolic boundaries between themselves and Whites in comparison to other minority groups. The relaxed symbolic and social boundaries between Asian Americans and Whites have contributed to their high intermarriage rates, leading some scholars to believe that Asians are "becoming White," or becoming "honorary White" (Wimmer 2008; Alba 2009; Bonilla-Silva 2004).

Yet, the "model minority" label pits Asian Americans against other minorities by further reinforcing symbolic and social boundaries between Asian Americans and other non-White minorities. Symbolically, Asian Americans share the ethnoracial minority status with Blacks and Hispanic/Latinos, but Asian Americans' "model" minority status simultaneously distinguishes them from other racial minorities. In fact, the "model minority" imagery directly corresponds to the "culture of poverty" thesis (e.g., Lewis 1966, Moynihan 1965), alleging that cultural compatibility or deficit of a minority group is a deciding factor in their upward mobility or lack thereof. In this sense, Asian Americans occupy the "middleman minority" position (Bonacich 1980), providing a racial buffer between the dominant White Americans and the alleged "bad" minorities, namely, poverty-ridden urban African Americans and Latino immigrants (Choo and Feagin 2010; Dhingra 2003). Furthermore, socioeconomic differences between the post-1965 Asian American population and other minority groups, coupled with widely shared meanings of Asian Americans' "model minority" status and their implications for shaping differential access

to resources and opportunities among ethnoracial minorities, draw rigid social boundaries rooted in structural inequalities among minority groups.

Considering such racial positioning of Asian Americans, interracial tensions and conflicts between Asians and other minorities are not surprising. Most notably, Korean-Black conflicts in metropolitan areas like New York City and Los Angeles in the 1990s (J. Lee 2006; Reider 1990; Abelmann and Lie 1995), and Japanese American farm owners' conflicts with Latino (mostly Mexican) agricultural workers during the 1970s are well documented (Fugita and O'Brien 1991). In both instances, pronounced social boundaries separated largely entrepreneurial Koreans and wealthy Japanese farm owners from their poorer Mexican and Black counterparts even before the conflicts arose. Furthermore, more recent scholarship on Asian Americans' interracial group attitudes shows evidence of continuing interracial tensions between Asian Americans and other racial minority groups along symbolic boundaries. Anti-blackness is dominant and well-accepted among many Asian Americans, who try to distinguish themselves as "good" minorities in opposition to Black Americans' lack of group-level upward mobility (Dhingra 2003). Many Asian Americans also report lower sense of commonality with Blacks and Latinos than with Whites (Wong et al. 2011).

Yet, scholars have also found evidence of "pan-minority" allegiance and solidarity formation among Asians and other minorities, similar to how Asian American pan-ethnicity is first forged, across more relaxed social boundaries. Neckermann and colleagues (2000) argue that pan-minority solidarity may be forming among middle-class racial minorities, suggesting relaxed symbolic boundary among minorities of similar structural locations. Likewise, disadvantaged Southeast Asian youths have been found to ideologically assimilate into urban

African American identity and culture (Zhou and Xiong 2005; S.J. Lee 2005). Many Filipinos also ideologically and pan-ethnically identify with Latinos due to their shared histories of the U.S. and Spanish colonialism and linguistic and cultural similarities (Ocampo 2014). All these cases are exemplary of how similar structural characteristics may lead to the formation of allegiance across symbolic ethnoracial boundaries.

Although these findings reveal dynamic processes through which the boundaries distinguishing Asian Americans from other ethnoracial groups fluctuate and transform, how such processes and their eventual outcomes may vary by ethnicity remains unclear. Studies have shown that members of the dominant group (White Americans) evaluate members of a minority group differently according to their heterogeneous status characteristics, such as immigrant generation, socioeconomic status, and so on (Cuddy et al. 2009; Fiske et al. 2002; T.Lee and Fiske 2006; Jimenez et al. 2015). Moreover, intra-Asian Americans social and symbolic boundaries are also fuzzy and dynamic and rooted in ethnic heterogeneity as shown below, and such patterns may also have implications for Asian Americans' intergroup relations with White, Black, and Hispanic/Latino groups.

Ethnic Heterogeneity and Intra-Asian Group Boundaries

Because Asian American exhibit heterogeneous characteristics in both cultural and structural measures, intra-group tensions that occur along ethnic social and symbolic boundaries among Asian Americans are well documented, but seldom investigated according to this conceptual framework. Although Asian ethnic groups share *symbolic* similarities under the pan-ethnic umbrella, pronounced socioeconomic inequalities may still lead to intra-Asian tensions along *social* boundaries. For instance, Vietnamese, Cambodians, Hmongs, and Laotians share

distinctive historical trauma of war in their home countries and experienced different resettlement processes in the United States from other Asian ethnic groups as refugees (Zhou and Xiong 2005). These refugee-origin groups received generous governmental support and resources for their resettlement in the United States, but most of them were geographically dispersed into areas with little to no established Asian population and funneled into low-skill, minimum-wage labor sectors (Kelly 1986; Ngo and Lee 2007; Gordon 1987). Further, their experiences of downward mobility continue in the second generation (Zhou and Xiong 2005). As a result, they exhibit low pan-ethnic identity and solidarity salience, and have been found to ideologically align more closely with their urban African American peers than other Asian Americans (Zhou and Xiong 2005; S. Lee 2005).

Similarly, an example of intra-Asian tension rooted in *symbolic* boundaries, despite their shared structural characteristics, could be found in the cases of Indian and Filipino Americans. Overall, the median household income and educational attainment levels of the Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Indian groups exceed that of other racial minorities or even White Americans (Pew Research Center 2013). Such shared advantaged socioeconomic characteristics often lead various Asian ethnic groups to identify with one another pan-ethnically (Masuoka 2006; Wong et al. 2011). Yet, Indians exhibit low pan-ethnic salience and solidarity due to their distinctive phenotype, stereotypes, religion, and other socio-cultural characteristics (Min and Kim 2000; Schacter 2014; Dhingra 2007; Kibria 1996; Shankar and Srikanth 1998). Moreover, South Asians in general are often considered to be distinctive from other Asians (Joshi, 2006; Kibria, 1996, 1998). Likewise, Filipino Americans consider themselves to be different from other Asians and report pan-ethnic affinities towards Latinos, due to their shared Spanish and American colonial history and linguistic similarities (Espiritu 1992; Zhou 1999; Ocampo 2014).

Reflecting such intra-Asian tensions, scholars have observed an informal hierarchy in perceived "Asian American-ness"—overall, both the general American public and Asian Americans themselves consider East Asians as "Asian Americans" undoubtedly, but place Southeast Asian groups and South Asians on the periphery of "Asian American-ness" (Park 2008; Lee and Ramakrishnan 2019). However, despite their shared acceptance as the representative Asian American ethnic groups, pan-ethnic identity and solidarity salience further varies among East Asians. Whereas Koreans report the highest pan-ethnic identity salience of all Asian ethnic groups, their Japanese counterpart is least likely to identify pan-ethnically (Wong et al. 2011). Similarly, Indians exhibit higher pan-ethnic salience than Japanese respondents in the same study, in spite of their peripheral positioning as Asian Americans (Wong et al. 2011).

These examples illustrate that within the boundaries of Asian America, individuals have differing understandings of whom they consider a part of "us" versus "others" and the meanings of "Asian America" along social and symbolic group boundaries. Further, social stereotype research shows that individuals recognize an immigrant group's national origin in relation to their economic and social history, and evaluate members of the same group differently according to their diverging structural characteristics (T. Lee and Fiske 2006). Given that Asian Americans are aware of their within-group ethnic differences, such awareness may influence the ways in which Asian Americans perceive themselves and others as belonging to the same pan-ethnic group, drawing intra-Asian symbolic boundaries.

ASIAN AMERICAN INTERMARRIAGE

As illustrated above, group boundaries are neither stable nor static, and therefore, their rigidity and permeability continuously fluctuate. In order to capture such fluctuation, I now turn to marital boundary crossing, or intermarriage, of Asian Americans. Boundary crossing via intermarriage often aligns with relaxed ethnoracial group boundaries (Kalmijn 1998). More specifically, individual preferences and opportunities that lead to marital boundary crossing are shaped by similar socioeconomic and cultural characteristics (Moran 2001; Feliciano 2001). Thus, intermarriage between similarly socioeconomically advantaged individuals of different ethnoracial backgrounds leads to a form of advantage and/or opportunity hoarding, leading to cultural and socioeconomic changes and further stratifying the larger society along ethnoracial group boundaries.

Historically, "ethnic whites," such as Southern and Eastern Europeans as well as Catholics and Jews, became integrated into the dominant, mainstream White society through various forms of social integration, including intermarriage (Liberson and Waters 1988; Waters 1990). Initially, "ethnic" whites went through the process of boundary relaxation—non-zero-sum mobility, social proximity to, and ideological affirmation by white Protestants (Alba 2009). The post-World War II cultural shift, the end of mass immigration from Europe, the introduction of new minority groups from Asia and Latin American via immigration, and the civil rights era framing of ethnoracial minority status and rights further gave emergence to a new racial order designating "ethnic" Whites as a part of the White majority (Alba 2009; Skrentny 2002, 2015). Consequently, ethno-religious boundary crossing via marriage among White Americans became more common and contributed significantly to creating the White racial group of today.

Asian American interracial marriage patterns largely mirrors their early European counterparts, as Asians have the highest interracial marriage rate among all racial minority groups at 29% and Asian-White unions are the second most likely pairing of all intermarriages in the United States after Hispanic-White pairing (Pew Research Center 2017). Because Asian-White marriages are socioeconomically homogamous among highly educated, middle-class individuals (Qian et al. 2012; Okamoto 2007; Liang and Ito 1999), such patterns are often understood as one of the indicators for more relaxed racial boundaries between Asian Americans and Whites in the United States (Wimmer 2008; Alba 2009). In fact, Asian-White intermarriages seem to be products of relaxed *symbolic* racial boundaries: Lee and Bean (2010) found that Asian-White (and Latino-White) couples were generally well received by family members and perceived their unions to be inter-*cultural,* and not necessarily inter*racial*. On the other hand, intermarriage with Blacks often encounter more rigid symbolic and social racial boundaries: individuals understand such intermarriage as crossing boundaries that show socioeconomic and structural differences between ethnoracial groups, and ultimately, as a downward mobility path for the non-White partner (J. Lee and Bean 2010). Such individual intergroup perceptions of the Black/White racial binary may explain extremely low intermarriage rates between Asian Americans and Black Americans.

Yet, as shown above, Asian Americans exhibit ethnic heterogeneity as a pan-ethnic group. Then, do all Asian Americans, regardless of their ethnic group-level distinctions, exhibit similar intermarriage patterns? Unfortunately, Asian American intermarriage scholarship has largely overlooked Asian-non-White intermarriage and their implications. Yet, observing intra-Asian, or interethnic marriage—marriage between non-co-ethnic Asians (i.e., between Korean American and Vietnamese American)—provides valuable insight into ethnoracial boundary

formation and relaxation among Asian Americans. Recent studies on Asian American intermarriage shows that Asian-white marriages are on the decline, whereas Asian interethnic marriages have been increasing since the 1990s (S.M. Lee and Fernandez 1998; S.M. Lee and Boyd 2008; Min 2006; Qian and Lichter 2007). Generally, Asian American interethnic marriages are socioeconomically homogamous and occur within clusters of East Asians and South/Southeast Asians (S. Lee and Fernandez 1998; S. Lee and Boyd 2008), suggesting boundary formation between East and South/Southeast Asians (Min and Kim 2009). As Asian interethnic marriages are often driven by pan-ethnic solidarity developed among college-educated Asians (Kibria 1997; Qian et al. 2001), these clustering patterns of interethnic marriage may be indicative of the role intra-group boundaries play in shaping Asian American intermarriage patterns. Yet, whether or not such clustering patterns are a result of rigidity of symbolic and social group boundaries is still poorly understood.

Taken together, Asian American intermarriage patterns will likely vary by ethnically distinctively dawn symbolic and social group boundaries. Moreover, ethnically disaggregated intermarriage outcomes will help explaining not only how symbolic and social boundaries distinguish Asian Americans by ethnicity, but also which forms of boundary crossing is considered socially and culturally acceptable and how such acceptability may vary by ethnicity.

RESEARCH EXPECTATIONS

In this chapter, I place ethnic heterogeneity at the center of my analyses to examine Asian group relations via ethnoracial boundary formation and crossing. Overall, I expect Asian Americans to exhibit heterogeneous social and symbolic group boundary formation and crossing

patterns. Yet, I believe the general patterns will reveal that all Asian Americans *symbolically distinguish* themselves from other minorities in their efforts to subscribe to the larger U.S. racial order. Further, their ethnically heterogeneous patterns of *structural differences* between Asian Americans and other minority groups will likely explain the variation in symbolic racial boundary formation. More specifically:

- Intra-Asian *symbolic boundaries* distinguish Asian ethnic groups who share similar immigration histories and experiences in the United States from others.
- *Social boundaries* reflect differences in structural characteristics of each Asian ethnic group, capturing social inequality that exists among Asian ethnic groups.
    - Because a group's immigration history and contexts are closely related to their socioeconomic characteristics and mobility patterns in the United States, intra-Asian symbolic and social boundaries to align with one another, distinguishing post-1965 "model minority" ethnic groups from others.
- Asian American intermarriage crosses symbolic but not social group boundaries, as most Asian intermarriages, both interracial and intra-Asian, are characterized by their socioeconomically homogamy.

DATA AND METHODS

Data for this study comes from two sources: the 2016 National Asian American Survey's (NAAS) Post-Election Survey[4] and the American Community Survey (ACS), 1% Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) 1-year estimate data pooled from years between 2008 and 2016[5]. I focus on eight Asian ethnic groups in this study—Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Vietnamese, Other Southeast Asians (Hmongs, Cambodians, Laotians, and Thai), Indian, and Other South Asians (Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Malaysian, Indonesian, and Sri Lankan)[6].

Symbolic Boundary Measures

First, I rely on semantic differential measures for intergroup perception available in the 2016 NAAS data to measure symbolic boundaries among Asian ethnic groups. More specifically, these semantic differential measures reflect two main dimensions of intergroup relations via stereotypes—competence and warmth. Previously, stereotype scholars found that Asian immigrants in general are perceived to be competent, but not nice (cold) in various

[4] The 2016 NAAS data (PIs: Karthick Ramakrishnan, Jennifer Lee, Teaku Lee, and Janelle Wong) was fielded from November 2016 through February 2017 and includes approximately 6500 respondents. For the purpose of the survey, Asian Americans are oversampled in this survey.

[5] The ACS is the largest ongoing household survey administered by the U.S. Census Bureau, through in-person and telephone interviews as well as mail-in and online surveys. Because the ACS surveys are ongoing and randomly sampled from all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, the pooling of data ensures an adequate sample size and relatively up-to-date sample characteristics of smaller and growing Asian ethnic groups.

[6] Ethnicity is measured by identifying as Asian, self-reported ancestry, and parental ethnicity. More specifically, if a respondent marked him/herself as Asian, reported that both parents are of Chinese ethnicity, and also report "Chinese" as their ancestry, they are coded as Chinese.

national contexts (Fiske et al. 2002; Cuddy et al. 2009). However, how Asian Americans themselves perceive various ethnoracial groups or how ethnic heterogeneity may contribute to differential evaluation of various Asian ethnic groups is largely unknown.

The original survey questions for these measures ask: "On a scale of 1-7, where 1 is unintelligent /difficult to get along with and 7 is intelligent/easy to get along with, how would you rate the following groups?" The groups available for answer include 1) Chines/Korean/Japanese, 2) Indians/Pakistanis/Bangladeshis, 3) Filipinos/Vietnamese/ Cambodians, 4) Hispanics/Latino, 5) Whites, and 6) Black/African Americans. Perceived intelligence reflects others' perception of an ethnic group's competence, whereas perceived friendliness reflects a group's warmth and harmlessness (T. Lee and Fiske 2006). Together, these attitudinal measures will reflect ideological affirmation of other groups (Alba 2009). In previous social psychological studies, similar measures have been used and successfully captured intergroup perceptions with regards to age groups, sexual minorities, gender, race, and immigrant groups (T. Lee and Fiske 2006).

In addition, I will compare group means regarding interracial group contacts and perceived Asianness measures from the 2016 NAAS dataset of some, but not all, Asian ethnic groups of interest in this study. Intergroup contacts are indicative of social proximity, which is crucial in shaping group boundaries (Alba 2009). The original survey question for *Intergroup Contact* asks "In your daily life, how much contact do you, personally, have with people who are White/Hispanic or Latino/Black or African American/ Asian or Asian American" and the responses range from 0=no contact at all to 3=a lot of contact. Perceived Asianness represents in/out-group associations different Asian ethnic groups make, and therefore, may have important

implications. This measure may be especially insightful in understanding Asian interethnic marriage patterns, as it represents who is considered one of (pan-ethnic) us versus who is not, beyond ethnic symbolic boundaries. For *Perceived Asianness*, respondents were asked to rate each of the following groups of likelihood to be Asian or Asian Americans: Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Indian, Filipino, Pakistani, and Arabs or Middle Eastern people. The responses rage from 0=not likely to 2=very likely.

Social Boundary Measures

I operationalize Lamont and Molnar's (2002) social boundaries as each ethnic group's structural characteristics. These measures include: immigrant generation status, educational attainment, employment status, and household income. *Immigrant generation status* is coded as 0=Native-born, 1=1.5 generation, and 2=first generation. *Educational attainment* includes four categories, where 0=High school diploma or less, 1=Some college, 2=Bachelor's degree, and 3=post-BA degrees. *Employment status* is a binary variable where 0=not employed, 1=employed. Lastly, *household income* includes seven categories, ranging from under $15,000 (0) to $200,000+ (7). These compositional and socioeconomic factors of Asian ethnic groups influence the extent to which they have access to resources and opportunities. Thus, significant differences observed in these measures among Asian ethnic groups of interest would indicate existing social inequality or lack thereof, which is central to group boundary relaxation according to Alba (2009).

Table 1.1a. Means/Proportions, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of Measures from the Pooled ACS data (years 2008-16)

	Means									SD	Range
	Overall	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino	Vietnamese	Other SE	Indian	Other S		
Socio-Demographic Characteristics											
Gender	0.54	0.54	0.57	0.57	0.57	0.53	0.55	0.48	0.49	0.49	0/1
Immigrant Status	1.42	1.43	0.81	1.40	1.34	1.46	1.19	1.68	1.61	0.82	0-2
Education	1.50	1.55	1.60	1.51	1.36	0.92	0.80	2.05	1.45	1.08	0-3
Household Income	3.93	3.82	4.14	3.52	4.21	3.39	3.21	4.55	3.46	2.02	0-7
Marriage Type											
Co-ethnic	0.47	0.59	0.30	0.54	0.47	0.65	0.52	0.73	0.61	0.50	0/1
Intermarried	0.53	0.40	0.69	0.45	0.51	0.34	0.47	0.26	0.38	0.36	0/1
White	0.16	0.18	0.49	0.27	0.29	0.11	0.22	0.10	0.15	0.36	0/1
Black	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.08	0/1
Hispanic/ Latino	0.45	0.20	0.41	0.22	0.31	0.20	0.28	0.12	0.21	0.37	0/1
Interethnic	0.10	0.15	0.36	0.13	0.15	0.12	0.16	0.08	0.14	0.35	0/1
N	712,747	181,689	40,818	73,761	137,242	77,505	37,678	136,605	27,449		

Table 1.1b. Means/Proportions, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of Measures from the 2016 NAAS data

	Means											SD	Range
	Overall	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino	Vietnamese	Hmong	Cambodian	Indian	Pakistani	Bangla		
Socio-Demographic Characteristics													
Nativity	0.20	0.15	0.79	0.18	0.38	0.10	0.17	0.09	0.22	0.17	0.23	0.48	0/1
Education	1.47	1.40	2.13	1.80	1.74	0.40	0.42	0.34	2.82	2.20	1.94	1.43	0-4
HH Income	2.04	1.78	2.79	2.22	2.45	0.83	1.14	0.82	3.75	2.73	2.28	1.82	0-6
Intergroup perception													
East Asians													
Intelligence	4.62	4.56	4.92	4.28	4.76	4.28	4.51	4.39	4.97	4.29	5.00	1.30	0-6
Friendliness	4.00	4.05	4.38	3.86	4.11	3.69	3.65	3.64	4.05	4.33	4.11	1.60	0-6
SE Asians													
Intelligence	3.89	3.45	4.26	3.26	4.35	3.65	3.72	3.85	4.14	4.10	4.13	1.41	0-6
Friendliness	4.01	3.65	4.27	3.51	4.25	4.10	3.73	3.90	4.15	4.29	4.07	1.49	0-6
South Asians													
Intelligence	4.12	3.88	4.38	3.58	4.25	3.87	4.03	3.99	4.38	4.18	4.47	1.50	0-6
Friendliness	3.78	3.47	3.96	3.08	3.78	3.04	3.49	3.49	4.32	4.48	4.41	1.64	0-6
Whites													
Intelligence	4.60	4.31	4.59	4.40	4.63	5.00	4.86	4.75	4.53	4.12	4.68	1.23	0-6
Friendliness	4.37	4.18	4.41	4.06	4.50	4.32	4.26	4.22	4.61	4.53	4.56	1.34	0-6
Blacks													
Intelligence	3.61	3.06	3.98	3.09	3.97	3.03	3.88	3.50	3.73	3.99	3.99	1.49	0-6
Friendliness	3.85	3.34	4.08	3.37	4.14	3.42	3.62	3.53	4.24	4.39	4.35	1.53	0-6
Hispanic													
Intelligence	3.63	3.23	4.02	3.11	4.05	2.95	3.76	3.56	3.76	3.89	3.98	1.40	0-6
Friendliness	4.11	3.89	4.29	3.64	4.37	3.86	3.93[j]	3.71	4.33	4.52	4.39	1.41	0-6
Intergroup Contact													
w/ Whites	2.17	1.60	2.47	2.00	2.36	2.38	1.56	1.55	2.55	2.38	2.17	0.98	0-3
w/ Blacks	1.62	0.96	1.45	1.31	1.75	1.81	1.22	1.49	1.83	1.94	1.84	1.05	0-3
w/ Hispanics	1.90	1.11	1.69	1.49	1.95	2.19	1.25[j]	1.50	1.85	1.99	1.84	1.04	0-3
w/ Asians	2.02	2.64	2.35	2.20	2.47	2.49	2.43	1.58	2.33	2.37	2.18	1.04	0-3
Perceived Asianness													
Chinese	1.67	1.88	1.81	1.39	1.54	1.84	1.82	1.65	1.72	1.74	1.72	0.59	0-2
Japanese	1.64	1.74	1.84	1.32	1.56	1.93	1.76	1.53	1.67	1.69	1.68	0.62	0-2
Korean	1.62	1.77	1.78	1.39	1.51	1.89	1.77	1.59	1.66	1.71	1.68	0.63	0-2
Filipino	1.51	1.67	1.57	1.28	1.67	1.78	1.60	1.55	1.60	1.68	1.64	0.69	0-2
Indian	1.18	1.24	1.13	1.13	1.11	1.49	1.06	1.32	1.72	1.60	1.66	0.83	0-2
Pakistani	0.94	0.99	0.81	0.71	0.81	0.92	0.84	1.20	1.41	1.60	1.52	0.86	0-2
Arab/ME	0.63	0.39	0.40	0.48	0.64	0.51	0.74	1.14	0.74	1.11	0.88	0.78	0-2
N	**6448**	489	521	500	512	502	351	401	511	320	320		

Marital Boundary Crossing Measures

Lastly, boundary crossing in marriage will reflect social proximity and ideological affirmation between groups. For this, I rely on five binary intermarriage measures, which include: Intermarriage Status, Non-Hispanic White Partner, Non-Hispanic Black Partner, Hispanic/Latino Partner, and Non-co-ethnic Asian Partner. The intermarriage status measure is coded 0=co-ethnic partner, 1=interracial/interethnic partner. White, Black, and Hispanic/Latino partner variables all relate to interracial marriage; different-ethnic Asian partner signifies interethnic marriages. For all other measures, the reference category is co-ethnic partner.

Analytic Methods

This study proceeds in three stages. For all analyses, I use one-way ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) to compare ethnic-group level means of social and symbolic boundary and marital boundary crossing measures. First, I will investigate ethnically heterogeneous inter- and intra-group symbolic boundary patterns of Asian Americans, using intergroup attitudes, intergroup contacts, and perceived Asian-ness measures available in the 2016 NAAS data. All analyses of the 2016 NAAS dataset are restricted to respondents who have specified one of the following Asian ethnoracial identity and/or backgrounds—Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Vietnamese, Hmong, Cambodian, Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi.

Second, I will identify potential social boundaries rooted in structural differences among Asian ethnic groups. I will descriptively explore variation in socioeconomic characteristics among Asian ethnic groups using the ACS data. Then, I will supplement my findings by replicating my analyses using the 2016 NAAS dataset, investigating the same socioeconomic

characteristics among Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Vietnamese, Hmong, Cambodian, Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi.

Lastly, I will explore marital boundary crossing patterns among Asian Americans, data on interracial and interethnic marriage from the pooled ACS dataset. For the purpose of this study, I exclude marriage with bi- or multi-racial partners from my analyses to clearly show which racial boundaries are crossed more frequently than others. All analyses of the pooled ACS data are restricted to individuals who are in adult (between the ages 18 and 64) heterosexual marital relationship, where they got married in the United States.

Together, I aim to identify where symbolic and social boundaries are drawn among Asian ethnic groups in the United States and how they may or may not align with marital boundary crossing (intermarriage) patterns.

FINDINGS

Overall, Asian Americans draw the most relaxed symbolic boundaries between themselves and White Americans racially, and intra-Asian symbolic boundaries distinguish Southeast Asians with refugee-backgrounds from other Asian ethnic groups. These symbolic boundary patterns largely align with ethnoracial group-level structural inequality, where high status Asian ethnic groups draw more rigid boundaries between themselves and more disadvantaged ethnoracial groups. However, statistically significant ethnic heterogeneity in both social and symbolic boundary formation patterns is observed. Moreover, Asian American intermarriage patterns do not necessarily align with the most relaxed ethnoracial group boundaries, indicating that individual level socioeconomic homogamy observed in Asian

intermarriage do not necessarily translate into group level homogamy and that other factors—such as ethnic group size, and culturally distinctive marital practices—also influence marital boundary crossing patterns. In the following sections, I present my findings in order of 1) Asian Americans' racial symbolic boundary patterns, 2) Asian Americans' ethnic (intra-Asian) symbolic boundary patterns, 3) intra-Asian social boundary formation patterns, and 4) Asian American marital boundary crossing patterns.

Asian American Symbolic Racial Boundary Formation Patterns by Ethnicity

Examining how Asians of various ethnic backgrounds perceive members of other racial groups, I find that Asian Americans generally perceive White Americans to be highly competent and friendly (see Figure 1.1a), Hispanic/Latinos to be moderately competent, but relatively highly friendly (see Figure 1.1b), and Black Americans to be moderately intelligent and friendly (see Figure 1.1c). However, ethnically heterogeneous interracial group attitudes are observed, even within previously prominent East/Southeast/South Asian subgroup designations.

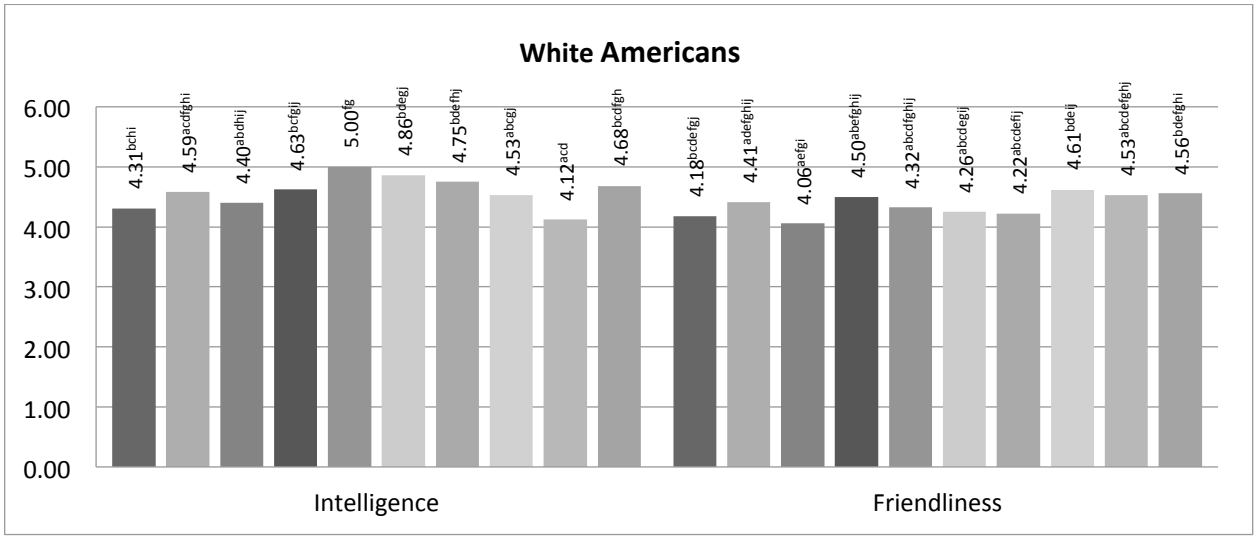

Figure 1.1a. Perceived Intelligence and Friendliness of Whites

**Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences (p<.05). Superscripts show relationships statistically NOT significantly different from a=Chinese; b=Japanese; c=Korean; d=Filipino; e=Vietnamese; f=Hmong; g=Cambodian; h=Indian; i=Pakistani; j=Bangladeshi.*

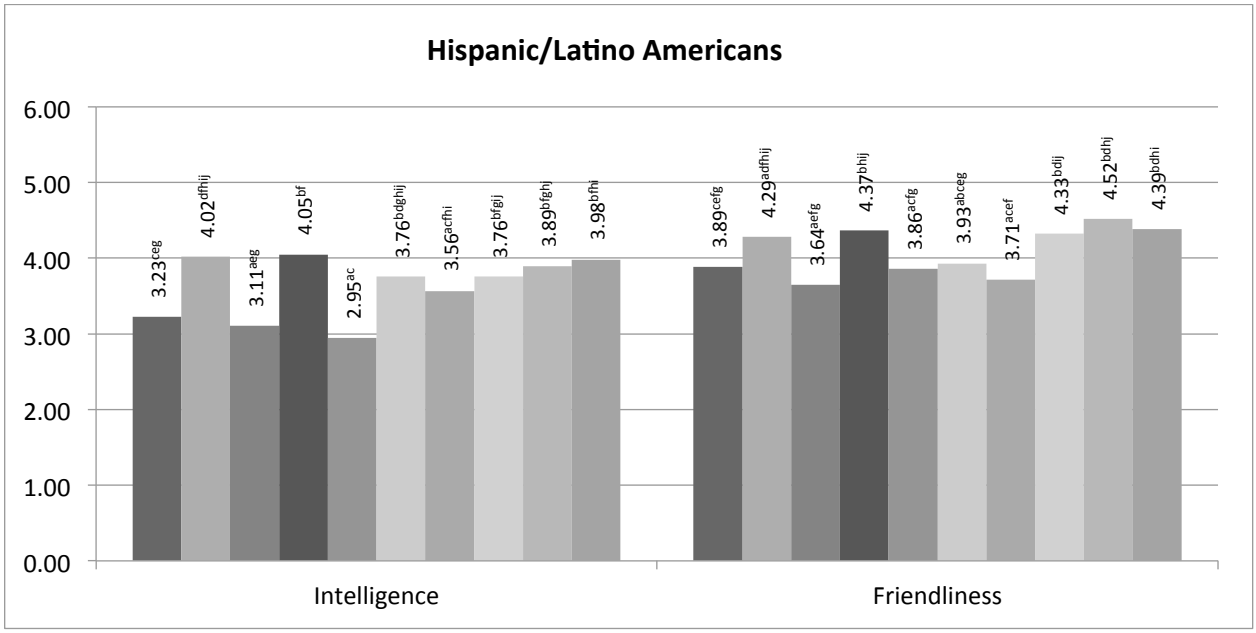

Figure 1.1b. Perceived Intelligence and Friendliness of Hispanic/Latinos

**Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences (p<.05). Superscripts show relationships statistically NOT significantly different from a=Chinese; b=Japanese; c=Korean; d=Filipino; e=Vietnamese; f=Hmong; g=Cambodian; h=Indian; i=Pakistani; j=Bangladeshi.*

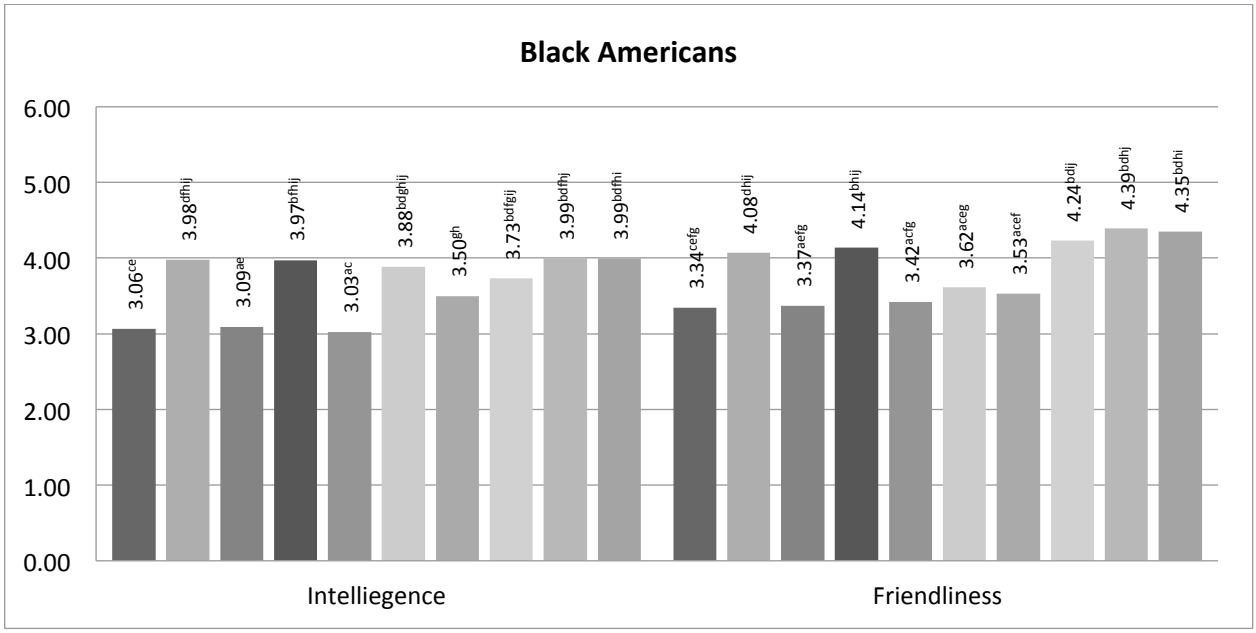

Figure 1.1c. Perceived Intelligence and Friendliness of Blacks

**Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences (p<.05). Superscripts show relationships statistically NOT significantly different from a=Chinese; b=Japanese; c=Korean; d=Filipino; e=Vietnamese; f=Hmong; g=Cambodian; h=Indian; i=Pakistani; j=Bangladeshi.*

First, even though all Asian ethnic groups of interest in this study exhibit highly affirmative attitudes towards White Americans as both highly intelligent and friendly, Southeast Asian ethnic groups with refugee backgrounds—Vietnamese, Hmong, and Cambodians—show exceptionally high affirmation of White Americans' intelligence. On the other hand, Pakistani respondents were significantly less affirming of White Americans' intelligence, but did not differ from other ethnic groups in their attitudes regarding White Americans' friendliness. Even though all Asian ethnic groups uniformly perceive White Americans as intelligent and friendly, White Americans exhibit more favorable perceptions of East Asians than other Asian ethnic groups in both intelligence and friendliness (see Appendix A, Table A1). This suggests that the blurred boundaries between Asian and White Americans (Wimmer 2008; Alba 2009) may actually not be applicable to all Asian ethnic groups, but only limited to between East Asians and Whites.

All Asian groups consider Hispanic/Latino Americans to be moderately intelligent and friendly, where they are considered more friendly than intelligent. However, Asian Americans' evaluation of the Hispanic/Latino population is also ethnically heterogeneous. Most notably, Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese respondents were exceptionally less affirming of Hispanic/Latino Americans' intelligence. On the other hand, Japanese, Filipino, and South Asians (Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshis) were similarly more affirming of friendliness and intelligence of Hispanic/Latinos than their Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese peers. Yet, Hispanic/Latino Americans on average have more affirming attitudes toward East Asians than other Asians and even White Americans, suggesting that they, too, are aware of intra-Asian heterogeneity and its implications for their differential symbolic boundary formation regarding Asian Americans (see Appendix A, Table A1).

Lastly, Asian Americans express the least affirming attitudes toward Black Americans, where they are considered moderately intelligent and friendly, but less so than Hispanic/Latino Americans. Black Americans are also generally perceived to be more friendly than intelligent by Asian Americans, with the exception of Hmongs, who on average assigned higher intelligence score than friendliness score to Black Americans. Similar convergence across Asian ethnic groups is observed in their attitudes towards Black Americans as they did in their attitudes towards Hispanic/Latinos. Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese respondents continue to exhibit exceptionally low affirmation of Black Americans' intelligence and friendliness both. All other ethnic groups exhibit similar attitudes, except for Hmongs and Cambodians, whose attitudes converge with Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean respondents regarding Black Americans' friendliness. Interestingly, Black respondents seem to not make intra-Asian distinctions, as they are marginally less affirming for Southeast Asians than other Asians, but more importantly, perceive all Asian subgroups more affirmatively than they do with White Americans (see Table 1 of Appendix A).

Examining intergroup contact patterns among Asian Americans further explains their symbolic boundary formation and relaxation patterns (See Figure 1.2). Across all ethnic groups, Asian Americans report the most frequent contact with fellow Asians, followed by White Americans, reflecting their warmer attitudes towards and more relaxed symbolic boundaries that they draw between themselves and Whites. However, Asian ethnic groups' differing contact frequency with other ethnoracial groups shows that intergroup affirmation is not necessarily rooted in more frequent interaction.

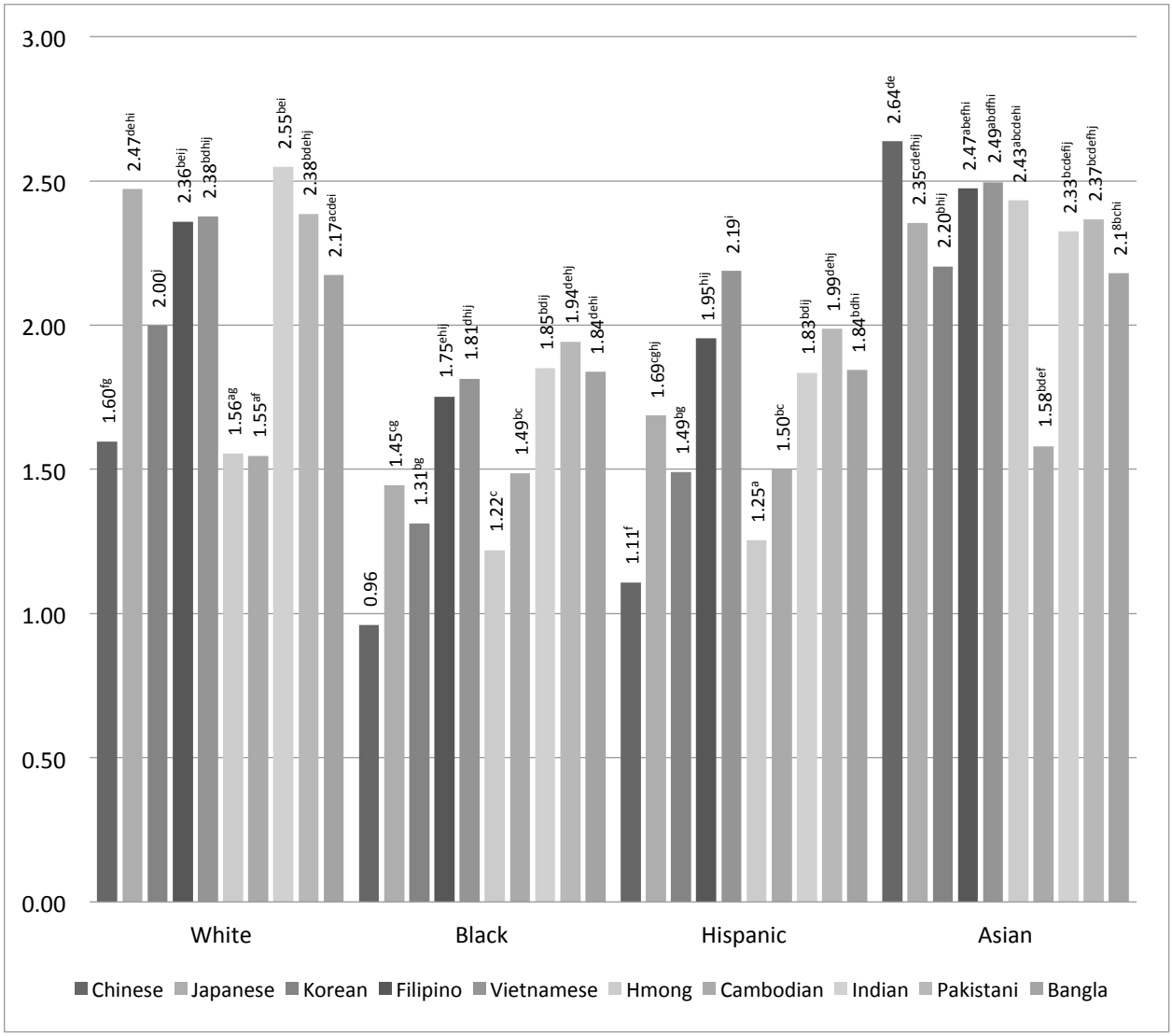

Figure 1.2. Comparsion of Means of Contact Frequency Measures with Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians in the 2016 NAAS data

**Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences (p<.05). Superscripts show relationships statistically NOT significantly different from a=Chinese; b=Japanese; c=Korean; d=Filipino; e=Vietnamese; f=Hmong; g=Cambodian; h=Indian; i=Pakistani; j=Bangladeshi.*

For instance, exceptionally hostile attitudes towards Black and Hispanic/Latino groups found among my Chinese respondents may be explained by their limited contacts with these two groups—Chinese respondents report the least frequent contact with Blacks and Hispanic/Latinos than other ethnic groups. The three South Asian groups (Indians, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi) report the most frequent contact with Blacks, reflecting their relatively warmer attitudes towards

Black Americans than other Asian groups. Interestingly, Vietnamese respondents report the highest frequency in contacts with Hispanic/Latinos, despite their exceptionally unfavorable attitudes toward this group. Based on these patterns of intergroup contact, the majority of Asian Americans' favorable perception of White Americans seems to not be grounded in social proximity. On the other hand, relatively infrequent contacts with Black and Hispanic/Latino groups are reflective of less favorable attitudes towards these two groups across all Asian ethnic groups of interest in this study.

Intra-Asian Symbolic Ethnic Boundary Formation

Examining how Asians of various ethnic backgrounds perceive members of other Asian ethnic groups, I find that Asian Americans categorically distinguish Southeast Asians from other Asian ethnic groups. East and South Asians are perceived to be intelligent but friendly (see Figures 1.3a and 1.3c), and Southeast Asians to be warm, but less competent (see Figure 1.3b). Yet, there exist nuanced differences in exactly how each Asian ethnic group perceives members of other groups, and therefore, how they draw symbolic boundaries between themselves and others.

First, looking at East Asians' (Chinese, Korean, and Japanese) intergroup attitudes, they perceived themselves more favorably than Southeast or South Asians in both measures, drawing potential symbolic boundaries between themselves and others. Although their overall attitudes are similar to one another, statistically significant differences were observed between Japanese and the two other groups in all measures, where Japanese respondents, compared to Koreans and Chinese, exhibit more favorable perceptions of all groups. Furthermore, despite similarities

between Chinese and Korean respondents' attitudes towards all groups, Koreans consistently reported least favorable attitudes towards all groups.

Interestingly, Japanese respondents' attitudes were similar to Filipinos, not their East Asian peers, across all intergroup attitudinal measures. They continuously perceive all other groups to be both competent and warm and whatever differences in Japanese and Filipinos' attitudes towards others captured in my data were statistically insignificant. While showing similar intergroup attitudes towards others as the Japanese, Filipino respondents significantly differed from their Vietnamese, Hmong, and Cambodians peers. Interestingly, Filipinos report significantly more positive perceptions of Southeast Asians' intelligence than the three other groups. Their attitudes towards Southeast Asian groups are similar to that towards East Asians, suggesting that Filipinos see themselves, and perhaps other Southeast Asians too, as similar to East Asians, but not South Asians.

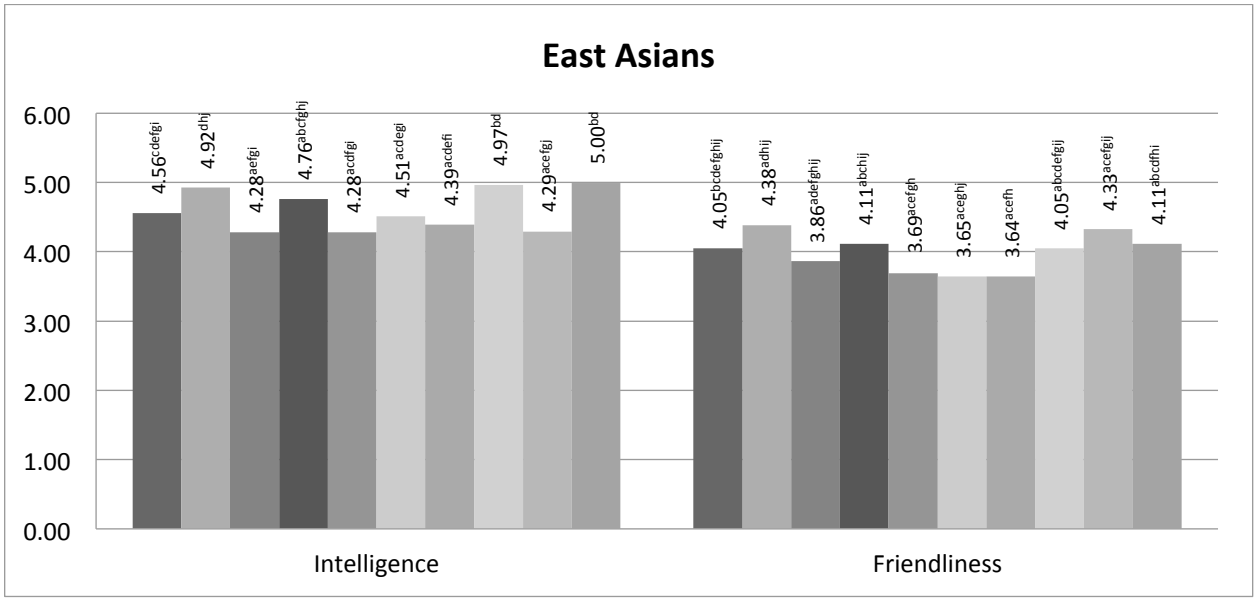

Figure 1.3a. Perceived Intelligence and Friendliness of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Ethnic Groups

**Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences (p<.05). Superscripts show relationships statistically NOT significantly different from a=Chinese; b=Japanese; c=Korean; d=Filipino; e=Vietnamese; f=Hmong; g=Cambodian; h=Indian; i=Pakistani; j=Bangladeshi.*

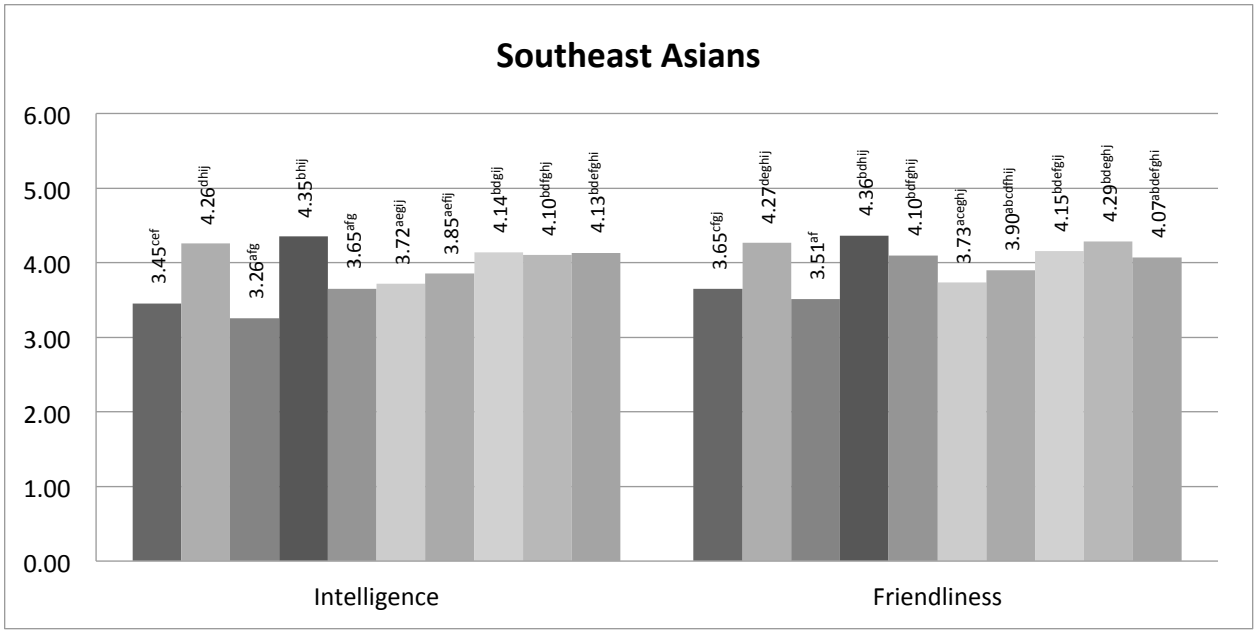

Figure 1.3b. Perceived Intelligence and Friendliness of Filipino, Vietnamese, Hmong, and Cambodian Ethnic Groups

**Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences (p<.05). Superscripts show relationships statistically NOT significantly different from a=Chinese; b=Japanese; c=Korean; d=Filipino; e=Vietnamese; f=Hmong; g=Cambodian; h=Indian; i=Pakistani; j=Bangladeshi.*

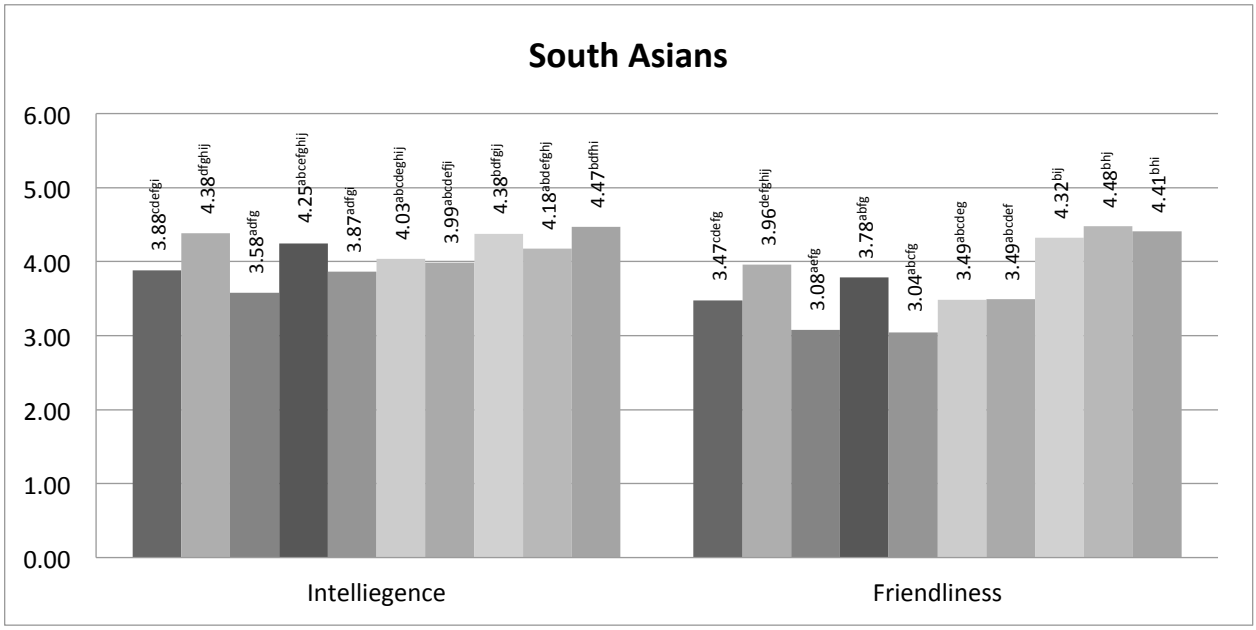

Figure 1.3b. Perceived Intelligence and Friendliness of Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi Ethnic Groups

**Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences (p<.05). Superscripts show relationships statistically NOT significantly different from a=Chinese; b=Japanese; c=Korean; d=Filipino; e=Vietnamese; f=Hmong; g=Cambodian; h=Indian; i=Pakistani; j=Bangladeshi.*

On the other hand, Vietnamese, Hmong, and Cambodian respondents report similar attitudes toward other groups as well as toward themselves. They exhibit more favorable attitudes toward East and South Asians than toward themselves in perceived intelligence, but perceive themselves to be friendlier than other Asian groups. Such similarities among Vietnamese, Hmong, and Cambodians in their symbolic intra-Asian boundary patterns may be rooted in their shared refugee backgrounds. These findings suggest that Southeast Asians, except Filipinos, also perceive themselves to be distinctive from other Asian ethnic groups.

South Asians (Indians, Pakistani, Bangladeshi) also exhibit similar attitudes towards other groups in general, with nuanced ethnic differences. Even though they exhibit the most favorable attitudes towards East Asians' intelligence, followed by South Asians and Southeast Asians, they perceive themselves to be friendlier than East Asians. This may be indicative of how South Asians intra-Asian symbolic boundaries are drawn to include East Asians as "one of us," but not Southeast Asians. Interestingly, Pakistani respondents consistently evaluate all groups to be more friendly than intelligent. Although the overall pattern of Pakistani respondents' understanding of intra-Asian boundary formation align with that of other groups, such qualitative difference in their evaluation of all Asians warrant further investigation.

Unfortunately, because the 2016 NAAS does not include disaggregated data on the frequency of contact among different Asian ethnic groups, I cannot investigate if there exists an ethnic variation in intra-Asian contacts and how this may relate to intra-Asian symbolic boundary patterns. However, the 2016 NAAS asked respondents if they consider Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Filipino, Indian, Pakistani, and Arab/Middle Easterners Asians (see Figure 1.4), allowing me to examine the parameters of "Asianness," or the symbolic pan-ethnic

boundaries of Asian America, and how they may differ by ethnicity. The three East Asian groups—Chinese, Korean, and Japanese—were perceived to be Asian by all ethnoracial groups, with Filipinos and Indians to a lesser extent.

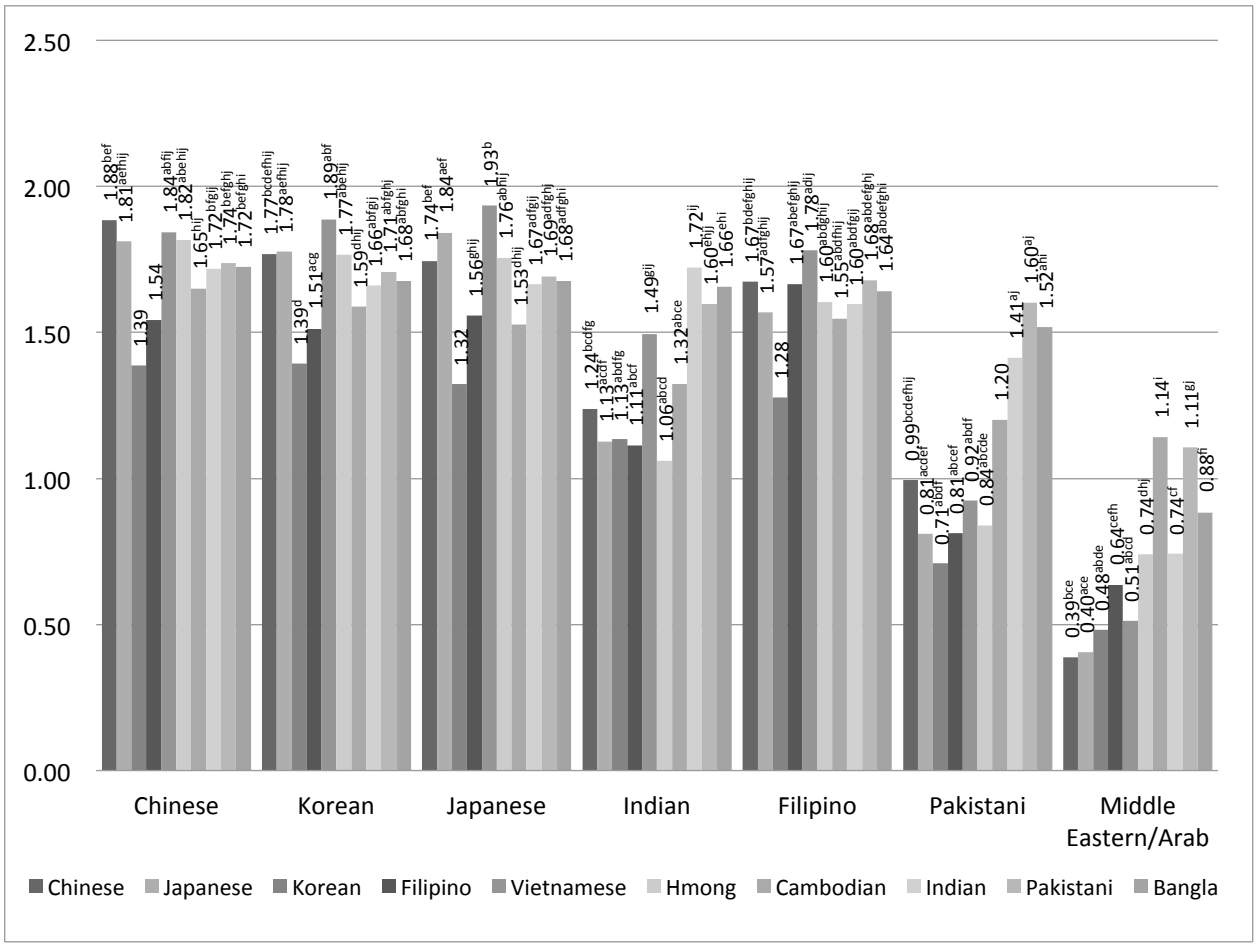

Figure 1.4. Comparsion of Means of Perceived Asianness Measures of Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Indian, Filipnio, Pakistani, and Middle Eastern/Arab Groups in the 2016 NAAS data
**Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences (p<.05). Superscripts show relationships statistically NOT significantly different from a=Chinese; b=Japanese; c=Korean; d=Filipino; e=Vietnamese; f=Hmong; g=Cambodian; h=Indian; i=Pakistani; j=Bangladeshi.*

Interestingly, opinions regarding Pakistanis' perceived Asianness varied the most. On the one hand, the majority of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Vietnamese, and Hmong respondents perceived Pakistani people to be "not likely" Asian. On the other hand, Pakistani people were perceived to be "somewhat Asian" by Cambodians, Indians, Pakistani, and

Bangladeshi respondents, but only Pakistani and Cambodian respondents were willing to extend such conceptualization of Asianness to Arab/Middle-Easterners. Considering that Cambodians are most isolated from other Asians and Pakistanis' questionable acceptance as an Asian ethnic group (see Figure 2), it is interesting to see them drawing the widest parameters of Asianness. These findings confirm previous research showing informal hierarchy in Asianness, where East Asians are considered Asian indubitably, but not South Asians and with Southeast Asians somewhere in between (Park 2008).

In sum, all Asian ethnic groups and White Americans perceive East Asians favorably, drawing more relaxed symbolic boundaries between themselves and East Asian ethnic groups. On the other hand, Southeast Asians, although considered more Asian than South Asians like Indians and Pakistanis, are perceived to be qualitatively different from other Asians by both Asian Americans and other ethnoracial group members, except for Black Americans. These findings show that the majority of Americans, regardless of their ethnoracial group membership, are aware of intra-Asian heterogeneity and evaluate different Asian ethnic groups according to such knowledge. Surprisingly, such symbolic group boundary patterns found above are not necessarily reflective of interracial group contacts of various Asian ethnic groups.

Socioeconomic Heterogeneity and Social Boundaries among Asian Americans

My findings show that all Asian ethnic groups in this study significantly differ from one another in their socio-demographic characteristics, suggesting that intra-Asian social boundaries exist (see Figure 1.5). Social group boundaries are rooted in objectified social differences, which are the most apparent in structural characteristics (Lamont and Molnar 2002), and lessened inequality in these characteristics is a prerequisite for group boundary relaxation (Alba 2009).

Further, Lamont and Molnar (2002) argue that once the meanings of symbolic boundaries are widely agreed upon and shape social interactions, they become social boundaries. Thus, intra-Asian social boundaries may further explain Asian Americans' heterogeneous symbolic boundary formation patterns found above.

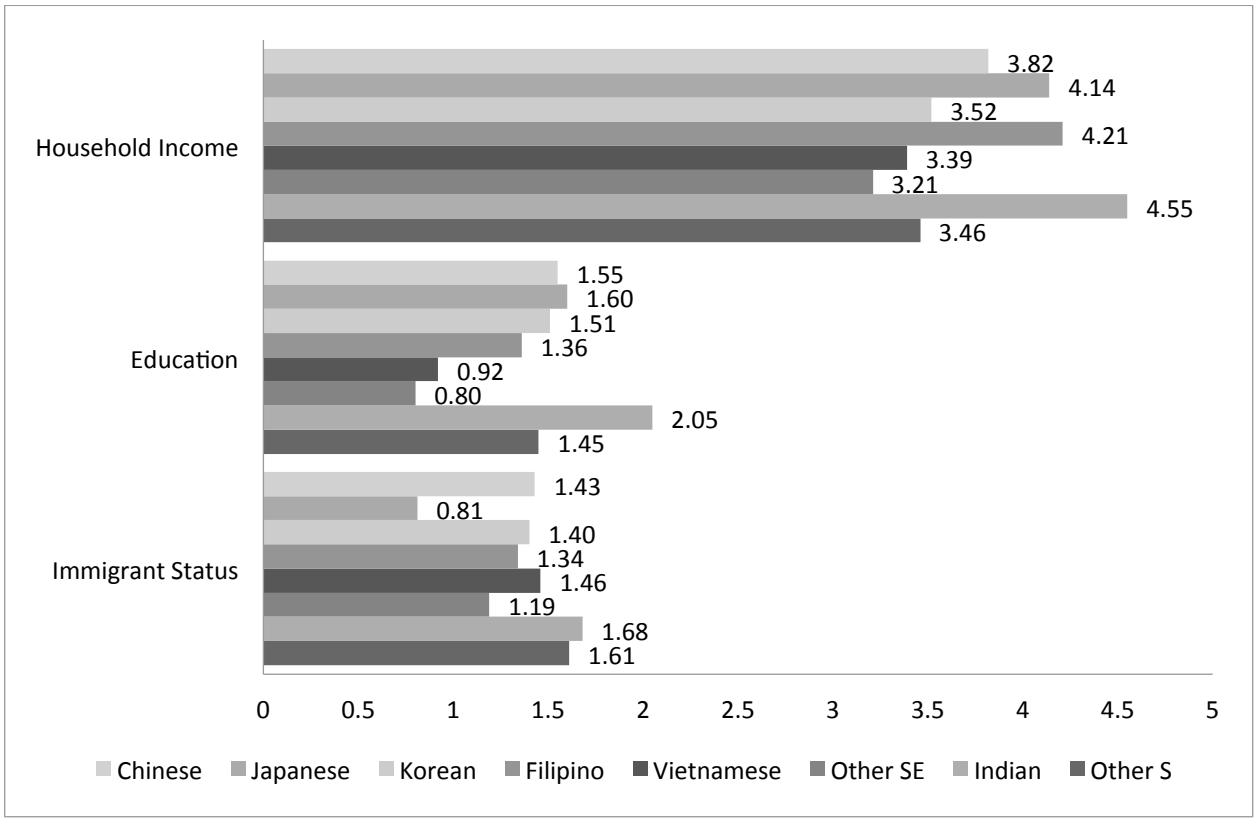

Figure 1.5. Comparsion of Means of Socio-demographic Measures in the Pooled ACS Data (years 2008-2016)

**Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences (p<.05). Superscripts show relationships statistically NOT significantly different from a=Chinese; b=Japanese; c=Korean; d=Filipino; e=Vietnamese; f=Other SE; g=Indian; h=Other South*

First, looking at compositional characteristics—immigrant generational status within each ethnic group—the Japanese ethnic group has the most native-born members, followed by Other Southeast Asians and Filipinos. Such composition may explain previously found more favorable attitudes towards other Asian ethnicities found among Japanese and Filipino

respondents—native-born Asian Americans are more likely to have developed pan-ethnic consciousness through shared experiences of racialization and more frequent exposure to pan-ethnic settings, especially at higher educational institutions (Espiritu 1992; Okamoto 2014; Lowe 1991). Thus, Japanese and Filipino attitudes may be rooted in their members' more pronounced pan-ethnic consciousness and solidarity due to the relatively larger native-born population in these groups. Even though other Southeast Asians also have similar compositional characteristics with regards to its members' immigrant generations status, they are significantly less privileged in socioeconomic characteristics—they are the least educated and report the lowest average household income among all ethnic groups of interest in this study.

With regards to socioeconomic differences, expected patterns emerged. The ethnic groups who are often characterized as the "model minorities"—Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans—exhibit significantly higher educational attainment and household income levels than Vietnamese and Other Southeast Asians. These findings provide evidence in support of refugee-origin Southeast Asians' continued socioeconomic disadvantages and downward mobility (Kelly 1986; Zhou and Xiong 2005). Yet, Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans are statistically significantly different from one another in all socio-demographic measures. Japanese respondents report a significantly larger native-born population, higher employment rate, educational attainment, and household income levels than the Chinese and Korean. Such differences may be due to continuing influx of immigrants from China and Korea, whereas immigration of Japan slowed down significantly since the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act due to lack of push factors in the home country, such as economic precariousness, political turmoil, and civil war (Pew Research Center 2013). In other words, the Chinese and Korean ethnic groups have been experiencing continued immigrant replenishments, possibly hindering more pronounced

group-level upward mobility, whereas Japanese Americans' integration is more visible due as they may be less likely to experience socioeconomic vulnerabilities related to immigrant status.

Similarly, Filipinos are significantly different from the Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian groups in all socio-demographic measures. They exhibit significantly higher rates of educational attainment levels and household income. Likewise, Indians also reported statistically significantly higher levels of employment rate, educational attainment levels, and household income levels than other South Asians. Despite their historic commonality in immigration under empire and war, Filipino and Indian immigrants have different immigration history and contexts from their other Southeast and other South Asian counterparts. Thus, current advantageous structural characteristics of highly skilled, high-income Filipino and Indian Americans may be distinguishing them from their other Southeast and South Asian counterparts, who experienced different immigration paths to the United States and are disproportionately represented in low-wage occupational sectors (Kibria 1996; Zhou and Xiong 2005; Ocampo 2013, 2014).

Descriptive analyses of the 2016 NAAS respondents further confirm these findings (see Figure 1.6).[7] As in the ACS dataset, differences among the three East Asian groups' socioeconomic characteristics are statistically significant. Indians report significantly higher levels of educational attainment and household income than Pakistani and Bangladeshi respondents among South Asian groups. Among Southeast Asian ethnic groups, Filipinos show socioeconomic characteristics more similar to that of Japanese and Koreans than to Vietnamese, Hmongs, and Cambodians. Although statistically significant differences are observed between Vietnamese and two other refugee-heavy Southeast ethnic groups (Hmongs and Cambodians),

[7] Explanations for how these measurements are coded available in Appendix A.

these three groups exhibit the lowest levels of educational attainment and household income compared to any other ethnic groups included in the analyses.

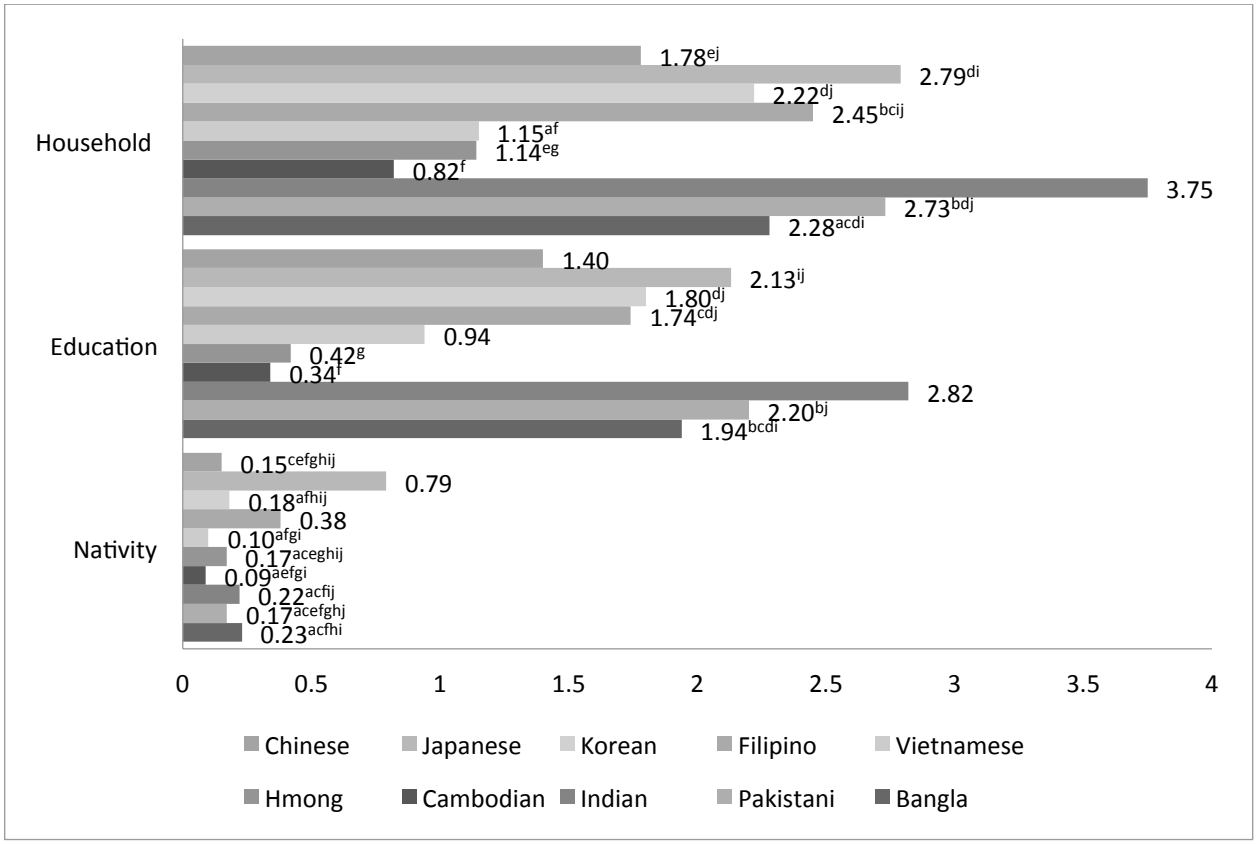

Figure 1.6. Comparsion of Means of Socio-demographic Measures in the 2016 NAAS data
**Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences (p<.05). Superscripts show relationships statistically NOT significantly different from a=Chinese; b=Japanese; c=Korean; d=Filipino; e=Vietnamese; f=Hmong; g=Cambodian; h=Indian; i=Pakistani; j=Bangladeshi.*

Together, I find lessened socioeconomic inequality among the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and Indian groups, but the differences observed among these groups were still statistically significant. Furthermore, statistically significant differences between Indians and other South Asians in both symbolic and social boundary measures found thus far may be reflective of the contentious history among South Asian countries (Bose and Jalal 2002), as well as different histories of migration to the United States as well as other destinations (most notably,

the United Kingdom). Most importantly, my results show more pronounced social structural differences generally aligning with symbolic boundary patterns found above, as Southeast Asians with refugee backgrounds exhibit statistically significant socioeconomic disadvantages in comparison to other Asian ethnic groups. Yet, socioeconomic differences alone do not necessarily explain ethnic variation in interracial group relations among Asian Americans, as even the most disadvantaged Asian ethnic groups show rather unfavorable attitudes towards Black Americans, despite their similar social location and more frequent intergroup contact, as shown in the case of Vietnamese Americans.

Asian Intermarriage and Boundary Crossing

Considering the rigid inter- and intra-group boundaries Asian Americans draw, it is imperative to examine where these boundaries are crossed in order to better understand the dynamic nature of Asian American ethnoracial boundaries and pan-ethnic groupness. Overall, all Asian ethnic groups of interest exhibit statistically significantly difference in their intermarriage patterns (see Figure 1.7).

Interestingly, shared structural characteristics (and therefore, allegedly more relaxed social boundaries between themselves and White middle-class Americans) among Asian ethnic groups do not necessarily guarantee similar intermarriage rates. For instance, despite their shared relative socioeconomic advantages, Japanese and Filipinos in my sample are the most intermarried with more than half of their married population reporting a spouse of a different ethnoracial background, and Indians least intermarried. Much of the discrepancies may be explained by each ethnic group's size and culturally specific marital practices than their

symbolic and social boundary rigidity, as group boundary formation patterns found above seem to shape only some Asian ethnic groups' marital boundary crossing patterns.

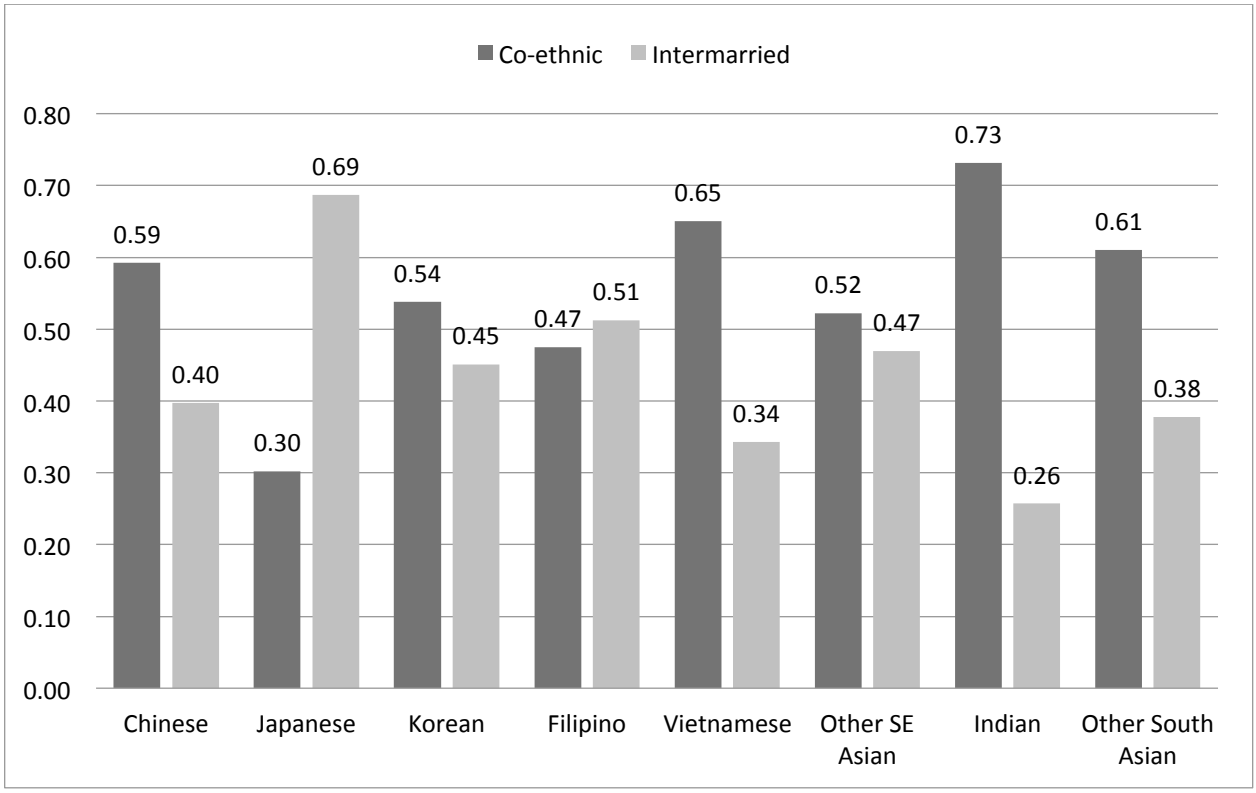

Figure 1.7. Marriage Type by ethnicity
**Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences (p<.05). Superscripts show relationships statistically NOT significant among a=Chinese; b=Japanese; c=Korean; d=Filipino; e=Vietnamese; f=Other SE; g=Indian; h=Other South.*

When disaggregated by respondents' spousal race (see Figure 1.8), my findings show that intermarriage with Whites is most common among the Japanese, followed by Korean and Filipinos, and least common among Indians and Vietnamese. As shown above, Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos are among the most advantaged Asian ethnic groups in socioeconomic measures, and Vietnamese, one of the most disadvantaged. Considering that the most intermarried and the least intermarried groups all share similarly favorable attitudes toward White Americans, these intermarriage patterns show that social racial boundaries rooted in structural differences may be harder to cross for disadvantaged groups like the Vietnamese.

Asian intermarriage with a Black partner is not common across all groups and yet, my findings show interesting patterns. Filipinos and Japanese report the most frequent intermarriage with a Black and partner, and the Chinese, Vietnamese, and Indians report the least. Chinese and Vietnamese reported the least favorable perception and Filipino and Japanese more favorable perceptions of Blacks in the 2016 NAAS data, suggesting the significance of symbolic boundaries in shaping Black-Asian intermarriage outcomes. Moreover, high rates of intermarriage between Other Southeast Asians—the most structurally disadvantaged group in my sample—and Black Americans further suggest that relaxed social boundaries, rooted in similar structural location in the larger society, may still facilitate intermarriage between two groups who do not necessarily share mutual symbolic affirmation.

Surprisingly, interracial marriage with a Hispanic/Latino partner was more common than intermarriage with a White partner for all groups, except among the Japanese and Koreans. Still, Japanese Americans, compared to other ethnic groups, most frequently intermarried with Hispanic/Latino partners, followed by Filipinos. Such intermarriage was least common among Indians. Again, Filipinos and Japanese exhibited the most favorable attitudes toward Hispanic/Latinos among all Asian groups. Moreover, high rates of intermarriage between Filipinos and Hispanic/Latinos may be explained by their similar Spanish and American colonial histories, language, sir names, and religious and other cultural customs (Ocampo 2014). Considering that Asian American interracial marriages are often socioeconomically homogamous, facilitated by shared educational and/or occupational status and domains (Qian et al. 2012; Okamoto 2007), these findings are reflective of similar internal heterogeneity between two groups. Specifically, Asian Americans and Hispanic/Latino Americans from various social strata may find a marital partner of comparable structural backgrounds and relevant experiences.

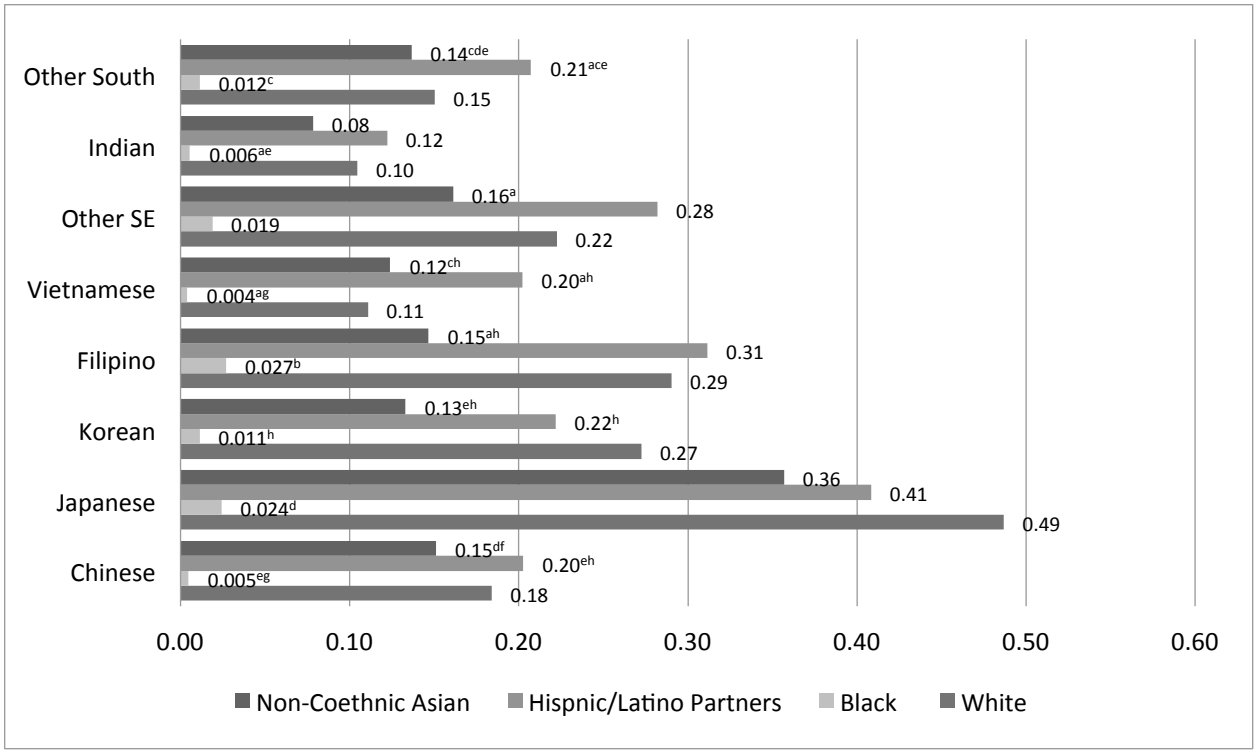

Figure 1.8. Interracial Marriage (Partner's Race) Types by Ethnicity

**Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences (p<.05). Superscripts show relationships statistically NOT significant among a=Chinese; b=Japanese; c=Korean; d=Filipino; e=Vietnamese; f=Other SE; g=Indian; h=Other South.*

When looking at interethnic marriage patterns, interesting patterns emerge. First, Japanese Americans exhibit the higher rates of intermarriage perhaps due to their smaller group size, where the availability of a potential co-ethnic partner is limited. Whereas the Japanese ethnic group makes up only 6% of my sample population, they account for 28% of all interethnic marriages observed in my data (see Appendix A, Figure A1). Furthermore, crossing symbolic ethnic boundaries in marriage may be easier for many Japanese Americans than other Asian Americans who do not have as favorable attitudes towards others and/or are perceived as favorably by others as all other groups perceive the Japanese favorably. Japanese Americans also exhibit the most favorable perception of all other groups among the eight ethnic groups of interest in this study. Similarly, Indians' significantly low rates of intermarriage may be due to

their larger group size, indicating an abundance of available potential co-ethnic partners, coupled with their culturally specific marriage practices. Transnational arranged marriage with partners in the home country is a common practice among Indians and so is high involvement of parents and other family members in arranging both domestic and transnational co-ethnic marriages (Leonard 2011).

The remaining Asian ethnic groups show subtle, but statistically significantly different rates of interethnic marriage. Koreans, Vietnamese, and other South Asians all exhibit similar rates of interethnic marriage despite their different immigration histories and socioeconomic characteristics. As shown above, Koreans and Vietnamese respondents both exhibit the lowest levels of ideological affirmation of other Asian groups, and this may have contributed to their relative lower interethnic marriage rates. Other South Asians, like Indians, also have persisting transnational arranged marriage practices (Purkayastha 2005).

Chinese, Filipinos, and other Southeast Asians also exhibit similar rates, slightly higher than that of Koreans, Vietnamese, and Other South Asians, despite their differing group-level characteristics. Considering that the Chinese and Filipinos are two of the largest Asian ethnic groups in the United States, and other Southeast Asians the smallest (Pew Research Center 2013), their group size and within-group heterogeneity may be able to explain their similar interethnic marriage rates. Members of smaller ethnic groups like other Southeast Asians have limited availability of potential co-ethnic partners, but may find a potential partner in a larger ethnic group, like the Chinese and Filipinos. Particularly, these groups share certain social or symbolic similarities, due to their larger group size, internal diversity, and ethnic commonalities across national boundaries.

In fact, across all groups, when Asian Americans marry an Asian partner of different ethnicity, they most often marry a Chinese partner, with the exception of South Asians and Indians, who most often marry each other (see Appendix B, Tables B1 and B2). Other groups favorably perceive the Chinese as East Asians, and therefore, they might be more attractive non-co-ethnic partner option for many non-Chinese Asians. And yet, the Chinese as a group exhibit relative lower interethnic marriage rates. I argue that the group's large size and internal heterogeneity may also allow many Chinese Americans to find a co-ethnic partner more easily and conveniently than a different-ethnic Asian partner when they look for an Asian partner in general, contributing to their relatively lower rates of intermarriage compared to other Asian ethnic groups with similar characteristics and intergroup attitudes. Similar processes may be driving South Asian-Indian intermarriages, too.

Taken together, my findings show that symbolic, social, and marital boundaries among Asian Americans do not necessarily overlap with one another. More favorable perceptions of White Americans do not translate into more frequent intermarriage for Southeast Asians, perhaps due to their structural disadvantages and less frequent contact with Whites in general. Yet, less favorable perceptions also do not necessarily mean lower intermarriage rates, as intermarriage with a Hispanic/Latino partner is prominent across all Asian ethnic groups. Similar disconnect between symbolic and social boundary and marital boundary crossing patterns among Asian Americans. Smaller ethnic group size seems to facilitate more out-marriage, regardless of the rigidity of symbolic and/or social ethnic boundaries. Moreover, group boundaries that matter in intermarriage may be different from that of overall intra-Asian group relations. Interestingly, whereas intra-Asian boundaries distinguish Southeast Asians from other Asian ethnic groups, the

intra-Asian symbolic boundaries in marriage seem to separate marriage markets for South Asians from other Asians.

DISCUSSION

My findings show that despite pan-ethnic group designation based on several shared characteristics, Asian Americans draw ethnically distinctive inter- and intra-group boundaries, reflecting ethnic heterogeneity. However, the larger patterns found in this study reveal certain consensus among Asian Americans regarding how they see themselves in the larger ethnoracial hierarchy both within the pan-ethnic and the larger societies. More specifically, I find that 1) all Asian Americans draw relaxed symbolic boundaries between themselves and White Americans than between themselves and other minority groups, but such perceptions are not necessarily rooted in intergroup contact frequency, nor are they reflective of racial group boundary crossing patterns in marriage, 2) intra-Asian boundary patterns separate Southeast Asian groups with refugee backgrounds from other Asian ethnic groups, and yet, such intra-Asian boundaries do not necessarily threaten or undermine Asian pan-ethnicity as a political project, and 3) while marital boundary crossing patterns differ from boundary formation patterns, they reflect how ethnic heterogeneity may further perpetuate existing boundaries and social inequalities among Asian Americans.

First, I find ethnically distinctive symbolic boundaries between Asians and non-Asians, and yet, the general pattern shows that Asian Americans largely subscribe to the existing U.S. racial hierarchy. Whereas Asian Americans exhibit the most affirmative perceptions of White Americans in both intelligence and friendliness, as expected, they affirm Hispanic/Latino and

Black Americans to a lesser extent and consider them to be more friendly than intelligent. Such interracial group attitudes may be reflective of Whites' social position as the dominant native group as well as Asian Americans' attempts and/or desires to be a part of this dominant society by separating themselves from other minorities (Kim and Min 2000; Choo and Feagin 2010), since their perceptions seem to be less rooted in actual intergroup contact patterns. Yet, boundary crossing observed in Asian American intermarriage patterns do not necessarily reflect the intergroup perceptions found here, as I find the most common Asian American interracial marriage to be between Asian and Hispanic/Latino spouses. Interestingly, all three non-Asian racial groups exhibit the most affirming attitudes towards East Asians than other Asians. These findings extend previous studies on intergroup perceptions. Not only do members of the dominant group distinguish minority subgroups from one another by various standards (Cuddy et al. 2009; Fiske et al. 2002; T.Lee and Fiske 2006; Jimenez et al. 2015), but members of other minority groups do so, too. Thus, ethnic heterogeneity among Asian Americans contributes to differential attitudes towards out-groups among Asian Americans as well as out-group members' differential perceptions of Asian Americans.

Second, Asian American intra-group boundary patterns are similarly ethnically heterogeneous as their intergroup boundary patterns, with the general pattern distinguishing Southeast Asians with refugee backgrounds as qualitatively different from their non-refugee counterparts. Not only are refugee-heavy groups more disadvantaged socioeconomically, but they are also perceived differently from other Asians in general—whereas East and South Asians are considered highly competent, but moderately friendly, Southeast Asians are perceived to be slightly friendlier than they are competent. Interestingly, Southeast Asians themselves may be

aware of their differently situated positions from other Asians, as they also perceive themselves to be less competent, but more friendly than other Asians.

Their refugee-specific socioeconomic vulnerabilities, downward mobility patterns, and physical distance from other Asians (Gordon 1987; Kelly 1986; Ngo and Lee 2007), coupled with distinctive preference for their national-origin identities over hyphenated and Asian American identities (Zhou and Xiong 2005), may have contributed to more pronounced symbolic and social boundaries between Southeast Asians and others. Yet, their perceived friendliness allows other Asian Americans to maintain empathetic attitudes towards these groups. Such social and symbolic boundary formations have important implications for intra-Asian dynamics, as symbolic differences or categorization often shape social interactions in becoming social boundaries. Such intra-Asian perceptions have important implications for how different Asian ethnic groups integrate into the larger Asian American pan-ethnic group as well as the mainstream U.S. society. Intergroup perceptions of competence and warmth have been found to influence majority group members' preferences for immigrant/minority groups' integration style (Lee and Fiske 2006). Moreover, considering that ideological affirmation is crucial to group boundary relaxation (Alba 2009), more rigid boundaries found between Southeast Asian refugee groups and others may lead to social exclusion of Southeast Asian refugees from pan-ethnic Asian communities.

Despite more rigid boundaries observed between refugee-origin Southeast Asians and other Asians, I argue that intra-Asian symbolic boundary patterns found in this study do not necessarily reflect variation in pan-ethnic identity and solidarity found in previous research. Previously, Koreans have been found to be most likely and Japanese and Filipinos least likely to

adopt pan-ethnic identity and accept racial commonality of various ethnic groups (Wong et al. 2011). However, my findings reveal the most affirming perceptions of others among the Japanese and the least affirming among Koreans, indicating that pan-ethnic consciousness do not necessarily reflect these more nuanced intergroup dynamics among Asian Americans. Koreans' more stringent attitudes toward other Asians may be explained by their high levels of ethnic attachment. Koreans have been found to report higher levels of ethnic attachment than other ethnic groups (Min and Kim 2009) and exhibit high social ethnic attachment where their immediate social networks (friends and significant others) consist mostly of other Koreans (Hong and Min 1999). Thus, intergroup attitudes found in this study may be reflective of symbolic boundaries rooted in ethnically different cultural practices in forming social ties, rather than a group's pan-ethnic affiliation. This may also explain why and how Southeast Asians could be considered qualitative different but still be included in the pan-ethnic Asian American group in other Asians' perceptions.

Furthermore, more pronounced or rigid group boundaries do not necessarily lead to less frequent boundary crossing, and more relaxed group boundaries also do not guarantee more frequent crossing of these boundaries in marriage. In fact, my findings suggest that ethnoracial boundary crossing via marriage is both facilitated and limited by each ethnic group's compositional and structural characteristics. For example, despite similar experiences of racialization, socioeconomic characteristics, and reception by other ethnoracial groups, marital boundary crossing patterns of the Japanese differ from their Chinese and Korean counterparts significantly, suggesting that even when social and symbolic group boundaries may align, they do not guarantee similar permeability or boundary crossing patterns. More importantly, the Japanese group is much smaller in size and intermarries at a significantly higher rate than most

other single ethnic groups in this study. Similarly, Other Southeast and Other South Asians exhibit comparable rates of interracial and interethnic marriages than their larger and socioeconomically more advantaged counterparts. These findings suggest that group size of an ethnic group, and consequently, the (limited) availability of potential co-ethnic partner, seems to facilitate intermarriage for smaller ethnic groups, regardless of their structural characteristics.

In addition to group size, my findings hint at the importance of symbolic differences. For example, despite their relatively unfavorable attitudes toward and limited contacts with Hispanic/Latinos and significantly lower overall rates of intermarriage, the Vietnamese interracial marriage rates with Hispanic/Latino populations were comparable to groups with higher overall interracial marriage rates, such as Japanese and other South Asians. Further, Vietnamese respondents in my study exhibit similar patterns of intergroup attitudes toward and contacts with Hispanic/Latino and Black populations, but intermarry with Hispanic/Latino partners more frequently than with Black partners. This suggests that some categorical differences (symbolic boundaries) between groups may be easier to overlook, manipulate, and/or cross in marriage than others. In fact, all Asian groups exhibit relatively less favorable attitudes, and therefore, more rigid symbolic boundaries, between themselves and Hispanic/Latino and Black Americans, but intermarry most often with a Hispanic/Latino partner. Thus, the *types* of symbolic group boundaries may be more important than the *rigidity* of certain symbolic boundaries. In other words, *how* one is similar to or different from various Asian Americans may be particularly important for Asian Americans intermarriage decisions and outcomes.

Similarly, the boundaries between South Asians and other Asians may not be the most rigid, but seem to matter in a distinctive manner in the interethnic marriage market. Indians,

despite their favorable perceptions of others and significantly more advantageous socioeconomic characteristics, exhibit the lowest rates of intermarriage of all Asian ethnic groups in this study. Further, regardless of symbolic and social boundary formation patterns, Indians and South Asians are disproportionately marrying each other when compared to other Asians. This may be explained by South Asians' cultural distinctiveness from other Asians in marital decisions, behaviors, and practices. Indians and other South Asians share specific cultural factors in marriage, such as multi-day and religiously specific wedding ceremonies, the prevalence of (transnational) arranged marriages, and the importance of family, especially parental, influence in choosing marital partners (Leonard 2011; Purkayastha 2005). Thus, despite their affirmative attitudes toward and favorable perception by others, Indians and South Asians may be considered symbolically different in intra-Asian intermarriage market, contributing to their ethnically distinctive intermarriage patterns.

Further, intra-Asian (or interethnic) intermarriage patterns found in this study may also be indicative of how marital group boundary crossing is perpetuating unequal socioeconomic advantage accumulation among Asian Americans and reinforcing intra-Asian boundaries. Intermarriage has historically provided a mechanism through which one maximizes or multiplies their socioeconomic and/or racial status advantages (Pasco 2009; Kalmijn 1998; Davis 1941; Merton 1941). Generally, Asian American intermarriage, both interracial and intra-Asian, is socioeconomically homogamous (Qian et al. 2012; Okamoto 2007; Liang and Ito 1999; S.Lee and Fernandez 1998; S.Lee and Boyd 2008). Although I did not find any convincing evidence of ethnic group level socioeconomic homogamy in intra-Asian intermarriage in this study, the continuing prominence of Asian-White intermarriage, especially among socioeconomically

better off and symbolically better affirmed Asian ethnic groups, hints at the possibility of social status and/or advantage accumulation via marriage.

Moreover, the fact that ethnic groups with significantly different structural characteristics are intermarrying a Hispanic/Latino partner at similar rates further suggests that there may exist two separate, and possibly unequal, intermarriage markets for Asian-Hispanic/Latino intermarriage: one for the socioeconomically advantaged, and another for those who are similarly disadvantaged. Likewise, I find that most intra-Asian intermarriage involves a Chinese partner (or an Indian partner in the case of South Asians), a member of more socioeconomically advantaged Asian ethnic group. Not only do socioeconomically better off Asian ethnic groups often enjoy warmer reception by other Asians, but integration into these groups via marriage may also guarantee access to ethnically specific resources and opportunities to a certain extent. Thus, the potential for multiplying socioeconomic advantage via marriage may be influencing the desirability of a partner outside one's own ethnoracial group, in addition to an ethnic group's compositional and cultural characteristics. As a result, Asian American intermarriage may perpetuate or transform patterns of social inequality among Asian Americans as well as in the larger society.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I examined how intra-Asian ethnic heterogeneity may be reflected in their symbolic and social boundary formation and crossing. I found that Asian Americans draw ethnically heterogeneous symbolic boundaries that generally separate more disadvantaged groups, namely, Southeast Asians, Blacks, and Hispanic/Latinos, as qualitatively different from

their more advantaged White, East Asian, and South Asian peers. Findings from this chapter have a couple important implications for Asian American pan-ethnicity, intermarriage, and racial group positioning.

First, even though intra-Asian boundaries found in this study do not undermine the necessity and utility of Asian American pan-ethnicity, they suggest possible intra-Asian tensions that exist and may further manifest in the near future. Nearly four decades removed from Asian refugee groups' first arrivals in the United States, they are still lagging behind their non-refugee peers in various socioeconomic measures. Moreover, both Asian Americans and non-Asians seem to be aware of such socioeconomic discrepancies as all respondents seem to consider refugee-origin Southeast Asian to be different from other Asian groups, although the extent of such evaluation vary by ethnoracial group membership. Such perceptions have important implications for how different Asian ethnic groups integrate into the larger Asian American pan-ethnic group as well as the mainstream U.S. society. Intergroup perceptions of competence and warmth investigated in this study have been found to influence majority group members' preferences for immigrant/minority groups' integration style (T. Lee and Fiske 2008).

Furthermore, as Lamont and Molnar (2002) claimed, once the meanings of symbolic boundaries are shared widely and start shaping patterns of social interaction and exclusion, they develop and reinforce social boundaries. Thus, even though Asian American pan-ethnicity was developed to benefit all Asians as marginalized ethnoracial minorities, differential access to and distribution of resources and opportunities are occurring within the pan-ethnic boundaries and limiting some groups' mobility patterns (Epsiritu 1992). If refugee-origin Asian ethnic groups'

relative class disadvantage continues without being remedied by pan-ethnic representation and solidarity, intra-Asian ethnic tensions may continue (Espiritu and Ong 1991).

Second, the group boundary formation and crossing patterns observed in this study directly questions Asian Americans' alleged "whitening" in their racial positioning in the United States. Even though many scholars have argued for Asian Americans' "honorary White" status (Bonilla-Silva 2004) and blurred group boundaries between Asians and Whites in the United States (Wimmer 2008; J. Lee and Bean 2010; Alba 2009), the actual patterns of social cohesion among different ethnoracial groups via intermarriage may be positioning many Asian Americans closer to similarly positioned non-Whites than Whites in recent years. Previously, scholars have found that Asian-White intermarriage is on the decline, whereas Asian interethnic marriages are on the rise (S.M. Lee and Fernandez 1998; S.M. Lee and Boyd 2008; Min 2006; Qian and Lichter 2007). In this study, I have found that the most common type of Asian interracial unions is between Asian and Hispanic/Latino partners.

This may be due to the large group size of Hispanic/Latino population, coupled with their internal heterogeneity in individual immigrant generation status, socioeconomic characteristics, and cultural and social dispositions. In other words, individual Asian Americans and Hispanic/Latinos may find a partner with comparable structural similarities and immigrant-related experiences at various social locations and such individual level similarities facilitate loosening of symbolic boundaries and intermarriage between two groups, regardless of group-level attitudes toward other racial groups found in this study. Being able to find a partner who is similar in their structural characteristics and immigrant-related experiences may further frame Latino/Hispanic partner selection as crossing cultural boundaries rather than racial ones.

Previously, Lee and Bean (2010) found that most Asians and Hispanic/Latinos who married White partners perceive their unions to be inter*cultural* rather than interracial, and Asian-Hispanic/Latino unions may be understood similarly. If such dominance of Asian-non-White intermarriage persists, driven by ethnically heterogeneous socioeconomic, cultural, and attitudinal characteristics, this type of union may not only provide different paths of marital integration for both Asians and other non-Whites (namely, Hispanic/Latinos), but also may transform existing intra- and inter-Asian ethnoracial boundaries and relations accordingly.

While the findings from this chapter reveal ethnic heterogeneity among various Asian groups and its implications on their boundary formation and crossing patterns, they also point to areas that require further empirical attention. First and foremost, this study is descriptive in its nature and therefore, does not tell *how* ethnic heterogeneity and boundary formation and crossing patterns may be correlated. In order to better understand this relationship, future study should utilize necessary statistical methods in exploring the strongest predictors of boundary formation as well as intermarriage at both ethnic group and individual levels. Further, the extremely small group size of several Southeast and South Asian groups limited the extent of disaggregation in this study. The oversampling of smaller groups such as Hmongs, Cambodians, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis in the 2016 NAAS dataset allowed for a meaningful comparison across these groups and yet, the semantic differential measures of intergroup attitudes available 2016 NAAS posed some challenges in adequately capturing Asian Americans' intergroup attitudes. Most notably, the grouping of ethnicities used in the 2016 NAAS conflates and masks heterogeneity among them and its implications for out-group perceptions of these ethnic groups. Lumping Asian ethnic groups based on similar geographic location of their country of origin masks

important heterogeneity in the context in which they migrated to the United States, contentious home country politics and histories, and ethno-religious diversity and tensions.

In sum, ethnic heterogeneity may be contributing to divergent symbolic and social boundary formation and crossing patterns both within the pan-ethnic Asian American group and between Asian Americans and non-Asians. While Asian pan-ethnicity's political function cannot be undermined, findings from this chapter show possibly changing intra-group dynamics, where the social meanings and boundaries of pan-ethnic "Asian American" may differ by ethnicity and social context. The development and crossing of intra-Asian boundaries shown in this chapter suggests that intra-Asian boundaries are fuzzy and yet, meaningful. Such nuanced intra-Asian boundaries rooted in ethnic heterogeneity are not only suggestive of how Asian American pan-ethnicity functions differently at various levels of the society and by ethnicity, but also informs Asian Americans' interracial group boundaries and relations. While I did not find any convincing evidence of Asian Americans' "whitening" in the context of the larger U.S race relations, high rates of Asian-non-White intermarriage found in this study suggests a possibility of minority-minority incorporation via marriage across all social classes among Asian Americans. Continuing empirical and theoretical attention on Asian American ethnic heterogeneity in relation to intra- and inter-group boundary formation and relaxation may help us to better understand how Asian pan-ethnicity sustains itself through constantly changing Asian Americans' intra- and inter-group dynamics and racial group positioning in the larger society.

CHAPTER 2:

Asian American Intermarriage as a Path of Minority Incorporation

INTRODUCTION

Asian Americans, who make up the fastest growing racial group in the United States, are often described as the "model minority," characterized by their socioeconomic success and mobility (Pew Research Center 2012; Hoeffel et al. 2012). In fact, many scholars argue that Asian Americans' socioeconomic mobility has contributed to the blurring boundaries between Asians and whites in various structural and cultural measures (Wimmer 2008; Lee and Bean 2010; Alba 2009). However, upon taking a closer look, one could see that Asian ethnic groups exhibit socioeconomic heterogeneity, and such intra-Asian heterogeneity often translate into diverging patterns of assimilation, or integration into the mainstream (White) American society (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou and Xiong 2005).[8]

For instance, many upwardly mobile Asian Americans are Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Indian immigrants and their children who have benefited directly from the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act. These ethnic groups have longer histories in the United States and exhibit internal socioeconomic heterogeneity that leads to cross-class interactions and diffusion of resources and culture (Lee and Zhou 2015; Tran 2015). On the other hand, smaller, newer, and under-resourced groups like Hmongs, Cambodians, and Laotians that emigrated to the United

[8] In this chapter, I will use the terms assimilation, integration, and (minority) incorporation interchangeably to refer to the process through which Asian Americans become a part of the larger American society structurally, culturally, and socially.

States as refugees often exhibit socioeconomic disadvantages, especially in education and occupation (Ngo and Lee 2007). Yet, such internal diversity among Asian American ethnic groups is seldom scrutinized in the study of Asian American integration into the mainstream American society.

With growing second generation population and continuing immigrant replenishment, the study of Asian American assimilation needs to account for not only ethnic heterogeneity in compositional and socioeconomic characteristics, but also steps that occur beyond acculturation and structural assimilation. Most notably, social, especially racial, integration that occurs at the micro, interpersonal level has not garnered much empirical attention. For instance, intermarriage, or marriage between members of a minority group and the non-immigrant, native group, is an important indicator of the minority group's integration into the host society, and simultaneously, reflects relaxed group boundaries and narrowed social distance between the groups (Fu 2001; Rosenfeld 2002; Qian et al 2012; Pagnini and Morgan 1990). Gordon (1964) posited that marital assimilation, or intermarriage, is a *crucial and necessary* step that leads to the loss of (minority) ethnic identity and becoming integrated into the larger society. Yet, only a few studies consider intermarriage as in Asian American assimilation patterns and experiences (see Okamoto 2007; Qian et al. 2012).

Therefore, investigating ethnically diverging intermarriage pattern provide a valuable insight into the relationship between out-marriages and integration into the larger U.S. society among Asian Americans. The research question guiding the analyses in this chapter asks: *How does ethnic variation in intermarriage outcome relate to Asian Americans' integration into the mainstream American society?* Using data from the American Community Survey (ACS) pooled

from years 2008 through 2016, I investigate the relationship between the extent to which Asian Americans are structurally assimilated and their intermarriage outcomes, and how this relationship may vary by ethnicity. In so doing, I explore both interracial (with a non-Asian partner) and interethnic (with a different-ethnic Asian partner) marriages and how they may provide diverging assimilation paths for Asian Americans.

I find that intermarriage does function as an incorporation mechanism for Asian Americans, providing different paths according to one's spousal race. Specifically, middle-class incorporation, or marital integration accompanied by upward social mobility, seems most likely among those who intermarry with a different-ethnic Asian or White partner at the aggregate. On the other hand, Asian American intermarriage with a Hispanic or Black partner is extremely rare and occurs mostly among socioeconomically disadvantaged Asian Americans. Further, nuanced ethnic differences found in this study suggest that any type of out-marriage, regardless of spousal race, provides a path to "become American," particularly for upwardly mobile members of the most disadvantaged ethnic groups, Vietnamese and other Southeast Asians, and especially disadvantaged members of the relatively privileged ethnic groups, like the Japanese.

ASIAN AMERICANS' INTEGRATION INTO THE MAINSTREAM SOCIETY

Asian immigrants and their offspring encounter vastly different assimilation experiences in the United States compared to early European immigrants, mainly due to their non-white status (Portes and Zhou 1993; Neckerman et al. 1999). Portes and Zhou (1993) consider this racial and phenotypical distinctiveness of post-1965 immigrants in the *segmented assimilation theory*, which identifies three possible paths of integration for immigrants—straight-line

(classic), selective, and downward assimilation. *Straight-line (classic) assimilation*, which is a path taken by most of the European immigrants of early 20th century, occurs when a minority or immigrant member of the society gets completely integrated into the mainstream host society by going through stages of acculturation, structural, marital, and identificational assimilation, attitudinal reception, behavior reception, and finally, civic assimilation (Gordon 1964). *Downward assimilation* refers to a minority or immigrant group incorporating into the "underclass," characterized by low socioeconomic and racial status (Portes and Zhou 1993).

Most Asian immigrants and their children are considered to have experienced *selective assimilation*, where they achieve rapid socioeconomic mobility while holding on to many ethnic and immigrant community values and solidarity. Specifically, socioeconomic mobility alone does not guarantee integration into the mainstream white middle class society for most Asian Americans, due to their non-white racial status (Portes and Zhou 1993). Yet, the segmented assimilation theory also does not address the implications of achieving social mobility for immigrants and racial minorities. *Minority culture of mobility* theory fills this gap by considering minorities' integration into the mainstream society *after* they achieve middle-class status (Neckermann, Carter, and Lee 1999). Middle-class minority experiences are distinctive from those of poor and working class minoritites as well as from the middle-class whites as they must navigate through interracial and inter-class social terrains with both racial and class-consciousness (Neckerman et al 1999). In doing so, minorities receive emotional and social support from one another to shield themselves from the white-dominant society's prejudice, discrimination, and bias.

Simultaneously, shared structural locations among middle-class minorities may lead to class-specific cultural diffusion, which shapes pan-ethnic and racial group formation and further reinforces individual identities through both self-assertion and outsider ascription (Neckermann et al. 1999). Scholars have observed similar social phenomenon between immigrant-origin and native-born ethnoracial minority groups—due to physical proximity in residence and workplace, West Indian immigrants have integrated into the larger African Americans society and Asian immigrants have adopted Asian American cultural elements (Waters 2001; Lee 2019; Neckermann et al. 1999). Such cultural diffusion among middle-class minorities may cross racial and pan-ethnic boundaries through indirect and direct interactions, leading to a "pan-minority" solidarity and identification (Neckerman et al. 1999).

However, higher socioeconomic status alone does not necessarily guarantee upward mobility for many Asian Americans (Zhou and Xiong 2005). Moreover, pan-minority cultural and identificational diffusions have been observed among those who experience downward assimilation, rather than among middle-class minorities. Notably, young Vietnamese individuals who identify with disadvantaged segments of the American society immediately surrounding their neighborhood—black Americans—have been found to have more delinquent tendencies and exhibit less educational achievement compared to their Asian American peers (Bankston and Zhou 1997). Considering this, both *segmented assimilation* and *minority culture of mobility* theories provide only partial explanations for the ways in which Asian Americans are integrating into the larger mainstream American society.

Nonetheless, both theories provide a crucial analytic tool to investigate potential martial integration of Asian Americans. More specifically, it is useful to investigate the relationship

among Asian American socioeconomic mobility, immigrant (generation) status, and (marital) integration into the mainstream society, which in turn, may expand the theory itself. Given this, it is imperative to investigate how different types of *intermarriage* may lead to different paths of Asian American social integration into the mainstream society.

INTERMARRIAGE AS A PATH OF INTEGRATION

Asian American intermarriage has not been considered as a part of the larger Asian assimilation experiences, perhaps because the scholarship has focused mainly on first generation immigrants and their largely adolescent and young adult 1.5- and second-generation children, in addition to their non-white racial status. However, many of the 1.5- and second-generation children of Asian immigrants have reached adulthood now and married to form their own families (Lee and Bean 2010; Pew Research Center 2013; Zhou and Xiong 2005). Intermarriage not only reflects a minority group's social integration into the mainstream society (Gordon 1964; Okamoto 2007; Qian et al. 2012), but also simultaneously reveals the culturally accepted parameters of race and ethnicity in such integration (Moran 2001; Feliciano 2001; Kalmijin 1993, 1998). In the United States, intermarriage is the most common among native-born individuals with at least some college education (Pew Research Center 2017). Thus, the growing adult 1.5- and second-generation Asian American population provides researchers an opportunity to investigate the steps beyond acculturation and structural assimilation of Asian Americans by examining at their intermarriage outcomes.

In fact, Asian Americans exhibit the highest intermarriage rate among all racial minorities at 29% and despite their non-white status, Asian Americans' most commonly

outmarry with white partners, as Asian-White interracial marriage is the second most likely pairing of all intermarriages in the United States after Hispanic-white pairing (Pew Research Center 2017). In the past, high rates of Asian-White intermarriages have been explained as a result of war brides, who married U.S. soldiers stationed overseas in their home countries, or mail-order brides immigrating to the United States (Kibria 1997; Kalmijn 1998; Jacob and Labov 2002). Considering that foreign-born Asian women's white partners are significantly more likely to have military experiences (Lichter, Qian, and Tumin 2015), the close social proximity between local Asian women and U.S. servicemen stationed in Asia may still be facilitating some of the Asian women-white men marriages.

Yet, this does not explain socioeconomic homogamy that characterizes recent Asian-White marriages. In other words, Asian-White marriages are most common among highly educated, middle-class individuals (Qian et al. 2012; Okamoto 2007; Liang and Ito 1999) and white-Asian couples often describe their unions as intercultural, rather than interracial (Lee and Bean 2010). Considering such recent trend, one could argue that Asian Americans' cultural and structural assimilation contributed not only to their increased receptiveness to a white partner, but also to the whites' expanded culturally acceptable parameters in marriage (Moran 2001; Lee and Bean 2010; Alba 2009), leading to an assimilation pattern that resembles the early European immigrants and their children's straight-line assimilation.

What happens when Asians cross ethnoracial boundaries in marriage with a non-white partner? Scholars have paid little attention to possible integration paths available through minority-minority intermarriages, such as Asian-Black or Asian-Latino/Hispanic marriages. However, limited research on such unions provides important insights. According to Pew

Research Center (2010, 2012), Americans in general express the most approving attitudes toward a potential white partner of a family member, followed by an Asian, Hispanic, and Black partners in order. Asian Americans exhibit the same patterns of approval (Pew Research Center 2010). Such patterns may be explained by the ways in which different types of intermarriage are perceived: whereas Asian-White and Hispanic-White unions are considered to be "intercultural" and race a non-issue, marriage with a Black partner for anyone is considered to be both interracial and intercultural and a path to downward racial mobility (Lee and Bean 2010).

Research on interethnic marriage and Asian Americans' integration further provides a valuable insight into the available integration paths in Asian-non-white marriages. Asian intermarriages were mostly between Asians and whites during the 1980s, but the trend shifted since the 1990s when inter*ethnic* marriages became more common among Asians (Shinagawa and Pang 1996; S. Lee and Fernandez 1998). Asian interethnic marriages are as educationally and socioeconomically homogamous as white-Asian marriages (Espiritu 1992; Qian et al. 2012; Qian et al. 2001; Shinagawa and Pang 1996; S.Lee and Fernandez 1998; S.Lee and Boyd 2008; Min and Kim 2009). In addition, scholars have found that (East) Asian interethnic marriages are often driven by pan-ethnic solidarity developed through college education (ethnic studies classes) and campus settings (peer groups and student organizations) (Kibria 1997; Park 2008). Thus, interethnic marriages are most frequently observed between native-born (second generation) Asian Americans (Qian et al. 2001) and have been found to provide an alternative, "segmented" path of integration (Qian et al. 2012).

Unfortunately, what these alternative segmented paths entail for the larger Asian American incorporation experiences or the implications of Asian Americans' intermarriage with

other non-white partners for their incorporation into the mainstream society have not garnered much attention in the scholarship. Furthermore, how these intermarriage patterns and outcomes may differ from one Asian ethnic group to another remains largely unknown as well.

ETHNIC HETEROGENEITY AMONG ASIAN AMERICANS

Although scholars have advanced our knowledge regarding Asian Americans' group-level integration paths and patterns as well as intermarriage, potential internal variation in these social processes have not garnered as much attention. Most notably, Asian Americans exhibit heterogeneity in socioeconomic status, culture, and contexts of reception by ethnicity. Empirical studies of Asian Americans' integration and intermarriage also reflect such heterogeneities. For instance, while Asian Americans as a group exhibit the highest levels of educational attainment of all racial groups, disaggregated data shows that some ethnic groups like Vietnamese, Burmese, Hmong, Cambodians, and Laotians have lower percentages of having Bachelor's degree and higher percentages of high school dropouts (AAPI Data 2017; Lee et al. 2016). Similarly, intermarriage rates among Asian Americans differ by ethnicity with Japanese Americans out-marrying the most, and Asian Indian Americans doing so the least as shown in the previous chapter.

Such ethnic variation in Asian Americans' social outcomes could be explained by their diverse immigration experiences and histories. Many Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and Asian Indian immigrants came to the United States after the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act that prioritized immigration of highly skilled professional workers (Okamoto 2007, 2014; Kim 2007). Their relatively privileged pre-migration statuses contributed

to remarkable socioeconomic integration into the mainstream middle-class society and successfully establishing ethnic enclaves and/or neighborhoods that assisted settlements and integration of co-ethnic immigrants who came later (Portes and Zhou 1993). Yet, a large majority of Vietnamese, Hmong, Cambodian, and Laotian immigrants came to the United States as war and political refugees in the 1980s with government-funded resources and almost no co-ethnic supports (Okamoto 2007; Ong 2003). South Asian immigration to the United States also drastically changed in the 1990s and on, with South Asian Americans becoming increasingly concentrated in labor-intensive and high-risk occupational sectors, such as working at gas stations and convenient stores as shop clerks, operating taxicabs, and working at or running motels, where they are vulnerable to violence and racial hostility (Kibria 1996).

Ethnically heterogeneous histories and social outcomes among Asian Americans further shape how they perceive one another. For instance, scholars have found that Asian Americans are developing intra-group hierarchy in preference and perceived "Asian-ness" (Bonilla-Silva 2004; Park 2008; Lee and Ramakrishnan 2019). In fact, Americans in general, regardless of race, are aware of the heterogeneity and ethnic differences among Asian Americans. In the previous chapter, I found that Asian Americans perceive refugee-origin Southeast Asian ethnic groups to be qualitative different from other Asian ethnic groups. Similarly, non-Asians distinguish East Asians (those of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean heritage) from other Asian ethnicities drawing symbolic ethnoracial boundaries. In both cases, the frequency of contact between members of different ethnoracial group seem to be uncorrelated with their actual ethnic and racial boundary patterns. Further, social psychological research on stereotypes of immigrants in various national contexts similarly reveals that members of the dominant social group distinguish immigrants by

not only representative social structural characteristics of the immigrants' countries of origin, but also by the contexts of immigration (Lee and Fiske 2006).

These different immigration paths and histories and the unequal structural characteristics among Asian Americans by ethnicity likely affect Asian Americans' social integration into the mainstream society via intermarriage. Moreover, integration for many Asian ethnic groups is an ongoing process as new immigrants continue to come to the United States (Lee 2019). For instance, the majority of Asian Americans are foreign-born and bi- or multi-lingual, and 45.9% of Asian Americans report limited English proficiency. Even Asian groups with the longest history in the United States like Japanese, Chinese, and Indians report high proportions of foreign-born (between 40-71%) and limited English proficiency (between 27-57%) population (AAPI Data 2017). As such, Asian Americans' social integration into the mainstream society likely varies by both ethnic-group and individual-level social structural factors.

Although more recent studies of Asian American integration show diminishing racial boundaries between whites and Asians as a result of Asian Americans' socioeconomic integration into the mainstream middle-class society as well as intermarriage (Wimmer 2008; Tran et al. 2018; Alba 2009), whether such boundary transformation apply to all Asian ethnic groups uniformly or not remains unclear. Investigating the effects of such ethnic heterogeneity on Asian Americans' assimilation outcomes allow researchers to re-examine segmented assimilation theory and further explore diverging (or merging) paths of assimilation beyond acculturation and socioeconomic mobility and/or integration into the mainstream society.

RESEARCH EXPECTATIONS

Considering that Asian American assimilation paths and experiences largely depends on individuals' levels of acculturation and structural assimilation through education and socioeconomic success as found in previous literature, I expect ethnic heterogeneity in such measures to contribute to diverging intermarriage patterns among Asian Americans, in accordance with both segmented assimilation and minority culture of mobility theories. Specifically, I have the following research expectations:

- Minority Incorporation: Asian American intermarriages will be most likely among native born, second-generation individuals and among those who speak English proficiently.
- Ethnic Heterogeneity: Asian American intermarriage outcome vary by ethnicity-specific structural characteristics.
    - I anticipate intermarriage to be relatively uncommon among socioeconomically disadvantaged and relatively newer Asian ethnic groups, such as refugee-origin Southeast Asians.
- Race and Intermarriage: Spousal race would likely contribute to diverging integration and mobility paths of Asian Americans.
    - Interethnic marriage or interracial marriage with a White partner will be more likely among Asian Americans with socioeconomic advantages.
    - Intermarriage with Hispanic or African American partners will be more likely among those who are experiencing blocked or lagged upward mobility and integration.

DATA AND METHODS

Data for this study comes from the American Community Survey (ACS), 1% Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) 1-year estimate data pooled from years between 2008 and 2016[9]. The ACS is the largest ongoing household survey administered by the U.S. Census Bureau, through in-person and telephone interviews as well as mail-in and online surveys. Because the ACS surveys are ongoing and randomly sampled from all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, the pooling of data ensures an adequate sample size and relatively up-to-date sample characteristics of smaller and growing Asian ethnic groups.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable for this study is *Asian Intermarriage Type*, where 0=co-ethnic, 1=interethnic marriage, 2=interracial with Hispanic/Latino partners, 3=interracial with Black partners, and 4=interracial with White partners. One's partner's race is coded from using two proxy variables—partner's race and parental ancestry—available in the ACS data as "family interrelationship" variables.

Ethnicity Measures

I focus on eight Asian ethnic groups in this study. They comprise a categorical variable of *Ethnicity*—Chinese (0), Japanese(1), Korean (2), Filipino (3), Vietnamese (4), Other Southeast

[9] The ACS is the largest ongoing household survey administered by the U.S. Census Bureau, through in-person and telephone interviews as well as mail-in and online surveys. Because the ACS surveys are ongoing and randomly sampled from all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, the pooling of data ensures an adequate sample size and relatively up-to-date sample characteristics of smaller and growing Asian ethnic groups.

Asians (Hmongs, Cambodians, Laotians, and Thai; 5), Indian (6), and Other South Asians (Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Malaysian, Indonesian, and Sri Lankan; 7)[10]. Each category is measured using three proxy variables available in ACS—race, self-reported ancestry, and parental ethnicity. More specifically, if a respondent marked him/herself as Asian, reported that both parents are of Chinese ethnicity, and also report "Chinese" as their ancestry, they are coded as Chinese.

Individual Factors of Minority Incorporation

I measure the extent to which individuals are acculturated and/or structurally incorporated into the mainstream society by using four measures: immigrant generation, educational attainment, household income, and English proficiency.

Immigrant generation status provides a proxy for overall level of acculturation and integration of an immigrant group into the mainstream society and is coded as 0=Native-born, 1=1.5 generation, and 2=first generation.[7] *Educational attainment* includes four categories, where 0=High school diploma or less, 1=Some college, 2=Bachelor's degree, and 3=post-BA degrees. Lastly, *household income* includes seven categories, ranging from under $15,000 (0) to $200,000+ (7). Lastly, *English Proficiency* has been recoded to include two categories of 0=not proficient in English and 1=proficient in English (speaks English well or very well). Together, these variables reflect individual characteristics have important implications for Asian Americans' structural incorporation as well as intermarriage outcomes.

[10] Ethnicity is measured by identifying as Asian, self-reported ancestry, and parental ethnicity. More specifically, if a respondent marked him/herself as Asian, reported that both parents are of Chinese ethnicity, and also report "Chinese" as their ancestry, they are coded as Chinese.

Control Variables

To examine ethnic differences in Asian Americans' intermarriage outcomes and their implications and to minimize possible selection bias stemming from individual differences in demographic characteristics, I control for potential factors that may affect Asian Americans' intermarriage outcomes. These factors include age, gender, personal income quartile, occupational categories, metropolitan status, and state of residence. *Age* is a continuous variable ranging from 18 to 64, and *gender* is a measure of women (men as reference). *Personal Income Quartile* measures income relative to the sample distribution (reference: bottom 25%). *Occupation* measures respondents' occupational sectors, which include 0=no occupation, 1=professional, 2=service and support, 3=farming, fishery, and forestry, 4=protective services, 5=low-skill/blue collar, 6=education, training, and library, and 7=arts, sports, and media. *Metropolitan status* is has been recoded as 0=not in metropolitan area and 1=in metropolitan area. Finally, I use to original variable (*stateicp*) provided by the American Community Survey to control for *respondents' state of residence* and related variation in ethnoracial composition and characteristics at the state level.

Analytic Methods

I perform multinomial regression models to examine the theoretically relevant variables on the likelihood of a certain type of intermarriage. To prevent non-independent correlations among variables at different levels (individual vs. ethnicity vs. state-levels) as well as conflating the larger structural constraints with individual factors, I estimate models with robust standard errors clustered around states (alternative multi-level regression models produced similar results). The analysis proceeds in two stages.

Table 2.1. Means/Proportions, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of Measures Used

	Means									SD	Range
	Overall	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino	Vietnamese	Other SE	Indian	Other S		
Marriage Type											
Co-ethnic	.68	.70	.39	.65[f]	.60	.78	.66[c]	.82	.73	.47	0/1
Interethnic	.11	.12[f]	.20	.10[d]	.09[c]	.11[h]	.12[ah]	.07	.11[ef]	.31	0/1
White	.17	.15	.35	.22	.23	.09	.17	.09	.12	.38	0/1
Black	.01	.00[eg]	.01[fh]	.01[gh]	.02	.00[g]	.01[bh]	.00[ae]	.01[bcf]	.08	0/1
Hispanic/ Latino	.03	.02[ce]	.05	.02[ae]	.06	.02[acg]	.03[h]	.01[e]	.03[f]	.17	0/1
Factors of Incorporation											
Education	1.69	1.82	1.78	1.74	1.48	1.15	.96	2.28	1.67	1.06	0-3
Immigrant Generation	.99	.97	.32	1.18	.93	1.20[f]	1.19[e]	1.04	1.06	.64	0-2
Household Income	4.54	4.64	4.79	4.31	4.57	4.01	3.60	5.15	3.88	1.85	0-7
English Proficiency	.91	.86	.97[d]	.88	.98[bg]	.80	.84	.98[d]	.95	.29	0/1
Control Variables											
Age	43.72	44.77	49.03	43.14	45.01	43.56	41.29	40.26	41.23	10.17	18-64
Gender (ref: male)	.48	.50	.57	.55	.55	.48	.53	.33	.36	.50	0/1
Occupation Categories	2.00	1.91	2.19	2.02	2.06	2.31	2.61	1.59	2.02	1.72	0-7
Personal Income Quartile	1.74	1.77	1.75	1.55	1.69	1.54	1.30	2.13	1.57	1.03	0-3
Metropolitan Status	.98	.99	.94	.98	.97	.98	.96	.99	.98	.15	0/1
State of Residence	50.71	48.02	63.35	49.10	58.21	55.17	50.79	40.51	38.25	24.56	1-98
N	226,626	56,794	16,048	22,142	45,494	26,541	11,741	40,037	7,829		

**Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences ($p \leq .05$). Superscripts show relationships statistically NOT significant among a=Chinese; b=Japanese; c=Korean; d=Filipino; e=Vietnamese; f=Other SE; g=Indian; h=Other South.*

First, multivariate analyses examine predictors of different types of intermarriage among Asian Americans, using multinomial logistic regressions. Since tests typically used in ordinary least square models cannot disentangle the magnitude of the effect from the differences in error variance across the groups when using logistic models (Long and Freese 2006) and because coefficients in logistic models do not convey the size of the effects, but relative risk ratio do, I will be interpreting relative risk ratio to report my findings. All multivariate analyses are done while controlling for both individual- and state-level demographic factors.

Finally, I introduce four interaction terms: ethnicity interacted with educational attainment, immigrant generation status, household income, and English proficiency to examine how ethnic variation in individual acculturation and structural integration further relate to Asian Americans' intermarriage outcomes with White, Black, Hispanic/Latino, and different-ethnic Asian partners.

RESULTS

Descriptive Findings

The majority of Asian Americans in my analytic sample are married to a co-ethnic partner, but at ethnically distinctive rates—only Korean and other Southeast Asian Americans report similar rates of co-ethnic marriages. Similar ethnic differences are observed in all types of intermarriages, too. Whereas other ethnic groups report statistically significantly different rates of interethnic marriages, those of Chinese Americans are similar to Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian Americans' interethnic marriage rates, and so are Korean Americans'

interethnic marriage rates to those of Filipino Americans. Further, other South Asian Americans report similar rates of interethnic marriage as Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian Americans.

Perhaps because interracial marriage with Black or Hispanic partners is uncommon among Asian Americans, I also observe similar rates of these types of intermarriage across Asian ethnic groups. For instance, Filipinos are the only group that exhibits significant differences in rates of Asian-Black and Asian-Hispanic intermarriages from other ethnic groups. Japanese Americans are also significantly different from all other groups in their rates of interracial marriage with Hispanic partners. Only in Asian-White interracial marriages the ethnic differences are statistically significant all across. These findings show that not only are there ethnic differences in *rates* of intermarriage, but also in *types* of intermarriage among Asian Americans.

Further, I find statistically significant ethnic differences in individual factors of minority incorporation, such as education, household income, immigrant generation, and English proficiency. Notably, refugee-origin Vietnamese and other Southeast Asians groups are similar in their average immigrant generation status. Similarly, Asian ethnic groups with relatively longer histories in the United States, the Japanese, Filipinos, and Indians, report similar levels of high English proficiency. These ethnic differences are suggestive of possible variation in Asian Americans' intermarriage outcomes rooted in ethnically distinctive individual-level factors of structural and cultural incorporation into the mainstream American society in regression models.

Multivariate Findings

As anticipated, Asian American intermarriage seems to be most likely among those who are already linguistically acculturated and/or native-born. Moreover, I find statistically significant ethnic differences in the likelihood of different types of intermarriage. Yet, individual

factors of minority incorporation such as immigrant generation status, education, and income also have distinctive effects on the likelihood of different types of intermarriage (see Table 2.2). Below, I present my findings in the order of interethnic marriage, Asian-White marriage, Asian-Black marriage, and Asian-Hispanic marriage.

Interethnic Marriage

High levels of structural and cultural incorporation lead to higher likelihood of interethnic marriage among Asian Americans. As expected, second-generation Asian Americans and those who speak English proficiently are significantly more likely to be married to a different-ethnic Asian partner than their immigrant counterparts and those who do not speak English proficiently. Similarly, Asian Americans who are structurally more incorporated into the mainstream society, characterized by their higher levels or educational attainment and household income exhibit higher likelihood of interethnic marriage. Specifically, those with at least some college education and higher household income are significantly more likely to be interethnically married than their socioeconomically less privileged counterparts. Interestingly, potential ethnic differences in interethnic marriage outcomes among Asian Americans are not as pronounced as my initial expectation: only Korean Americans and Indian Americans are statistically significantly less likely to have a different-ethnic Asian marital partner, relative to the Chinese.

Asian-White Interracial Marriage

Similar to Asian American interethnic marriage, and aligning with my initial research expectations, interracial marriage with a White partner is more likely among Asian Americans who have already achieved high levels of structural and cultural incorporation. Again, native-born Asian Americans and those who report English proficiency are significantly more likely to have a White spouse. The effects of English proficiency are especially pronounced—those who

speak English proficiently are almost 760% more likely to be interracially married with a White spouse than those who do not speak English proficiently.

More advantaged structural characteristics are also significantly associated with higher likelihood of Asian-White interracial marriages. For instance, the relative risk of having a White partner increases by approximately 6% as respondents' household income level increases. The significant effects of high levels of educational attainment were observed only among those with a graduate or professional degree. These highly educated individuals were 27% more likely to be interracially married with a White partner than those with only high school diploma or less in educational attainment.

Lastly, significant ethnic differences are also observed in Asian-White interracial marriages. Relative to the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino Americans report significantly higher likelihood of having a White spouse. Ethnicity seems to matter especially for Japanese Americans' intermarriage with White partners as being Japanese, as opposed to being Chinese, increases the likelihood of Asian-White intermarriage by nearly 300%. On the other hand, Vietnamese and Indian Americans report statistically significantly lower likelihood of interracial marriage with White spouses than their Chinese counterparts. The effects of ethnicity were negligible for other Southeast and South Asians.

Table 2.2. Relative Risk Ratio and (Robust Standard Error) for a Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Spousal Race in Asian American Intermarriage (N=226,626)

	Interethnic		Interracial With Hispanic		Interracial With Black		Interracial With Whites	
	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)
Ethnicity								
(Ref: Chinese)								
Japanese	1.58	.45	3.39***	1.22	4.33***	1.47	3.05***	1.12
	(1.42)	(.32)	(5.25)	(.23)	(4.23)	(.35)	(4.71)	(.24)
Korean	.83*	-.18	1.07	.07	1.66*	.51	1.43**	.36
	(-2.08)	(.09)	(.70)	(.10)	(2.11)	(.24)	(2.79)	(.13)
Filipino	.81	-.22	2.93***	1.08	5.02***	1.61	1.87***	.63
	(-2.43)	(.09)	(9.37)	(.11)	(8.9.)	(.18)	(4.40)	(.14)
Vietnamese	.93	-.07	.69***	-.37	.61*	-.50	.63***	-.47
	(-.74)	(.10)	(-3.35)	(.11)	(-2.33)	(.21)	(-3.90)	(.12)
Other Southeast	1.14	.13	1.44**	.36	2.53***	.93	1.09	.08
	(1.22)	(.11)	(2.99)	(.12)	(5.24)	(.18)	(.48)	(.17)
Indian	.52***	-.65	.69**	-.36	1.37**	.31	.52***	-.65
	(-7.02)	(.09)	(-2.91)	(.13)	(2.63)	(.12)	(-6.22)	(.11)
Other South	1.12	.12	1.61*	.47	2.52***	.92	.96	-.04
	(1.34)	(.09)	(2.46)	(.19)	(5.65)	(.16)	(-.24)	(.18)
Immigrant Generation								
(Ref: Second Gen)								
First Gen	.34***	-1.07	.20***	-1.62	.27***	-1.30	.22***	-1.53
	(-22.45)	(.05)	(-50.10)	(.03)	(-14.76)	(.09)	(-21.99)	(.07)
1.5 Gen	.67***	-.40	.52***	-.65	.65***	-.43	.54***	-.62
	(-11.16)	(.06)	(-14.85)	(.04)	(-4.99)	(.09)	(-21.70)	(.03)
Education								
(Ref: HS or less)								
Some College	1.09***	.09	1.05	.05	.86*	-.15	1.04	.04
	(3.70)	(.02)	(1.81)	(.03)	(-2.43)	(.06)	(.88)	(.05)
BA	1.14***	.13	.73***	-.32	.53***	-.64	1.06	.06
	(3.25)	(.04)	(-7.51)	(.04)	(-7.00)	(.09)	(1.15)	(.05)
Post-BA	1.16**	.15	.71***	-.35	.52***	-.65	1.27**	.24
	(2.63)	(.06)	(-5.51)	(.06)	(-4.94)	(.13)	(2.97)	(.08)
Household Income	1.04***	.04	.90***	-.11	.86***	-.15	1.06***	.06
	(4.85)	(.01)	(-6.71)	(.02)	(-6.62)	(.02)	(8.529)	(.01)
English Proficiency	1.50***	.40	4.64***	1.54	5.68***	1.74	7.63***	2.03
	(6.53)	(.06)	(26.00)	(.12)	(7.24)	(.24)	(26.09)	(.08)
CONTROLS								
Constant	.27***	-1.32	.06***	-2.84	.00***	-6.57	.06***	-2.89
	(-8.00)	(.16)	(-10.64)	(.27)	(-19.91)	(.33)	(-14.44)	(.20)
Pseudo R-sq	.1449							

* p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; Note: All analyses done while controlling for age, gender, personal income quartile, metropolitan status, and state of residence.

Asian-Black Marriage

Whereas Asian-White and interethnic marriages are most likely among upwardly mobile, acculturated and/or native-born Asian Americans, Asian-Black intermarriages do not necessarily reflect such patterns. Even though Asian-Black intermarriages continue to be more likely among those who speak English proficiently and are native-born, this type of intermarriage seems to be more common among those who are socioeconomically disadvantaged. More specifically, I find that Asian Americans with at least some college experience are significantly less likely to be intermarried with a Black partner than those with a high school diploma or less in education. Similarly, the relative risk of having a Black partner decreases by almost 14% as Asian Americans' household income increases. With regards to ethnicity, I observe that relative to Chinese Americans, all Asian Americans are more likely to have a Black spouse, except for Vietnamese Americans, who are significantly less likely to do so.

Asian-Hispanic/Latino Marriage

The predictors of Asian-Hispanic interracial marriages are very similar to those of Asian-Black intermarriages. Again, native-born Asian Americans and those who speak English proficiently are significantly more likely to be intermarried with a Hispanic partner than their less acculturated counterparts. Yet, Asian-Hispanic marriages, much like Asian-Black marriages, are more likely among those socioeconomically less advantaged Asian Americans. For instance, those with a Bachelor's or higher degree are significantly less likely to be intermarried with a Hispanic partner than those with a high school diploma or less. Likewise, an increase in household income is significantly associated with a decrease in the likelihood of having a Hispanic partner.

With regards to ethnic differences, I find that Japanese, Filipino, other Southeast, and other South Asian Americans are significantly more likely than Chinese Americans to have a Hispanic spouse. On the other hand, Indian Americans continue to be significantly less likely to be intermarried than Chinese Americans. The effects of ethnicity were negligible among Korean and Vietnamese Americans.

Predicted Probabilities of Intermarriage

Although above findings provide important insight into the predictors of Asian American intermarriage, relative risk ratios do not allow for direct comparison across groups. For more direct comparison across Asian ethnic groups, I present predicted probabilities of intermarriage by marriage type and ethnicity in Figure 1. Although co-ethnic marriages are the most probable across ethnicities, outmarriages in general seem especially likely among the Japanese and Filipinos: these two groups exhibit higher probabilities of having a White, Hispanic, Black, or different-ethnic Asian partner than other Asian ethnic groups.

I observe ethnic differences in the most likely type of intermarriage, too. Whereas Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos are more likely to marry a White partner when crossing ethnoracial group boundaries in marriage, interethnic marriages are more common than interracial marriages in the remaining ethnic groups. Even though the relative risk ratio presented in Table 2.2 showed large and significant effects of ethnicity on Asian-Black and Asian-Hispanic intermarriage, Figure 2.1 shows that these two types of intermarriage are still uncommon among Asian Americans. Especially, interracial marriage with Black partners seem highly unlikely across all ethnic groups, further providing evidence in support of anti-blackness found in choosing a Black marital partner (Lee and Bean 2010)—even among Japanese and Filipino

Americans, who are more likely to have a Black partner than any other Asian Americans, each show only about 0.6% and 0.9% probabilities of doing so.

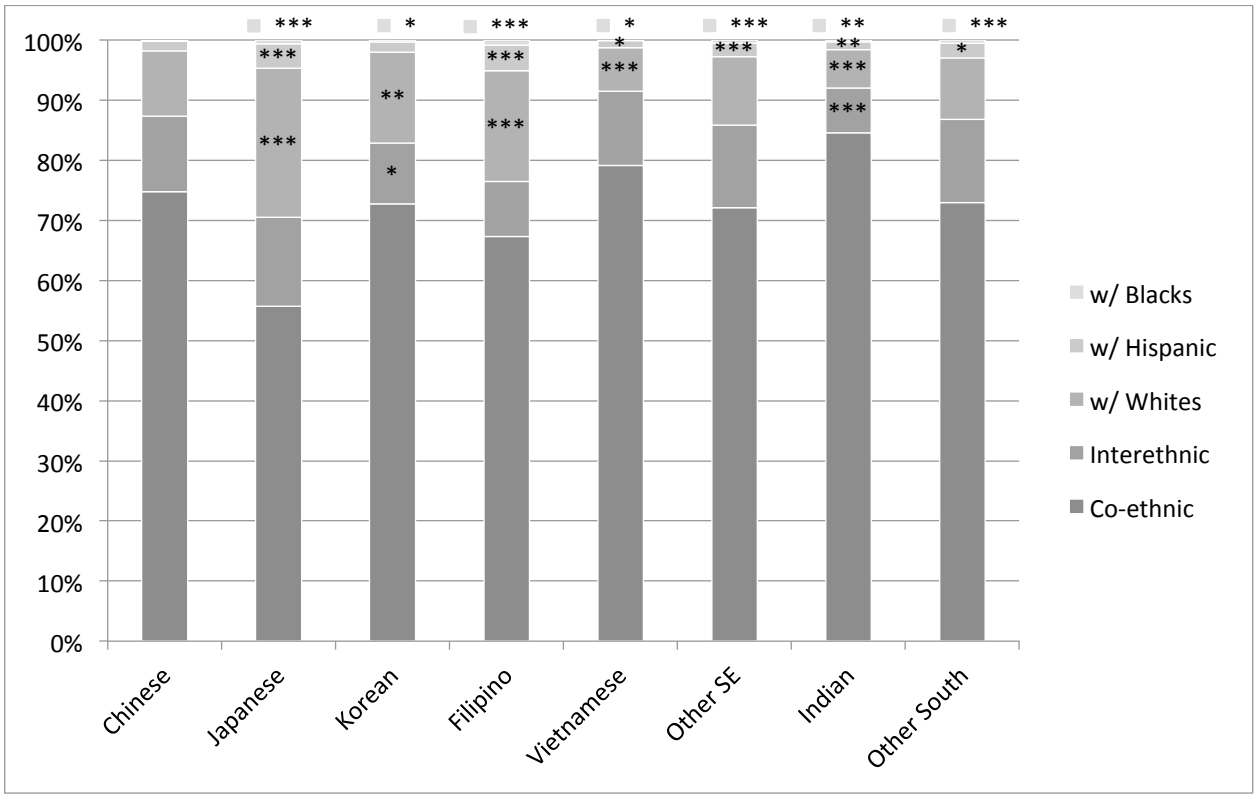

Figure 2.1. Predicted Probabilities of Marriage by Ethnicity and Type of (Inter)marriage
Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference ethnic group, Chinese.

Interaction Effects

Findings presented in Table 2.2 confirmed that Asian American intermarriage, regardless of one's spousal race, is most likely among native-born, highly acculturated Asian Americans, but simultaneously, the likelihood of intermarriage varies by one's ethnic background, too. However, they do not directly test whether the individual factors of incorporation further vary by ethnicity and how they may affect Asian Americans' intermarriage outcomes. Thus, to test and illustrate these effects, I ran a series of multivariate multinominal logistic regression models with

interactions between ethnicity and education, household income, immigrant generation status, and English proficiency (see Appendix C for Tables C1 through C4 for regression results). Below I present my findings with regards to each type of intermarriage in the order of interethnic, interracial with Whites, interracial with Hispanics, and interracial with Blacks.[11]

Ethnic Variation in Interethnic Marriage

Even after controlling for other factors, Japanese Americans are significantly more likely to interethnically marry, relative to the Chinese, across all interaction models, except when investigating the effects of immigrant generation status and ethnicity (see Figures 2.2a-2.2d). Looking at the effects of educational attainment, I previously found that higher levels of educational attainment are associated with higher likelihood of interethnic marriage for Asian Americans. However, in the interaction model (Table C1 in Appendix C), I find that for some Asian Americans, such as Koreans, Indians, and Filipinos with some college experiences and/or a Bachelor's degree, higher educational attainment predicts significantly less likelihood of interethnic marriage. Yet, Filipinos, Vietnamese, and other Southeast Asians with professional and/or graduate school experiences and degrees are statistically significantly more likely to be interethnically married than others. In fact, predicted probabilities of interethnic marriage by ethnicity and educational attainment levels show that the more educated Asian Americans are, the more likely to be interethnically married than their less educated co-ethnics for all groups, except for the Chinese, Koreans, and Indians (see Figure 2.2a).

[11] All figures for ethnic variation in rates of co-ethnic marriage by different individual factors are available in Appendix C.

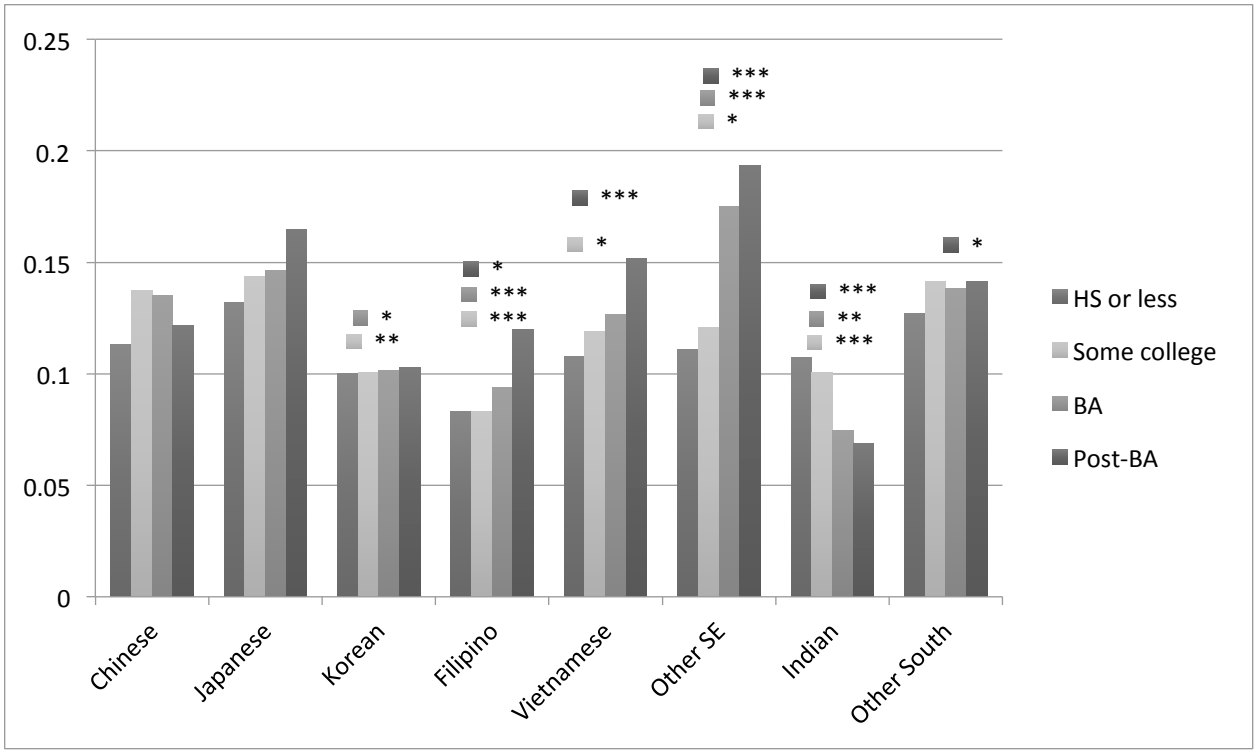

Figure 2.2a. Predicted Probabilities of Interethnic Marriage by Ethnicity and Educational Attainment; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and HS or Less in education.

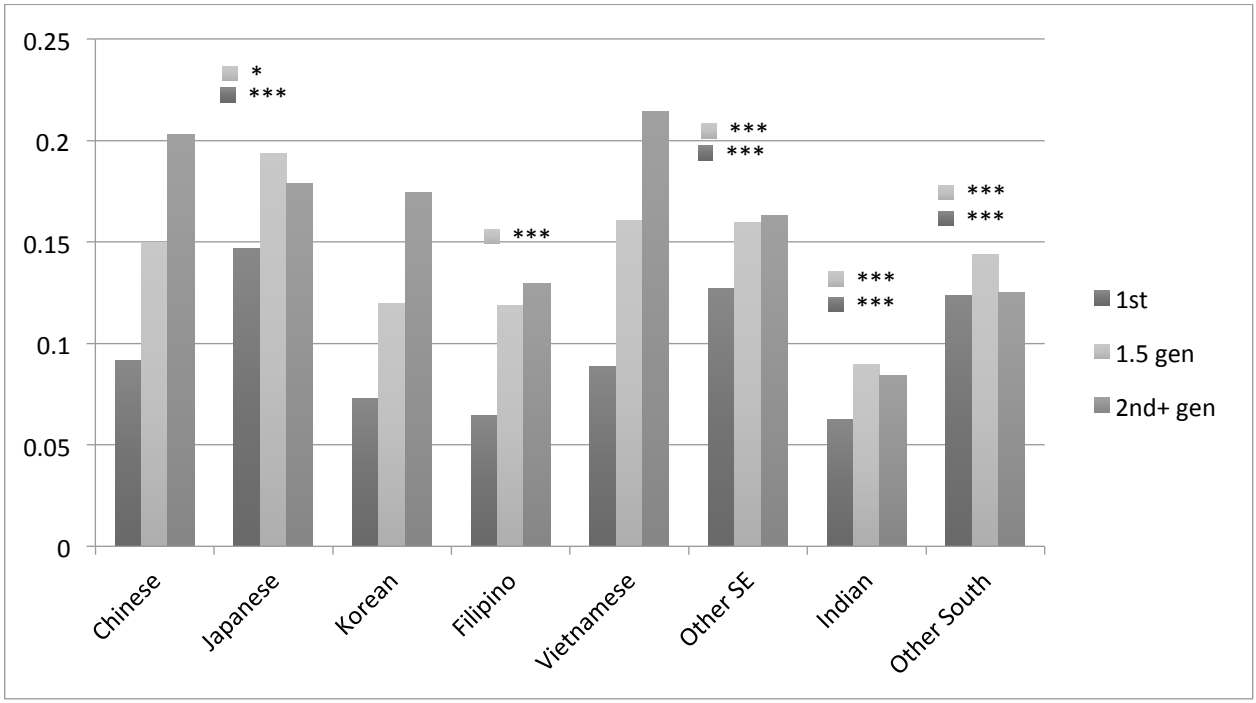

Figure 2.2b. Predicted Probabilities of Interethnic Marriage by Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and Native Born (2nd and latter generation).

With regards to the effects of immigrant generation, similarly surprising ethnic trends are observed. Whereas being an immigrant, regardless of first versus 1.5-generation status, lowers the likelihood of interethnic marriage for Asian Americans in Table 2.2, I find that immigrants are actually more likely to be interethnic married than others among Japanese, Filipinos, Indians, and other Southeast and South Asians (see Table C2 in Appendix C). Predicted probabilities presented in Figure 2.2b shows that while native-born Asian Americans are more likely to be intermarried in general, there exists distinctive ethnic variation in such patterns. For example, immigrant-origin Japanese individuals are more likely to be interethnically married than native-born Filipino, Indian, and other South Asian Americans. Moreover, 1.5-generation Japanese, Indian, and other Southeast and South Asians are as likely or more likely than their native-born counterpart to be interethnically married.

The effects of household income and English proficiency show similar patterns of ethnic variation. Controlling for ethnic variation in household income leads to significant effects of ethnicity among Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and other Southeast and South Asians. Higher household income levels predict higher likelihood of interethnic marriage for most Asian Americans and this is the most pronounced among other Southeast Asians, one of the most socioeconomically disadvantaged ethnic groups in my sample. On the other hand, Indians show distinctive ethnic trends: the more they earn at the household level, the less likely they are to interethnically marry and this trend is further confirmed in Figure 2.2c. Similarly, I find that English proficiency among Indians is associated with lower likelihood of interethnic marriage. In fact, Indians who are *not proficient* in English report slightly higher probabilities of interethnic marriage than their English-speaking counterparts. The effects of English proficiency are not too apparent among Filipinos, either (see Figure 2.2d).

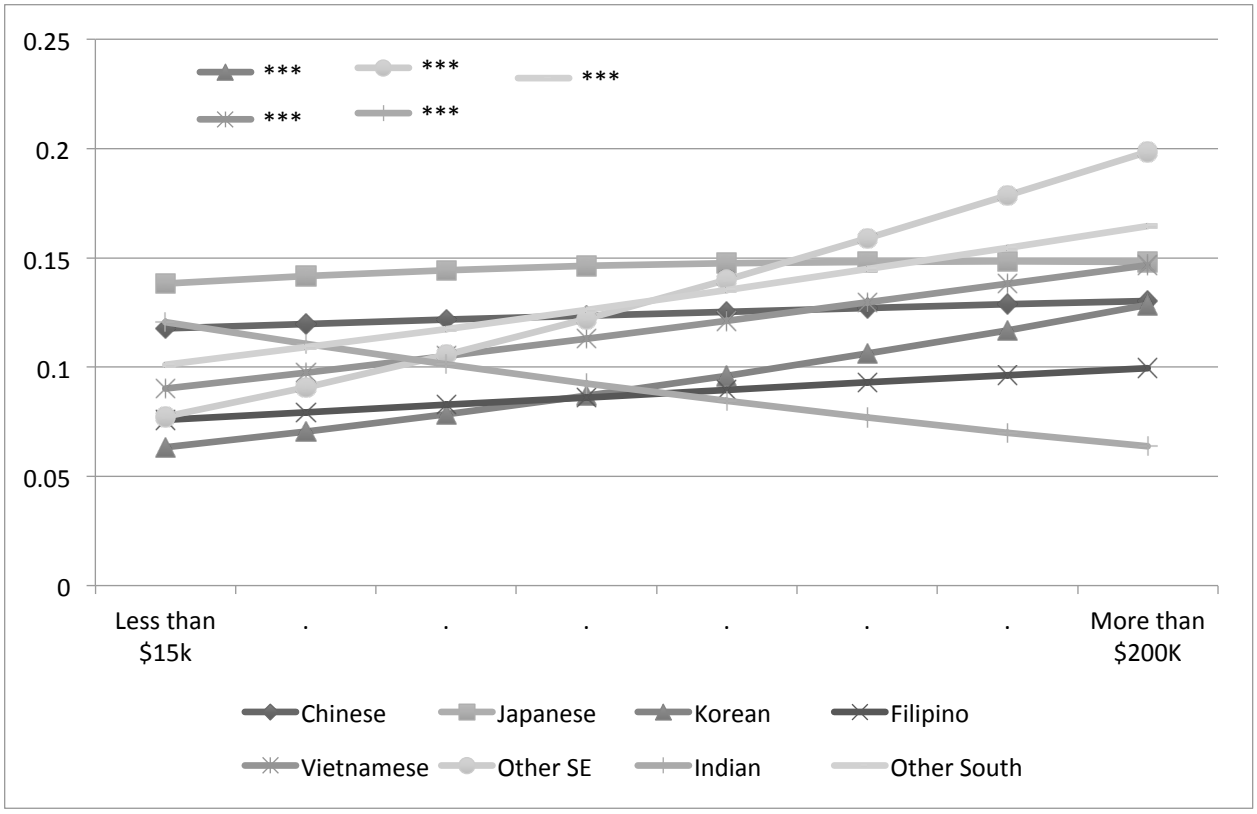

Figure 2.2c. Predicted Probabilities of Interethnic Marriage by Ethnicity and Household Income; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference ethnic group, Chinese.

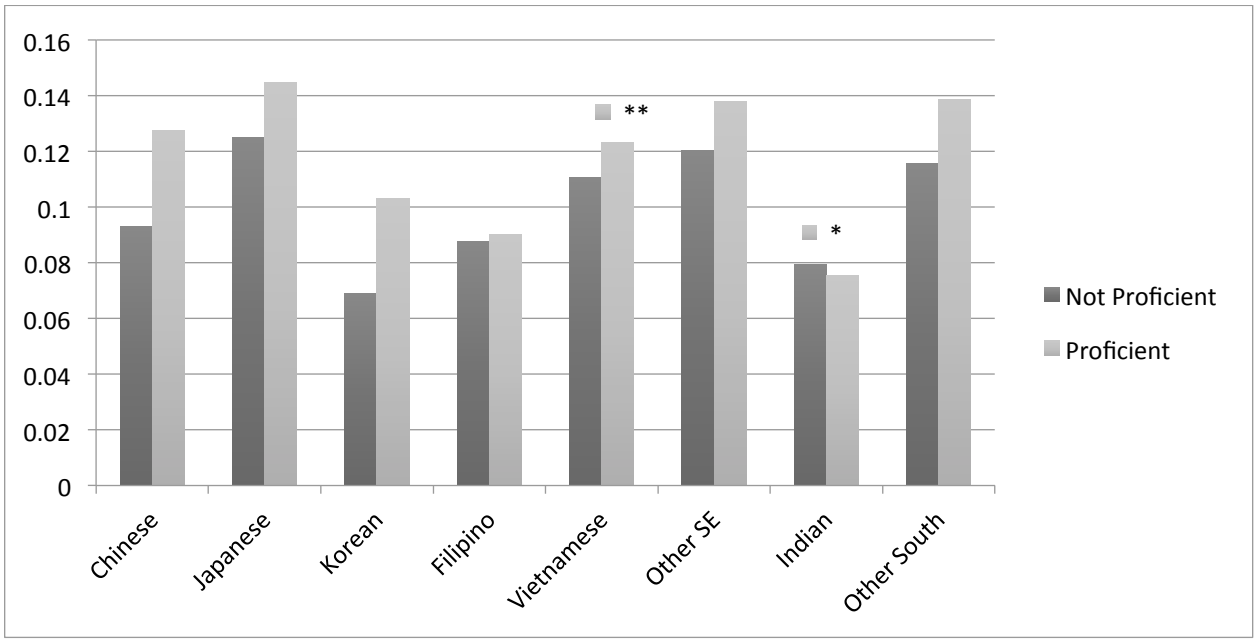

Figure 2.2d. Predicted Probabilities of Interethnic Marriage by Ethnicity and English Proficiency; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and Not Proficient in English.

Taken together, these findings show some evidence of pan-ethnic incorporation of especially disadvantaged refugee-origin other Southeast Asians via Asian American interethnic marriage. Being more socioeconomically privileged for Southeast Asians lead to more pronounced likelihood of interethnic marriage. Many "model minority" ethnic groups (except Indians) showed higher probabilities of intermarriage than their socioeconomically disadvantaged refugee-origin Southeast Asian peers in general, but within-group variation in the likelihood of interethnic marriage by other individual factors were not as pronounced among these groups. Moreover, interestingly, cultural incorporation, measured by English proficiency and immigrant generation, did not have as strong of an effect as structural factors not only for other Southeast Asians, but also for most Asian Americans.

Ethnic Variation in Interracial Marriage with White Partners

Similar to my findings regarding interethnic marriages, Japanese Americans continue to be significantly more likely to be intermarried with a White spouse across all interaction models, relative to the Chinese, except for when controlling for ethnic variation in immigrant generation status. Whereas higher levels of educational attainment alone predicts increased likelihood of interracial marriage with a white partner among Asian Americans, the interacted effects between education and ethnicity reveal interesting patterns. Regression results reveal that for most Asian Americans, except for Indian Americans whose educational attainment does not have a significant effect on their Asian-white interracial marriage outcomes, higher levels of educational attainment are significantly correlated with lower likelihood of interracial marriage with Whites (see Table C1). This is especially pronounced among highly educated (professional or graduate school experiences and degrees) Vietnamese and other Southeast Asians.

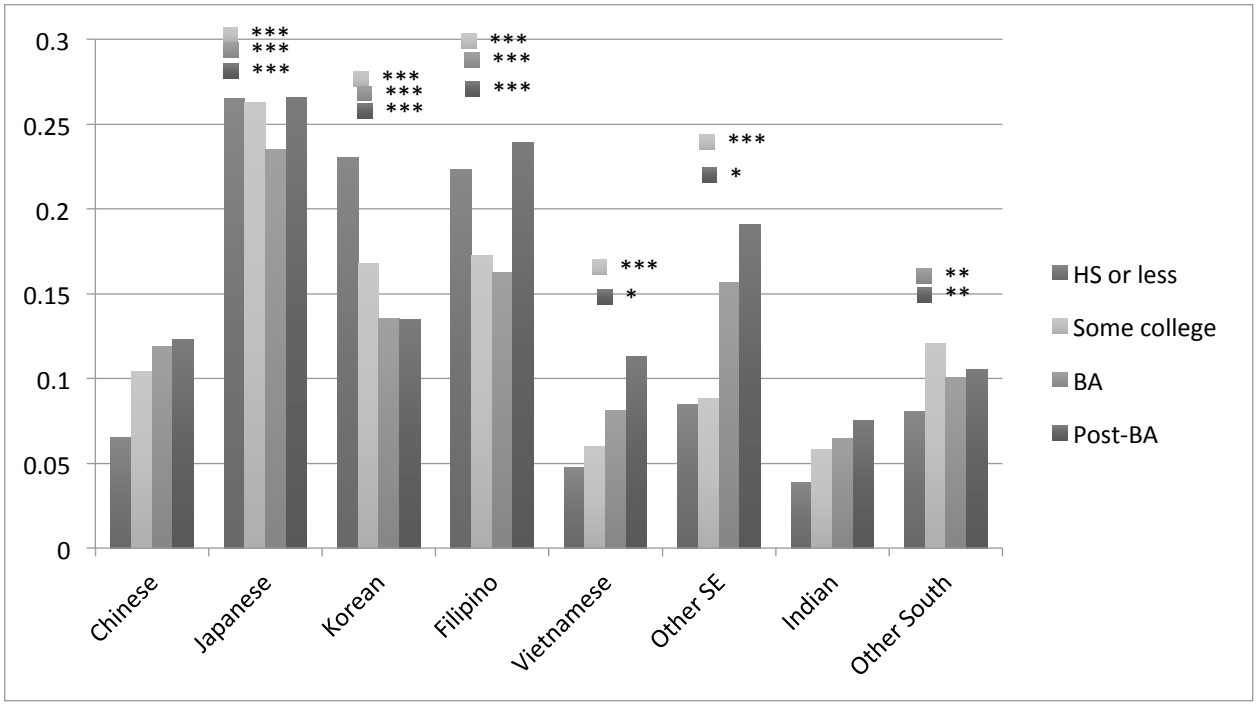

Figure 2.3a. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a White Partner by Ethnicity and Educational Attainment; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and HS or Less in education.

Yet, predicted probabilities show that higher levels of educational attainment does lead to higher probabilities of Asian-White interracial marriage for most Asian Americans, except for the Japanese, Korean, and Filipinos (see Figure 2.3a). For these three ethnic groups, the relationship between educational attainment levels and probabilities of having a White spouse is not linear: For instance, whereas Japanese interracial marriage with White partners seem highly likely compared to other Asian ethnic groups, regardless of one's educational attainment levels, Koreans become less likely to be in an Asian-White intermarriage as their educational attainment levels increase. Interestingly, Asian-White intermarriage seems most likely among the least (high school diploma or less) and most (graduate/professional degrees) educated Filipinos.

As expected, intermarriage with White partners is most likely among native-born Asian Americans when controlling for other ethnicity-related factors. Yet, interaction terms show that immigrant-origin Japanese, Filipinos, Indians, and other Southeast and South Asians are more

likely to be intermarried with a white partner than others. First-generation Vietnamese immigrants are the only immigrant subgroup that is statistically significantly less likely to be intermarried than others (see Table C2). Still, predicted probabilities reveal that native-born Asian Americans, regardless of ethnicity, are more likely to be interracially married with a White partner than immigrants (see Figure 2.3b). One notable exception here is 1.5-generation Japanese Americans, who report the highest probabilities of having a White marital partner.

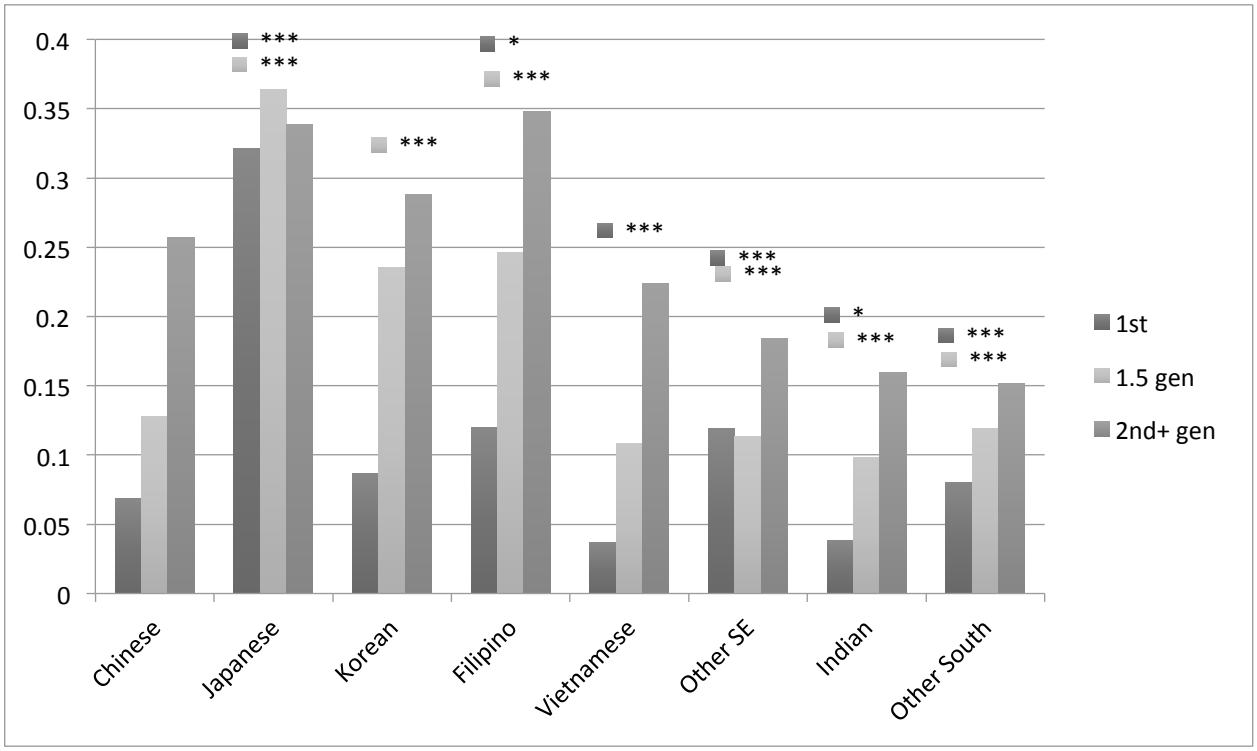

Figure 2.3b. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a White Partner by Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and Native Born (2nd and latter generation).

The effects of household income and ethnicity also reveal interesting patterns. Whereas household income alone predicts higher likelihood of Asian-White interracial marriages, this is not necessarily the case for the Japanese and Filipinos. These two ethnic groups actually report

lower probabilities of intermarriage as their household income goes up (see Table C3 and Figure 2.3c). Regression results predict similar patterns for Vietnamese and Indian Americans, but the predicted probabilities still reveal relatively subtle, but still upwardly curving relationship between household income and likelihood of Asian-White intermarriage among these groups. The effects of increased household income are most pronounced among other Southeast Asians. As expected, Asian Americans who are proficient in English are more likely to be intermarried with a White partner than their non-proficient peers (see Figure 2.3d). Yet, Japanese individuals who do not speak English proficiently still reports higher probabilities of intermarriage than their non-Japanese counterparts. They exhibit higher probabilities of intermarriage than proficient English speakers of Vietnamese, Indian, and other South Asian ethnic backgrounds, too.

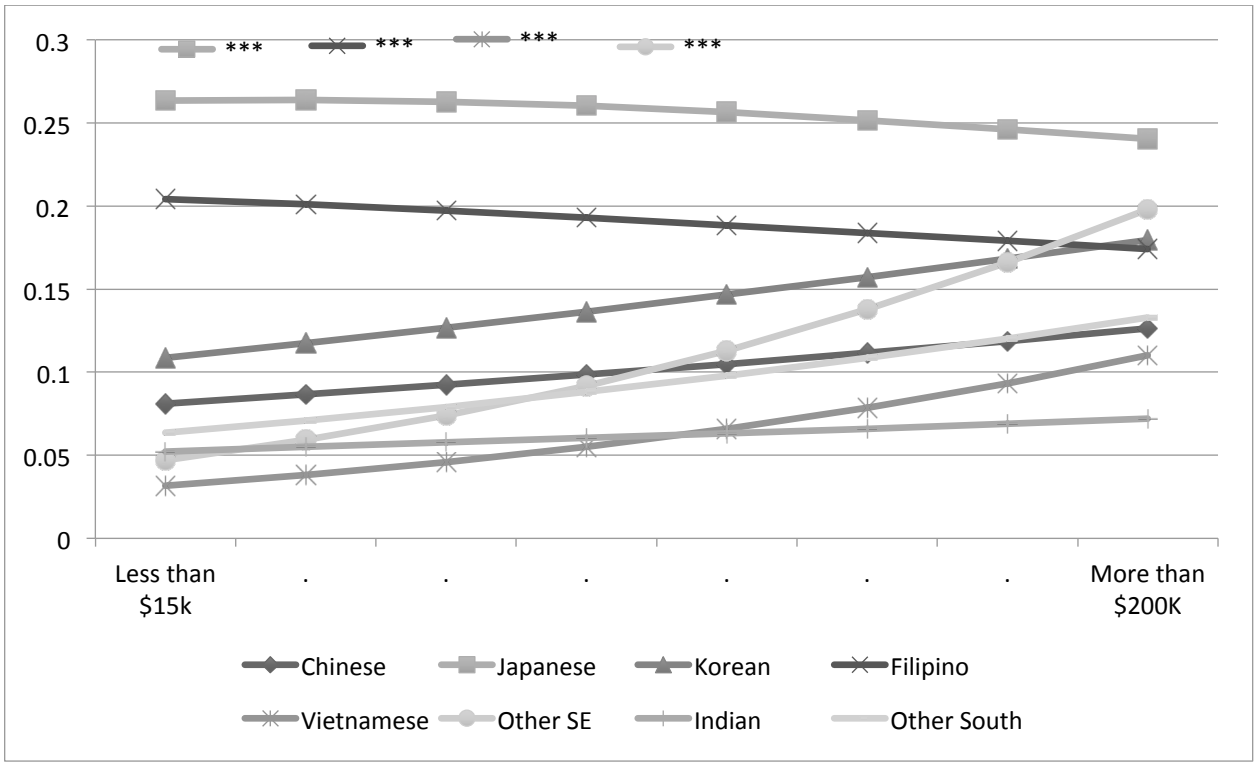

Figure 3c. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a White Partner by Ethnicity and Household Income; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference group, Chinese.

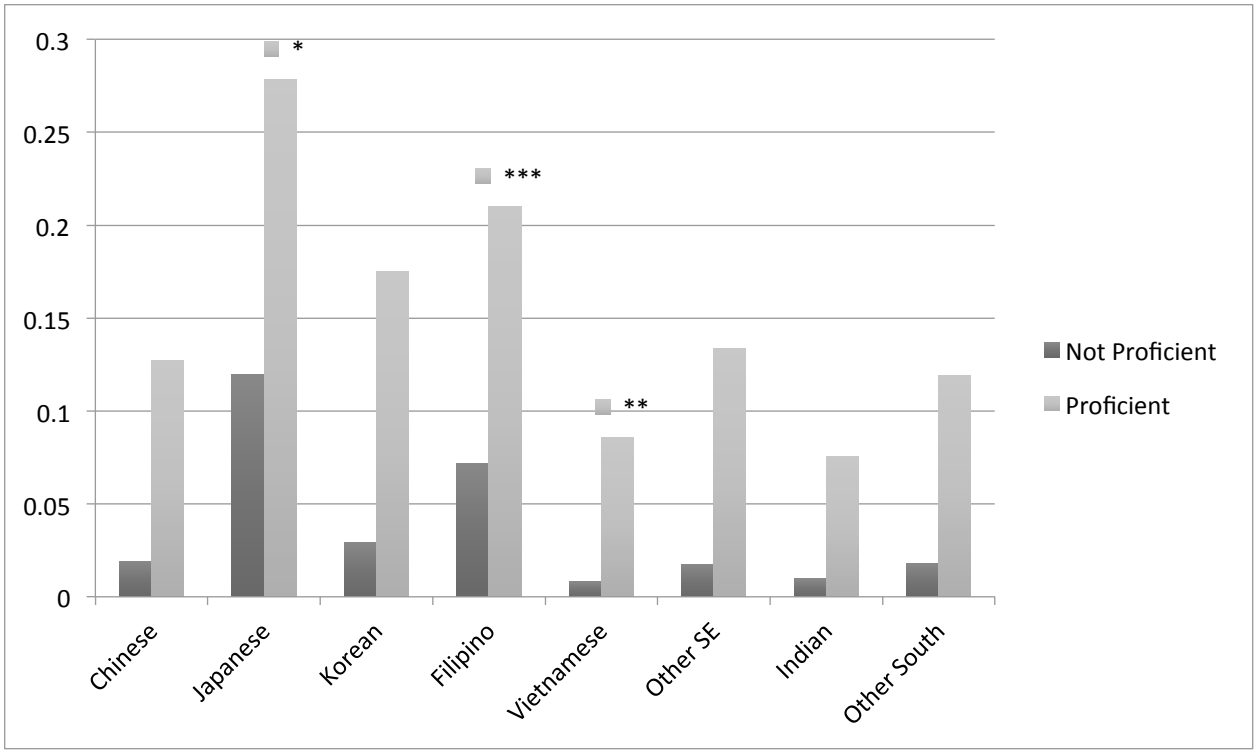

Figure 2.3d. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a White Partner by Ethnicity and English Proficiency; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and Not Proficient in English.

In summary, Asian-White intermarriage is the second most popular type of intermarriage across all Asian ethnic groups in my sample, following co-ethnic marriages. Yet, investigating the effects of ethnicity and other individual factors of incorporation reveals that it may not provide the expected classic line assimilation paths—simultaneous upward social mobility and racial integration—for many Asian Americans. In fact, a clear example of a potential straight-line assimilation occurring in Asian-White interracial marriages can only be found among socioeconomically privileged and acculturated other Southeast Asians. For many other Asian ethnic groups, this is not necessarily the case. For instance, highly educated Koreans are less likely to be intermarried than their less educated co-ethnic peers and the effects of their household income are negligible. Similarly, high levels of structural and cultural incorporation

lead to higher probabilities of interracial marriage with a White partner for many Asian Americans, and yet, this is not necessarily the case of Japanese Americans, whose rates of Asian-White intermarriage are extremely high, relative to other ethnic groups, regardless of which individual factor one is exploring.

Ethnic Variation in Asian-Hispanic/Latino Marriages

In Asian-Hispanic/Latino interracial marriages, ethnicity continues to be significant for the Japanese and Filipinos across all interaction models (see Tables C1 through C4), where they are more likely to have a Hispanic/Latino partner, relative to the Chinese. In fact, regardless of individual factors, Japanese and Filipino individuals in my sample exhibit higher probabilities of Asian-Hispanic/Latino intermarriage than members of other Asian ethnic groups.

For instance, Asian Americans become less likely to be intermarried to a Hispanic/Latino partners as their educational attainment levels increase, across all ethnicities (see Figure 2.4a). Yet, highly educated Filipinos and Japanese—those with a Bachelor's or higher degree—are still more likely to be intermarried with a Hispanic/Latino partner than other Asian Americans. Similarly, Japanese and Filipino individuals who are immigrants or do not speak English proficiently are still more likely to be in an Asian-Hispanic/Latino intermarriage than other Asian Americans, suggesting that ethnicity-specific social mechanisms may be influencing such patterns. In fact, first generation Japanese immigrants and Japanese individuals who do not speak English proficiently are more likely to have a Hispanic/Latino spouse than any other first-generation immigrants and non-proficient English speakers in my sample. They were also more likely to be in such marriage than native-born, English-speaking members of other ethnic groups (see Figure 2.4b and 2.4c).

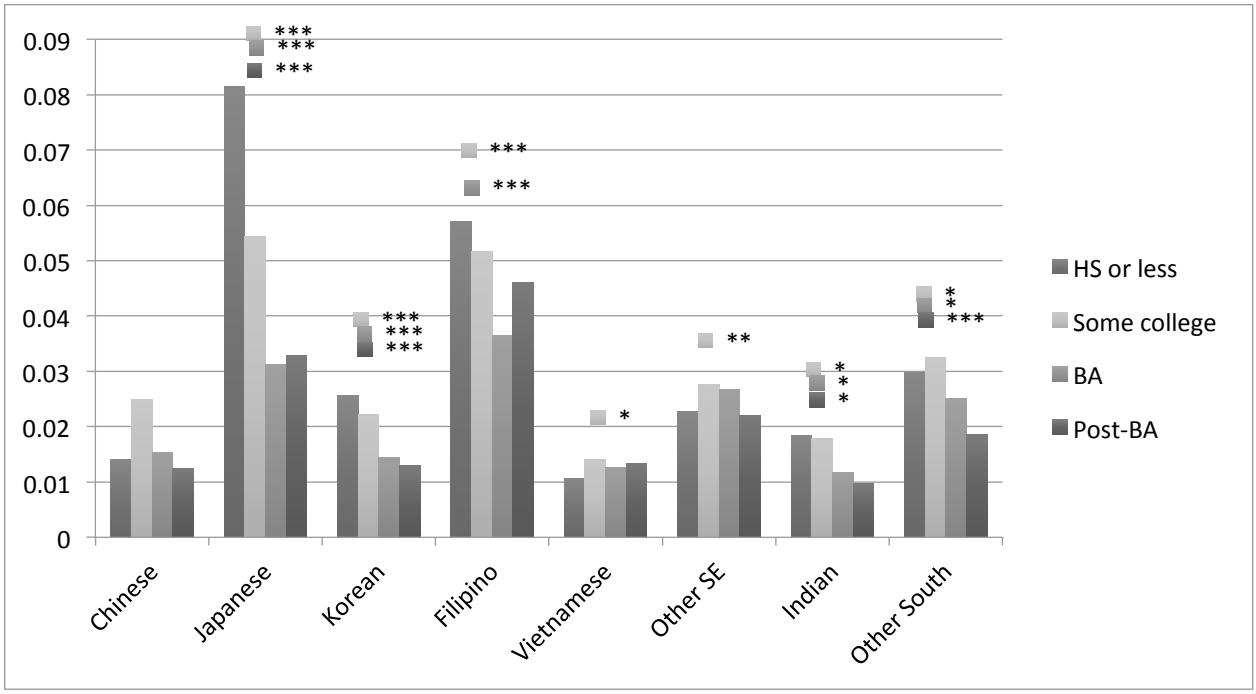

Figure 2.4a. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a Hispanic/Latino Partner by Ethnicity and Educational Attainment; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and HS or Less in education.

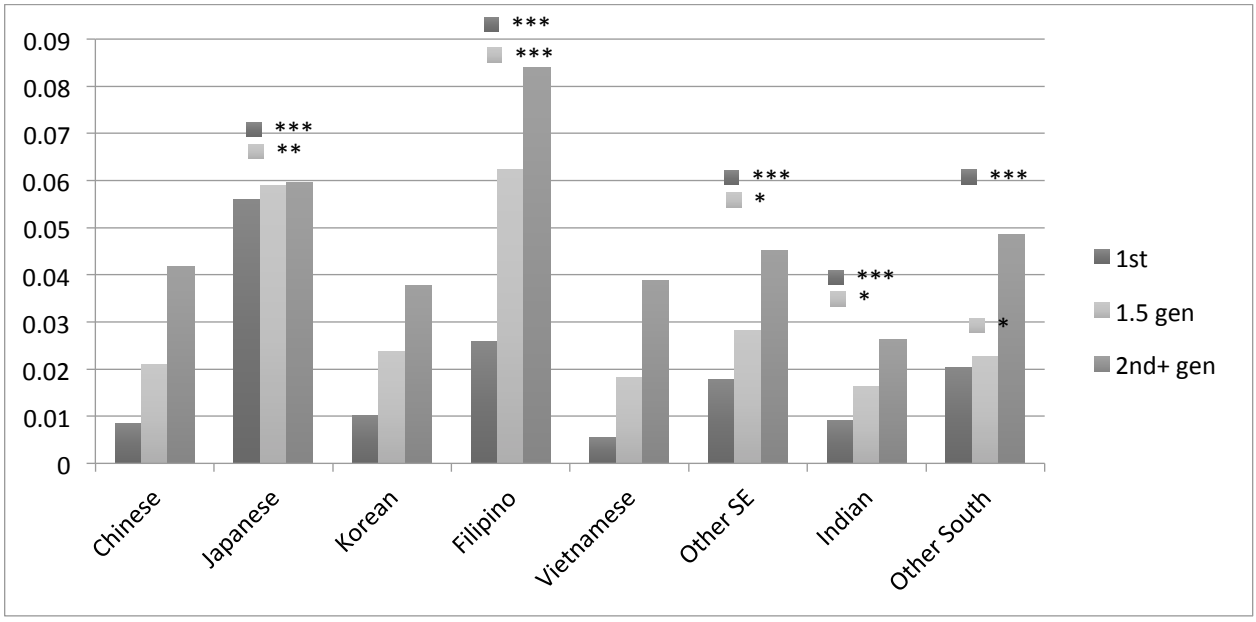

Figure 2.4b. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a Hispanic/Latino Partner by Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and Native Born (2nd and latter generation).

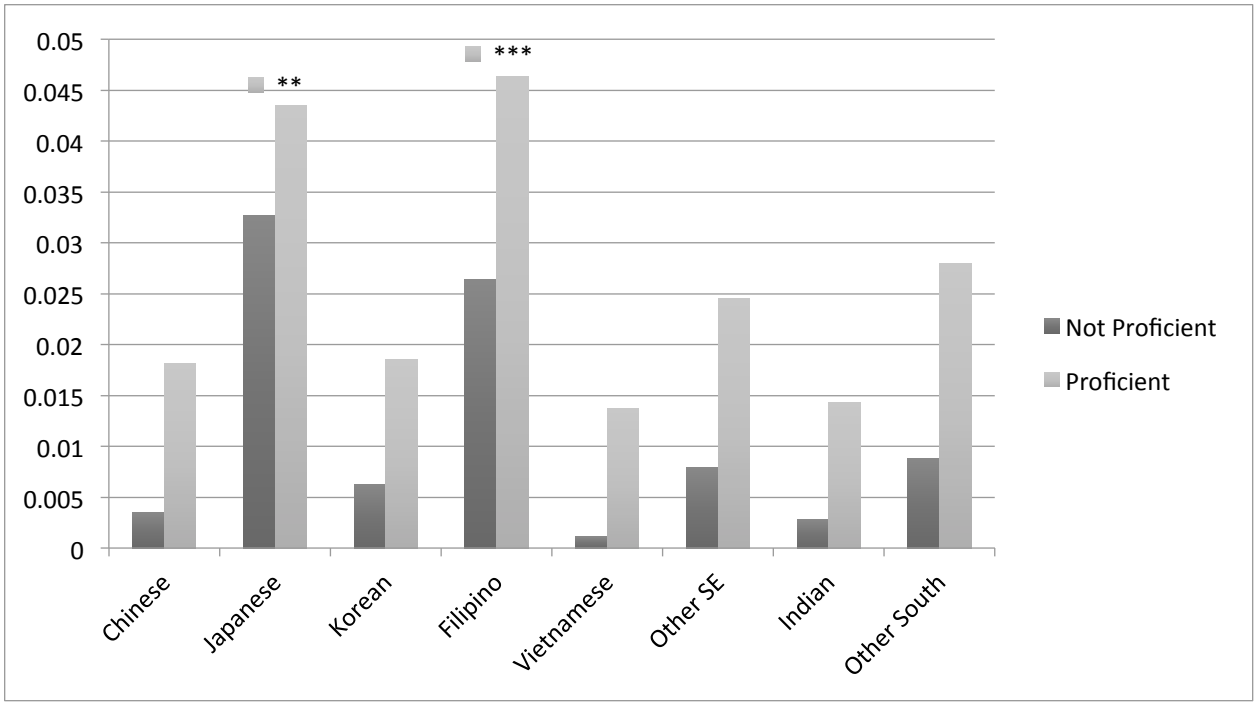

Figure 2.4c. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a Hispanic/Latino Partner by Ethnicity and English Proficiency; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and Not Proficient in English.

The effects of ethnicity and household income further reveal interesting ethnicity-specific patterns. In general, Asian Americans become less likely to have a Hispanic/Latino marital partner as their household income increases. Even among the Japanese and Filipinos, the probabilities of Asian-Hispanic/Latino intermarriage significantly decreases as their household income increases (see Figure 2.4d). Yet, a notable except in this trend could be found among Vietnamese and other Southeast Asians in my sample—although Asian-Hispanic/Latino marriages are still extremely unlikely and changes in probabilities awfully small among these two groups, they are the only Asian ethnic groups whose probabilities of having a Hispanic/Latino spouse *increase* as their household income increases. Other Southeast Asians in particular, also exhibit relatively higher probabilities of Asian-Hispanic/Latino intermarriage among their members who have at least some college experiences.

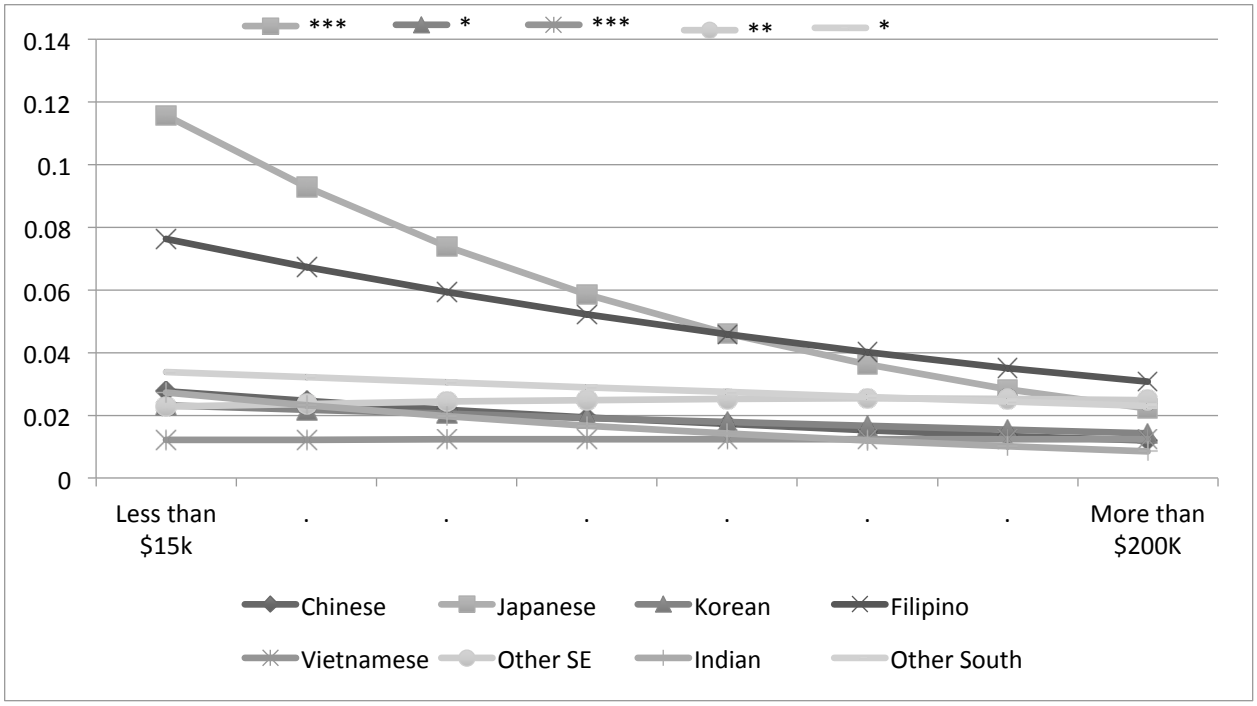

Figure 2.4d. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a Hispanic/Latino Partner by Ethnicity and Household Income; Note: * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$ *** $p \leq 0.001$; significance relative to the reference group, Chinese.

These findings show that Asian Americans are highly unlikely to intermarry with a Hispanic/Latino partner when they are crossing ethnoracial group boundaries in marriage. Yet, those who do marry a Hispanic/Latino partner seems to be concentrated among Asian Americans who are socioeconomically less privileged, regardless of their ethnicity. This trend is especially pronounced among other Southeast Asians who are socioeconomically privileged. Interestingly, Asian-Hispanic/Latino intermarriages are still more common for those who are acculturated—speaks English proficiently and/or native-born—and yet, this is not the case among the Japanese and Filipinos. Thus, despite the extremely low rates and probabilities of interracial marriage with a Hispanic/Latino partner, such marriage may still offer a viable path of incorporation into the larger, ethnoracially diverse American society for some Asian Americans.

Ethnic Variation in Asian-Black Intermarriage

In general, Asian-Black intermarriages are even more uncommon than Asian-Hispanic/Latino intermarriages. Yet, I find many similarities between the two types of intermarriage. Even after controlling for ethnicity-level differences in individual factors of incorporation, ethnicity continues to predict significantly higher likelihood of Asian-Black interracial marriage among Filipino Americans, relative to the Chinese, across all interaction models (see Tables C1 through C4). In fact, ethnicity remains significant for almost all ethnic groups, except for the Vietnamese and Indians across all models.

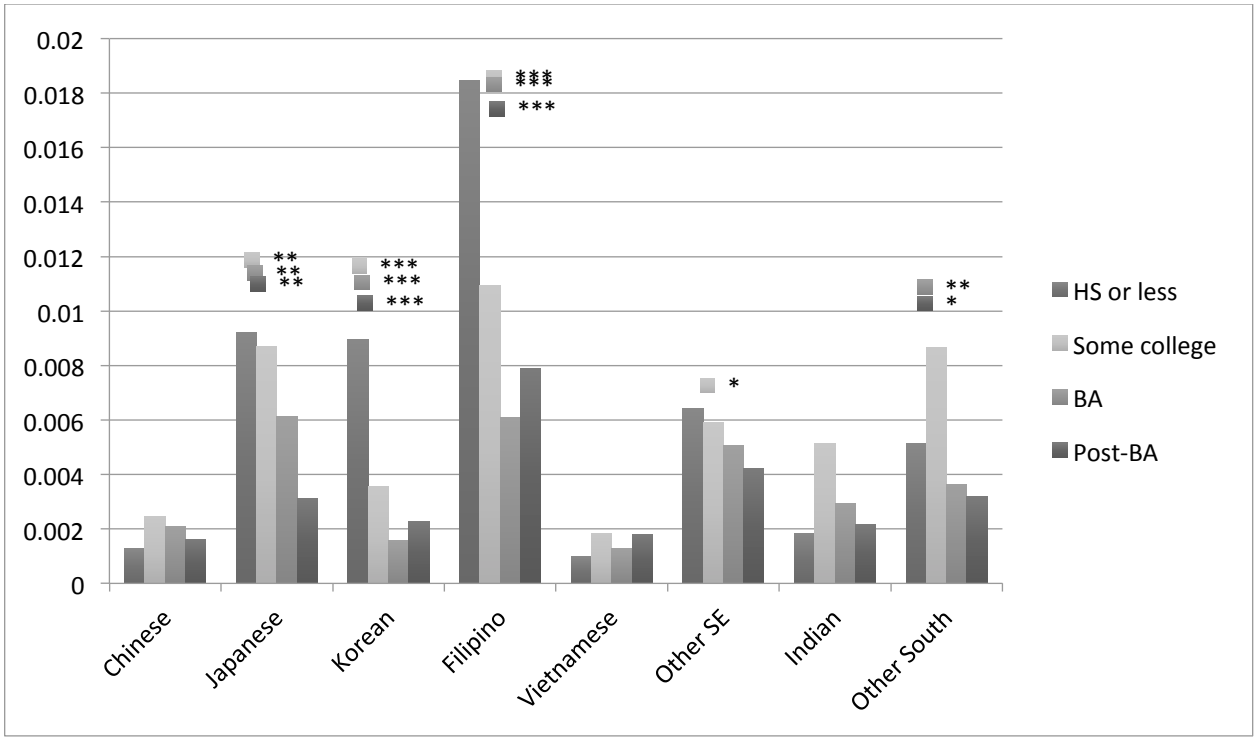

Figure 2.5a. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a Black Partner by Ethnicity and Educational Attainment; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and HS or Less in education.

As shown in Table 2.2, higher socioeconomic characteristics seem to be inversely correlated with Asian American's likelihood of interracial marriage with a Black partner, even

when disaggregated by ethnicity. For instance, Figure 2.5a and 2.5b shows that as educational attainment and household income levels increase, Asian Americans' probabilities of Asian-Black intermarriage decrease for all ethnic groups of interest. This trend is most apparent among the Japanese and Filipinos, again, and among Koreans and other Southeast and South Asians to an extent. These findings show that structural integration of Asian Americans into the middle class or beyond may be associated with anti-blackness in intergroup attitudes or relations.

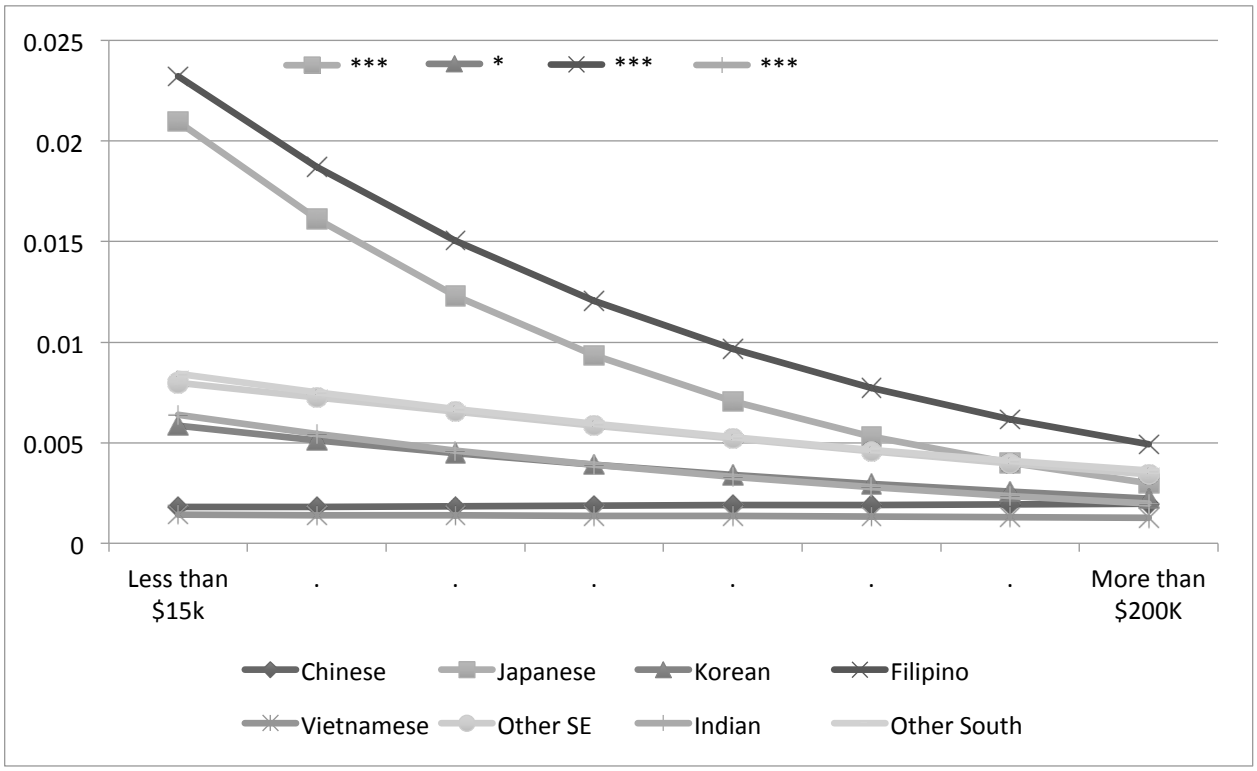

Figure 2.5b. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a Black Partner by Ethnicity and Household Income; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference group, Chinese.

Moreover, acculturation—measured by English proficiency and immigrant generation status—does not necessarily lead to higher probabilities of intermarriage with a Black partner for many Asian Americans. Although being native-born and proficient in English does increase

Asian Americans' probabilities of having a Black marital partner across ethnicities, a few notable exceptions are also observed. For example, first generation Japanese immigrants are as likely to marry a Black partner as 1.5-generation and native-born Filipino Americans and simultaneously, more likely to do so than all other Asian Americans, regardless of ethnicity and immigrant generation (see Figure 2.5c). Similarly, Filipino and Japanese individuals who do not speak English proficiently are still more likely to be intermarried to a Black partner than members of other Asian ethnic groups, regardless of their English proficiency levels (see Figure 2.5d).

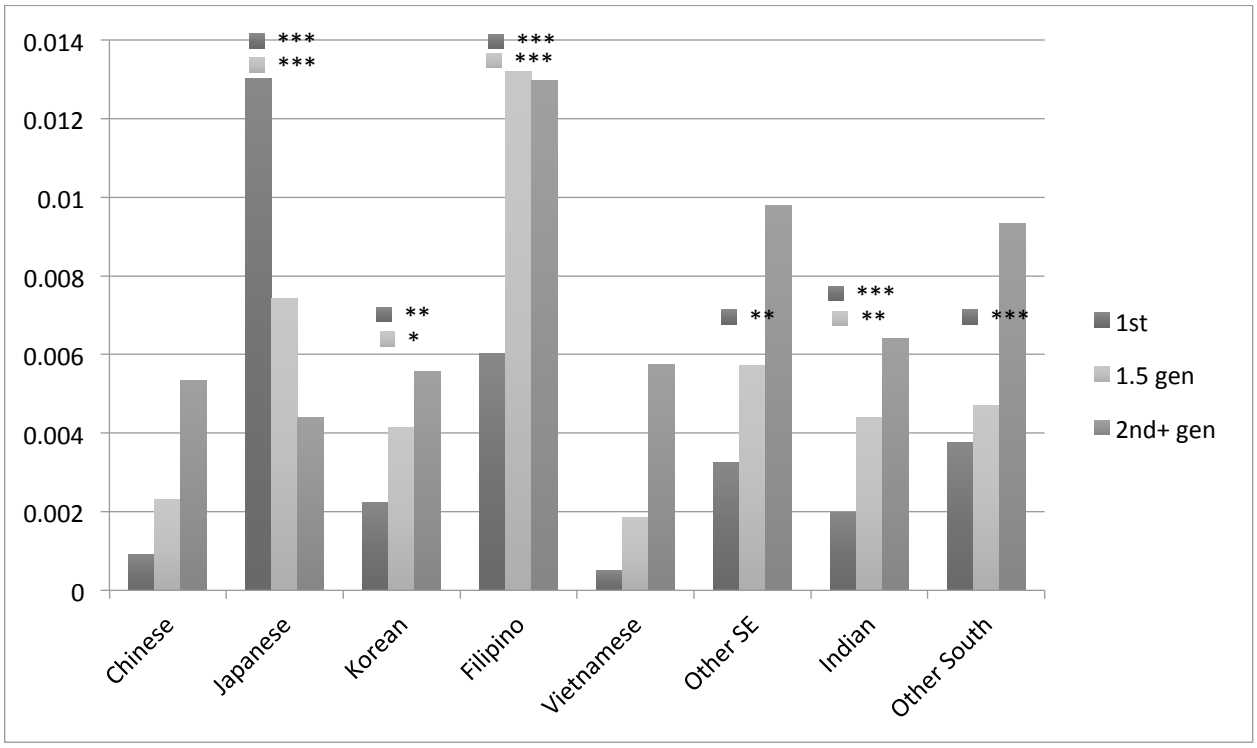

Figure 2.5c. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a Black Partner by Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and Native Born (2nd and latter generation).

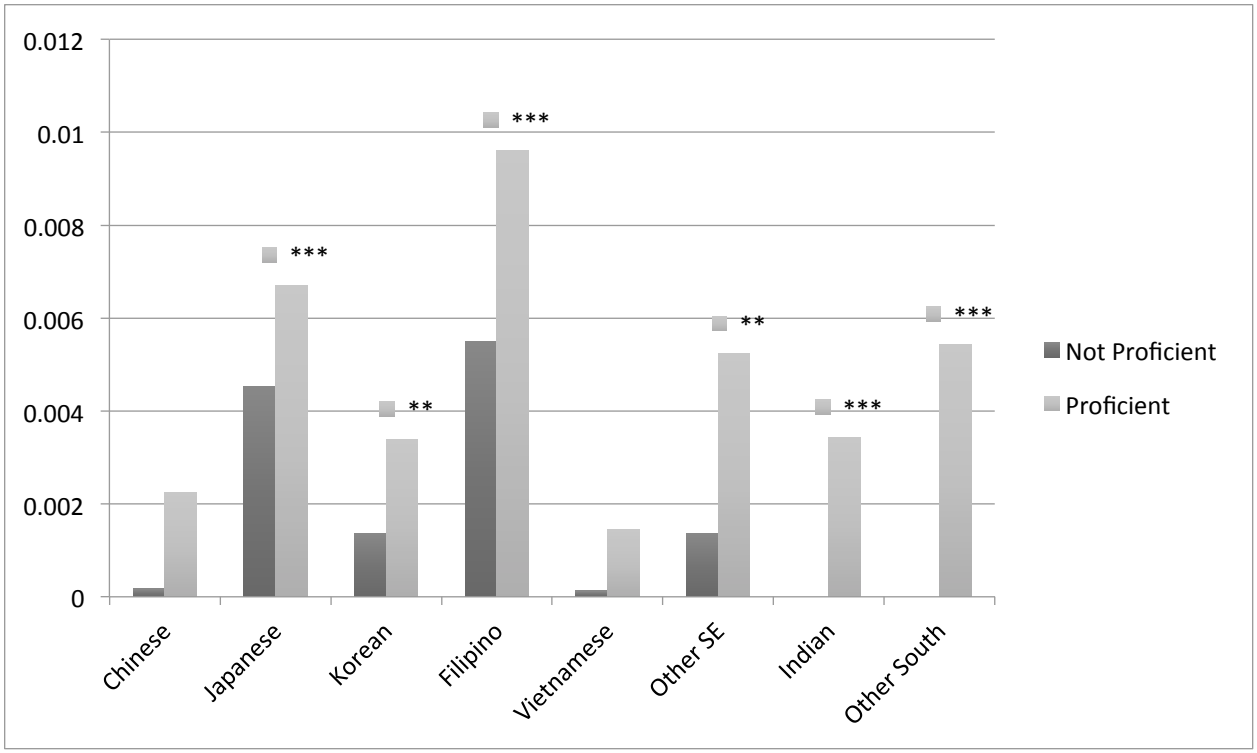

Figure 2.5d. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a Black Partner by Ethnicity and English Proficiency; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and Not Proficient in English.

In sum, Asian Americans who marry a Black partner, though extremely unlikely to occur in general, seem to be concentrated among those who are structurally disadvantaged. Even other Southeast Asians, for whom intermarriage with a different-ethnic, White, or Hispanic/Latino partner are closely associated with relative structural advantage one may have within the ethnic group, become less likely to intermarry with a Black partner as their socioeconomic status improves. Similarly, although Japanese and Filipino individuals are most likely to marry a Black partner in general compared to other Asian ethnic groups, my analysis show that it is their most disadvantaged members—immigrants and low socioeconomic status members—who are most likely to cross the Asian/Black ethnoracial boundaries in marriage.

DISCUSSION

This chapter reveals that Asian Americans exhibit ethnically heterogeneous patterns of interethnic and interracial marriage and such variation shapes the way in which Asian Americans become integrated into the larger mainstream American society by applying theories of minority incorporation to examine key predictors of Asian American intermarriage. At the aggregate, I find that all Asian American intermarriage, regardless of spousal race, function as an integration path. This is especially apparent in the uniform effects of immigrant generation status and English proficiency—regardless of spousal race, Asian American intermarriage is most likely among native-born, second generation individuals and those who speak English proficiently. Beyond such factors of acculturation, I find that Asian Americans do experience integration via intermarriage differently by ethnicity. For most Asian Americans, co-ethnic marriages are most common, followed by interethnic, Asian-White, Asian-Hispanic, and Asian-Black interracial marriages. Yet, for the Japanese, Korean, and Filipinos, they are more likely to be married to a White partner than a different-ethnic Asian partner, suggesting that ethnicity does affect Asian Americans' likelihood of different types of intermarriage.

Moreover, spousal race seems to further determine available path of marital integration for Asian Americans. For example, Asian interethnic marriage and interracial marriage with White partners seem to be more common among Asian Americans with socioeconomic privileges. Such patterns suggest that middle-class and/or upwardly mobile Asian Americans encounter two possible paths of marital integration: racial integration into the White society, buttressed by prior structural incorporation, or pan-ethnic integration into the pan-Asian society. In this sense, my findings provide evidence in support of Asian Americans' interethnic marriage as a mechanism for and path of selective assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Okamoto 2007;

Qian et al. 2012). These findings further show that some socioeconomically privileged Asian Americans are able to racially integrate themselves into the White mainstream society via intermarriage, despite their non-white status.

However, marriage with Black or Hispanic/Latino partners are rather uncommon in general and most likely among socioeconomically disadvantaged Asian Americans. One might argue that such findings are suggestive of potential downward socioeconomic and racial integration of Asian Americans as predicted by immigration and race scholars (Portes and Zhou 1993; Bonilla-Silva 2004), but the overall rates and probabilities of intermarriage with Black or Hispanic partners among Asian Americans are extremely low. Thus, collective downward mobility or pan-minority integration among socioeconomically disadvantaged Asian Americans may be an inaccurate and misleading generalization of what such intermarriage signify in relation to Asian Americans' group-level incorporation paths and mechanisms. Rather, my findings provide evidence in support of prevalent anti-blackness among Asian Americans in selecting a non-Asian marital partner, considering that Asian-Black marriages are extremely unlikely, relative to all other types of intermarriage, regardless of ethnicity or individual factors of incorporation.

These paths and mechanisms of minority incorporation available in each type of intermarriage do not apply to all Asian Americans uniformly. Indeed, ethnic heterogeneity further complicates intermarriage outcomes and their implications for Asian Americans' incorporation paths and experiences, as explained below.

Selective Integration into Pan-ethnic Asian America

Initially, *segmented assimilation theory* posited that Asian Americans, due to their non-white racial status, will likely achieve upward socioeconomic mobility, or structural

incorporation into the mainstream middle-class American society, while remaining rooted in their (pan)ethnic and immigrant communities (Portes and Zhou 1993). Yet, my analyses revealed this is true only for some Asian Americans. More specifically, interethnic marriage does provide a path of selective integration for members of especially disadvantaged immigrant-origin ethnic groups, Vietnamese and other Southeast Asians as the most educated and highest earning members of these two ethnic groups are more likely to have a different-ethnic Asian partner than other Asian Americans. Thus, interethnic marriage may allow Vietnamese and other Southeast Asians to secure membership in the pan-ethnic Asian American society, which is largely characterized by its comparable middle-class status to the White mainstream—this may be the necessary path of becoming "one of us Asian Americans" for refugee-origin Southeast Asian Americans who are considered to be qualitatively different from other Asian Americans.

However, for many Asian Americans, the relationship between upward mobility or socioeconomic advantage and interethnic marriage outcomes are not as straightforward. For some, such as Chinese, Korean, and other South Asians, the effects of education on probabilities of interethnic marriage are rather small. For others, such as the Japanese, higher household income does not necessarily increase the likelihood of interethnic marriage. This puzzling and conflicting effects of education and household income I observe in some Asian ethnic groups may indicate that shared pan-ethnic and/or racial experiences, solidarity, and/or identity that is not captured in current study may be more important than structural factors in determining Asian American interethnic marriage outcomes.

Such importance of shared pan-ethnic consciousness may also explain Indian Americans' lower likelihood of interethnic marriage than any other Asian ethnic groups across all analyses. Indians (and other South Asians to an extent) have distinctive histories of immigration and

racialization in the United States (citations) and exhibit low pan-ethnic salience in general (Wong et al. 2011; Lee 2019). Further, Indians who experience intra-Asian discrimination and conflicts are less likely to express pan-ethnic solidarity (Schacter 2014). In addition, I found that South Asians are isolated in the Asian American interethnic marriage market in the previous chapter. Considering this, Indian Americans' structural advantages may expose them to heightened levels of discrimination and conflicts in pan-Asian institutional and social settings, where interethnic marriages occur most likely, resulting in their lower rates of interethnic marriage relative to members of other Asian ethnic groups. This may also explain how Indian Americans who are not proficient in English are more likely to be interethnically married than their English-speaking counterparts.

Taken together, Asian Americans' selective integration via interethnic marriage is a race- and ethnicity-conscious decision many Asian Americans make, regardless of their structural positioning. Yet, for the especially disadvantaged refugee-origin Southeast Asians, interethnic marriages may still function as a class-specific mobility and integration path into the middle-class mainstream as "one of us Asian Americans."

Who is Becoming White?

Although selective marital integration seems most likely in Asian American intermarriage, many Asian Americans are taking alternative paths, too. Most notably, not only a significant proportion of Asian Americans are marrying a White partner, as previously found (Pew Research Center 2017; other citations), but Asian-White intermarriages seem more common among those who are structurally and culturally already integrated into the mainstream American society. As such, some intermarriage, race, and immigration scholars rebuked Portes and Zhou's (1993) claims and argued that ethnoracial boundaries between Asian Americans and

Whites are becoming blurred (Alba 2009; Wimmer 2008; Lee and Bean 2010; Tran et al. 2018). My findings provide some evidence in support of such claims and yet, simultaneously show that such straight-line racial integration may be an ethnicity-specific phenomenon.

The most clear example of straight-line integration occurring in Asian-White intermarriage can be found among refugee-origin Southeast Asians, again. For these individuals, their likelihood of having a White partner significantly increases as their levels of educational attainment and household income increase. However, such clear trend is not observed among other ethnic groups. For instance, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino Americans are most likely to marry a White partner when they outmarry and yet, such outcomes are not necessarily driven by individual-level structural advantages. Especially for the Japanese, even the less acculturated immigrants are still more likely to marry a White partner than their more acculturated non-Japanese counterparts. Then, what explains such curious ethnicity-specific patterns?

I argue that relatively marginalized ethnic positionalities of refugee-origin Southeast Asians within the pan-ethnic Asian American society may allow them to diverge from pan-ethnic integration paths and seek partners from other ethnoracial groups. The more privileged members' structural positionalities may further situate them near potential White partners in school settings, workplaces, and residence, leading to their notably higher likelihood of Asian-White intermarriage that resembles early European immigrants' straight-line assimilation patterns. However, for the Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos, who are already largely accepted as "Asian American" in social and/or institutional senses, their higher likelihood of Asian-White intermarriage may be rooted in individual preferences and context-specific racial politics—such as the influence of U.S. military presence and colonialism in home countries—than integration paths or mechanisms.

Simultaneously, I must consider that Asian-White intermarriage that occurs among relatively disadvantaged Asian Americans, especially among less educated and low income Koreans, Japanese, and Filipinos, may still function as an integration mechanism that is occurring out of order. Specifically, racial integration of these individuals may precede their structural and cultural incorporation—instead of accomplishing structural and cultural integration first, marrying a White partner may lead to such integration outcomes for these individuals. This may also explain the peculiarly high rates of Asian-White intermarriage among Japanese immigrants—for these more recent immigrants, "becoming White" may be synonymous to "becoming American" as many early Asian immigrants considered (Zhou 2014). In addition, the relatively smaller group size and latter-generation status among Japanese Americans may hinder active co-ethnic incorporation efforts and drive their less acculturated and/or advantaged co-ethnics to find other paths of minority incorporation into the mainstream American society.

Bleak Future for Pan-Minority Integration

My findings regarding Asian Americans' intermarriage with a different-ethnic Asian or White spouses largely confirm previous theories of Asian Americans' incorporation into the mainstream American society—that these marriages often accompany high levels of acculturation and socioeconomic privileges. Then, what about intermarriage with a non-Asian, non-White spouse? Literature posits two possible integration paths available via such marriages—downward assimilation into the urban "underclass" or middle-class culture of mobility characterized by pan-minority solidarity and affinities (Portes and Zhou 1993; Neckerman et al. 1999). However, my findings show that neither makes an attractive or viable path of integration for many Asian Americans.

More specifically, Asian Americans rarely intermarry with a Hispanic/Latino or Black partner. When they do, such marriages most likely occur among less educated and low-income Asian Americans, regardless of one's ethnicity. However, I am hesitant to generalize these findings as conveying downward integration of Asian Americans via interracial marriage with a non-White partner. Statistically significant differences in the likelihood of intermarriage with a Hispanic/Latino or Black partner, when graphically depicted using predicted probabilities, reveal that such differences are not substantial at all. Moreover, the extremely low (less than 1%) likelihood of interracial marriage with Hispanic/Latino or Black partner among socioeconomically privileged Asian Americans found across all my statistical models also show that minority culture of mobility, or pan-minority solidarity, largely does not apply to Asian Americans' intermarriage.

Yet, I cannot dismiss the possibilities of relatively disadvantaged Asian Americans achieving socioeconomic integration into the middle-class society by marrying a relatively privileged Black or Hispanic/Latino partner, as the current study does not examine socioeconomic characteristics of Black and Hispanic/Latino spouses of Asian Americans. In other words, for Asian Americans who are especially disadvantaged, marrying a Black or Hispanic/Latino partner may still provide them a viable path of integration and socioeconomic mobility, however rarely such marriages may occur.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined how Asian Americans' marital integration paths and mechanisms into the larger mainstream American society may vary by ethnicity. I found that spousal race, in addition to one's ethnicity, determines which path Asian Americans may take in

the process of integration and how the ways in which such paths provide different integration mechanisms. Specifically, I find that Asian Americans' interethnic marriage and Asian-White interracial marriages are relatively common and lead Asian Americans to arrive at the middle-class American society one way or another, whereas Asian-Hispanic/Latino and Asian-Black interracial marriages are rare and does not provide the same socioeconomic integration paths. These findings have important implications for Asian Americans' ethnic heterogeneity and its effects on their incorporation patterns.

First, Asian Americans' ethnic heterogeneity contributes to differences in *how* marital integration may occur. Intermarriage, regardless of one's ethnicity or spousal race, is a path to "become American" for many disadvantaged Asian Americans. For example, interethnic and Asian-White interracial marriage function as a structural-racial integration path for the upwardly mobile members of especially disadvantaged refugee-origin Southeast Asian ethnic groups. On the other hand, Asian-Black or Asian-Hispanic/Latino intermarriage seems to provide alternative paths of "becoming American" for the less acculturated and privileged members of relatively advantaged ethnic groups, such as Japanese and Filipinos. At the aggregate, such patterns are not necessarily revealed, as Asian Americans as a collective, are more likely to marry a different-ethnic or White partner as their acculturation and structural integration levels increase and these characteristics are not distinguished by both ethnicity-specific and individual-level factors as I have done in this chapter.

Second, the "middle-class mainstream America" Asian Americans (and possibly, other immigrant-origin minorities) arrive at via intermarriage may not be singular, but rather, a pan-ethnic and White ones that exist in tandem. Considering that interethnic marriage or interracial marriage with a White partner is most likely among those who have already achieved middle-

class status, those in interethnic marriages will likely become integrated into the pan-Asian middle class society, whereas those in Asian-White interracial marriages join the white-majority middle-class mainstream. Thus, the "whitening" of Asian Americans, or the blurring of ethnoracial boundaries distinguishing Asian Americans and White Americans, that many scholars have argued for may be a reality for some Asian Americans. Specifically, I find that intermarriage with a White partner is more likely than interethnic marriage for the Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos. Similarly, blurring ethnic boundaries among Asian Americans via interethnic marriage seem to be a middle class-specific phenomenon. This may have important implications for the ways in which Asian Americans as a pan-ethnic group is positioned and perceived as the "model minority" in the larger U.S. race relations.

Finally, my findings reveal anti-Hispanic/Latino and anti-Blackness in Asian Americans' interracial marriage patterns. The extremely low likelihood of such intermarriage suggests two possibilities: 1) Asian Americans and Black and Hispanic/Latino communities are segregated from one another, preventing social mingling across ethnoracial boundaries that lead to intermarriage, or 2) Asian Americans are actively subscribing to the American racial hierarchy that valorizes whiteness and any similarities to whiteness, while ostracizing Black and Hispanic/Latino individuals as non-whites in various domains of the larger society. Although I do not examine ethnoracial segregation in this study, I do find that Asian Americans' ethnically distinctive ethnoracial group relations and attitudes may be contributing to the low rates of Asian-Hispanic/Latino and Asian-Black intermarriages. Most notably, interracial marriage with a Hispanic/Latino or Black partner, though extremely rare across all ethnicities, occurs among (socioeconomically disadvantaged) Japanese and Filipino individuals, who expressed relatively more approving intergroup attitudes toward Black and Hispanic/Latinos in the previous chapter.

Yet, "downward" assimilation of Asian Americans seems unlikely, especially in intermarriage, as interracial marriage with a Black or Hispanic/Latino partner is rather uncommon across all ethnicities as well as structural and cultural integration levels.

Although my findings reveal important implications of ethnic heterogeneity and variation in Asian Americans' intermarriage function as incorporation paths and mechanisms, they do not explain *why* and *how* one may end up in the White mainstream versus the pan-Asian mainstream. Similarly, I am unable to explain whether Asian Americans' anti-Hispanic/Latino and anti-Black attitudes in intermarriage are rooted in racial, socioeconomic, or cultural intergroup tensions, or just simply a byproduct of ethnoracial segregation that may be occurring at various levels of the larger society. Obtaining such information via a large, representative quantitative data may not be realistic, due to the complicated and nuanced nature of such intergroup tensions and relations. As such, future studies of Asian Americans' intermarriage and (marital incorporation) should examine the ways in which Asian Americans make sense of different types of intermarriage qualitatively in order to better understand individual decision-making processes that occur in intermarriage and their implications for the larger American race relations, focusing especially on Asian-non-White intermarriage.

In sum, I have found in this chapter that Asian Americans' ethnic heterogeneity and variation in spousal race determine divergent paths of and mechanism for minority incorporation available in intermarriage. Yet, the patterns of marital integration I have found do not neatly align with existing theories of minority incorporation, which does not consider ethnic heterogeneity and/or marital integration. Hopefully, the ethnically disaggregated patterns found in this chapter has provided an important springboard for future research to consider ethnic heterogeneity, coupled with steps that occur beyond acculturation and structural integration and

their variation by other individual factors, in both empirical and theoretical orientations. Such multiplicative and intersectional approaches may provide much needed insight into the "hybridization" or the changes that occur in the larger society as a result of minority incorporation; as Alba and Nee (2003) previously argued, minority incorporation is not a one-sided or uniform process.

CHAPTER 3:

Gendered Implications of Ethnic Heterogeneity for Asian American Intermarriage

INTRODUCTION

Heterosexual marriages are inherently gendered, and therefore, intermarriage occurs at the intersection of gender and other axis of social stratification, such as socioeconomic characteristics and race (Kalmijn 1993). In fact, the racist history behind laws barring interracial marriage in the United States reveals gendered racial politics entailed in the institution of marriage. Specifically, anti-miscegenation laws actively used the institution of marriage to systematically preserve White men's advantage and interests by preventing non-Whites from marrying a White spouse and accumulating wealth and privilege through family formation (Pascoe 2009).

Asian Americans were also subjected to such legal and social discourses—Asian masculinity and femininity were racialized as deviant and threatening to White civilization's alleged superior moral orders in legally establishing racial-sexual hierarchy and protecting white male supremacy (Pasco 2009). However, gender has not been central in recent investigations of Asian American intermarriage, perhaps due to its clearly gendered patterns: Asian women disproportionately out-marry at a higher rate than Asian men in general, usually with a White partner (Pew Research Center 2017). Yet, the issue of gender and race remain relevant and important in investigating Asian American intermarriage outcomes. For instance, Asian-White interracial marriage largely rejects existing sociological theories explaining how such mixed unions may occur in gendered ways, such as the racial-economic status exchange theory (Blau

1986 [1964]; Davis 1941; Merton 1941; Liang and Ito 1999; Pew Research Center 2017, 2015; Qian 1997; Fu and Heaton 2008; Qian and Lichter 2001). Similarly, diverging gendered patterns are observed in Asian American interracial marriages with non-white partners as well as in interethnic marriages (Pew Research Center 2010; Qian et al. 2001; Min and Kim 2009; Okamoto 2007). Nonetheless, how and why such phenomena occur remains largely unanswered. Scholarship has also generally overlooked potential ethnic heterogeneity in gendered intermarriage outcomes of Asian Americans.

To fill this gap in literature, I examine how gender, race, and (hetero)sexuality intersect with the ways in which Asian American intermarriage functions as a path of and mechanism for minority incorporation into the mainstream society in this chapter. The research questions guiding the analyses of this chapter ask: *What factors explain gendered outcomes of Asian American intermarriage and its ethnic variation? What are their implications for Asian Americans' racial-social integration into the American society?* Using data from the American Community Survey (ACS) pooled from years 2008 through 2016, I investigate the relationship between Asian Americans' individual levels of cultural and structural integration and spousal race in intermarriage, and how these patterns may vary by one's ethnicity as well as gender. In so doing, I explore the implications of such gendered patterns on Asian Americans' group positioning in the larger U.S. race relations.

I find that at the aggregate, Asian men must be acculturated before they are able to out-marry, but such conditions are not required for Asian women, leading to women's higher likelihood of intermarriage regardless of spousal race. Even though I do not find any evidence of gendered racial-economic status exchange in Asian American intermarriage, my findings suggest

that unequal ethnoracial status among Asian Americans contributes to gendered and ethnicity-specific intermarriage outcomes. Specifically, Asian men's gendered racialization may explain higher probabilities of intermarriage with a White partner among less privileged men of high status Asian ethnic groups. Among refugee-origin Southeast Asians, status mobility via intermarriage is possible only for the most educated and highest earning members, regardless of gender. Such gendered patterns of ethnically heterogeneous intermarriage outcomes among Asian Americans may change the ways in which contemporary American society conceptualizes race, as well as ethnoracial group membership and relations, especially through children of Asian mixed unions' ethnoracial identities.

RACE, GENDER, AND ASIAN AMERICAN INTERMARRIAGE

As briefly mentioned above, the way intermarriage is understood and conceptualized is heavily influenced by American racial politics that valorize whiteness as superior to other races. Since the era of slavery, anti-miscegenation laws banning interracial unions upheld White men's racial and sexual privileges (Pascoe 2009). Even though early laws and racial-sexual politics regarding interracial unions largely revolved around the Black/White racial binary, members of other racial groups, such as Asian Americans, were also effectively racialized as non-Whites. Although Asian sexuality was not vilified the way black sexuality had been, it is still framed as threats to the White civilization's economic, (sexual-)moral social orders: the disadvantaged socioeconomic status of early Chinese immigrants framed Asian men as economic threats to working-class white women, forcing them to turn to prostitution for economic livelihood, and

Asian women as potential prostitutes who pose moral threats to the White civilization (Pascoe 2009).

In addition to such racialization of Asian Americans as antithetical to allegedly morally, socially superior Whites in laws and institutions regarding marriage, Asian men and women experienced explicitly gendered racialization. On the one hand, Asian women are racialized and sexualized as hyperfeminine—passive, submissive, quiet, and exotic (Pyke and Johnson 2003; Espiritu 1992). On the other hand, Asian masculinity is either portrayed to be foreign, deviant, and threatening to White women's sexual purity as "Yellow Perils" (Shim 1998; Lai and Choy 1972; Said 1978). When not vilified, Asian masculinity is undermined as the "model minority" stereotype effectively emphasizes the "brain" of Asian American men and de-sexualizes Asian American masculinity as emasculate and asexual (Thangaraj 2012; Espiritu 1992; Takaki 1993; Shek 2006). Such gendered racialization not only leads Asian men and women to internalize oppressive controlling images of Asian sexuality (Pyke and Johnson 2003; Espiritu 1992). As a result, potential partners, especially White individuals, perceive Asian women as desired partners, but not Asian men (Feliciano, Robnett, and Komaie 2009; Song 2004).

Nonetheless, Asian Americans are not simply subscribing to the ways in which the larger American society racializes and (de)sexualizes them. For instance, Asian Americans men often counter negative gendered racialization through cultural and structural integration and upward mobility in the larger society. Chen (1999) previously found that being culturally assimilated into the White mainstream (peer) society and achieving high socioeconomic status allows Chinese American men to establish and reinforce their masculinity. Yet, the impacts of Asian men's

reframing of their masculine selves via model minority characteristics seem to be limited in Asian Americans' intermarriage, especially with White partners.

Specifically, the dominant theory of intermarriage, *racial-economic status exchange theory,* posits that men of lower racial (caste) status trade wealth and education for a partner with higher racial status (Blau 1986 [1964]; Davis 1941; Merton 1941), but such phenomenon is largely absent in Asian American intermarriage. Asian American intermarriage is often characterized by educational and socioeconomic homogamy—shared socioeconomic status between spouses—between Asian women and white men (Liang and Ito 1999; Pew Research Center 2017, 2015; Qian 1997; Fu and Heaton 2008; Qian and Lichter 2001; Fu 2001). Further, Asian men's socioeconomic advantages seem to not provide much bargaining power in status exchanges that occur in interracial marriages. In a study of White Internet dater's racial preferences, East Asian, Indian, and Arab men were most likely to be excluded by white female Internet daters, despite their higher socioeconomic statuses compared to men of other ethnoracial groups (Feliciano et al. 2009). Greater social distance between newer immigrant groups (Asians, Middle Easterners, and Arabs) and whites as well as the negative stereotypes of Asian men as asexual and lacking masculinity (Espiritu 1992; Takaki 1993; Shek 2006) may be contributing to this phenomenon (Feliciano et al. 2009).

Thus, the pervasive racialized stereotypes of Asian masculinity and femininity are products of gendered racial formation and have important implications for their intermarriage outcomes (Felicano et al. 2009; Kandaswamy 2012). Especially, the racialization of Asian masculinity may drive Asian women to prefer White men and their hegemonic masculinity over Asian men and their seemingly "traditional" orientation and racialized masculinity.

Simultaneously, Asian men are portrayed to be undesirable and feminized in Western societies (Lian and Ito 1999; Qian 2005; Song 2004). As such, being culturally and structurally integrated allow Asian men to counter controlling, racialized masculinity of "being Asian" and cross racial boundaries in marriage, whereas such level of assimilation is not a pre-requisite to interracial marriage for Asian women (Okamoto 2007).

ASIAN AMERICAN ETHNIC HETEROGENEITY AND PREFERENCE HIERARHCY

In addition to gendered racialization, Asian Americans' ethnic heterogeneity further shape the ways in which Asian ethnic groups are distinctively racialized[12] in the United States. Such varying racialization experiences draw symbolic boundaries among Asian ethnic groups, distinguishing other Asian Americans one identifies with from the ones to distance oneself from. For example, as I have shown in the previous chapters, educationally and professionally successful East Asians, Indians, and some Southeast Asian groups like the Vietnamese are characterized as "model minorities" (Lee and Zhou 2016; Choo and Feagin 2000). This "model minority" imagery functions to celebrate Asian American achievement in juxtaposition to their less successful minority counterparts such as Blacks and Latinos while also confining Asians to the racialized minority, outsider status (Choo and Feagin 2000).

Even among the "model minority" groups, Asian Americans racialization experiences and discourses are ethnically distinctive. For instance, Filipino immigrants and Filipino Americans argued that they were "brown Asians" who are distinctive from the "yellow" Asians,

[12] Following Omi and Winant's (2014) conceptualization, I define racialization as a process of ascribing racial identities to a relationship, social practice, or group for the purpose of continued social domination.

and have attempted to leave the pan-Asian coalition (Pascoe 2009; Espiritu 1992). Today, many Filipino Americans continue to consider themselves to be distinctive from "Asian Americans," due to their unique colonial and immigration history (Ocampo 2014; Espiritu 1992). Similarly, early Punjabi immigrants were racialized as "Hindoos" and considered different from other Asians (Thangaraj 2012). Indians came to join the Asian American pan-ethnic group in the 20th century to get affirmative action related resources designated for "Asian" ethnic groups (Espiritu 1992). Yet, the lack of meaningful conversation about race and racial differences among Asian Americans led to the "ambiguous non-white" status of South Asians and further marginalized them from the Asian American society (Kibria 1996). Today, Indians continue to be less likely to identify as Asian American, especially when their immediate surroundings consist mostly of non-Indian, Asian populations (Schacter 2014).

These different racialization experiences of Asian ethnic groups led some scholars to argue that a new racial order, which transcends pan-ethnic group boundaries, may be developing in the United States (Bonilla-Silva 2004). More specifically, the contemporary American racial order may be shifting from a Black-White bi-racial order to a tri-racial order, which consists of whites, "honorary whites," and the "collective black" group. According to this tri-racial order, Asian Americans belong to both the "honorary white" and "collective black" groups—Socioeconomically better off Asians (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and Indian) as "honorary whites" and more recent and disadvantaged Southeast Asians (Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, and Laotian) as "collective blacks."

Such ethnically distinctive and unequal group status among Asian Americans may lead to a variety of gendered and racialized patterns of intermarriage by ethnicity. In fact, not only do

Americans make a clear distinction between native-born and immigrant-origin Asians as well as between economically successful and unsuccessful Asians, but Asian Americans are also developing a racialized intra-Asian preference hierarchy in forming interpersonal social relations among themselves (Moran 2001; Bonilla-Silva 2004; see also Saito 1998; Tuan 1998). I have also found ethnic heterogeneity in Asian Americans' group boundary patterns as well as in their paths of and mechanisms for marital integration into the mainstream American society in the previous chapters. However, how diverse and often unequal ethnoracial status may be gendered, as well as racialized, have not garnered much attention in the studies of Asian American intermarriage.

IMPLICATIONS OF GENDERED INTERMARRIAGE OUTCOME AND ASIAN AMERICANS' ETHNORACIAL INTEGRATION AND POSITIONING

Gendered intermarriage outcomes have important implications for the ways in which the larger society may organize itself racially, especially through children of mixed union and their self- and ascribed- ethnoracial identities. In general, children of mixed unions—multiracial individuals—and the ways in which they identify reveal the salience of racial boundaries as well as their flexibility (Bratter 2007; Alba and Nee 2003; Lee and Bean 2004). Especially, White-minority racial mixing often leads to the "whitening" of racial minority background and identity in their children (Gordon 1964; David 2006; Haney Lopez 1996; Morning 2003), whereas mixed-Black racial identity still largely subscribes to the social racial discourse of "one-drop rule," effectively racializing the multiracial children of mixed union as Black (Bratter 2007; Lee

and Bean 2010; Brunsma 2005; Harris and Simm 2002). In both cases, children of intermarriage experience identificational racial integration.

However, for many children of Asian-mixed unions, experiences of racialization do not necessarily mean the erasure or downplaying of Asian identities. In fact, many children of Asian-White mixed unions socially identify as White, but invoke the "optional" racial identity of Asian when convenient or expected to gain better social chances (Xie and Goyette 1997; Lee and Bean 2010). Moreover, racial environments and contexts within a household further influence the ways in which children of Asian-White unions may identify, as the Asian parent in such unions may consolidate minority identification through familial identification (Bratter 2007).

Interestingly, parental gender plays an important role in such decision: monoracial Asian identities are transmitted to mixed-race children only when the father is Asian (Bratter 2007). This gendered transmission of Asian identity may be due to the transmission of ethnoracial identity that occurs through last name (Waters 1990) and/or community pressure to preserve or strengthen Asian Americans' group size for sociopolitical power and influence (King-O'Rian 2004). Yet, if Asian women are disproportionately out-marrying more than Asian men, only a small portion of mixed-Asian individuals may actively identify as Asian American primarily, changing the ways in which the larger society categorizes and understands Asian Americans as an ethnoracial group. Beyond ethnoracial identification of multiracial Asian children, intermarriage also has important implications for the ways in which mixed-origin individuals choose their own marital partners. In fact, scholars have found repeatedly that children of Asian-White unions are more likely to intermarry with Whites than other races (Qian and Lichter 2011;

Bratter 2007), which may lead to intergenerational "whitening" of some mixed-Asian individuals.

Although aforementioned studies have significantly improved our understandings of the implications of Asian American intermarriage for the larger U.S. race relations, the effects of gendered intermarriage outcome for children of Asian-non-White unions remain largely unknown. This skewed focus in the scholarship not only presents incomplete analyses of the implications of Asian Americans' intermarriage, but also assumes that all minorities are integrating into the White society, clearly privileging whiteness and simultaneously portraying Asian Americans as foreign and inferior, whose integration is necessary (Kim 1999; Song 2001, 2004). Moreover, such assumption may portray intermarriage between minorities as not a path of or mechanism for integration. Yet, integration that occurs through intermarriage, regardless of partners' race and ethnicity, contributes to change the societal mainstream by blurring and/or expanding ethnoraical group boundaries (Alba and Nee 2003; Alba and Foner 2015; Song 2004). As such, marital integration does not necessarily indicate simple absorption of minorities into the White mainstream or erasure of minority identities and cultures—rather, it may be indicative of cultural hybridity that gradually reshapes and expands the American mainstream (Alba and Foner 2015).

Given this, it is imperative to investigate not only the gendered patterns of Asian-White intermarriage, but also those of Asian-non-White intermarriages. I have already established that Asian Americans experience marital integration in ethnically distinctive fashion in the previous chapter—how such heterogeneity may further complicate gendered patterns of Asian American intermarriage and their implications is important in understanding potentially evolving

boundaries of Asian Americans pan-ethnicity and their impact on the transformation of American mainstream and race relations.

RESEARCH EXPECTATIONS

In this chapter, I examine the factors behind gendered patterns of intermarriage outcome among Asian Americans and how they may further vary by ethnicity. In so doing, I rely on the theoretical frameworks of minority incorporation and racial-economic status exchange in intermarriage. In line with existing scholarship on Asian American intermarriage and gender, I expect Asian Americans' intermarriage outcomes to vary by gender, in addition to ethnicity. Specifically, I have the following research expectations:

- Due to racialized sexuality of Asian women being relatively more desirable than Asian men are, Asian women to be more likely to out-marry than Asian men, regardless of individual integration status, ethnicity, or spousal race.
- Intermarriage, regardless of spousal race, will be more likely among Asian men who have achieved structural and cultural incorporation than their less integrated counterparts across all ethnic groups.
- Unequal racial status among Asian Americans by ethnicity reflected in Bonilla-Silva's (2004) tri-racial order will impact Asian men's intermarriage outcomes, but not women's:
    - Relatively privileged male members of high-status, "honorary white" ethnic groups to be more likely to marry a White spouse than their lower-status counterparts.

        - Their intermarriage will be characterized by socioeconomic homogamy, rather than status exchange.
    - Privileged male members of lower status, "collective black" ethnic groups will be more likely to intermarry in general than their less privileged co-ethnics.
        - Their intermarriage with a different-ethnic Asian or White partner will be characterized by status exchange.

DATA AND METHODS

Data for this study comes from the American Community Survey (ACS), 1% Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) 1-year estimate data pooled from years between 2008 and 2016[13]. The ACS is the largest ongoing household survey administered by the U.S. Census Bureau, through in-person and telephone interviews as well as mail-in and online surveys. Because the ACS surveys are ongoing and randomly sampled from all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, the pooling of data ensures an adequate sample size and relatively up-to-date sample characteristics of smaller and growing Asian ethnic groups.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable for this study is *Asian Intermarriage Type*, where 0=co-ethnic, 1=interethnic marriage, 2=interracial with Hispanic/Latino partners, 3=interracial with Black

[13] The ACS is the largest ongoing household survey administered by the U.S. Census Bureau, through in-person and telephone interviews as well as mail-in and online surveys. Because the ACS surveys are ongoing and randomly sampled from all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, the pooling of data ensures an adequate sample size and relatively up-to-date sample characteristics of smaller and growing Asian ethnic groups.

partners, and 4=interracial with White partners. The partner's race is coded using two proxy variables—partner's race and parental ancestry—available in the ACS data as "family interrelationship" variables.

Because of extremely low rates of intermarriage among Asian men (see Table 2), especially with a Hispanic/Latino or Black partner, I have created a separate dependent variable for my analyses on Asian American men's intermarriage. This alternative dependent variable is coded as 0=co-ethnic, 1=interethnic marriage, 2=interracial with Hispanic/Latino or Black partners, and 3=interracial marriage with White partners.

Ethnicity Measures

I focus on eight Asian ethnic groups in this study. They comprise a categorical variable of *Ethnicity*—Chinese (0; reference category), Japanese(1), Korean (2), Filipino (3), Vietnamese (4), Other Southeast Asians (Hmongs, Cambodians, Laotians, and Thai; 5), Indian (6), and Other South Asians (Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Malaysian, Indonesian, and Sri Lankan; 7).[14] Each category is measured using three proxy variables available in ACS—race, self-reported ancestry, and parental ethnicity. More specifically, if a respondent marked him/herself as Asian, reported that both parents are of Chinese ethnicity, and also report "Chinese" as their ancestry, they are coded as Chinese.

[14] Ethnicity is measured by identifying as Asian, self-reported ancestry, and parental ethnicity. More specifically, if a respondent marked him/herself as Asian, reported that both parents are of Chinese ethnicity, and also report "Chinese" as their ancestry, they are coded as Chinese.

Individual Factors of Minority Incorporation

I measure the extent to which individuals are acculturated and/or structurally incorporated into the mainstream society by using four measures: immigrant generation, educational attainment, household income, and English proficiency.

Immigrant generation status provides a proxy for overall level of acculturation and integration of an immigrant group into the mainstream society and is coded as 0=Native-born, 1=1.5 generation, and 2=first generation.[7] *Educational attainment* includes four categories, where 0=High school diploma or less, 1=Some college, 2=Bachelor's degree, and 3=post-BA degrees. Lastly, *household income* includes seven categories, ranging from under $15,000 (0) to $200,000+ (7). Lastly, *English Proficiency* has been recoded to include two categories of 0=not proficient in English and 1=proficient in English (speaks English well or very well) to present the most parsimonious findings as alternative coding produced similar results. Together, these variables reflect individual characteristics have important implications for Asian Americans' structural incorporation as well as intermarriage outcomes.

Table 3.1a. Means/Proportions, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of Measures Used (Women only)

	Means									SD	Range
	Overall	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino	Vietnamese	Other SE	Indian	Other S		
Marriage Type											
Co-ethnic	.60	.64	.34	.53	.51	.72	.57	.79	.68	.49	0/1
Interethnic	.11	.11^{efh}	.18	.10de	.09^{c}	.11^{acf}	.12^{aeh}	.06	.11^{af}	.31	0/1
White	.25	.23	.42	.32	.31	.14^{gh}	.25	.13^{e}	.17^{e}	.43	0/1
Black	.01	.00^{eg}	.01^{h}	.01^{gh}	.03	.00^{ag}	.02^{h}	.01^{aceh}	.01^{bcfg}	.11	0/1
Hispanic/ Latino	.03	.02^{ceh}	.05^{f}	.02^{aeh}	.06	.01^{ach}	.04^{b}	.01	.02^{ace}	.18	0/1
Individual Factors of Incorporation											
Education	1.65	1.82	1.78	1.66	1.56^{h}	1.15	.98	2.13	1.55^{d}	1.03	0-3
Immigrant Generation	.99	.96	.36	1.19	.93	1.22	1.17	1.06^{h}	1.08^{g}	.67	0-2
Household Income	4.58	4.73^{b}	4.80^{a}	4.41	4.60	4.17	3.68	5.20	3.95	1.84	0-7
English Proficiency	.91	.87	.98^{dg}	.89	.99^{b}	.79	.84	.98^{b}	.93	.29	0/1
Control Variables											
Age	43.07	43.96	48.18	42.58	44.58	42.04	39.99	48.85	37.88	10.30	18-64
Occupation Categories	1.84	1.82	2.12	1.91	1.73	1.91	2.21	1.61	1.68	1.69	0-7
Personal Income Quartile	1.42	1.51	1.43	1.21	1.56	1.28	1.07	1.59	.95	1.05	0-3
Metropolitan Status	.97	.99	.93	.97	.96	.98	.96	.99	.98	.16	0/1
State of Residence	51.46	48.24	64.79	48.96	57.02	55.44	51.12	39.99	39.93	24.41	1-98
N	109,826	28,583	9,069	12,160	25,030	12,610	6,245	13,330	2,799		

**Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences (p≤ .05). Superscripts show relationships statistically NOT significant among a=Chinese; b=Japanese; c=Korean; d=Filipino; e=Vietnamese; f=Other SE; g=Indian; h=Other South.*

Table 3.1b. Means/Proportions, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of Measures Used (Men only)

	Means									SD	Range
	Overall	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino	Vietnamese	Other SE	Indian	Other S		
Marriage Type											
Co-ethnic	.77	.77[h]	.46	.79	.72	.84[g]	.76[h]	.84[e]	.75[af]	.42	0/1
Interethnic	.11	.14[f]	.23	.08[d]	.10[c]	.11[h]	.13[h]	.07	.12[ef]	.32	0/1
White	.10	.08[fg]	.25	.10[h]	.14	.04	.08[agh]	.07[af]	.10[cf]	.30	0/1
Hispanic/Latino or Black	.03	.02[ceg]	.05	.02[ah]	.05	.01[a]	.03[gh]	.02[af]	.04[cf]	.05	0/1
Individual Factors of Incorporation											
Education	1.74	1.82[c]	1.78	1.84[a]	1.37	1.15	.93	2.36	1.74	1.08	0-3
Immigrant Generation	.99	.97	.26	1.17	.92	1.19	1.20	1.03[h]	1.05[g]	.61	0-2
Household Income	4.50	4.55[d]	4.77	4.18	4.53[a]	3.86[h]	3.51	5.13	3.84[e]	1.86	0-7
English Proficiency	.91	.85[f]	.97[dh]	.87	.97[bh]	.80	.85[a]	.99	.96[bd]	.28	0/1
Control Variables											
Age	44.32	45.59	50.14	43.82	45.53	44.93	42.77	40.96	43.10	10.00	18-64
Occupation Categories	2.15	2.00	2.28	2.16	2.46	2.67	3.06	1.58	2.21	1.74	0-7
Personal Income Quartile	2.03	2.03	2.16	1.97	1.84	1.77	1.55	2.41	1.92	.91	0-3
Metropolitan Status	.98	.99	.94	.98	.97	.98	.97	.99	.98	.14	0/1
State of Residence	50.00	47.79	66.08	49.27	59.66	54.91	50.42	40.77	37.31	24.67	1-98
N	116,800	28,211	6,979	9,982	20,464	13,931	5,496	26,707	5,030		

**Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences ($p \leq .05$). Superscripts show relationships statistically NOT significant among a=Chinese; b=Japanese; c=Korean; d=Filipino; e=Vietnamese; f=Other SE; g=Indian; h=Other South.*

Control Variables

To examine ethnic differences in Asian Americans' intermarriage outcomes and their implications and to minimize possible selection bias stemming from individual differences in demographic characteristics, I control for potential factors that may affect Asian Americans' intermarriage outcomes. These factors include age, personal income quartile, occupational categories, metropolitan status, and state of residence. *Age* is a continuous variable ranging from 18 to 64. *Personal Income Quartile* measures income relative to the sample distribution (reference: bottom 25%) and *Occupational categories* measures respondents' occupational sectors, which include 0=no occupation, 1=professional, 2=service and support, 3=farming, fishery, and forestry, 4=protective services, 5=low-skill/blue collar, 6=education, training, and library, and 7=arts, sports, and media. *Metropolitan status* is has been recoded as 0=not in metropolitan area and 1=in metropolitan area. Finally, I use to original variable (*stateicp*) provided by the American Community Survey to control for *respondents' state of residence* and related variation in ethnoracial composition and characteristics at the state level.

Analytic Methods

For this chapter, I perform the same sets of analyses as I did in Chapter 2, but separately by gender. I divided my sample up by using the *gender* variable (0=men, 1=women). I perform multinomial regression analyses to examine the theoretically relevant variables on the likelihood of a certain type of intermarriage separately for men and women. To prevent non-independent correlations among variables at different levels (individual vs. ethnicity vs. state-levels) as well as conflating the larger structural constraints with individual factors, I estimate models with robust standard errors clustered around states (alternative multi-level regression models produced similar results). All findings will report relationships statistically significant at $p \leq 0.05$.

The analysis proceeds in two stages. First, multivariate analyses examine predictors of different types of intermarriage among Asian Americans, using multinomial logistic regressions. Tests typically used in ordinary least square models cannot disentangle the magnitude of the effect from the differences in error variance across the groups when using logistic models (Long and Freese 2006). Further, coefficients in logistic models do not convey the size of the effects, but relative risk ratios do. As such, I will be interpreting relative risk ratio to report my findings. All multivariate analyses are done while controlling for both individual- and state-level demographic factors.

Finally, I introduce three interaction terms: ethnicity interacted with educational attainment, immigrant generation status, and household income. In so doing, I examine how ethnic variation in individual acculturation and structural integration relate to Asian Americans' intermarriage outcomes with White, Black, Hispanic/Latino, and different-ethnic Asian partners and how such effects may differ for men and women. Due to skewed distribution toward high levels of English proficiency across all ethnic groups in my gender-segregated analytic sample, I was unable to perform multinomial interaction analyses examining the interaction effects of English proficiency and ethnicity for men and women separately. As such, I conduct an additional set of one-way ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) analyses to explore the gendered effects of English proficiency on Asian Americans' intermarriage outcomes.

FINDINGS

Descriptive Findings

For both men and women, the majority of Asian Americans marry a co-ethnic partner, with the one notable exception of the Japanese—less than 50% of Japanese men and women in my sample report having a co-ethnic partner. I also observe distinctive ethnic variation in rates of intermarriage by both spousal race and gender. Among Asian American women (see Table 3.1a), rates of co-ethnic marriage vary significantly by ethnicity, where Indians marry co-ethnically the most and the Japanese the least. Similarly, Japanese women report the highest rates of intermarriage with a different-ethnic Asian or a White partner across ethnicities. Highest rates of intermarriage with a Hispanic/Latino or Black partner are observed among Filipino women. Similar patterns of ethnic variation in intermarriage outcomes are observed among Asian American men, too (see Table 3.1b)—Japanese men report the lowest rates of co-ethnic marriage and highest rates of intermarriage, regardless of spousal race, whereas Indian men report the highest rates of co-ethnic marriage. Interestingly, Vietnamese men report the lowest rates of interracial marriage.

I also find statistically significant ethnic differences in Asian men and women's minority incorporation. Among women, Indians are the most educated and report the highest household income, followed by Chinese and Japanese women. Likewise, among men, Indians are the most educated and report the highest household income, followed by Chinese and Koreans. In both genders, the proportion of native-born (second and latter generation) Asian Americans is the largest among the Japanese and smallest among Vietnamese, who also report relatively low levels of English proficiency. These ethnic differences I find among Asian men and women may

be suggestive of similar, but gender-specific, ethnic variation in the ways in which individual-level factors of structural and cultural incorporation may influence Asian Americans' integration via intermarriage. To explore this further, I now turn to my regression findings.

Multivariate Findings

As found in the previous chapter, Asian Americans are more likely to intermarry when they are of native-born, latter generation status and speak English proficiently, regardless of ethnicity and gender. However, I find that the effects of ethnicity and individual factors of incorporation on the likelihood of different types of intermarriage vary by gender.

Interethnic Marriage

Regardless of gender, native-born Asian Americans and proficient English speakers are significantly more likely to be interethnically married. Likewise, for both Asian men and women, increase in household income significantly predicts higher likelihood of interethnic marriage. Yet, ethnicity affects Asian men and women differently. For instance, among Asian men (see Table 3.2a), Koreans, Filipinos, and Indians exhibit significantly lower likelihood of interethnic marriage relative to the Chinese. However, only Indians are significantly less likely to be interethnically married among Asian women (see Table 3.2b). Similarly, other South Asian men report significantly higher likelihood of interethnic marriage than their Chinese counterparts, but such effects were not observed among South Asian women. Interestingly, Asian men with at least some college education are significantly more likely to be interethnically married than their less educated counterparts, but the effects of education were significant only for those with a professional or graduate school education among Asian women.

Table 3.2a. Relative Risk Ratio and (Robust Standard Error) for a Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Spousal Race in Asian American Men's Intermarriage (N=116,800)

	Interethnic		Interracial with Hispanic or Black		Interracial with White	
	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)
Ethnicity						
(Ref: Chinese)						
Japanese	1.39	.33	3.02***	1.10	2.95***	1.08
	(.99)	(.33)	(5.16)	(.21)	(4.86)	(.22)
Korean	.60***	-.52	.96	-.04	1.13	.12
	(-5.19)	(.10)	(-.50)	(.07)	(1.00)	(.12)
Filipino	.65***	-.43	2.74***	1.01	2.08***	.73
	(-5.29)	(.08)	(10.38)	(.10)	(5.08)	(.13)
Vietnamese	.87	-.14	.69***	-.37	.65**	-.43
	(-1.4)	(.10)	(-3.69)	(.10)	(-3.03)	(.14)
Other Southeast	.97	-.03	1.24	.22	.87	-.14
	(-.25)	(.11)	(1.62)	(.14)	(-.66)	(.22)
Indian	.61***	-.50	1.35*	.30	1.06	.06
	(-5.53)	(.09)	(2.31)	(.13)	(.43)	(.14)
Other South	1.20*	.18	3.03***	1.11	1.96***	.67
	(2.20)	(.08)	(.6.34)	(.17/0	(4.18)	(.16)
Immigrant Generation						
(Ref: Second Gen)						
First Gen	.29***	-1.24	.12***	-2.09	.08***	-2.52
	(-17.83)	(.07)	(-47.93)	(.04)	(-60.74)	(.04)
1.5 Gen	.63***	-.47	.47***	-.75	.44***	-.83
	(-9.72)	(.05)	(-17.31)	(.04)	(-28.44)	(.03)
Education						
(Ref: HS or less)						
Some College	1.17***	.16	1.18***	.16	1.37***	.31
	(5.61)	(.03)	(3.75)	(.04)	(4.71)	(.07)
BA	1.19***	.17	.77***	-.26	1.36***	.31
	(4.71)	(.04)	(-5.48)	(.05)	(4.44)	(.07)
Post-BA	1.12*	.11	.62***	-.48	1.41***	.34
	(2.32)	(.05)	(-6.79)	(.07)	(4.68)	(.07)
Household Income	1.04*** (3.93)	.04 (.07)	.87*** (-5.39)	-.13 (.02)	.99 (-.46)	-.01 (.01)
English Proficiency	1.35*** (4.11)	.30 (.07)	5.74*** (14.11)	1.75 (.12)	12.09*** (17.14)	2.49 (.15)
CONTROLS						
Constant	.30***	-1.19	.04***	-3.20	.04***	-3.23
	(-5.83)	(.120	(-16.17)	(.20)	(-15.42)	(.21)
Pseudo-R2	.1454					

* p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; Note: All analyses done while controlling for age, personal income quartile, occupational categories, metropolitan status, and state of residence.

Table 3.2b. Relative Risk Ratio and (Robust Standard Error) for a Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Spousal Race in Asian American Women's Intermarriage (N=109,826)

	Interethnic		Interracial With Hispanic		Interracial With Black		Interracial With Whites	
	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)
Ethnicity								
(Ref: Chinese)								
Japanese	1.78	.57	3.45***	1.24	5.13***	1.63	3.03***	1.11
	(1.81)	(.32)	(4.69)	(.26)	(4.87)	(.34)	(4.52)	(.25)
Korean	1.13	.13	1.16	.15	2.02**	.70	1.60***	.47
	(1.46)	(.09)	(.99)	(.15)	(2.80)	(.25)	(3.46)	(.14)
Filipino	.99	-.01	3.05***	1.11	5.89***	1.77	1.82***	.60
	(-.05)	(.10)	(8.11)	(.14)	(9.73)	(.18)	(4.10)	(.15)
Vietnamese	1.00	.00	.68**	-.38	.67	-.39	.64***	-.45
	(-.01)	(.10)	(-3.01)	(.13)	(-1.72)	(.23)	(-4.01)	(.11)
Other Southeast	1.33*	.29	1.56***	.44	3.15***	1.15	1.22	.20
	(2.38)	(.12)	(3.19)	(.14)	(6.75)	(.17)	(1.25)	(.16)
Indian	.40***	-.90	.37***	-.99	1.08	.08	.35***	-1.06
	(-8.76)	(.10)	(-6.02)	(.16)	(.51)	(.15)	(-10.49)	(.10)
Other South	1.01	.01	.97	-.24	1.84***	.61	.64	-.44
	(.11)	(.12)	(-.91)	(.26)	(3.35)	(.18)	(-1.91)	(.23)
Immigrant Generation								
(Ref: Second Gen)								
First Gen	.40***	-.91	.27***	-1.32	.37***	-.98	.34***	-1.08
	(-32.01)	(.03)	(-27.32)	(.05)	(-10.23)	(.10)	(-15.49)	(.07)
1.5 Gen	.72***	-.33	.58***	-.55	.77**	-.26	.64***	-.44
	(-9.35)	(.04)	(-9.24)	(.06)	(-3.13)	(.08)	(14.36)	(.03)
Education								
(Ref: HS or less)								
Some College	1.02	.02	.96	-.04	.79**	-.23	.95	-.05
	(.51)	(.03)	(-.94)	(.05)	(-3.14)	(.07)	(-1.04)	(.05)
BA	1.07	.07	.68***	-.39	.48***	-.73	.97	-.03
	(1.42)	(.05)	(-6.85)	(.06)	(-7.52)	(.10)	(-.59)	(.06)
Post-BA	1.22**	.20	.77**	-.26	.56***	-.58	1.31***	.27
	(2.64)	(.08)	(-3.06)	(.09)	(-4.89)	(.12)	(3.24)	(.08)
Household Income	1.05***	.05	.91***	-.09	.87***	-.14	1.09***	.08
	(6.38)	(.01)	(-6.76)	(.01)	(6.75)	(.02)	(11.13)	(.01)
English Proficiency	1.65***	.50	4.33***	1.47	5.48***	1.70	7.59***	2.03
	(8.30)	(.06)	(9.70)	(.15)	(7.53)	(.23)	(24.90)	(.08)
CONTROLS								
Constant	.27***	-1.31	.12***	-2.13	.01	-4.83	.14***	-2.00
	(-11.24)	(.12)	(-8.70)	(.24)	(-12.66)	(.38)	(-8.21)	(.24)
Pseudo R-sq	.1187							

* p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; Note: All analyses done while controlling for age, personal income quartile, occupational categories, metropolitan status, and state of residence.

Asian-White Intermarriage

Later immigrant generations and proficient English speakers continue to be significant predictors of the likelihood of Asian-White intermarriage. Specifically, later generation and proficiently English-speaking Asian Americans are more likely to be interracially married to a White partner than others, regardless of gender. I also find similar effects of ethnicity between Asian men and women: relative to the Chinese reference group, Japanese and Filipino men and women are more likely to have a White spouse and Vietnamese less likely. Yet, effects of ethnicity vary by gender for other South Asians, Koreans, and Indians—whereas other South Asian men are significantly more likely to be interracially married to a White partner than Chinese men, South Asian women exhibit no statistical difference from Chinese women. Likewise, Korean women are significantly more likely and Indian women less likely to have a White spouse than Chinese women. Yet, men from these two ethnic groups exhibit similar likelihoods of interracial marriage with a White partner as their Chinese peers.

Moreover, I find interesting gendered effects of socioeconomic integration measures in predicting the likelihood of Asian-White intermarriage. For Asian men, having at least some college experience leads to the higher likelihood of interracial marriage with a White partner than having a high school diploma or less educational attainment. However, Asian women's educational attainment levels are only significant among those with a professional or graduate school education, who are more likely to be interracially married than those who only completed high school education or less. Similarly, household income matters only for Asian women—the higher their household income become, the likelihood of intermarriage with a White partner also increases significantly.

Asian-Hispanic/Latino and Asian-Black Intermarriage

Measures of acculturation, immigrant generation and English proficiency, continue to be significant in predicting Asian Americans' intermarriage with Black or Hispanic/Latino partners, regardless of gender. Ethnic differences are also similar between Asian men and women—Japanese, Filipino, and other South Asians are more likely to be married to a Hispanic/Latino or Black partner and Vietnamese less likely to do so, relative to the Chinese. Yet, Indian men report higher likelihood of interracial marriage with a Hispanic/Latino or Black partner than their Chinese counterparts, but Indian women do not. In fact, Indian women are significantly less likely to be married to a Hispanic/Latino partner than Chinese women. Similarly, ethnicity significantly predicts higher likelihood of intermarriage with a Black partner for Korean women, but not Korean men.

Individual levels of structural integration also affect Asian men and women differently. Whereas higher education attainment, in general, predicts lower likelihood of interracial marriage with a Black or Hispanic/Latino partner for women, such a trend only applies to Asian men with at least a Bachelor's degree—Asian men with some college experience, but no Bachelor's degree, actually report higher likelihood of having a Hispanic/Latino spouse than their less educated counterparts. However, higher household income significantly relates to lower likelihood of intermarriage for both Asian men and women, suggesting an interestingly intertwined relationship among ethnicity and socioeconomic characteristics in predicting the likelihood of interracial marriage with a non-white partner.

Predicted Probabilities of Intermarriage

The findings above reveal that intermarriage, regardless of gender and ethnicity, most likely occurs among native-born Asian Americans who speak English proficiently. Simultaneously, individual structural advantages lead to higher likelihood of interethnic marriage as well as interracial marriage with White partners and lower likelihood of intermarriage with a Black or Hispanic/Latino partner, but this pattern varies by both gender and ethnicity. Although these findings provide valuable insight into gendered and ethnic-variation in factors driving different intermarriage outcomes among Asian Americans, they do not provide direct comparison across ethnic groups. Thus, I present predicted probabilities of intermarriage below to offer more direct comparisons (see Figures 3.1a and 3.1b). For both genders, co-ethnic marriage is the most probable, but more so among Asian men than women. Regardless of ethnicity and gender, intermarriage with a Black or Hispanic/Latino partners is uncommon. Yet, for both men and women, Filipinos and Japanese exhibit higher probabilities of marrying a Black or Hispanic/Latino partner than any other Asian ethnic groups in this study.

Interestingly, for most Asian men, interracial marriage with a White partner is more probable than interethnic marriage (see Figure 3.1a). However, Japanese and Filipino men exhibit higher probabilities of interethnic marriage than interracial marriage. Korean men's probabilities of interethnic and interracial marriage with a White partner are relatively low at about 8.9%, and yet, almost the same (less than 0.1% difference). In fact, Asian men in general exhibit between 72 to 85% probabilities of co-ethnic marriage, showing that intermarriage is rather uncommon for Asian men, as expected. One notable exception is Japanese men, who are more likely to be intermarried than co-ethnically married.

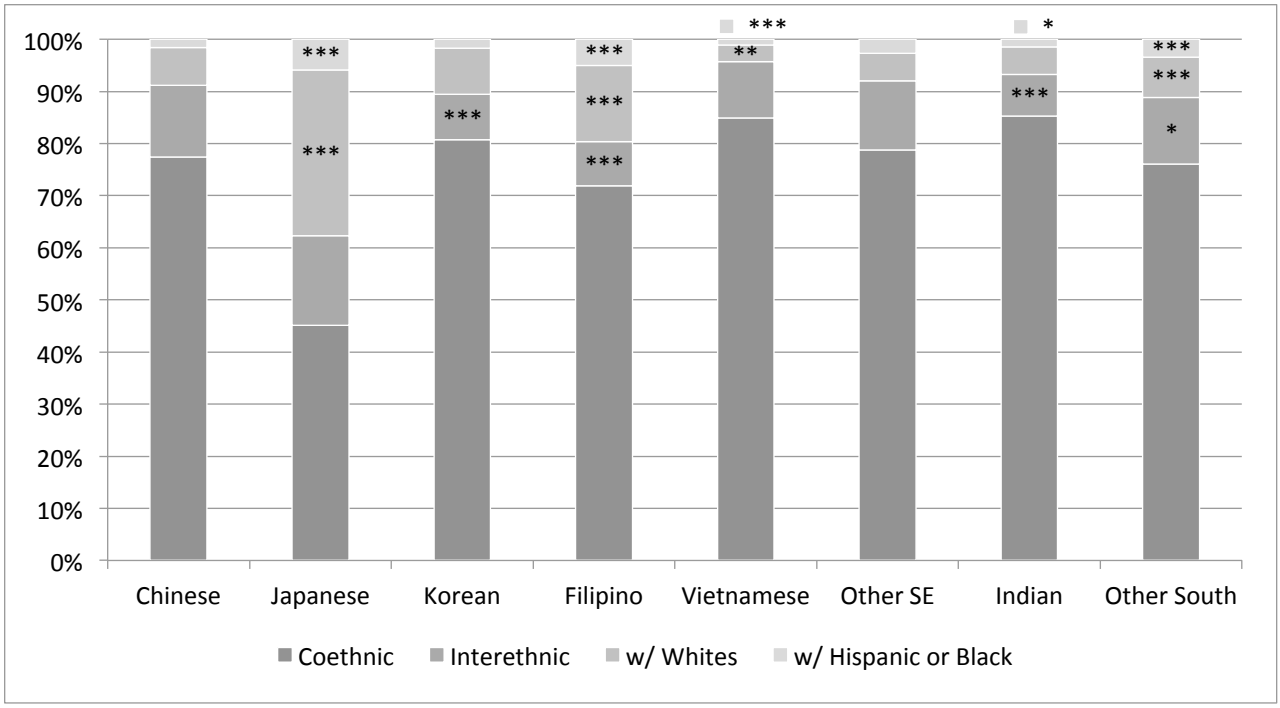

Figure 1a. Predicted Probabilities of Marriage by Ethnicity and Type of (Inter)marriage among Asian Men; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference category, Chinese.

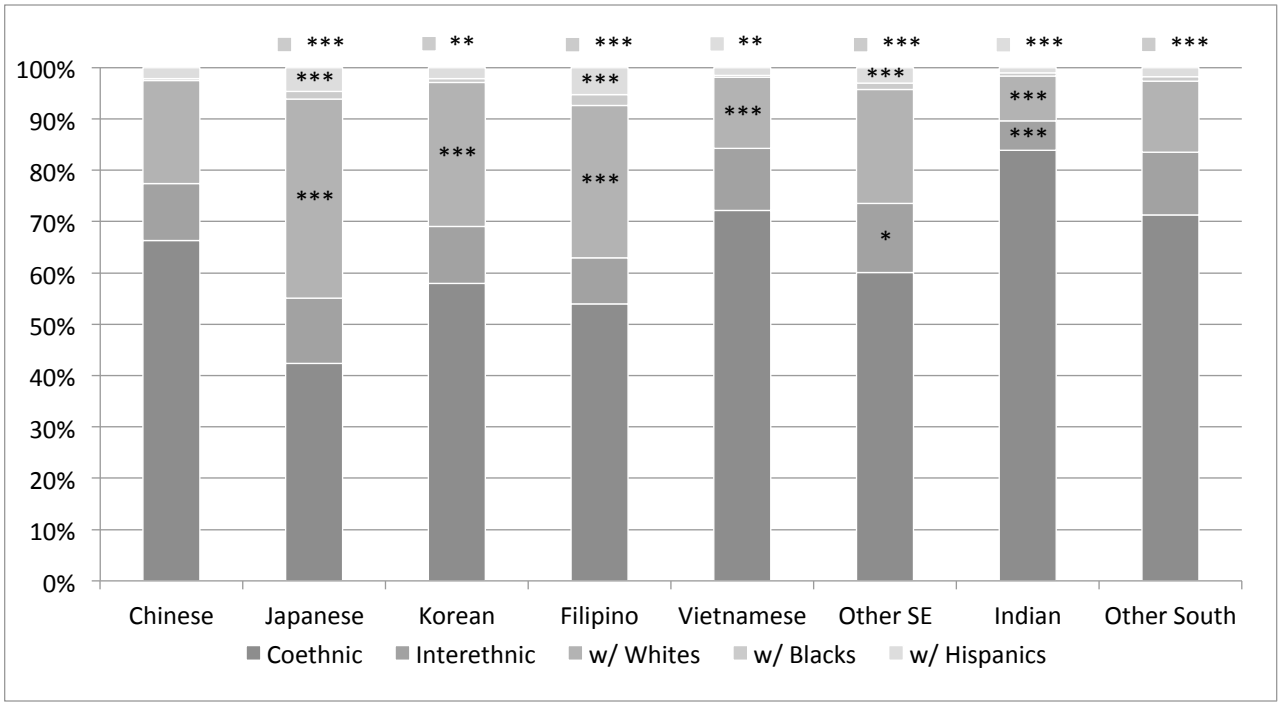

Figure 1b. Predicted Probabilities of Marriage by Ethnicity and Type of (Inter)marriage among Asian Women ; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference category, Chinese.

Among Asian women (see Figure 1b), the most probable intermarriage is with a different-ethnic Asian partner across all ethnic groups, followed by marriage with a White partner. Yet, stark ethnic differences in these patterns are also observed: Indian women are most likely to co-ethnically marry (about 84% probabilities), followed by Vietnamese and other South Asian women (about 72% and 71% probabilities each), and therefore, these three groups exhibit relatively low rates of intermarriage compared to others. On the other hand, Japanese women exhibit the lowest probabilities of co-ethnic marriage at 42%. Korean and Filipino women also show relatively higher probabilities of interethnic marriage than other ethnic groups. Surprisingly, probabilities of intermarriage with a White partner did not differ much by ethnicity, with the exception of Indian and Filipino women.

Interaction Effects

Tables 3.2a and 3.2b reveal that Asian American intermarriage, regardless of spousal race and gender, most likely occurs among native-born, highly acculturated Asian Americans. As found in the previous chapter, structural integration, characterized by high levels of education and household income, significantly relate to higher chances of having a different-ethnic or White partner for both Asian men and women in general. Figures 3.1a and 3.1b further reveal that Asian women out-marry more so than men in general, but the most prominent type of intermarriage differs by gender as well as ethnicity.

Yet, the above analyses do not directly test whether individual factors of incorporation vary by ethnicity and their implications for Asian Americans' intermarriage outcomes. Thus, I ran a series of multivariate multinomial logistic regression models with interactions between ethnicity and education, household income, and immigrant generation status for Asian men and

women separately (see Appendix D for Tables D1a through D3b). In addition, I explore the gendered effects of English proficiency, one of the key indicators for acculturation, on Asian Americans' intermarriage outcomes using one-way ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) analyses (see Table 3.3).

Ethnic Variation in Interethnic Marriage by Gender

I find gender-specific effects of individual factors of incorporation on Asian Americans' interethnic marriage at the aggregate. First, looking at men's intermarriage outcomes, Korean men continue to be significantly less likely to interethnically marry, relative to the Chinese, even after controlling for all other factors (see Table D1a, D2a, and D3a in Appendix D). In the interaction models, Filipino men are also now significantly less likely to be interethnically married than their Chinese peers.

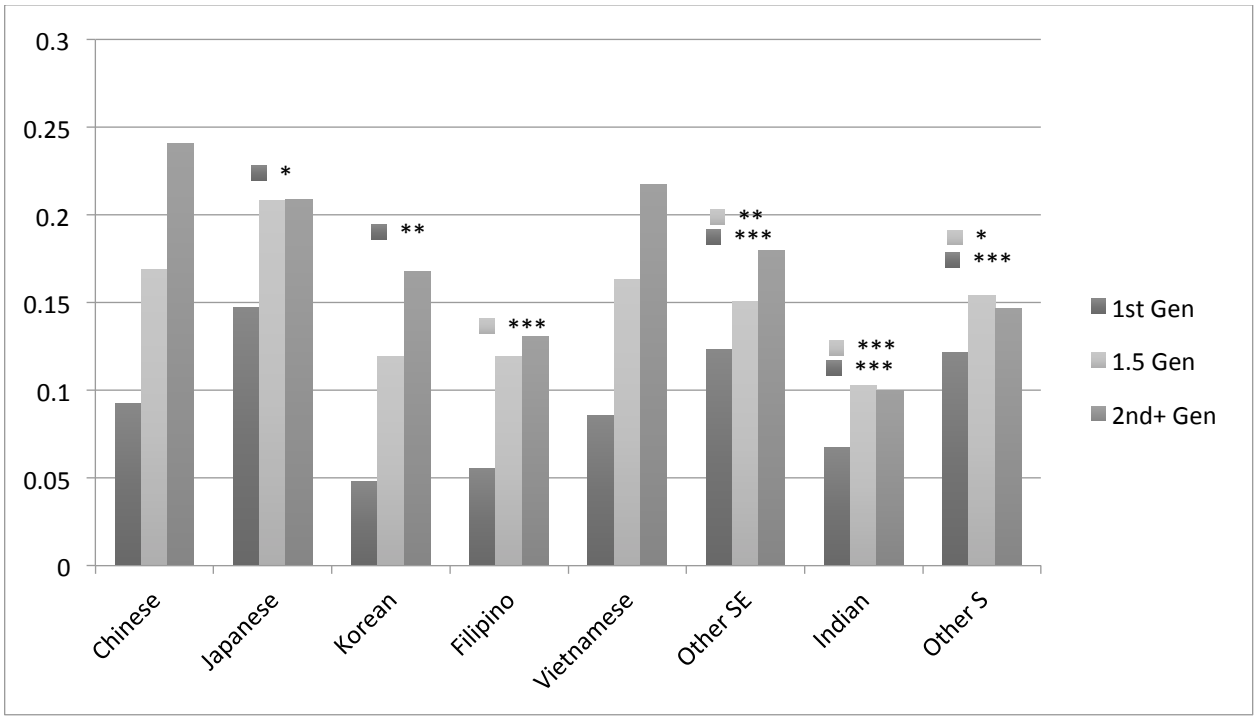

Figure 3.2a. Predicted Probabilities of Interethnic Marriage by Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation Status among Asian Men; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and Native Born (2nd and latter generation).

Although immigrant-origin status continues to be significantly and negatively related to the likelihood of Asian men's interethnic marriage, I find interesting ethnic variation in their interaction effects. First generation Japanese immigrants, 1.5-generation Filipinos, as well as immigrant-origin (both 1st and 1.5-generation) other Southeast Asians, Indians, and other South Asian men are significantly more likely to be interethnically married than others (see Table D1a in Appendix D). Predicted probabilities show that although for most Asian men, interethnic marriage is still a second-generation phenomenon, Japanese, Indian, and other South Asian men out-marry with a different-ethnic Asian partner at a similar or slightly higher probabilities than their native-born counterparts (see Figure 3.2a). In fact, probabilities of interethnic marriage among immigrant-origin Japanese men are higher than immigrant-origin men of other ethnic groups as well as most native-born Asian men, except for the Chinese and Vietnamese.

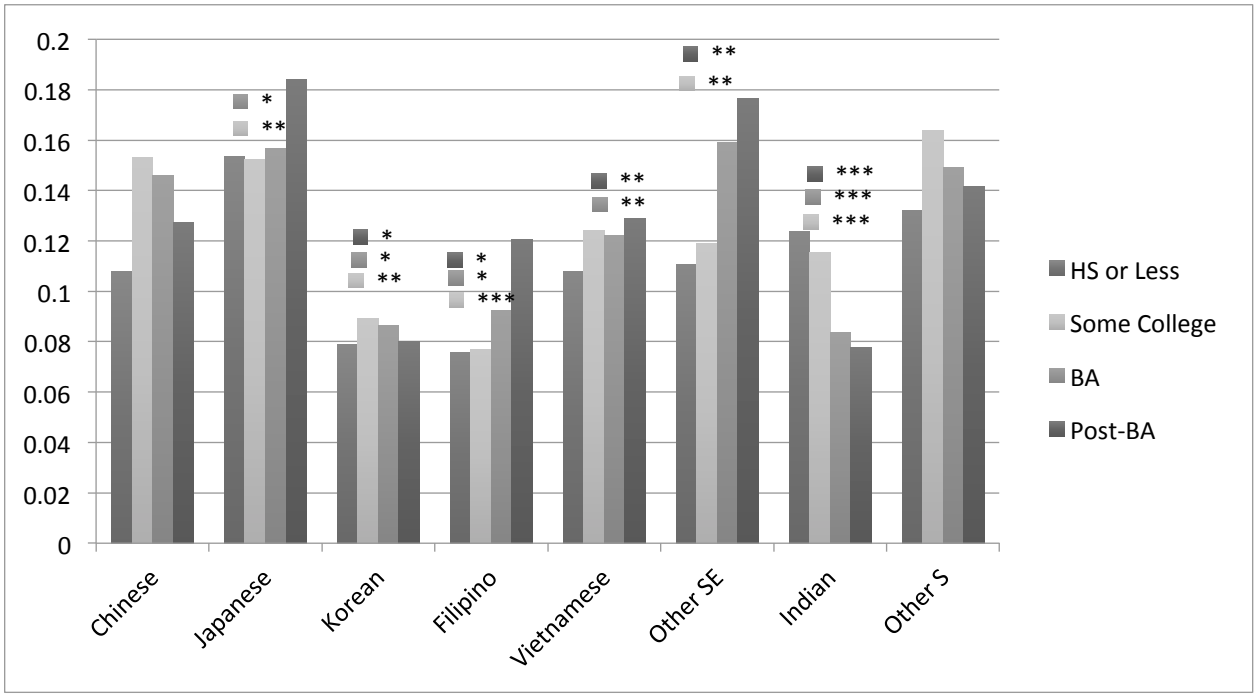

Figure 3.2b. Predicted Probabilities of Interethnic Marriage by Ethnicity and Educational Attainment levels among Asian Men; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and high school or less in education.

Looking at the effects of educational attainment, any post-secondary education (some college experiences and above) continue be significantly and positively related to Asian men's likelihood of interethnic marriage (see Table 2Da in Appendix D). Yet, Korean and Indian men with at least some college education are significantly less likely to be interethnically married than others, regardless of their final educational attainment levels. Similarly, Japanese, Filipinos, and refugee-origin Southeast Asians with at least some college education are significantly less likely to have a different-ethnic Asian partner than others. Yet, refugee-origin Southeast Asian men—those of Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian heritage—with professional and/or graduate school experiences are significantly more likely to be interethnically married than others. In fact, predicted probabilities show that for these two ethnic groups, the probabilities of interethnic marriage increase as their educational attainment level increases, and similar trends are observed among Japanese and Filipino men (see Figure 3.2b).

Asian men's household income also has ethnically distinctive effects on their likelihood of interethnic marriage. Although higher household income alone, after controlling for all other factors, is positively and significantly related to Asian men's likelihood of interethnic marriage, such effect is only observed among Korean, Vietnamese, and other Southeast and South Asian men when disaggregated by ethnicity (see Table 3Da in Appendix D). Indian men become less likely to have a different ethnic partner as their household income increases. Such ethnicity-specific effects of household income are also depicted in Figure 3.2c.

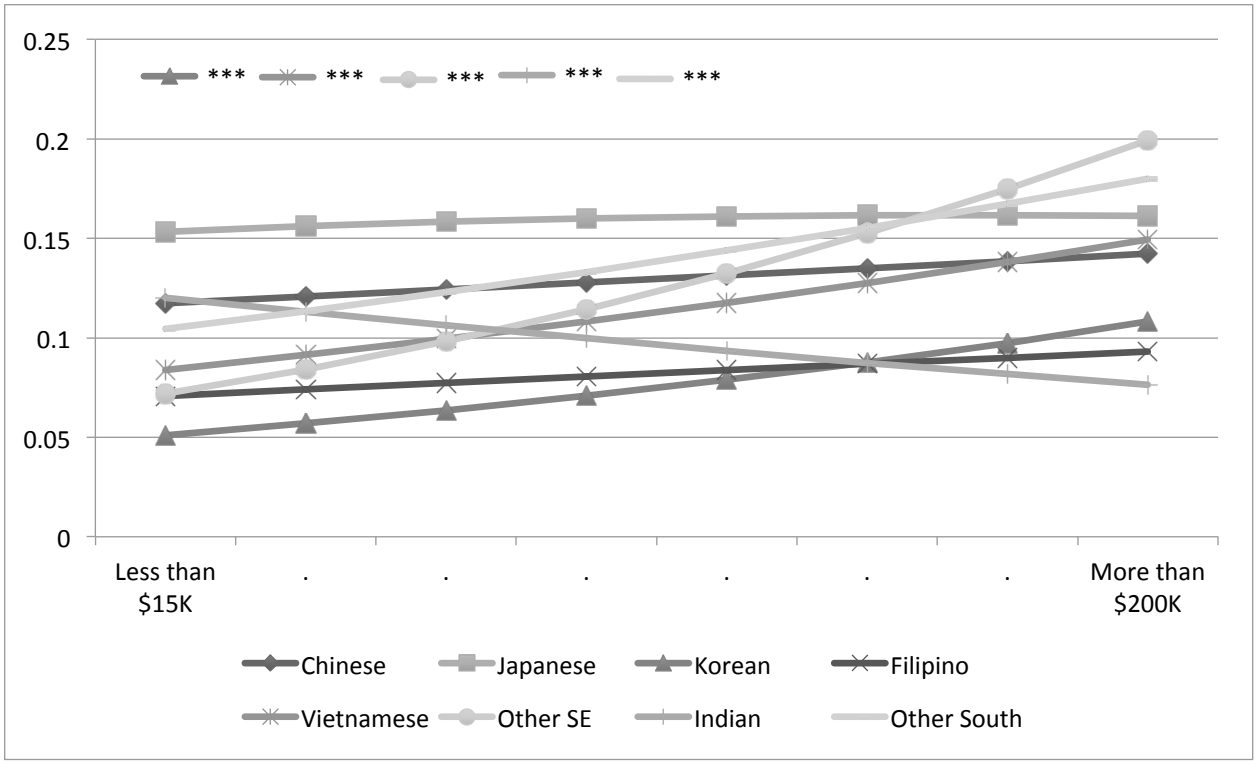

Figure 3.2c. Predicted Probabilities of Interethnic Marriage by Ethnicity and Household Income among Asian Men; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference category, Chinese.

Looking at women's interethnic marriage outcomes, ethnicity and individual factors of incorporation have similar, yet distinctive, effects on women. First, Indian women continue to be significantly less likely to interethnically marry than their Chinese counterparts across all interaction models (see Tables 1Db through 3Db in Appendix D). Yet, immigrant-origin Indian women are in fact *more likely* to be interethnically married than others (see Figure 3.3a): even though Indian women exhibit the lowest probabilities of interethnic marriage across all ethnic groups, 1.5-generation Indian woman are more likely to have a different-ethnic partner than their native-born counterparts. Similar trends are observed among Japanese, other Southeast and other South Asian women. Even though regression findings indicate that 1.5 Filipino women are more

likely to be interethnically married than others, they still exhibit lower probabilities when compared to their native-born counterparts.

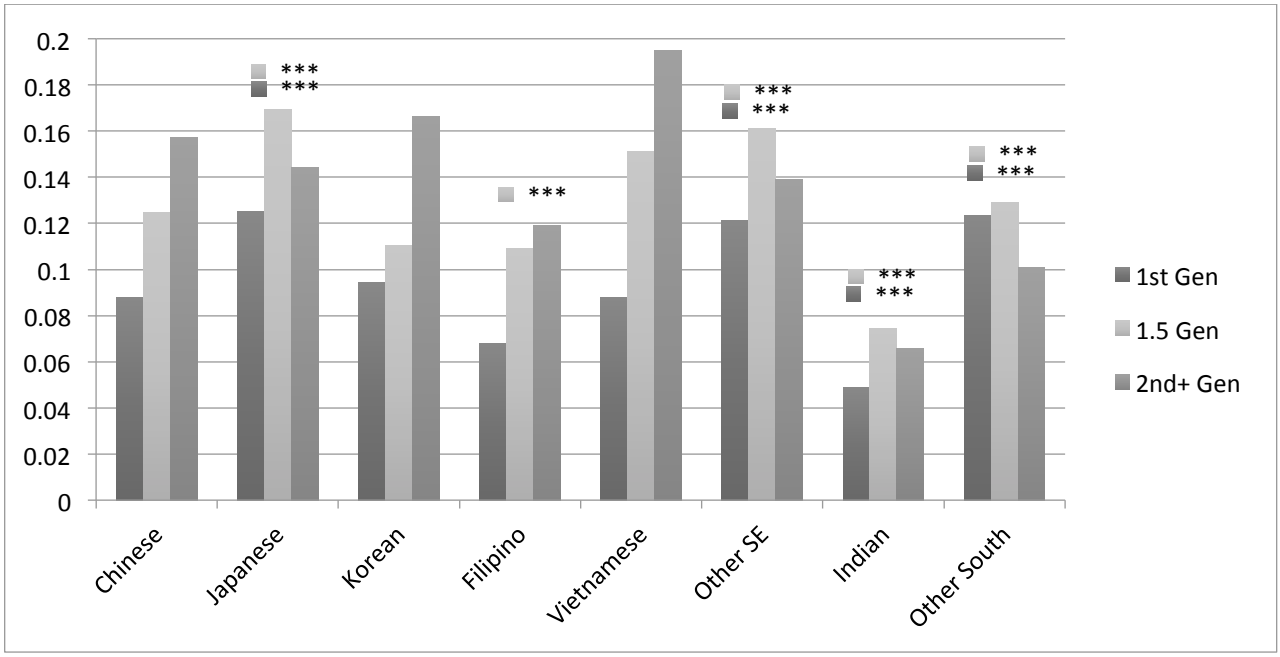

Figure 3a. Predicted Probabilities of Interethnic Marriage by Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation Status among Asian Women; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and Native Born (2nd and latter generation).

The effects of structural integration on Asian women's likelihood of interethnic marriage are also ethnically distinctive. Interestingly, once I controlled for all other factors, having some college education or a Bachelor's degree increases the likelihood of Asian women's interethnic marriage, but the effects of graduate or professional education are now negligible (see Table 1Db in Appendix D). Looking at ethnicity-specific effects, I find that Filipino women with some college experience or Bachelor's degree are significantly less likely to have a different-ethnic Asian partner, as well as Indian women with at least a Bachelor's degree. On the other hand, refugee-origin Southeast Asian women with a Bachelor's or higher degree are significantly more likely to be interethnically married. Such phenomena are well captured in their predicted

probabilities, too. For Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian women, higher levels of educational attainment exhibit significantly higher probabilities of interethnic marriage and the reverse is true for Indian women (see Figure 3.3b). Surprisingly, household income alone has negligible effects on Asian women's likelihood of interethnic marriage, when controlling for all other factors (see Table 3Db in Appendix D). Yet, higher household income does predict higher likelihood of interethnic marriage for Korean, Vietnamese, other Southeast Asian and other South Asian women. Again, Indian women become less likely to marry interethnically as their household income increases (see Figure 3.3c).

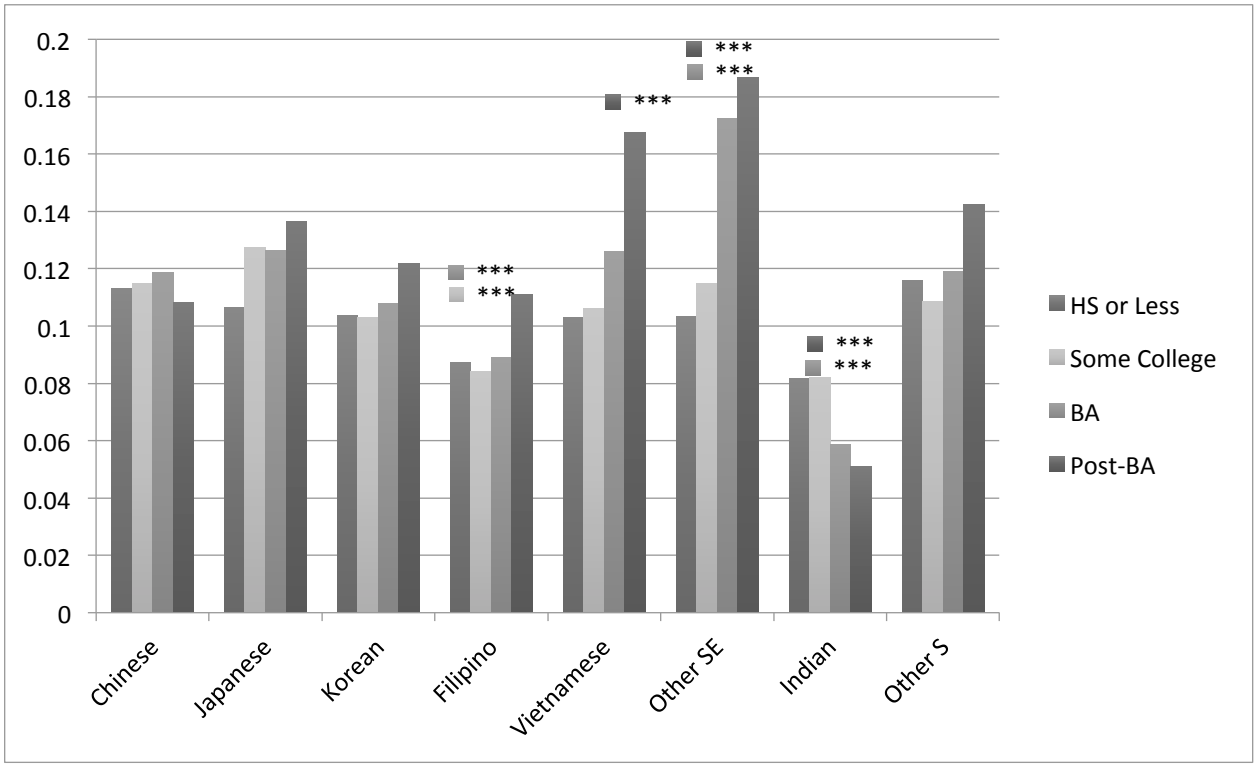

Figure 3b. Predicted Probabilities of Interethnic Marriage by Ethnicity and Educational Attainment levels among Asian Women; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and high school or less in education.

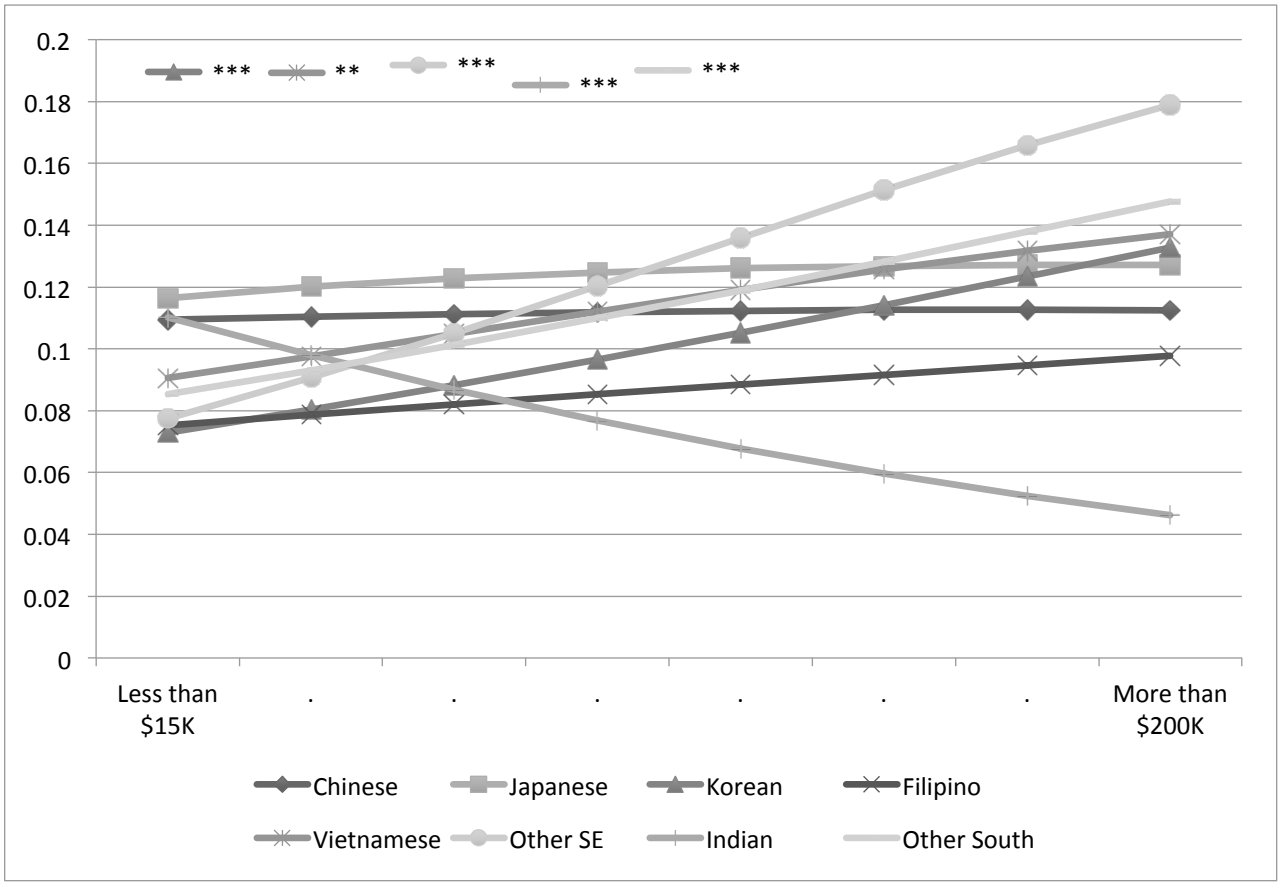

Figure 3.3c. Predicted Probabilities of Interethnic Marriage by Ethnicity and Household Income among Asian Women; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference category, Chinese.

Taken together, I find that levels of structural integration—educational attainment and household income—matter more for Asian men than women at the aggregate. Yet, the overall effects of ethnicity as well as factors of incorporation are similar for refugee-origin Southeast Asian and Indian men and women—interethnic marriage is more prominent among highly educated and high-income members of Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian groups, whereas the opposite is true for Indians, regardless of gender. Similarly, immigrant-origin members of the Japanese and other South Asian groups exhibit higher probabilities of interethnic marriage across gender. Yet, for some groups, patterns of ethnic variation in how these factors relate to the

likelihood of interethnic marriage differ for men and women. For instance, effects of education are significant for Korean men across all levels, but not for Korean women. Similarly, immigrant-origin women of other Southeast Asian backgrounds exhibit higher probabilities of out-marriage with a different-ethnic Asian partner than their male counterparts.

Ethnic Variation in Asian-White Intermarriage by Gender

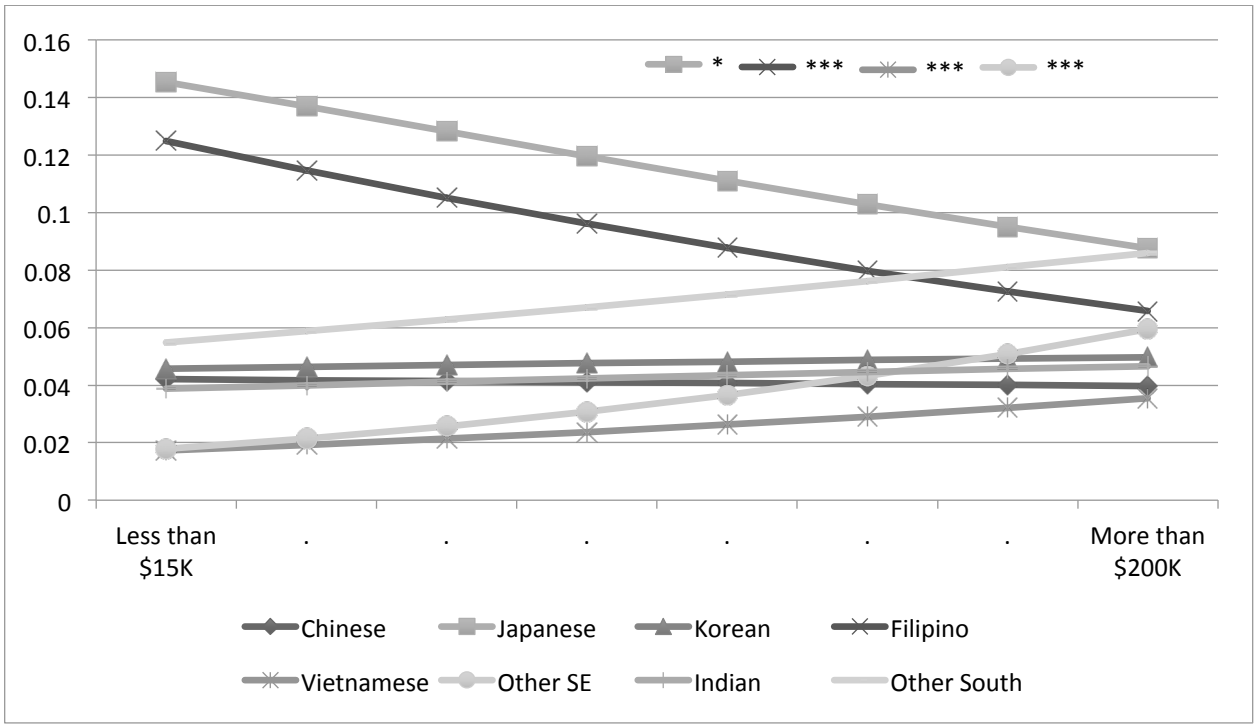

Figure 3.4a. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a White Partner by Ethnicity and Household Income among Asian Men; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference category, Chinese.

At the aggregate, I find that structural characteristics influence Asian American men and women's interracial marriage with a White partner differently. Interaction models further confirm that gender, in addition to ethnicity, contributes to diverging rates of Asian-White intermarriage among Asian Americans. For instance, household income was not a significant predictor of Asian men's likelihood of interracial marriage with a White spouse in the main

model and continues to be in the interaction model (see Table 3Da in Appendix D). For many Asian men, the effects of household income are negligible. Yet, I find ethnicity-specific trends among Japanese, Filipino, Vietnamese, and other Southeast Asian men. Whereas Japanese and Filipino men become less likely to have a White spouse as their income increases, Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian men become significantly more likely to be interracially married with a White partner (see Figure 3.4a). Similar trends are observed among other South Asian men, whose ethnicity predicts higher likelihood of Asian-White interracial marriage, but not household income.

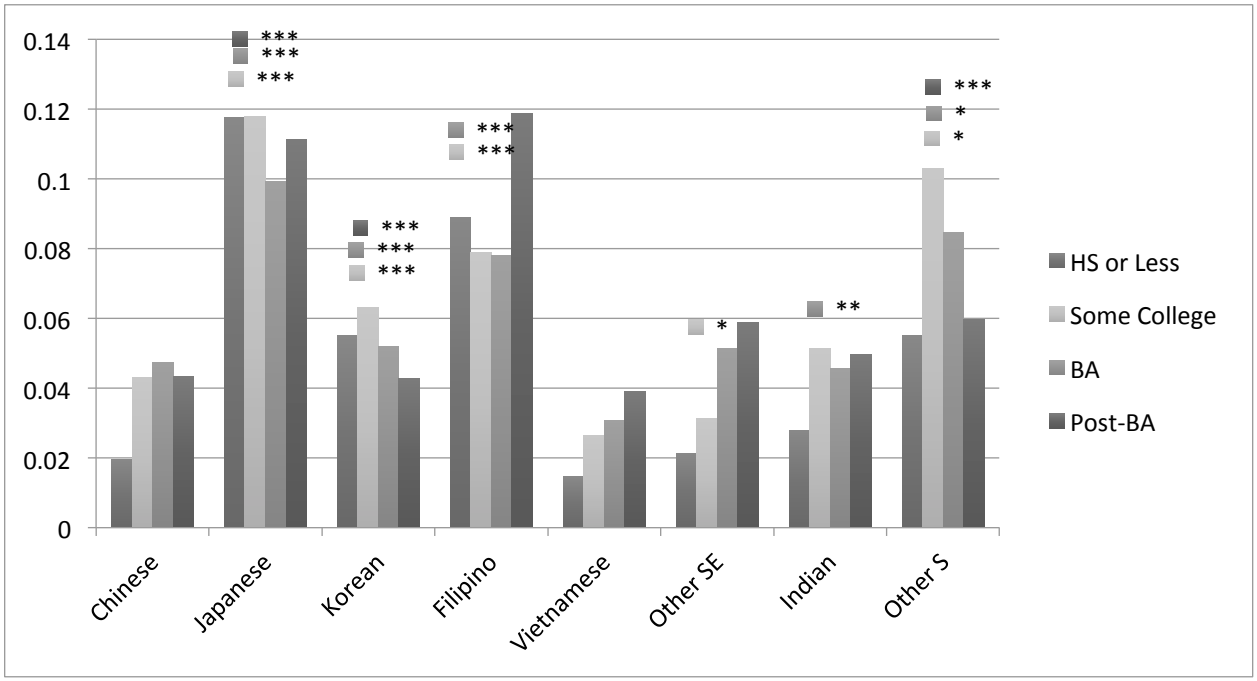

Figure 3.4b. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a White Partner by Ethnicity and Educational Attainment among Asian Men; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and high school or less in education.

The effects of educational attainment on Asian men's likelihood of Asian-White intermarriage also show interesting patterns (see Table 1Da in Appendix D). Although having at least some college education leads to a higher likelihood of intermarriage, this also occurs in

ethnicity-specific ways. For Japanese, Korean, Indian, and other South Asian men, higher educational attainment actually decreases the likelihood of interracial marriage with a White partner. In fact, among these three ethnic groups, men with some college education show higher probabilities of marrying a White partner than their better educated counterparts, as well as shoe with only high school education or less (see Figure 3.4b). Although probabilities of interracial marriage with a White partner increase as educational attainment levels increase for refugee-origin Southeast Asian men, such correlations were not statistically significant.

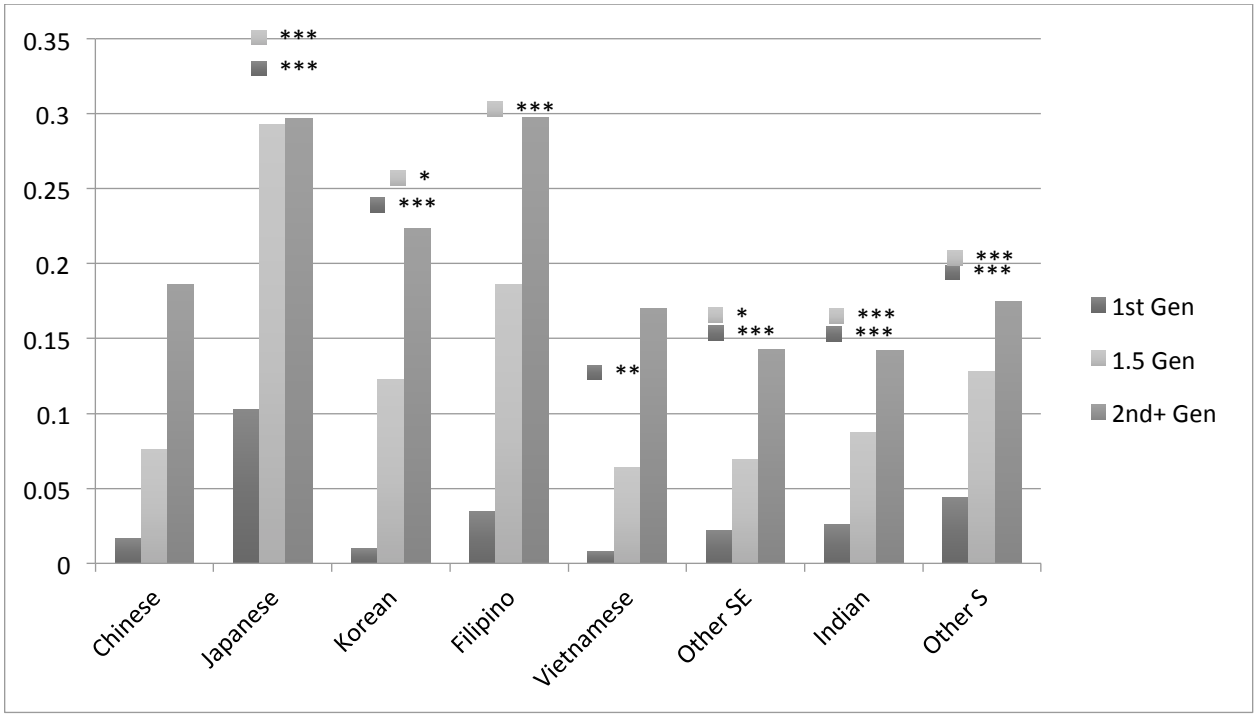

Figure 3.4c. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a White Partner by Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation Status among Asian Men; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and Native Born (2nd and latter generation).

Looking at the effects of immigrant generation status on Asian men's intermarriage, interracial marriage with a White partner for Asian men is a native-born, latter generation phenomenon (see Figure 3.4c). Yet, I find clear effects of ethnicity, especially among immigrant-origin members of the Japanese, Indian, other Southeast and South Asian groups, and Filipinos,

too, to an extent, who are statistically significantly more likely to be in a interracial marriage with a White partner than immigrant-origin members of other groups. Especially, 1.5-generation Japanese and Filipino immigrants exhibit higher probabilities of interracial marriage with a White partner than native-born members of other ethnic groups, except for the Koreans.

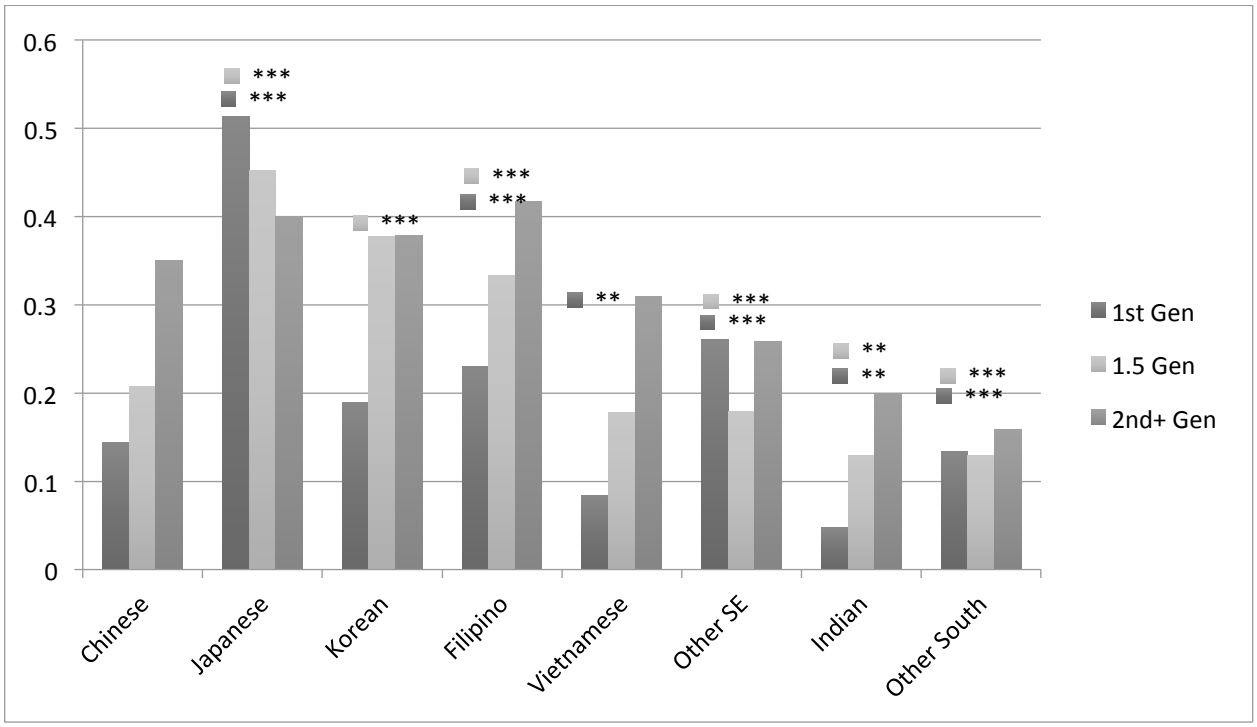

Figure 3.5a. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a White Partner by Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation Status among Asian Women; Note: * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$ *** $p \leq 0.001$; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and Native Born (2nd and latter generation).

However, for many Asian American women, their immigrant- or native-born status matters less in determining their interracial marriage with a White partner. Even though immigrant-origin status significantly lowers the likelihood of intermarriage for women in general, too, immigrant-origin members of some ethnic groups exhibit much higher probabilities of intermarriage than their native-born counterparts (see Figure 3.5a). For instance, first generation immigrant women of Japanese and other Southeast Asian heritage are more likely to

be married to a White partner than both their native-born counterparts and first generation immigrants of other ethnic groups (see Table 2Db in Appendix D). Likewise, 1.5-generation Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos exhibit relatively higher probabilities of interracial marriage with a White partner compared to others. In fact, immigrant-origin Japanese women are most likely to have a White partner than any other Asian American women, regardless of ethnicity and immigrant generation.

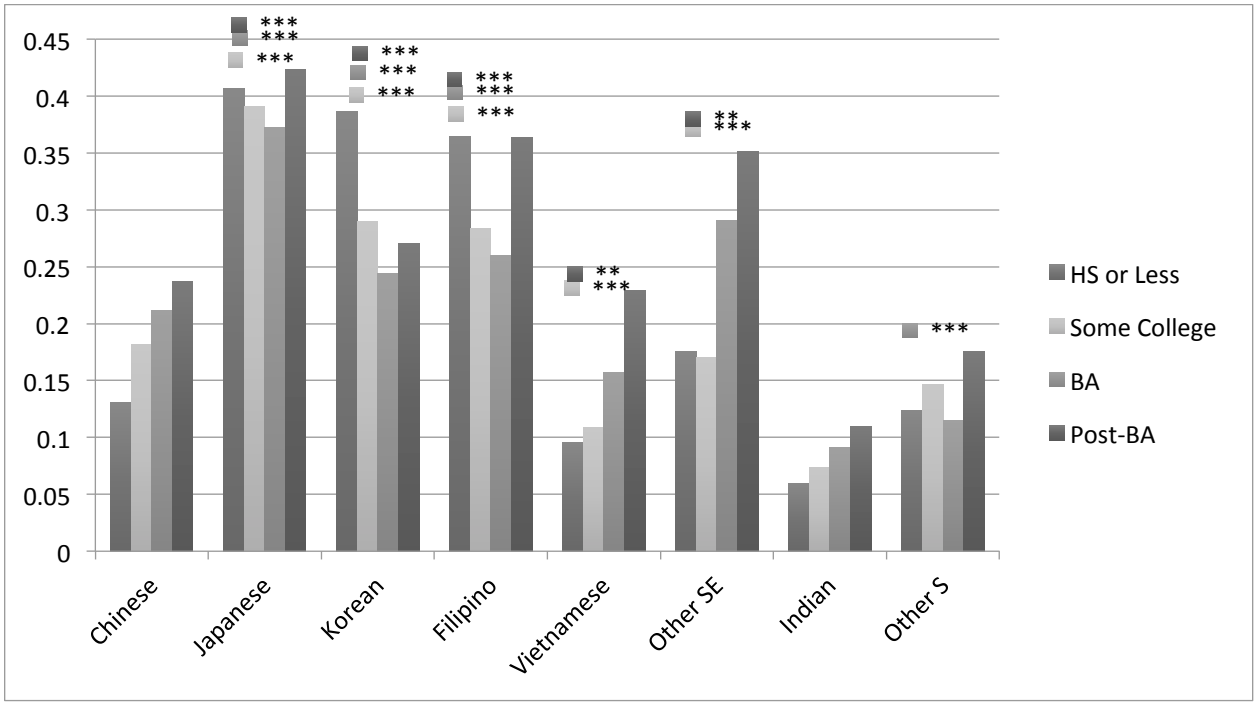

Figure 3.5b. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a White Partner by Ethnicity and Educational Attainment among Asian Women; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and high school or less in education.

The effects of structural factors also differ for Asian women from men. Even though increased educational attainment level, in general, leads to increased likelihood of Asian-White interracial marriage for women, too, such effects were only observed among the most educated Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian women (see Table 1Db in Appendix D and Figure 5.5b). Similar trends are observed among South Asians, but this relationship was not statistically

significant. Moreover, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino women are more likely to have a White spouse than members of other ethnic groups, regardless of their educational attainment level. In fact, among these three ethnic groups, women with the least education exhibit comparable or higher probabilities of interracial marriage than their more educated counterparts.

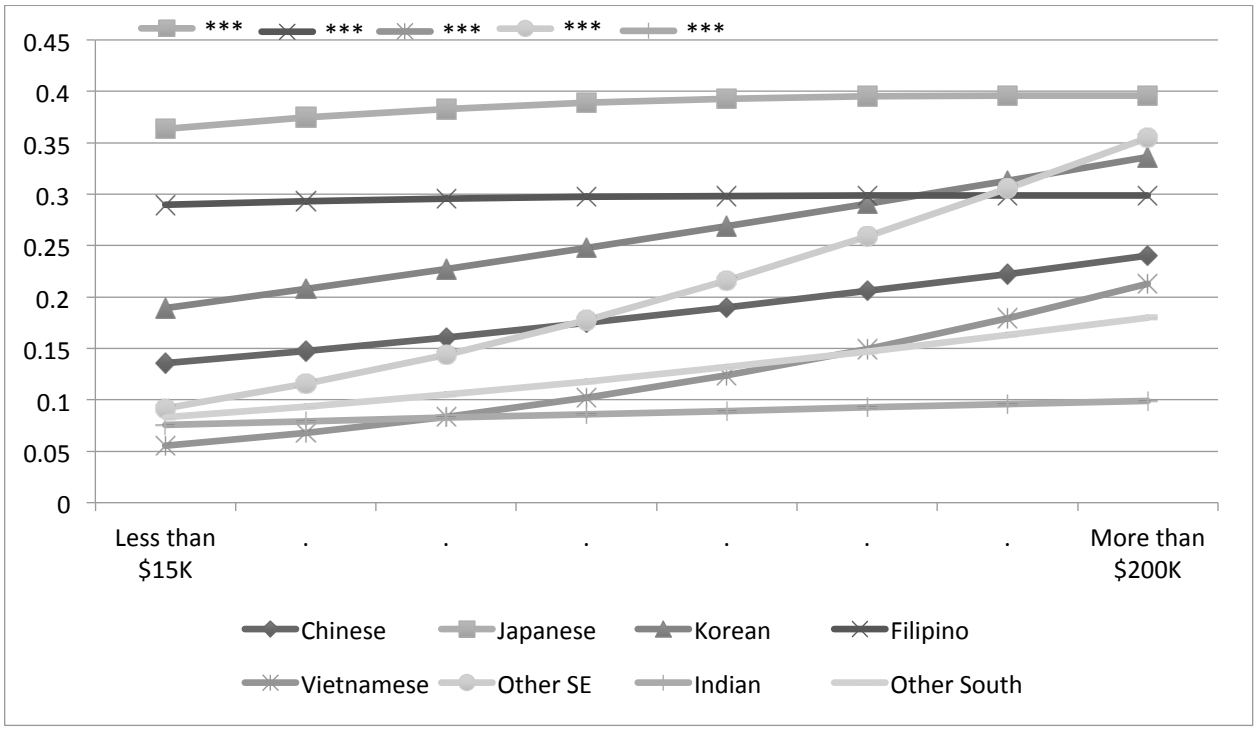

Figure 5c. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a White Partner by Ethnicity and Household Income among Asian Women; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference category, Chinese.

Finally, household income is a significant predictor of Asian women's likelihood of interracial marriage with a White partner, controlling for all other factors and has ethnicity-specific effects. For instance, Japanese and Filipino women are more likely to have a White spouse than members of other ethnic groups in general and yet, their likelihood significantly decreases as their household income increases (see Table 3Db in Appendix D). Indeed, the probabilities of interracial marriage do not necessarily increase with their household income for Japanese and Filipino women (see Figure 3.5c). On the other hand, refugee-origin Southeast

Asian women, who are less likely to be married to a White spouse in general, become significantly more likely to have a White spouse as their household income increases. Income did not have significant effects on the likelihood of Asian-White intermarriage for members of other ethnic groups.

In summary, Asian-White intermarriage seems to occur in gendered and ethnicity-specific manners. Specifically, socioeconomically more privileged women are significantly more likely have a White spouse in general, whereas such relationship was not apparent among Asian men, especially in their effects of household income. Moreover, native-born advantage in intermarriage seems to be more significant among Asian men than women. Yet, socioeconomically privileged members of refugee-origin Southeast Asians—Vietnamese and other South Asians—continue to be more likely to have a White spouse than others, regardless of gender. Similarly, Japanese and Filipinos, and Koreans to a certain extent, continue to exhibit higher probabilities of interracial marriage with a White partner, regardless of gender or socioeconomic characteristics. Interestingly, interracial marriage with a White spouse seems more probable among less educated Asian Americans, especially those of "model minority" ethnic backgrounds, and this trend is more pronounced among Asian men than women.

Ethnic Variation in Asian-Black and Asian-Hispanic/Latino Interracial Marriage by Gender

Regardless of gender, ethnicity, and individual factors of incorporation, Asian Americans' intermarriage with a Black or Hispanic/Latino partner occurs rarely. Although this type of intermarriage still requires acculturation, Asian Americans become less likely to be married to a Black or Hispanic/Latino partner as their structural advantages increase, regardless of gender. One notable exception to this trend is observed in the effects of Asian women's

educational attainment on interracial marriage with a Black partner (see Table 1Db in Appendix D)—Asian women with at least some college education are actually *more likely* to be intermarried than those with only a high school diploma or less in the aggregate, controlling for all other factors. However, predicted probabilities show that across all Asian ethnic groups, women exhibit lower probabilities of intermarriage with a Black or Hispanic partner as their educational attainment level increases (see Figures 3.6a and 3.6b).

I observe similar trends in the effects of Asian women's household income. Although regression findings indicate that Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian women become more likely to have a Hispanic/Latino partner as their household income increases (see Table 3Db in Appendix D), such effects do not materialize in their predicted probabilities (see Figure 3.6c). On the other hand, even Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian women's likelihood of intermarriage decreases as their household income increases when the spouse is Black (see Figure 3.6d). Japanese and Filipino women exhibit significant negative relationships between their structural characteristics and likelihood of having a Hispanic/Latino or Black partner, too.

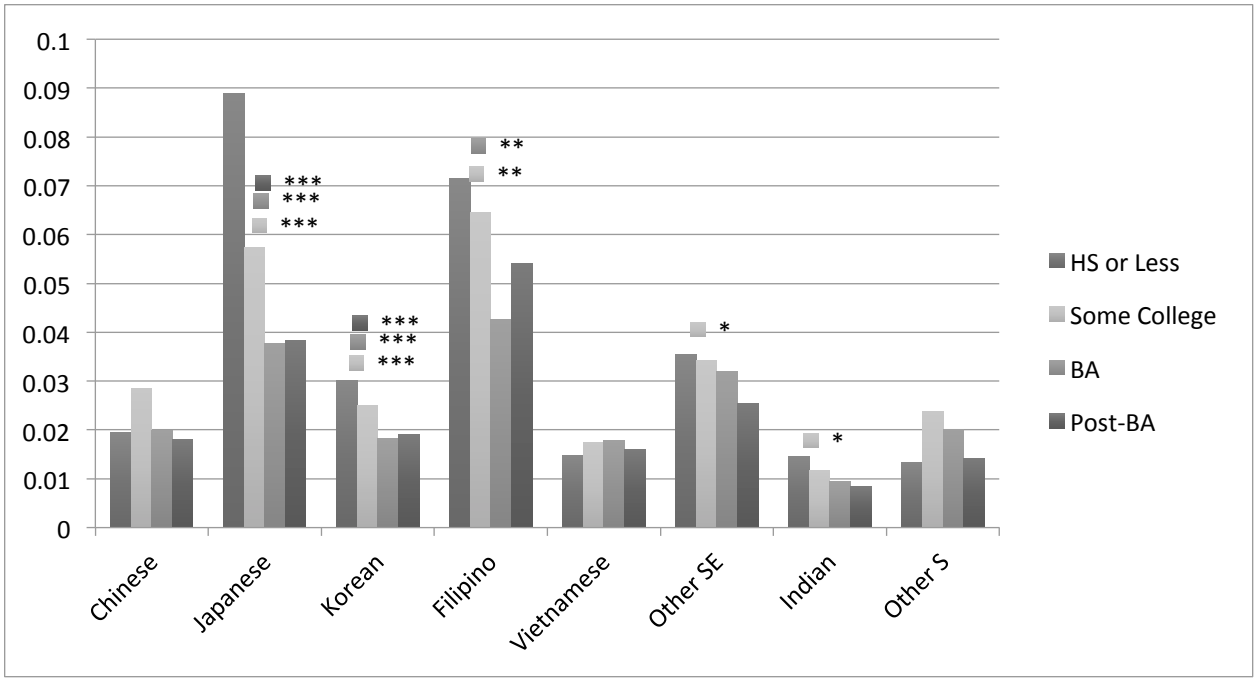

Figure 3.6a. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a Hispanic/Latino Partner by Ethnicity and Educational Attainment among Asian Women; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and high school or less in education.

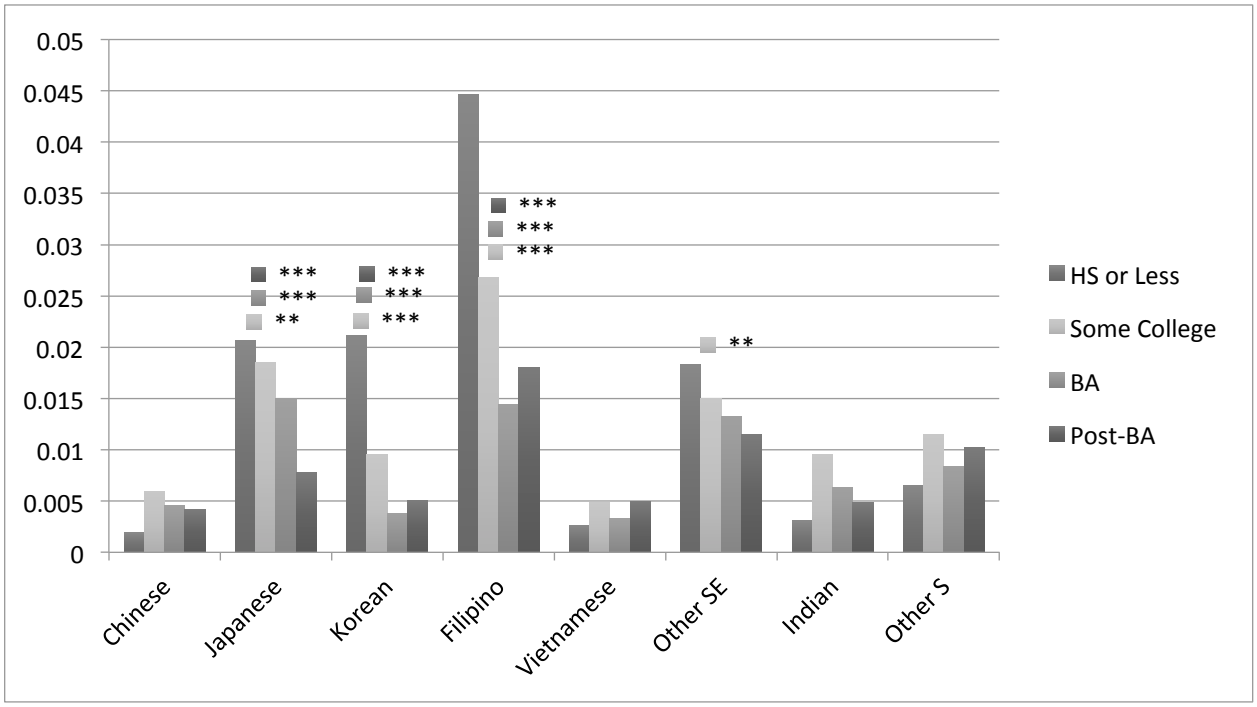

Figure 3.6b. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a Black Partner by Ethnicity and Educational Attainment among Asian Women; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and high school or less in education.

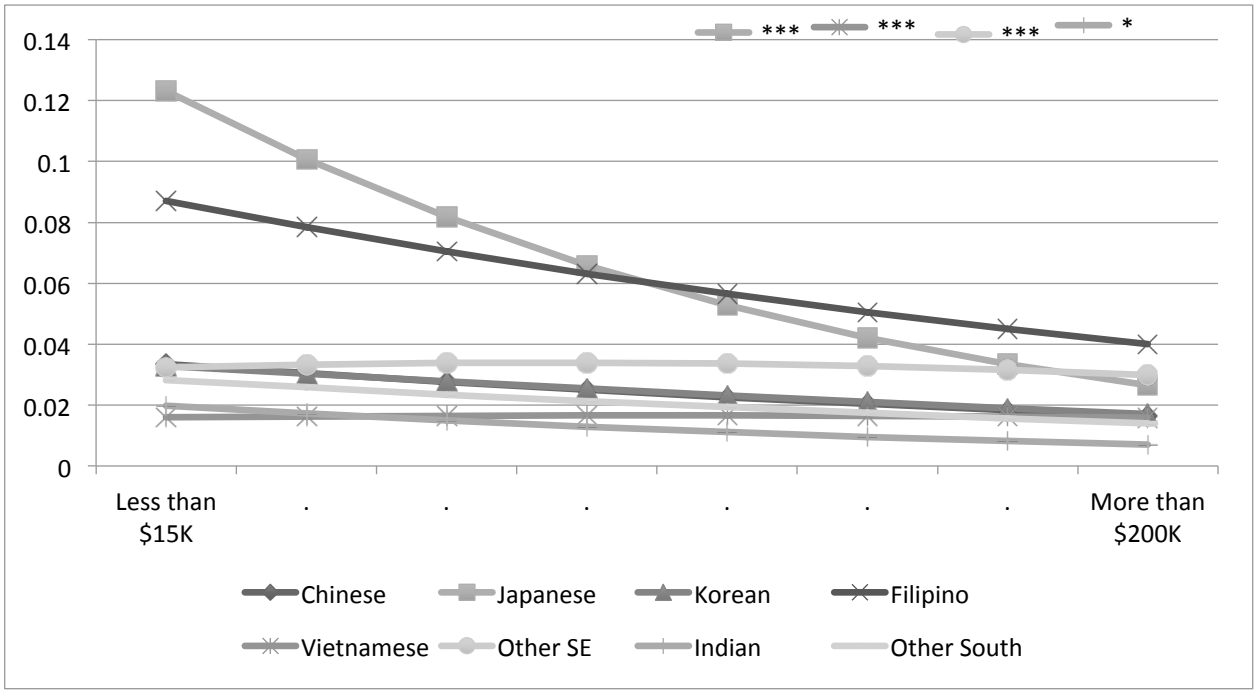

Figure 3.6c. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a Hispanic/Latino Partner by Ethnicity and Household Income among Asian Women; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference category, Chinese.

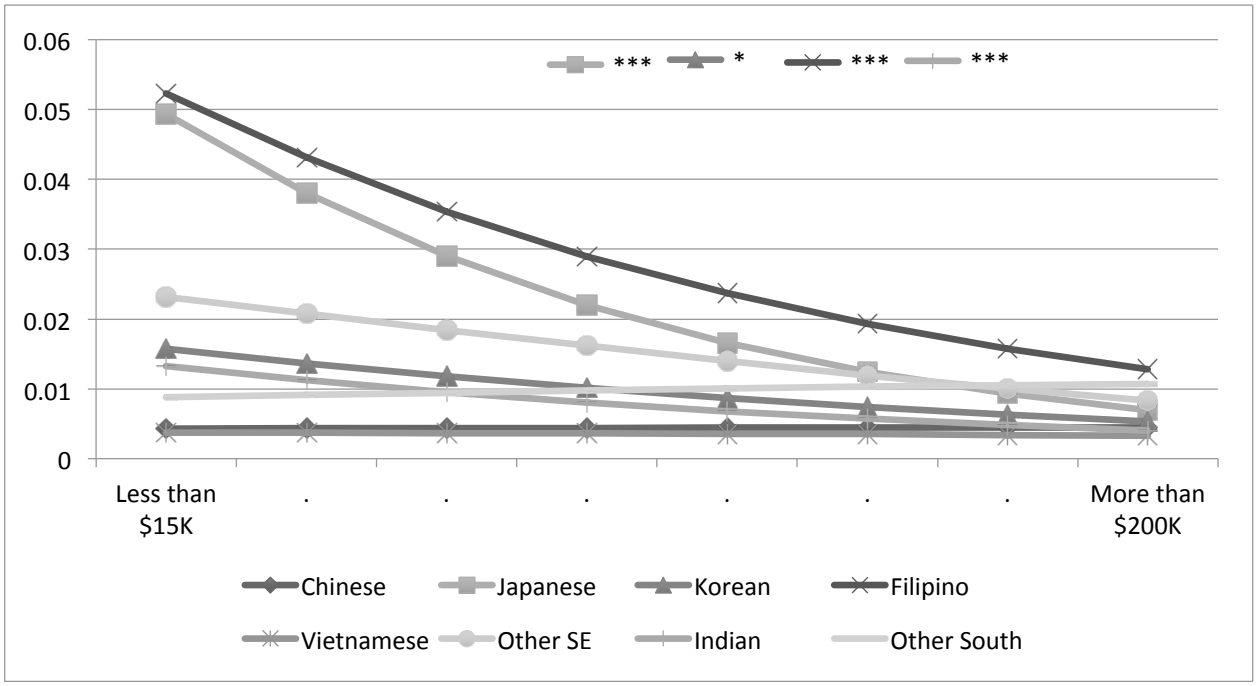

Figure 3.6d. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a Black Partner by Ethnicity and Household Income among Asian Women; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference category, Chinese.

With regards to immigrant generation status, intermarriage is more likely among native-born Asian American women than immigrant-origin women in general, as expected. Yet, immigrant-origin Japanese, Korean, and Filipino women are more likely to have a Black or Hispanic spouse (see Table 2Db in Appendix D). In fact, immigrant-origin Japanese women are more likely to have a Black or Hispanic/Latino partner than their native-born counterparts and 1.5 generation Filipino women exhibit the highest probabilities of having a Black spouse across all immigrant generation status and ethnicity (see Figures 3.6e and 3.6f). Even though Korean women's immigrant generation status was a significant and positive predictor in the regression models, they still exhibit lower probabilities of intermarriage with a Hispanic/Latino or Black partners than their native-born counterparts.

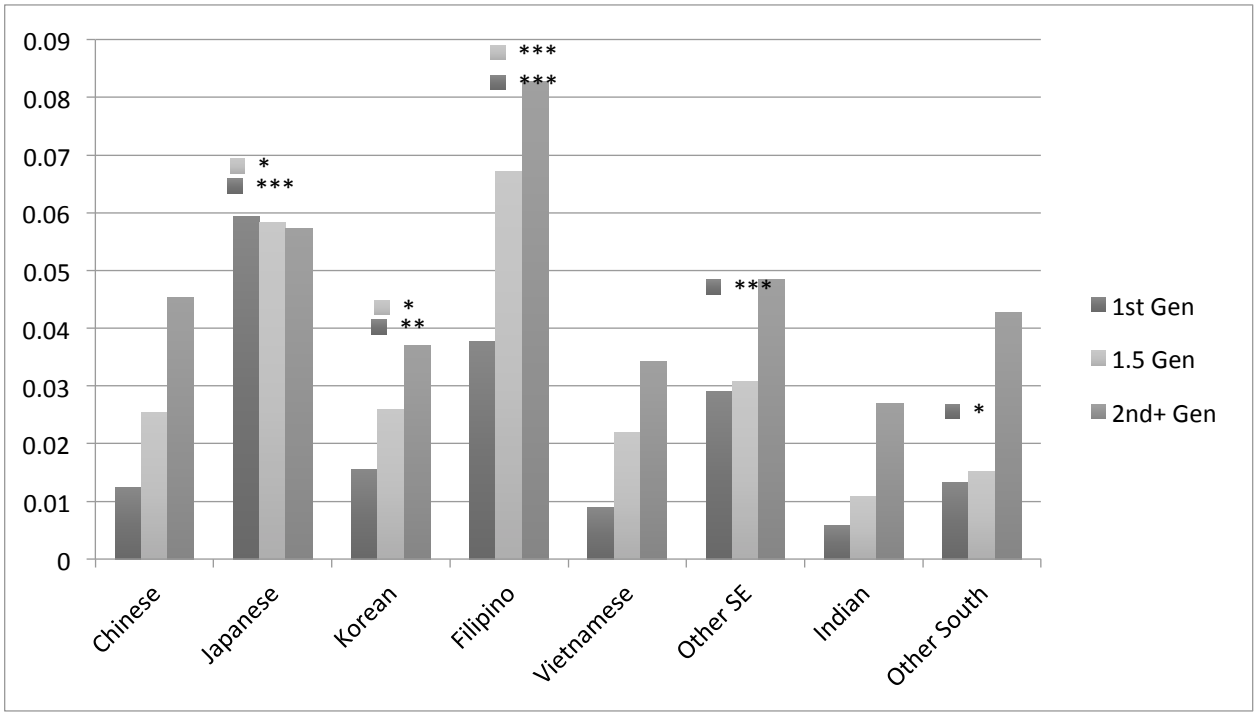

Figure 3.6e. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a Hispanic/Latino Partner by Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation Status among Asian Women; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and Native Born (2nd and latter generation).

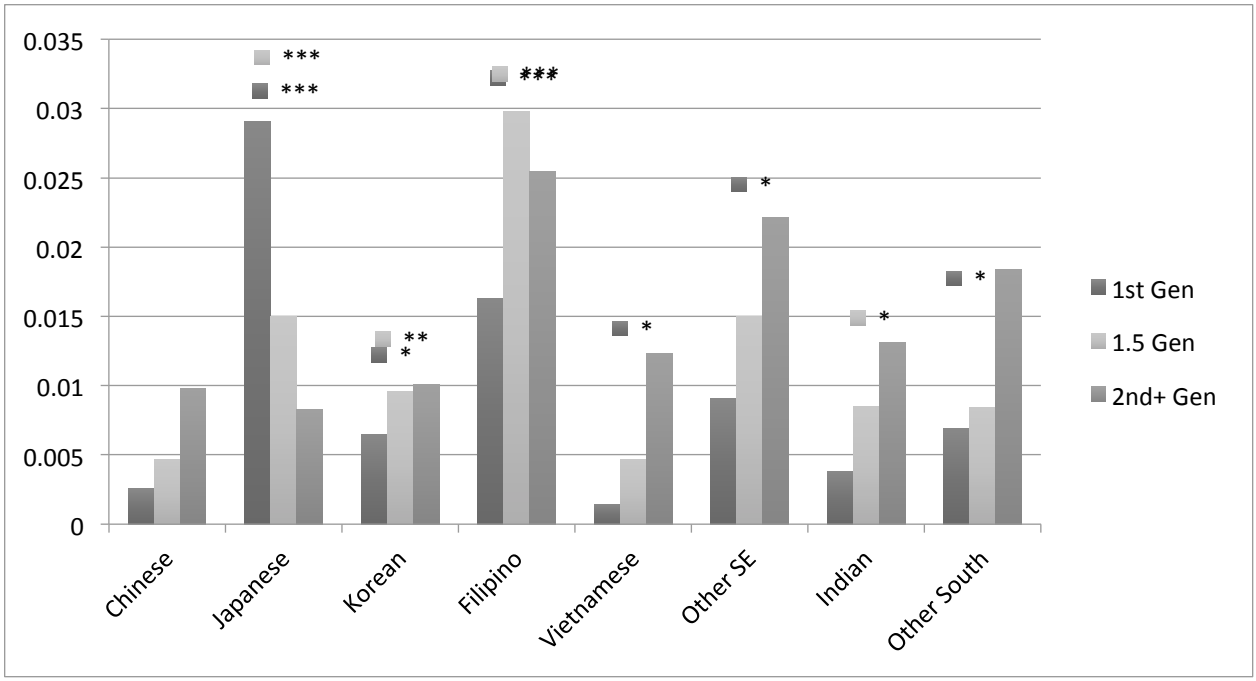

Figure 3.6f. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a Black Partner by Ethnicity and Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation Status among Asian Women; Note: * $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$ *** $p \leq 0.001$; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and Native Born (2nd and latter generation).

Similar effects of immigrant generation status are observed among Asian men. Although immigrant status significantly predicts higher likelihood of intermarriage, native-born Asian men exhibit higher probabilities of having a Black or Hispanic spouse than their immigrant counterparts, regardless of ethnicity (see Figure 3.7a). Yet, I also observe notable ethnic differences in this pattern. Specifically, immigrant-origin Japanese, Filipino, and Indian men as well as first generation other South Asian men are more likely to have a Black or Hispanic/Latino partner than others (see Table 2Da in Appendix D). In fact, these individuals exhibit higher probabilities of intermarriage than immigrant-origin members of other ethnic groups. Immigrant-origin Japanese men, especially, show higher probabilities than native-born members of other ethnic groups, except for Filipinos and other South Asians.

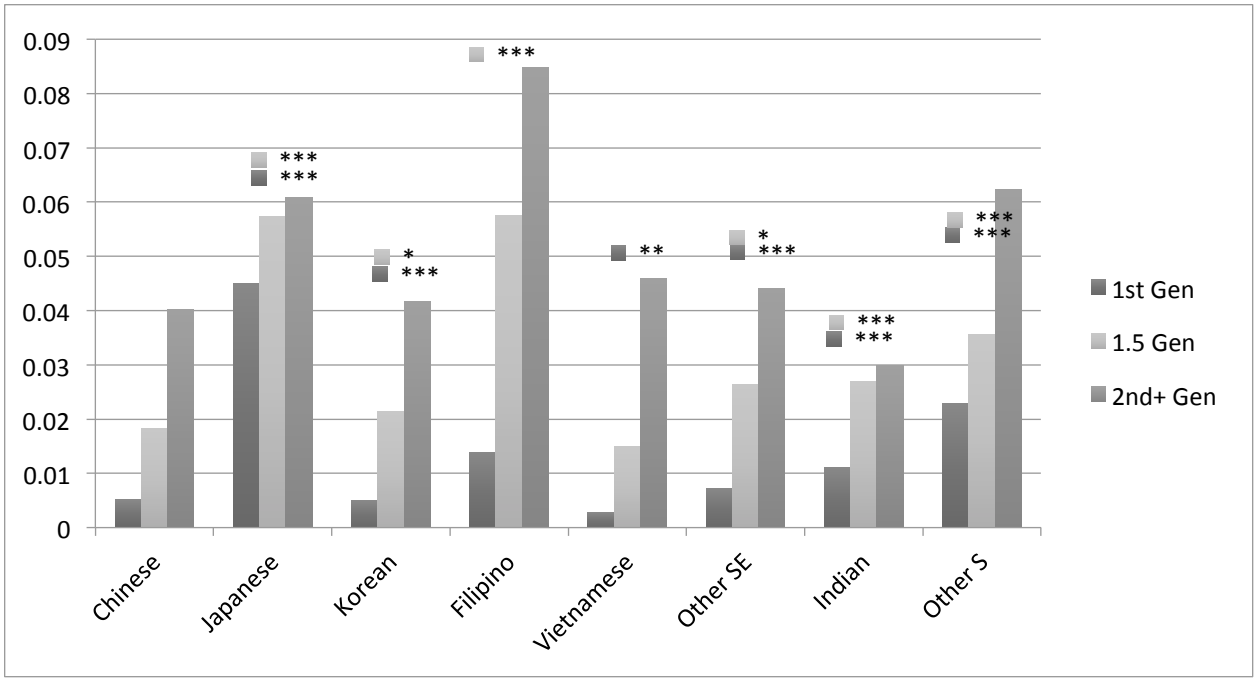

Figure 3.7a. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a Black or Hispanic/Latino Partner by Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation Status among Asian Men; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and Native Born (2nd and latter generation).

Asian men also become less likely to be interracially married to a Black or Hispanic/Latino partner as their educational attainment and household income levels increase. One surprising exception to this trend could be found among Asian men with only some college experience, who are significantly more likely to be intermarried to a Black or Hispanic/Latino partner than their less educated counterparts. However, such effects also vary by ethnicity. Those with some college education do exhibit relatively higher probabilities of intermarriage with a Black or Hispanic/Latino partner than both their less and more educated peers for most Asian ethnic groups, except among Japanese and Filipinos. However, such relationships are not statistically significant (see Figure 3.7b and Table 1Da in Appendix D). Similarly, even though other Southeast Asians with a Bachelor's degree and Vietnamese men with a professional or graduate school experience are statistically significantly more likely to have a Black or

Hispanic/Latino spouse, they still exhibit lower probabilities of being in such intermarriage than their peers with only some college experiences.

Yet, Vietnamese men actually become significantly more likely to have a Black or Hispanic/Latino spouse as their household income increases, and so do Korean men (see Table 3Da in Appendix D). This trend, although not substantial enough in numbers or graphic depiction, is confirmed in Figure 3.7c, too. Even though I observe similar upward curve in the relationship between probabilities of intermarriage and household income among other Southeast Asian men, this was statistically nonsignificant. On the other hand, Japanese men's likelihood of intermarriage with a Black or Hispanic partner significantly decreases as their household income increases. Even though I observe similar trends in the predicted probabilities of such intermarriage among Filipino, Indian, Chinese, and other South Asian men, such relationships were not statistically significant.

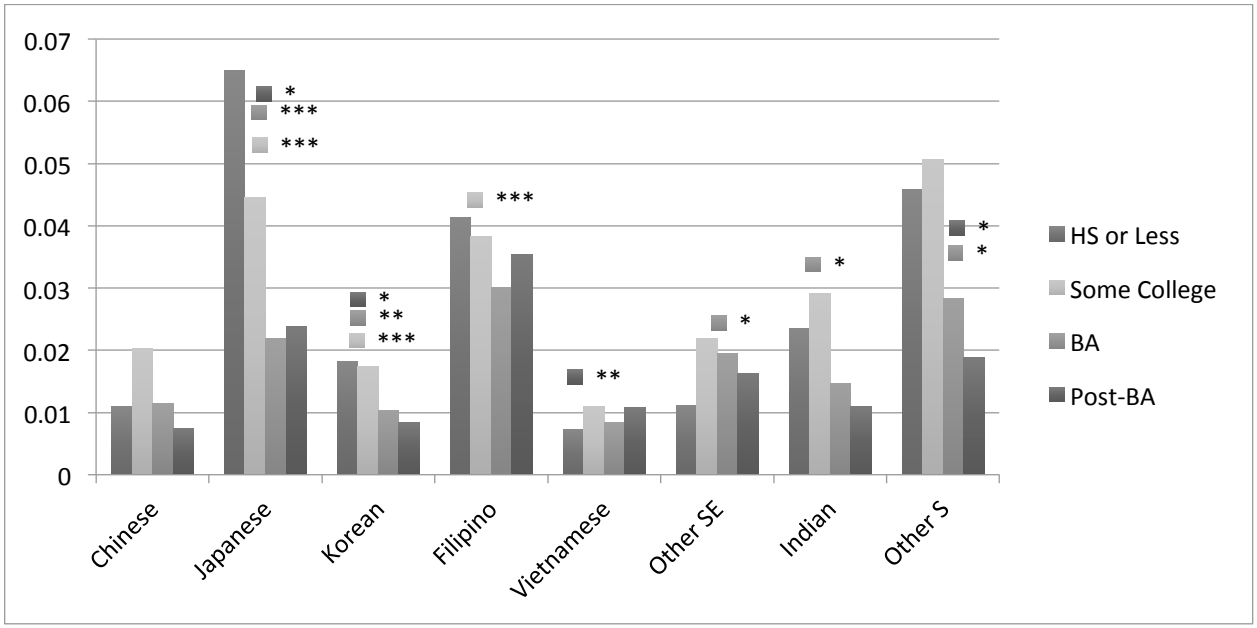

Figure 3.7b. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a Black or Hispanic/Latino Partner by Ethnicity and Educational Attainment among Asian Men; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference categories, Chinese and high school or less in education.

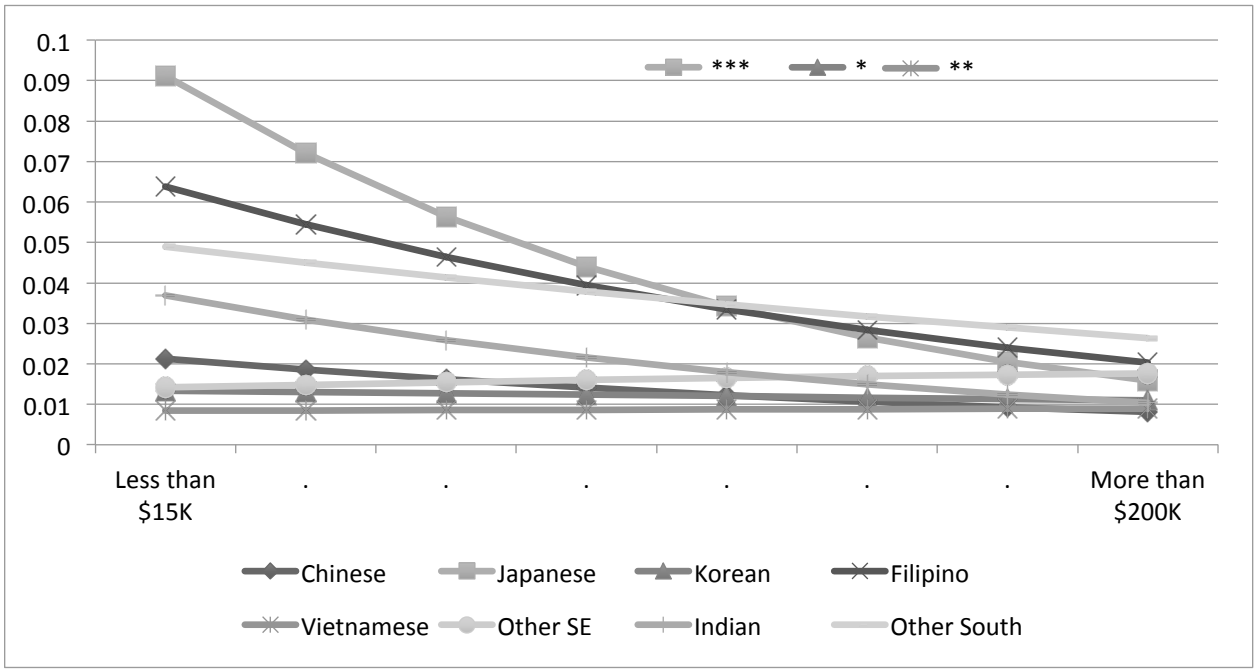

Figure 3.7c. Predicted Probabilities of Interracial Marriage with a Black or Hispanic/Latino Partner by Ethnicity and Household Income among Asian Men; Note: * p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; significance relative to the reference category, Chinese.

Together, my findings show that even though intermarriage with a Black or Hispanic partner is highly unlikely among Asian Americans, it still occurs in a gendered and ethnicity-specific ways. For instance, Japanese and Filipino individuals exhibit higher probabilities of such intermarriage than any other Asian ethnic groups in my sample, and this is most pronounced among immigrant-origin women and socioeconomically disadvantaged members, regardless of gender. Even though Asian Americans, in general, become less likely to have a Black or Hispanic/Latino partner as their socioeconomic status improves, probabilities of such marriage are higher among high-earning men of refugee-origin Southeast Asian ethnic groups. These findings indicate that intermarriage with a Black or Hispanic/Latino partner is more common among structurally disadvantaged Asian Americans, and yet, this pattern still varies by ethnicity and gender.

English Proficiency and Intermarriage Outcomes by Gender

Although I was not able to perform multivariate analyses of the relationship between English proficiency and Asian Americans' intermarriage outcomes due to a skewed distribution in both types of intermarriage and English proficiency in my sample, One-Way ANOVA analyses reveal expected patterns (see Table 3). Across all ethnicities, higher proportions of proficient English speakers are found among those who are interracially married, followed by those in interethnic marriage and then co-ethnic marriage. These findings confirm that acculturation, especially sharing a common language between spouses, is a pre-requisite for Asian American intermarriage. Yet, relatively smaller proportion of proficient English speakers among interethnically married refugee-origin Southeast Asians suggests that linguistic barriers may be less of a deal breaker in interethnic marriages than in other types of intermarriage.

Table 3.3. Comparison of Means of English Proficiency across Marriage Type by Gender

	Co-ethnic	Interethnic	Interracial w/ Hispanics	Interracial w/ Blacks	Interracial w/ Whites
Men	.89[bce]	.95[ace]	.99[ab]		1.00[ab]
Chinese	.81b[ce]	.93	.98[ae]		1.00[ac]
Japanese	.95[bce]	.99[a]	.99[a]		.99[a]
Korean	.85[bce]	.95[ae]	.98[a]		1.00[ab]
Filipino	.97[bce]	.98[ae]	1.00[a]		1.00[ab]
Vietnamese	.79[bce]	.86[ace]	.99[ab]		.99[ab]
Other SE	.82[bce]	.90[ae]	.97[a]		1.00[ab]
Indian	.99[e]	.99	1.00		1.00[a]
Other South	.96[e]	.97	.98		.99[a]
Women	.86[bcde]	.94[acde]	.98[ab]	.98[ab]	.99[ab]
Chinese	.82[bcde]	.93[ae]	.97[a]	.99[a]	.98[a]
Japanese	.95[bce]	.99[a]	.98[a]	.98	.99[a]
Korean	.81[bcde]	.94[ae]	.96[a]	.94[a]	.98[ab]
Filipino	.98[e]	.99[e]	.99	.99	.99[ab]
Vietnamese	.73[bcde]	.87[ace]	.98[ab]	.97[a]	.98[ab]
Other SE	.75[bcde]	.89[ae]	.95	.94	.97[ab]
Indian	.97[e]	.98[e]	.99	1.00	1.00[ab]
Other South	.90[be]	.96[a]	.99	1.00	1.00[a]

Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences (p≤.05). Superscripts show relationships statistically significant among a=co-ethnic; b=interethnic; c=interracial w/ Hispanic; d=Interracial w/ Black; e=Interracial w/ Whites

DISCUSSION

This chapter has investigated how Asian Americans' ethnically diverging intermarriage outcomes further vary by gender. Overall, my findings confirm that Asian Americans are on *segmented* incorporation paths into two concurrent mainstreams (Portes and Zhou 1993; Okamoto 2007; Qian et al. 2012)—the pan-Asian or the White mainstream society. Specifically, I find that regardless of gender, interethnic marriage provides a middle-class specific integration path into the pan-Asian society for refugee-origin Southeast Asians and immigrants. Asian-White intermarriage, on the other hand, is gendered and provides straight-line integration paths for Asian women, in general, but not for men. Paradoxically, Asian-White intermarriage seems most likely among less educated men, especially among those of high-status Asian ethnic backgrounds, such as Japanese and Koreans. Finally, I find that Asian-Black and Asian-Hispanic/Latino marriages, although very uncommon, occur most among disadvantaged Asian Americans, regardless of gender and ethnicity. One notable exception to such patterns is high-earning men of refugee-origin Southeast Asian backgrounds, who are significantly more likely to intermarry with a Black or Hispanic/Latino partner than their disadvantaged co-ethnics.

These patterns once again confirm the lack of gendered racial-status exchange in Asian American intermarriage and further show that Asian Americans' intermarriage and subsequent integration into the larger American society occurs not only in ethnicity-specific ways, but also exhibit gendered patterns. Such diverging patterns have important implications for Asian Americans' ethnoracial incorporation, positioning, and group boundaries, as explained below.

Middle-Class Asian America as a Destination of Selective Integration

As found in the previous chapter, intermarriage with a different-ethnic partner provides a path of integration into the pan-Asian mainstream for Asian Americans whose pan-ethnic membership is rather insecure. Specifically, socioeconomically privileged members of relatively disadvantaged refugee-origin Southeast Asians, regardless of gender, exhibit higher probabilities of interethnic marriage. Previously, I found that refugee-origin Southeast Asian ethnic groups are evaluated to be qualitatively different from other Asian ethnic groups. Similarly, their ethnoracial status is considered to be lower than that of their "model minority" counterparts (Bonilla-Silva 2004).

Given this, I argue that interethnic marriage allows refugee-origin Southeast Asians to secure pan-ethnic membership, especially if one has achieved comparable "model minority" status as other Asian ethnic groups in their structural characteristics. Thus, refugee-origin Southeast Asians may "become" Asian American by compensating for their relatively lower ethnoracial status within the pan-ethnic grouping with their individual socioeconomic advantages. Yet, I find no evidence of potential status exchange in Asian American interethnic marriage, even among refugee-origin Southeast Asian men who are structurally more privileged—they are still marrying different-ethnic Asian spouses of similar educational attainment level. This socioeconomic homogamy in refugee-origin Southeast Asian men's interethnic marriage is not only reflective of the importance of the pan-ethnic identity, solidarity, and social network facilitated in class-specific institutional settings in Asian American interethnic marriage, but also indicative of how interethnic marriage may afford these men a broader social network and richer social capital than within their own ethnic communities.

As such, pan-ethnic integration that occurs through Asian Americans' interethnic marriage may further reinforce Asian Americans' "model minority" or "honorary white" racial positioning, characterized by their comparable socioeconomic characteristics as the White middle class. Socioeconomic privilege—high levels of educational attainment and household income—is especially important for members of relatively disadvantaged groups. Similarly, newly immigrated members of "model minority" ethnic groups may exhibit higher likelihood of interethnic marriage, because their ethnic membership leads others to perceive these individuals as "one of pan-ethnic us," even when they lack acculturation. In fact, the relatively higher likelihood of such intermarriage among immigrant-origin members of structurally advantaged ethnic groups, the Japanese and Indians, may be suggestive of how becoming Asian American requires pan-ethnic social integration for those of "model minority" ethnic backgrounds, rather than a socioeconomic proof of their Asian-ness.

Yet, the effects of immigrant status seem to be gendered for most Asian Americans—immigrant-origin woman are more likely than their male counterparts to out-marry with a different-ethnic Asian partner. This, coupled with the relatively higher proportions of proficient English speaker among interethnically married Asian men than women, reveals that acculturation may be a pre-requisite for Asian men to cross ethnic boundaries in marriage, but not for Asian women, much like the gendered effects of acculturation previously found in Asian American interracial marriage (Okamoto 2007). Such gendered discrepancies also suggest that men's acculturation may facilitate their less acculturated wives' integration, but women's acculturation may not have the same effects on their husbands in Asian Americans' interethnic marriage. Thus, Asian American men, especially refugee-origin Southeast Asian men who are structurally and

culturally integrated, may be *leveraging* their advantages in the pan-ethnic marriage market, instead of *exchanging* such advantages for their wives' status.

Gendered Racial Integration of Asian Americans into the White Mainstream

Asian-White interracial marriage is similar to Asian Americans' interethnic marriage in several ways. For instance, socioeconomic privilege among refugee-origin Southeast Asians are significantly related to their higher probabilities of intermarriage with a White partner. Likewise, Asian-White intermarriage is most likely among native-born Asian Americans and those who speak English proficiently, regardless of gender and ethnicity; yet, Asian men must be acculturated before they could cross racial boundaries in marriage, whereas Asian women's levels of acculturation seems to matter less. However, masked in such aggregate patterns are ethnicity-specific gendered patterns and implications of Asian-White intermarriage.

Even though higher socioeconomic status lead to higher probabilities of Asian-White intermarriage for both refugee-origin Southeast Asian men and women, their significant predictors differ. For women, both high income and educational attainment levels significantly relate to their higher likelihood of intermarriage, whereas education had negligible effects on Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian men. Although I do not find any evidence of racial-status exchange in refugee-origin Southeast Asian men's interracial marriage with a White partner, the significant effects of higher household income are suggestive of their leveraging their economic success to gain membership in the larger (White) American society. Nonetheless, even the highest-earning refugee-origin Southeast Asian men still exhibit lower probabilities of interracial marriage with a White partner than members of other Asian ethnic groups. Their low ethnoracial status in both the Asian American and the larger societies may hinder their intermarriage

significantly, as members of the dominant group in a society are often aware of status disparities among minorities and evaluate them according to such status differences (Lee and Fiske 2006).

On the other hand, relative privilege in ethnoracial status seems to lead to high probabilities of Asian-White intermarriage among socioeconomically disadvantaged Asian men. I find that less educated Japanese, Korean, and Indian men (and other South Asians, whose average socioeconomic characteristics are still comparable to their "model minority" peers) are more likely to be in Asian-White intermarriages than their socioeconomically advantaged co-ethnics. Such patterns not only reject racial-status exchange theory, but also are suggestive of how Asian American men and women's gendered racialization may affect their intermarriage outcomes. Asian men, whose masculinity is questioned and undermined in the larger social-racial discourse, often rely on the "model minority" characteristics to reaffirm their masculine selves (Chen 1999). Thus, less educated Asian men's lack of model minority characteristics have driven these men to distance themselves from the pan-ethnic Asian American society as found in previous studies (Lee and Zhou 2016; Ocampo 2013, 2014). As a result, these men may have had more opportunities to interact with White Americans than Asian Americans, resulting in their higher likelihood of intermarriage via socialization processes not captured in current data. It is also possible that these less educated Asian men may attempt reclaiming their hegemonic masculinity by mating with a White partner—they are compensating for the lack of "model minority" status by gaining *racial* status via spousal race.

For many Asian American women, intermarriage with a White spouse seems to occur in ethnicity-specific ways. Although higher levels of education lead to higher probabilities of Asian-White intermarriage for most Asian women, such is not the case for Japanese, Korean, and

Filipino women. In fact, potentially less acculturated and therefore, less socially advantaged, immigrant-origin members of these ethnic groups exhibit higher probabilities of Asian-White intermarriage compared to immigrant-origin members other ethnic groups. These findings suggest that although Asian women's structural and cultural integration does lead to higher likelihood of interracial marriage with a White partner, it may not be necessary in crossing racial boundaries in marriage. Furthermore, contemporary minority incorporation process may not be linear for Asian women. Previously, martial integration has been assumed to occur *after* an individual achieves cultural integration and such patterns are found among early European immigrants (Gordon 1964). Yet, my findings reveal that structural and cultural incorporation may be facilitated *as a result of* racial-social integration that occurs in interracial marriage, but such non-linear processes and paths may be available only for women of relatively higher ethnoracial status.

Potential Status Affirmation in Gendered Patterns of Asian-Black and Asian-Latino/Hispanic Intermarriage

Regardless of gender, Asian Americans are rather unlikely to marry a Black or Latino/Hispanic partner. Such phenomenon is more pronounced among socioeconomically advantaged Asian Americans across all ethnic groups and especially among women and some immigrant-origin men. Although I am unable to make any broad generalizations due to extremely low rates and likelihood of Asian-Black and Asian-Hispanic/Latino intermarriage, a few interesting findings still provide valuable insights into the socio-cultural factors behind Asian men's intermarriage with a Black or Hispanic/Latino spouse and how such factors are constrained by the larger social structure.

Specifically, I find significant and positive effects of structural factors on Korean, Vietnamese, and other Southeast Asian men's probabilities of intermarriage with a Hispanic/Latino or Black partner. Though these effects are statistically significant, they are not substantial. Yet, additional descriptive analyses (see Table 4D in Appendix D) reveal that the average household income levels among Korean, refugee-origin Southeast Asian, and other South Asian men who are married to a Black or Hispanic/Latino partner are still significantly higher than their peers who are married to co-ethnics. Considering that the potential for economic gains often plays an important role in intermarriage (Kalmijn 1998), minority women may find these relatively higher-earning men of Korean, refugee-origin Southeast Asian, and other South Asian backgrounds as desirable marital partners. Interestingly, men who are married to a Hispanic/Latino or Black partners have lower levels of educational attainment than their co-ethnically married peers in general, even among Koreans and other South Asians. However, refugee-origin Southeast Asian men in such union, on average, are still significantly more educated than their peers who are married to co-ethnics (see Table 4D in appendix D).

These interesting relationships between intermarriage and Asian men's structural characteristics show that the reaffirmation of Asian American masculinity in intermarriage may be facilitated by physical proximity and further locally contextualized. For instance, many refugee-origin Southeast Asians settled away from Asian ethnic enclaves and closer to disadvantaged urban minority population, resulting in their identificational and racial affinities with the urban Black population (Zhou and Bankston 1997). Likewise, many other South Asians, especially those who came to the United States in the 1990s, live and work in disadvantaged neighborhoods and sectors, close to other minorities (Kibria 1996). Many Korean immigrants also pursued entrepreneurial opportunities in or near pre-dominantly Black neighborhoods,

which has led to both racial tensions and harmony between the two groups (Lee 2002). In these local contexts, Asian men may leverage their relative socioeconomic and ethnoracial privilege to present themselves as more desirable marital partners than other minority men.

However, ethnicity further complicates how such localized affirmation of Asian masculinity occurs. For Korean and Southeast Asian men, their higher income levels may reinforce their traditional masculinity as capable breadwinners across ethnoracial boundaries, especially when they lack the "model minority" educational characteristics. On the other hand, refugee-origin Southeast Asian men's socioeconomic advantages may function differently, considering their peripheral positioning as Asian Americans and lower ethnoracial status. Given the higher socioeconomic status of all intermarried refugee-origin Southeast Asian men than their co-ethnically married peers, their out-marriage may be a way of further dissociating oneself from the disadvantaged ethnoracial status in general, regardless of spousal race. It is also possible that these Asian men are marrying similarly structurally advantaged but racially disadvantaged partners of Hispanic/Latino or Black racial backgrounds.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have examined how gender, in addition to ethnic heterogeneity, affects Asian Americans' intermarriage outcomes and integration into the mainstream society. I found that Asian women are more likely to out-marry than men, as Asian men needs to be at least acculturated to cross ethnoracial boundaries in marriage, but such acculturation is not necessary for women. Yet, factors that explain these gendered patterns further vary by ethnicity. Specifically, unequal ethnoracial status among Asian Americans further leads to diverging

intermarriage outcomes. Such patterns also confirm that the lack of racial-economic status exchange in contemporary Asian American intermarriage, regardless of spousal race. These findings have important implications for Asian Americans' ethnoracial group relations and positioning both within the pan-ethnic Asian America and the larger U.S. society.

First, the lack of racial-economic status exchange in Asian American intermarriage indicates that Asian Americans are cognizant of unequal, hierarchical ethnoracial status amongst themselves as well as in the larger society. This awareness of ethnoracial hierarchy may also explain why intermarriage leads to two separate "mainstream" societies for Asian Americans. For example, the significant and positive relationship between refugee-origin Southeast Asians' socioeconomic success and likelihood of interethnic marriage reflects their lower ethnoracial status within the pan-ethnic Asian American grouping. Not only do the members of these ethnic groups have to be acculturated, but they also have to exhibit remarkable socioeconomic success in order to cross ethnic boundaries in marriage. Thus, interethnic marriage may provide them the opportunity to *selectively integrate* and become "one of us Asian Americans." On the other hand, such effects of socioeconomic status were not pronounced among East Asians, who already enjoy higher ethnoracial status and are considered to be the representative Asian Americans (Bonilla-Silva 2004; Wong et al. 2011). Interethnic marriage for these Asian Americans may reinforce their already secured pan-ethnic membership and their relative privilege within the pan-ethnic grouping.

The gendered and ethnicity-specific patterns of intermarriage with White partners further show that not only are Asian Americans conscious of ethnoracial inequality in the larger society, but also are actively subscribing to the existing hierarchy. Specifically, Asian Americans who do

not subscribe to the stereotypical imagery of the "model minority" or those who are "othered" within the pan-ethnic grouping may be seeking ways to distance themselves from the Asian American standards of ethnoracial authenticity while simultaneously claiming their membership in the larger American society—the White American society. Most notably, Asian men who cannot reclaim their masculinity through the "model minority" characteristics, especially those of East Asian heritage, may be leveraging their relatively higher ethnoracial status to gain access to the White mainstream society through intermarriage. Higher probabilities of Asian-White intermarriage among immigrant-origin East Asian women similarly suggest that they may understand "becoming American" as synonymous to "becoming a part of White America" as early Asian immigrants understood (Zhou 2014).

Finally, the prominence of interethnic and Asian-White intermarriages has important implications for the ways in which children of such mixed union identify and consequently, the contours of Asian and White ethnoracial group boundaries. For children of interethnic union, their mixed heritage likely leads them to identify as pan-Asian racially. However, if ethnic heterogeneity and inequality persists within the pan-ethnic Asian American society, the ways in which they invoke ethnic "options" in identifying as pan-Asian individuals may further solidify some ethnic boundaries and exacerbate existing inequalities. Moreover, the relatively low rates of interethnic marriage among South Asians, especially those of higher socioeconomic status, may lead these ethnic groups to further distance themselves from the pan-ethnic Asian America due to the smaller proportion of pan-Asian offspring with a South Asian parent.

Similarly, gender of the Asian parent will likely have significant effects on the children of Asian-White unions. Although children of Asian-White unions mostly adopt the White racial

identity, surname transmission of racial identity still occurs when the father is Asian (Bratter 2007). Yet, Asian men marrying a White spouse in this study often lacked the "model minority" characteristics, which is central to the ways in which Asian Americans' understand their self-identity (Park 2008; Lee 2019; Kibria 1996). Thus, these Asian fathers of Asian-White mixed union offspring may not strongly identify with the pan-ethnic Asian American label, which in turn, may affect the ways in which their children identify. Previously, Asian Americans who do not subscribe to the "model minority" imagery have been found to often distance themselves from the pan-ethnic Asian American identity (Ocampo 2013; Lee and Zhou 2016). Furthermore, parental socioeconomic status is often replicated in their children (Blau and Duncan 1967; Lee and Zhou 2014). Even though Asian Americans' intergenerational mobility patterns largely reject such theory of status attainment, it is possible that mixed children of Asian-White union may not achieve the "model minority" characteristics themselves and therefore, further distance themselves from the Asian American identity. Such variation in the identities of children of Asian mixed unions will likely transform the boundaries of Asian Americans as a racialized pan-ethnic group.

In summary, I have found that as gendered racialization push Asian Americans to find a way to leverage existing advantages and compensate for marginalities in intermarriage, existing ethnoracial inequalities are getting reinforced, rather than disrupted. Simultaneously, the effects of unequal ethnoracial status among Asian Americans on their gendered and ethnicity-specific ways of (marital) integration and claiming membership in the larger society observed in this chapter reveal the needs for further empirical research into this phenomenon. Specifically, investigating how culture, in addition to structural characteristics, affects the ways in which individuals understand and act upon (unequal) social and racial status in intermarriage would

reveal how the conceptualization of race and race relations in the larger society is transforming. Such investigation would further contribute to better understand how the American mainstream, and its race relations which minorities like Asian Americans are becoming integrated into, may be changing as a result of various forms of minority incorporation that are occurring separately and concurrently.

CONCLUSION:

What Does the Future Hold for Asian Americans?

STUDY OVERVIEW

In the beginning of this study, I asked: *How do contemporary Asian American interethnic and interracial marriage patterns reflect their evolving ethnic group boundaries and racial group positioning in the United States?* Using the 2016 National Asian American Survey and the American Community Survey data pooled from years 2008 through 2016, I find that ethnic heterogeneity and subsequent inequality among Asian Americans influences how Asian Americans cross ethnoracial group boundaries in marriage. Specifically, Asian Americans are cognizant of their within-group heterogeneity and distinguish refugee-origin Southeast Asians along both social and symbolic boundaries. The group-level socioeconomic disadvantages of refugee-origin Southeast Asians not only position these ethnic groups at the periphery of Asian American pan-ethnicity as qualitatively different from other Asians, but also require its members to achieve structural and cultural integration in order to cross ethnoracial boundaries in marriage to join the mainstream society.

Yet, the mainstream at which Asian Americans are arriving is not monolithic. Asian Americans who are interethnically married and enjoy relative socioeconomic privileges are likely on the *selective integration* path, where they achieve upward social mobility while remaining culturally and ethnoracially grounded in the pan-ethnic Asian American mainstream society. Such patterns are most apparent among socioeconomically advantaged refugee-origin Southeast Asians. On the other hand, interracial marriage with White partners likely integrates Asian Americans into the White mainstream society. Interestingly, such integration does not necessarily occur in a linear, *straight-lined* way—Asian-White intermarriage may occur before one is culturally integrated or achieves middle-class status and therefore, may facilitate both cultural and structural integration in return.

Gender further complicates ethnic variation in Asian American intermarriage outcomes and subsequent integration paths and mechanisms. Whereas Asian men must be at least acculturated to cross ethnoracial boundaries in marriage, acculturation is not necessarily required for Asian women to out-marry. Further, Asian men seem to *leverage* ethnic or structural privileges rooted in their "model minority" status to compensate for their racialized and undermined masculinity in interracial marriage, but Asian women's racialized sexuality, which portrays them as submissive and desirable marital partners, does not require such bargaining in crossing racial boundaries in marriage. Intermarriage with a Hispanic/Latino or Black partner is highly unlikely among Asian Americans, regardless of gender, ethnicity, structural characteristics, and/or acculturation levels, perhaps due to Asian Americans' racial attitudes informed by the larger societal racial inequalities and hierarchy.

Therefore, minority incorporation is an on-going process for Asian Americans and occurs in ethnically distinctive ways, beyond structural and cultural integration. Specifically, findings from this project reveal that Asian Americans' intermarriage, while constrained by both individual- and ethnic-group level structural and cultural characteristics, facilitates their racial-social integration into the larger society. Ethnically heterogeneous patterns of boundary crossing captured in intermarriage further reveal that Asian Americans' integration is transforming not only the ways in which Asian Americans perceive, act upon, and capitalize on their pan-ethnic groupness, but also the larger contemporary American race relations.

SHIFTING BOUNDARIES OF PAN-ETHNIC ASIAN AMERICA

The pan-ethnic Asian America emerged as a response to sociopolitical marginalization of Asian immigrants and their children across ethnic boundaries and have grown in size and become more diverse in its composition in the latter half of the 20th century (Espiritu 1992; Okamoto 2014). As such, the boundaries of pan-ethnic Asian America has expanded to accommodate and integrate new Asian

immigrants into not only the pan-ethnic society, but into the larger American society, too (Okamoto 2014). Today, the pan-ethnic Asian America includes individuals from more than 20 different ethnic or national-origin backgrounds, each with distinctive cultural and social characteristics as well as different immigration histories and contexts (Espiritu 1992; Kibria 1996; Lee 2019; Ocampo 2014; Okamoto 2014).

Such ethnic heterogeneity among Asian Americans contribute to within-group inequality characterized by different group-level socioeconomic characteristics as well as ethnoracial status. Most notably, many Southeast Asians—especially those of Vietnamese, Hmong, Cambodian, Laotian, and Thai ethnic backgrounds—emigrated to the United States as refugees or in similarly disadvantaged structural positions, fleeing war, political turmoil, and relevant economic downturn in their home countries (Espiritu 1992; Zhou and Xiong 2005; S.Lee 2005; Ngo and Lee 2007; Ratner 2014). Yet, they were funneled into low-wage labor sectors and continue to experience socioeconomic hardship, with the exception of some Vietnamese immigrants and their children who settled near other Asian ethnic enclaves and therefore, were able to access pan-ethnic resources to achieve upward mobility and pan-ethnic social integration (Kelly 1986; Zhou and Bankston 1998; Lee and Zhou 2016; Zhou and Xiong 2005; Lee and Ngo 2007).

Group-level structural disadvantages of refugee-origin Southeast Asians not only contributes to their lower ethnoracial status (Bonilla-Silva 2004), but also position them at the margins of pan-ethnic Asian America, as members of other Asian ethnic groups perceive these Southeast Asians to be qualitatively different from themselves. Although such evaluation of refugee-origin Southeast Asians may not explicitly threaten their membership in the pan-ethnic society, this study has revealed that refugee-origin Southeast Asians must prove their belongingness by achieving structural and cultural integration to cross ethnic boundaries in marriage. In other words, refugee-origin Southeast Asian Americans must achieve the "model minority" status, characterized by high levels of educational attainment, and income, in addition to acculturation, to be included in the "accepted parameters of (pan)ethnicity" in

intermarriage. This suggests that the ways in which Asian Americans conceptualize their pan-ethnic group and group boundaries largely rely on the "model minority" characteristics, much like how such characteristics strengthen the salience of pan-ethnic identity and solidarity in an individual (Lee 2019; Wong et al. 2011).

However, structural "model minority" characteristics alone do not necessarily guarantee pan-ethnic membership or marital integration into the pan-ethnic mainstream. Despite skewed sex distribution and their socioeconomic privileges—characteristics that facilitate intermarriage—South Asian ethnic groups exhibit the lowest likelihood of interethnic marriage. South Asians exhibit lower salience of pan-ethnic identification due to their distinctive phenotype, stereotypes, religion, dietary preferences, and other socio-cultural characteristics (Dhingra 2007; Kibria 1996, 1998; Shankar and Srikanth 1998; Joshi 2006). Further, South Asians who are in close social proximities to other Asian Americans are less likely to identify pan-ethnically as Asian Americans (Schachter 2014). Considering that shared experiences of marginalization often drives pan-ethnic solidarity among Asian Americans (Lee 2019; Espiritu 1992; Lowe 1991), South Asians' distinctive experiences of racialization and discrimination, especially in the post 9/11-era, may be contributing to not only their lower identity and solidarity salience, but also their limited ethnoracial-social integration into the pan-ethnic mainstream via intermarriage.

As such, Asian American pan-ethnic boundaries may be consolidated and re-organized racially, based on shared experiences of discrimination as well as physical characteristics, most notably, skin tone and color. Chinese Americans' large group size and exceptional mobility patterns have contributed to the social imagery of Asian Americans as the model minorities of East Asian racial characteristics (Tran et al. 2018). The lack of racial similarities between South Asians and other Asian ethnic groups[15] in pan-Asian interpersonal social contexts, coupled with the overall colorism that is prevalent in both Asian American

[15] Although some Southeast Asians also identify as "brown Asians" colloquially (Espiritu 1992), South Asians have more distinctively darker skin color, in addition to socio-cultural differences.

and the larger society, may not only drive South Asians away from Asian American pan-ethnicity, but also solidify Asian Americans' racial characteristics as represented by East Asians (and Southeast Asians to some extent), reinforcing the previously found hierarchy of perceived Asian-ness (Lee and Ramakrishnan 2019).

Such consolidation of Asian Americans' pan-ethnic boundaries along racial similarities may accelerate South Asians' secession from pan-ethnic Asian America to create their own pan-ethnic grouping for sociopolitical purposes. For instance, Muslim Americans, many of whom are of South Asian descents, have established Muslim pan-ethnicity in response to their racialization and marginalization as potential terrorist threats to the larger American society in the post-9/11 era (Okamoto and Mora 2014; Sirin et al. 2008). The creation of another pan-ethnic category that will likely absorb marginalized members from the Asian American pan-ethnic one will not only decrease Asian Americans' sociopolitical power, but also present potential intergroup competitions and tensions. Especially, Asian Indians make the third largest ethnic group among Asian Americans with exceptionally privileged socioeconomic characteristics—losing this population from the pan-ethnic alliance would put Asian Americans at a numeric disadvantage compared to other ethnoracial groups with whom they are competing against to secure more governmental and market resources.

Taken together, Asian Americans' *selective integration* has not only reinforced Asian American pan-ethnicity, but also has established the pan-ethnic Asian American society as an integration destination. Interethnic marriage is one of the mechanisms through which especially disadvantaged Asians, such as refugee-origin Southeast Asians and new immigrants, join the pan-Asian mainstream. Simultaneously, those who are already in a socioeconomically privileged position and experience racial-social marginalization within the larger Asian American society, such as Indians, may not necessarily seek such integration paths and mechanisms. Rather, interethnic marriage market and the pan-ethnic mainstream may highlight their socio-cultural and racial differences from other Asian groups. Such

variation in integration of Asian Americans or lack thereof by ethnicity may eventually lead the larger American society to conceptualize Asian Americans as a pan-ethnic group with pronounced racial boundaries—represented by East Asian characteristics as found previously (i.e., Tran et al. 2018; Kibria 1996; Lee 2019)—and could further lead to the withdrawal of South Asians from the pan-ethnic alliances.

CONTINUING SIGNIFICANCE OF RACE AND RACIAL ORDER

As interethnic marriage is leading disadvantaged Asian Americans to the pan-ethnic mainstream and contributing to the transformation of pan-ethnic boundaries, Asian Americans' interracial marriage seems to be reinforcing existing racial hierarchy while simultaneously transforming the larger American race relations. Interracial marriage with White partners may not lead to the "whitening" of Asian Americans as a pan-ethnic group as some scholars have previously argued (Alba 2009; Lee and Bean 2010), and yet, still contributes to the larger social-racial discourse that prizes Whiteness relative to racial minorities. Thus, American racial formation may be evolving in nuanced ways as Asian American pan-ethnicity continues to be meaningful in maintaining their privileges relative to other racial minorities.

Although Asian Americans are still highly likely to intermarry with a White partner when they cross racial boundaries in marriage, the "whitening" of Asian Americans as a group seems unlikely for two reasons. First, Asian Americans are more likely to intermarry with a different-ethnic partner than a White partner when they cross ethnoracial boundaries at the aggregate. The most notable except to this pattern is the Japanese, whose rates of co-ethnic marriage is extremely low compared to other Asian ethnic groups—the high rates of out-marriage among Japanese Americans likely reflects the limited co-ethnic partner pool due to their smaller group size. Koreans and Filipinos also exhibit higher rates of Asian-White intermarriage than other Asian ethnic groups, but the majority of their members still marry co-ethnic partners, indicating continuous pan-ethnic or ethnic marital integration among them. Thus, interracial marriage with a White partner may provide a path and an opportunity to become "whitened" or

join the White racial mainstream society for some Asian Americans in ethnically distinctive ways, but such phenomenon is not necessarily reflective of blurred group boundaries between Whites and the pan-ethnic Asian American group as a whole.

In fact, Asian Americans' collective racial status as the "model minority" or "honorary Whites" between the White majority and other racial minorities will likely continue, but such relatively valorized status may be conditional. For instance, I found in the first chapter that White Americans perceive Asian Americans to be more competent than they are warm, despite their rather favorable intergroup attitudes toward (East) Asians. This envious stereotype assigned to Asian Americans by White Americans is suggestive of how group competition for resources and opportunities may incite intergroup conflicts between Asian Americans and the White majority (Fiske 2012; Lee and Fiske 2006; Zhang 2015). In fact, the increased anti-Asian hate crimes and discrimination that resulted from the global pandemic originated from China in recent months further confirm that Asian Americans' model minority status is rather conditional (Yang 2020; Corasaniti, Peters, and Karni 2020). Thus, Asian Americans will probably not achieve comparable racial status as White Americans anytime soon, regardless of their cultural integration, socioeconomic characteristics, and rates of interracial marriage. Yet, children of Asian-White unions may be able to claim Whiteness as their own identity via racial transmission that occurs in surname and/or by employing ethnoracial "options."

Perhaps Asian Americans' low probabilities of intermarriage with a Hispanic/Latino or Black partner further reflect their precarious and conditional racial advantage over other minorities. Social proximity and familiarity alone does not explain low rates of intermarriage with a Black or Hispanic/Latino partner—some disadvantaged Asian ethnic groups, such as Vietnamese, report frequent social contact with Hispanic/Latino and Black individuals in the first empirical chapter and yet, this does not lead to their more frequent intermarriage with other minorities. Such patterns indicate that Asian Americans are aware of existing racial hierarchy and are reinforcing it simultaneously, whether it's

voluntary or not. Further, the consolidation of Asian American pan-ethnic boundaries around East Asian heritage and middle class characteristics suggests that Asian Americans' in-between racial status may be a strategy to avoid becoming exceptionally marginalized and losing relative sociopolitical privileges in the larger race relations. In other words, although Asian Americans may be resistant to White supremacy at the individual level, the larger social structural factors may influence Asian Americans to unconsciously participate in upholding their advantageous position relative to other minorities. In so doing, Asian Americans may also the entire systems of racial inequality in various social domains, including in marital integration and the subsequent transformation of the American mainstream.

Therefore, racial formation of Asian Americans, and perhaps American racial formation in general, is an on-going process that occurs in ethnically distinctive ways at the intersection of structure and culture. Asian Americans' intermarriage patterns, both aggregated and ethnically disaggregated, and their implications found in this study further show that intermarriage, regardless of spousal race, reflect accepted parameters of race and ethnicity in interpersonal group relations. These parameters are indicative of the ways in which individuals unconsciously make sense of ethnoracial inequality and leverage or compensate for their privileged or disadvantaged structural positions in making seemingly personal preferential choices of marital partner selection. These social forces that occur simultaneously at both group- and individual-levels may change what is considered the "mainstream" for Americans of different ethnoracial backgrounds, but does not challenge existing systems of inequality. As such, race and race categories will continue to be meaningful in the larger society as Asian American pan-ethnicity sustains itself and adapts to the changing American racial landscape accordingly.

STUDY LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This study has shown that Asian Americans' ethnic heterogeneity not only affects their diverging structural characteristics, but also the ways in which they become socially and ethnoracially integrated

into the larger American society via intermarriage. Nonetheless, my findings simultaenously reveal the need for further empirical attention on transforming boundaries of pan-ethnic Asian America and its implications for the larger U.S. race relations.

Most notably, this study, although large in its scale with data pooled over 9 years, still includes very small other Southeast and South Asian—those of Hmong, Laotian, Cambodian, Thai, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Indonesian, Malaysian, and Sri Lankan backgrounds—population and fail to include many other much smaller (less than 10,000 in population) Asian ethnic groups in the United States. Considering that these smaller ethnic groups mostly consist of recent immigrants, their minority incorporation is an ongoing process and may differ from earlier Asian immigrants' experiences. Future quantitative studies should consider oversampling members of these smaller Asian ethnic groups as the 2016 National Asian American Survey did to provide more complete snapshot of ethnically disaggregated Asian American society and their disparate social, economic, political, and cultural needs and characteristics.

Moreover, current study only investigates intermarriage among those who are heterosexually married. Because same-sex marriage was legalized only recently, data on same-sex households is still greatly limited and the number of Asian Americans in same-sex households in my data is too small to conduct a meaningful and ethnically disaggregated quantitative analysis. Asian Americans who are same-sex married may have different understandings of their own Asian American identity as well as how others may perceive them, due to their doubly marginalized status as both sexual and racial minorities. In fact, studies have shown that Asian Americans are marginalized and fetishized as racial minorities in queer communities and simultaneously, perceived to be more "Americanized" or "White" as sexual minorities in American American communities (Han 2015; Semrow et al. 2019). Thus, investigating how queer Asian Americans make sense of their same-sex interracial or interethnic unions may differ from their heterosexual counterparts would reveal how (homo)sexuality, in addition to gender, ethnicity, and individual factors of minority incorporation, may shape Asian Americans' intermarriage outcomes and

subsequent ethnoracial group positioning in both queer communities and the larger society. Similarly, investigating the ways in which multi-racial Asian Americans understand their own membership in the pan-ethnic Asian American society and intermarry would further provide nuanced understandings of how individual adaptation and enactment of ethnoracial identities may influence and be influenced by the larger social construction of ethnoracial group boundaries.

Further, this study is a quantitative investigation of the relationship between measurable structural characteristics and intermarriage outcome among Asian Americans. As such, this study is unable to capture the effects of nuanced individual understandings and enactment of identities and/or *why* Asian Americans intermarry the way they do. Thus, future research should include qualitative examination of how Asian Americans' conceptualization of their own pan-ethnic groupness may explain different intermarriage outcomes. Such approaches will further capture how personal preferences interact with structural and cultural constraints in shaping intermarriage outcomes for Asian Americans, revealing *why* one may prefer a partner of certain ethnoracial or socioeconomic backgrounds over others. This investigation of personal preferences, especially regarding Asian Americans' interethnic marriage, would also provide important insights into how Asian Americans understand and justify their (pan)ethnicity, subsequent (trans)formation of ethnic boundaries via intermarriage, and their nuanced cultural implications.

Finally, empirical and theoretical approaches used in this study may be valuable in investigating how heterogeneity in other ethnoracial groups may impact their cultural, structural, and ethnoracial integration into the larger American society. Considering the changes that occurred in demographic composition among Hispanic/Latino Americans with the large influx of Central American migrants and refugees in recent years (Noe-Bustamante 2019), Hispanic/Latino Americans may be experiencing similar on-going, but ethnically distinctive racial formation and integration processes. Likewise, growing Black

immigrant population in the United States may also influence the ways in which Blackness is conceptualized in the larger society.

FINAL CONCLUDING REMARKS

The American mainstream is indeed changing. Asian Americans' intermarriage patterns and factors behind them found in this study reveal not only that intermarriage is indicative of the cultural hybridity that is gradually changing the mainstream society (Alba and Nee 2003; Alba and Foner 2015), but also that Asian American pan-ethnicity is both a product and enforcer of such changes. Specifically, contemporary Asian American pan-ethnicity entails more than just shared political and material needs and interests across ethnic boundaries—it reflects the evolving societal conceptualization of ethnoracial categories and membership as a result of minority incorporation and simultaneously provides a new mainstream destination at which Asian Americans arrive. Thus, Asian Americans' *segmented assimilation* (Portes and Zhou 1993) continues beyond structural and cultural incorporation. The significance of pan-ethnic Asian American mainstream as a selective integration destination further reveals that the social construction of race and ethnicity is an on-going process that occurs not only in between-group relations, but also in within-group relations and conflicts resulted from ethnic heterogeneity. Therefore, the changing American mainstream continues to uphold the significance of race and ethnicity and related systems of inequalities, even as the hybridization of the mainstream American society continues in various social domains of intergroup relations, including intermarriage. As such, the American racial formation continues not only for racial minorities, but also in the larger social understanding of race relations. Yet, the American mainstream is evolving in so far as it does not threaten the relative social-racial privilege of those benefiting from unequal race relations, especially White Americans.

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APPENDIX A. Additional Tables and Figures for Chapter 1

Table A1. Means/Proportions, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of Intergroup Attitudes, Contacts, and Perceived Asianness (Race Group)

		Mean				SD	Range
	Overall	**Asian**	**White**	**Black**	**Hispanic/Latino**		
Intergroup perception							
East Asians							
Work ethic	5.19	5.01[b]	5.39[ad]	5.15	5.15[b]	1.15	0-6
Intelligence	4.62	4.60[d]	4.77	5.22	5.30[a]	1.30	0-6
Friendliness	4.00	4.00	4.09	4.80	4.10	1.60	0-6
Peaceful	4.71	4.51[b]	4.91[ac]	4.49[bd]	4.79[c]	1.59	0-6
SE Asians							
Work ethic	4.79	4.53[b]	5.05[ad]	4.75	4.77[d]	1.31	0-6
Intelligence	3.89	3.88[d]	4.09	4.80	4.58[a]	1.41	0-6
Friendliness	4.01	4.01	3.89	4.56	3.74	1.49	0-6
Peaceful	4.34	4.25	4.56	4.17	4.34	1.62	0-6
South Asians							
Work ethic	4.64	4.42[b]	4.99[ad]	4.75	4.50[b]	1.45	0-6
Intelligence	4.12	4.11	3.82	5.27	4.59	1.50	0-6
Friendliness	3.78	3.77	4.25	4.80	3.69	1.64	0-6
Peaceful	4.27	4.21	4.52[c]	4.08[b]	4.23	1.78	0-6
Whites							
Work ethic	4.32	4.12[bd]	4.46[ac]	4.11[bd]	4.39[ac]	1.45	0-6
Intelligence	4.60	4.59[c]	4.71	4.50[a]	4.83	1.23	0-6
Friendliness	4.37	4.36[c]	4.43	4.50[a]	4.78	1.34	0-6
Peaceful	4.04	4.08[c]	4.26[c]	3.45[abd]	4.16[c]	1.53	0-6
Blacks							
Work ethic	3.39	3.31[bcd]	4.35[ad]	4.65[ad]	3.69[abc]	1.67	0-6
Intelligence	3.61	3.59[c]	3.86	4.81[a]	4.09	1.49	0-6
Friendliness	3.85	3.83[c]	4.36	5.00[a]	4.04	1.53	0-6
Peaceful	3.44	3.02[bc]	3.82[ad]	3.80[ad]	3.28[abc]	1.77	0-6
Hispanic/ Latino							
Work ethic	5.08	4.33[bcd]	5.06[ad]	4.97[ad]	5.36[abc]	1.16	0-6

Intelligence	3.63	3.60[cd]	4.00	4.56[a]	4.59[a]	1.40	0-6
Friendliness	4.11	4.09[cd]	4.82	5.05[a]	4.90[a]	1.41	0-6
Peaceful	4.06	3.70[bd]	4.24[ac]	3.77[bd]	4.21[ac]	1.53	0-6
Intergroup Contact							
w/ Whites	2.17	2.12[bc]	2.76[acd]	2.35[abd]	2.07[bc]	0.98	0-3
w/ Blacks	1.62	1.54[bcd]	1.83[acd]	2.68[abd]	1.40[abc]	1.05	0-3
w/ Hispanics	1.90	1.68[bcd]	2.01[ad]	2.01[ad]	2.65[abc]	1.04	0-3
w/ Asians	2.02	2.32[bcd]	1.48[ad]	1.46[ad]	1.17[abc]	1.04	0-3
Perceived Asianness							
Chinese	1.67	1.71[cd]	1.68[cd]	1.55[ab]	1.54[ab]	0.59	0-2
Japanese	1.64	1.67[cd]	1.67[cd]	1.48[ab]	1.52[ab]	0.62	0-2
Korean	1.62	1.67[cd]	1.61[cd]	1.46[ab]	1.46[ab]	0.63	0-2
Filipino	1.51	1.60[bcd]	1.34[a]	1.26[a]	1.27[a]	0.69	0-2
Indian	1.18	1.35[bcd]	0.79[a]	0.80[a]	0.77[a]	0.83	0-2
Pakistani	0.94	1.07[bcd]	1.66[a]	0.63[a]	0.62[a]	0.86	0-2
Arab/ Middle Eastern	0.63	0.67[bcd]	0.40[ad]	0.48[a]	0.59[ab]	0.78	0-2
N	**6448**	4362	408	401	1126		

***** *Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences (p<.05). Superscripts show relationships statistically significantly different from a=Asian; b=White; c=Black; d=Hispnic/Latino*

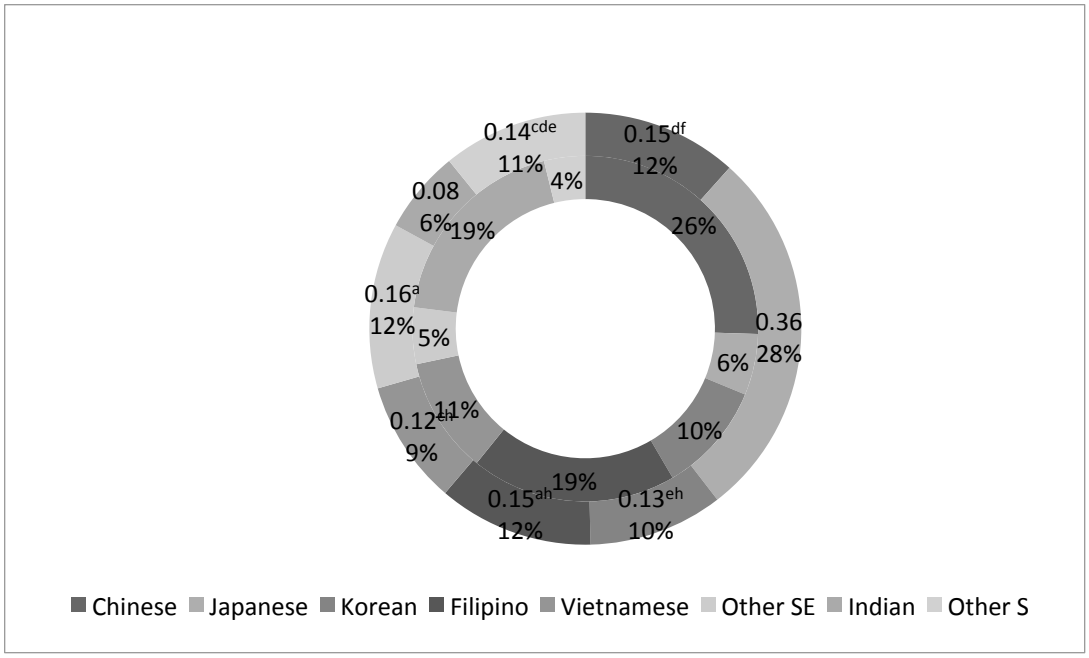

Figure A1. Intra-Asian Marriage Rates by ethnicity

**Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences (p<.05). Superscripts show relationships statistically NOT significant among a=Chinese; b=Japanese; c=Korean; d=Filipino; e=Vietnamese; f=Other SE; g=Indian; h=Other South.*

Measures Used for Analyses in Chapter 1, Figure 6

In order to compare findings regarding ethnic heteroegneity among Asian Americans in socio-demographic measures across two datasets I am using, I use the following measures from the 2016 NAAS data. *Household income* includes seven categories, ranging from under $20,000 (0) to $250,000+ (6). *Educational attainment* includes four categories, where 0=High school diploma or less, 1=Some college, 2=Bachelor's degree, and 3=post-BA degrees. Lastly, because 2016 NAAS did not collect data regarding parental nativity status or immigrant respondents' age of arrival in the United States, I cannot generate a variable that captures their immigrant generation status. Instead, I rely on *nativity* status, which is coded as 0=immigrant, 1=native born.

APPENDIX B. Asian American Interethnic Marriage Rates by Partner's Ethnicity

Table B1. Asian American Interethnic Marriage by Spousal Ethnicity (Men)

	Spousal Ethnicity							
	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino	Vietnamese	Other SE	Indian	Other South
Chinese		27.18%	22.98%	20.37%	20.48%	5.99%	1.96%	1.03%
Japanese	46.28%		20.74%	23.58%	5.28%	3.23%	0.49%	0.39%
Korean	46.12%	19.51%		16.41%	9.31%	6.65%	0.89%	1.11%
Filipino	34.23%	23.72%	11.41%		14.23%	11.54%	2.95%	1.92%
Vietnamese	47.45%	5.27%	8.73%	18.62%		17.46%	1.32%	1.15%
Other SE	28.70%	4.32%	4.94%	31.48%	27.78%		0.31%	2.47%
Indian	28.53%	6.21%	7.91%	20.06%	6.50%	5.08%		25.71%
Other South	20.39%	4.37%	6.31%	20.87%	7.28%	5.83%	34.95%	

**Note: Highlighted cell indicate the most frequent type of interethnic marriage within a given ethnic group*

Table B2. Asian American Interethnic Marriage by Spousal Ethnicity (Women)

	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino	Vietnamese	Other SE	Indian	Other South
Spousal Ethnicity								
Chinese		58.78%	50.66%	36.74%	52.88%	27.57%	24.16%	12.75%
Japanese	32.13%		25.45%	23.67%	7.59%	8.27%	3.36%	2.68%
Korean	14.13%	10.37%		7.27%	5.91%	7.52%	2.68%	3.36%
Filipino	18.14%	21.79%	10.68%		15.61%	22.56%	15.44%	10.07%
Vietnamese	19.57%	3.77%	6.36%	11.10%		26.57%	5.37%	4.70%
Other SE	6.32%	1.65%	1.92%	10.02%	12.66%		0.67%	5.37%
Indian	6.86%	2.59%	3.36%	6.97%	3.23%	4.51%		61.07%
Other South	2.85%	1.06%	1.56%	4.22%	2.11%	3.01%	48.32%	

**Note: Highlighted cell indicate the most frequent type of interethnic marriage within a given ethnic group*

APPENDIX C. Additional Multinomial Tables for Chapter 2

Table C1: Relative Risk Ration and (Robust Standard Error) for a Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Spousal Race in Asian American Intermarriage by Ethnicity and Educational Attainment (N=226,626)

	Interethnic		Interracial With Hispanic		Interracial With Black		Interracial With Whites	
	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)
Ethnicity								
(Ref: Chinese)								
Japanese	1.84**	.61	9.08***	2.21	11.46***	2.44	6.42***	1.86
	(2.95)	(.21)	(6.84)	(.32)	(4.60)	(.53)	(6.90)	(.27)
Korean	1.12	.12	2.30***	.83	8.99***	2.20	4.50***	1.50
	(.58)	(.20)	(4.79)	(.17)	(6.49)	(.34)	(9.35)	(.16)
Filipino	.96	-.04	5.26***	1.66	19.00***	2.94	4.48***	1.50
	(-.32)	(.14)	(6.79)	(.24)	(8.32)	(.35)	(6.25)	(.24)
Vietnamese	.92	-.08	.73	-.31	.76	-.28	.70*	-.35
	(-.64)	(.13)	(-1.56)	(.20)	(-.62)	(.46)	(-2.12)	(.17)
Other Southeast	1.02	.02	1.67*	.51	5.26***	1.66	1.36	.30
	(.15)	(.12)	(2.42)	(.21)	(.82)	(.35)	(1.63)	(.19)
Indian	.92	-.09	.1.25	.22	1.39	.33	.57**	-.56
	(-.54)	(.16)	(.81)	(.28)	(.82)	(.40)	(-3.05)	(.18)
Other South	1.20	.18	2.24***	.81	4.33***	1.46	1.32	.28
	(1.70)	(.11)	(4.59)	(.18)	(4.05)	(.36)	(1.26)	(.22)
Education								
(Ref: HS or Less)								
Some college	1.34***	.29	1.94***	.66	2.13**	.75	1.77***	.57
	(6.38)	(.05)	(6.83)	(.10)	(3.14)	(.24)	(6.99)	(.08)
BA	1.32***	.28	1.20	.19	1.82**	.60	2.02***	.71
	(4.87)	(.06)	(1.16)	(.16)	(2.32)	(.26)	(7.58)	(.09)
Professional/								
Graduate	1.17	.16	.95	-.05	1.39	.33	2.06***	.72
Education	(1.76)	(.09)	(-.27)	(.18)	(1.48)	(.22)	(5.75)	(.13)
			INTERACTION TERMS					
			(Ref: ChineseXHS or Less)					
X SOME COLLEGE								
Japanese	.78	-.24	.33***	-1.10	.43**	-.85	.54***	-.62
	(-1.70)	(.14)	(-8.48)	(.13)	(-2.73)	(.31)	(-8.25)	(.07)
Korean	.68**	-.39	.40***	-.91	.17***	-1.79	.37***	-.99
	(-2.79)	(.14)	(-7.65)	(.12)	(-6.47)	(.28)	(-13.41)	(.07)
Filipino	.68***	-.39	.42***	-.86	.25***	-1.38	.40***	-.93
	(-5.89)	(.07)	(-6.24)	(.14)	(-5.94)	(.23)	(-9.75)	(.09)
Vietnamese	.85*	-.16	.70*	-.36	.91	-.10	.74***	-.30
	(-2.50)	(.06)	(-2.29)	(.16)	(-.22)	(.43)	(-4.02)	(.07)
Other Southeast	.84*	-.18	.64**	-.44	.44*	-.81	.60***	-.50
	(-2.20)	(.08)	(-2.82)	(.16)	(-2.22)	(.37)	(-4.03)	(.12)
Indian	.71***	-.34	.51*	-.67	1.35	.30	.87	-.14
	(-3.56)	(.09)	(-2.50)	(.27)	(.77)	(.39)	(-1.13)	(.12)

Other South	.90	-.10	.61*	-.49	.86	-.15	.92	-.08
	(-1.21)	(.09)	(-2.59)	(.19)	(-.36)	(.42)	(-.46)	(.17)
X BA								
Japanese	.73	-.31	.28***	-1.27	.32**	-1.13	.38***	-95
	(-1.74)	(.18)	(-7.85)	(.16)	(-3.12)	(.36)	(-11.91)	(.08)
Korean	.65*	-.43	.40***	-.92	.08***	-2.50	.25***	-1.40
	(-2.09)	(.20)	(-6.78)	(.14)	(-7.70)	(.32)	(-16.55)	(.08)
Filipino	.75***	-.27	.47***	-.76	.16***	-1.38	.32***	-1.15
	(-3.35)	(.08)	(-3.60)	(.21)	(-5.12)	(.23)	(-7.84)	(.15)
Vietnamese	.95	-.05	1.05	.05	.77	-.27	.91	-.10
	(-.85)	(.06)	(.24)	(.21)	(-.77)	(.35)	(-1.40)	(.07)
Other Southeast	1.45***	.37	1.19	.17	.53	-.64	1.11	.10
	(3.44)	(.11)	(.994)	(.17)	(-1.48)	(.43)	(.94)	(.11)
Indian	.52***	-.66	.52*	-.65	.87	-.14	.82	-.20
	(-4.45)	(.15)	(-2.41)	(.27)	(-.34)	(.39)	(-1.47)	(.14)
Other South	85	-.17	.72*	-.33	.40**	-.92	.64**	-.45
	(-1.68)	(.10)	(-2.32)	(.12)	(-2.76)	(.33)	(-.2.81)	(.16)
X PROF/GRAD SCHOOL								
Japanese	1.02	.02	.41***	-.90	.23**	-1.45	.47***	-.76
	(.10)	(.21)	(-5.52)	(.16)	(-2.91)	(.50)	(-6.05)	(.13)
Korean	.75	-.29	.45***	-80	.16***	-1.86	.25***	-1.42
	(-1.40)	(.21)	(-5.58)	(.14)	(-5.65)	(.33)	(-16.33)	(.09)
Filipino	1.30*	.26	.89	-.12	.32***	-1.13	.55***	-.60
	(1.96)	(.13)	(-.45)	(.26)	(-3.83)	(.29)	(-3.64)	(.17)
Vietnamese	1.40***	.33	1.51	.41	1.52	.42	1.34*	.30
	(3.89)	(.09)	(1.84)	(.22)	(1.10)	(.38)	(2.08)	(.14)
Other Southeast	1.96***	.67	1.34	.29	.62	-.47	1.44*	.36
	(7.34)	(.09)	(1.24)	(.23)	(-.98)	(.48)	(2.56)	(.14)
Indian	.54***	-.61	.55*	-.61	.85	-.16	.94	-.06
	(-5.69)	(.11)	(-2.33)	(.26)	(-.46)	(.35)	(-.44)	(.14)
Other South	.98	-.02	.68***	-.39	.46*	-.78	.66**	-.42
	(-.20)	(.08)	(-3.32)	(.12)	(-1.98)	(.39)	(-.2.61)	(.16)
CONTROLS								
Constant	.26***	-1.35	.04***	-3.12	.00***	-7.30	.04***	-3.28
	(-7.61)	(.18)	(-9.52)	(.33)	(-17.53)	(.42)	(-14.39)	(.23)
Pseudo R-sq	.1483							

* p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001;

Note: All analyses done while controlling for age, gender, personal income quartile, metropolitan status, and state of residence.

Table C2: Relative Risk Ration and (Robust Standard Error) for a Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Spousal Race in Asian American Intermarriage by Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation Status (N=226,626)

	Interethnic		Interracial With Hispanic		Interracial With Black		Interracial With Whites	
	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)
Ethnicity								
(Ref: Chinese)								
Japanese	1.04	.04	1.68*	.52	.97	-.03	1.55	.44
	(.10)	(.36)	(2.14)	(.24)	(-.10)	(.34)	(1.59)	(.28)
Korean	.86	-.15	.90	-.10	1.04	.04	1.12	.11
	(-1.63)	(.10)	(-1.08)	(.10)	(.18)	(.21)	(1.10)	(.10)
Filipino	.74***	-.30	2.32***	.84	2.81***	1.03	1.57***	.45
	(-3.33)	(.09)	(11.70)	(.07)	(6.41)	(.16)	(3.50)	(.13)
Vietnamese	1.00	.00	.88	-.13	1.02	.02	.83	-.19
	(.02)	(.18)	(-.53)	(.24)	(.12)	(.19)	(-2.23)	(.18)
Other Southeast	.66*	-.41	-.89	-.12	1.51	.41	59*	-.53
	(-2.49)	(.17)	(-.83)	(.14)	(1.20)	(.34)	(-2.23)	(.24)
Indian	.28***	-1.26	.43***	-.85	.82	-.20	.42***	-.86
	(-10.49)	(.12)	(-4.06)	(.21)	(-1.02)	(.20)	(-5.54)	(.15)
Other South	-.46***	-.79	.86	.15	1.29	.26	.44**	-.82
	(-3.71)	(.21)	(-.46)	(.33)	(.95)	(.27)	(-2.71)	(.30)
Immigrant Generation								
(Ref: Second Generation)								
First Gen	.27***	-1.32	.12***	-2.11	.10***	-2.29	.16***	-1.84
	(-13.95)	(.09)	(-16.90)	(.12)	(-12.30)	(.19)	(-14.91)	(.12)
1.5 Gen	.52***	-.65	.35***	-1.04	.30***	-1.19	.35***	-1.04
	(-6.59)	(.10)	(-7.62)	(.14)	(-5.16)	(.23)	(-14.53)	(.07)
INTERACTION TERMS (Ref: Chinese X Second Gen)								
FIRST GEN								
Japanese	2.76***	1.02	7.01***	1.95	26.39***	3.27	5.42***	1.69
	(3.18)	(.32)	(5.95)	(.33)	(7.81)	(.42)	(5.49)	(.31)
Korean	.93	-.08	1.33	.29	2.37**	.86	1.13	.13
	(-.56)	(.14)	(1.78)	(.16)	(2.67)	(.32)	(1.40)	(.09)
Filipino	1.01	.01	1.38***	.32	2.48***	.91	1.18*	.17
	(.12)	(.04)	(3.96)	(.08)	5.62)	(.16)	(2.23)	(.07)
Vietnamese	.92	-.09	.70	-.36	.51	-.67	.62***	-.48
	(-48)	(.18)	(-1.67)	(.22)	(-1.68)	(.40)	(-3.32)	(.15)
Other Southeast	2.37***	.86	2.65***	.97	2.66**	.98	3.33***	1.20
	(6.46)	(.13)	(5.55)	(.18)	(2.53)	(.39)	(6.83)	(.18)
Indian	2.25***	.81	2.34***	.85	2.49***	.91	1.24*	.21
	(6.46)	(.13)	(4.89)	(.17)	(3.33)	(.27)	2.01)	(.11)
Other South	3.18***	1.16	2.99***	1.10	3.41***	1.23	2.88***	1.06
	(6.46)	(.18)	(4.40)	(.25)	(3.59)	(.34)	(4.81)	(.22)
1.5 GEN								
Japanese	2.31*	.84	3.13**	1.14	6.19***	1.82	3.40***	1.22
	(2.12)	(.40)	(3.11)	(.37)	(3.51)	(.52)	(3.26)	(.38)
Korean	1.05	.05	1.43	.36	1.96*	.68	1.86***	.62

	(.30)	(.17)	(1.87)	(.19)	(2.11)	(.32)	(5.82)	(.11)
Filipino	1.34***	.29	1.60***	.47	2.54***	.93	1.53***	.42
	(5.00)	(.06)	(3.66)	(.13)	(3.79)	(.25)	(6.41)	(.07)
Vietnamese	1.05	.05	.97	-.03	.78	-.25	1.00	.00
	(.28)	(.17)	(-.11)	(.25)	(-.77)	(.33)	(.03)	(.09)
Other Southeast	1.62***	.48	1.52*	.42	1.65	.50	1.51***	.41
	(4.47)	(.11)	(2.24)	(.19)	(1.19)	(.42)	(4.03)	(.10)
Indian	1.87***	.62	1.60*	.47	2.06**	.72	1.60***	.47
	(5.84)	(.12)	(4.40)	(.21)	(3.16)	(.23)	(6.37)	(.07)
Other South	2.07***	.73	1.25	.22	1.55	.44	2.09***	-.45
	(3.23)	(.23)	(.94)	(.24)	(1.17)	(.38)	(4.43)	(.17)
CONTROLS								
Constant	.31***	-1.18	.07***	-2.68	.00***	-6.17	.06***	-2.77
	(-9.56)	(.12)	(-13.47)	(.20)	(-19.05)	(.32)	(-15.24)	(.18)
Pseudo R-sq	.1501							

*p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001

Note: All analyses done while controlling for age, gender, personal income quartile, metropolitan status, and state of residence.

Table C3: Relative Risk Ration and (Robust Standard Error) for a Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Spousal Race in Asian American Intermarriage by Ethnicity and Household Income (N=226,626)

	Interethnic		Interracial With Hispanic		Interracial With Black		Interracial With Whites	
	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)
Ethnicity								
Japanese	1.96**	.67	6.97***	1.94	19.52***	2.97	5.43***	1.69
	(3.01)	(.22)	(6.36)	(.31)	(6.69)	(.44)	(6.60)	(.26)
Korean	.52***	-.65	.81	-.21	3.14**	1.14	1.29	.26
	(-5.19)	(.13)	(-1.11)	(.19)	(2.81)	(.41)	(1.33)	(.19)
Filipino	.80	-.22	3.42***	1.23	16.09***	2.78	3.14***	1.14
	(-1.52)	(.15)	(5.56)	(.22)	(7.25)	(.38)	(4.98)	(.12)
Vietnamese	.68**	-.38	.39***	-.95	.70	-.35	.35***	-1.05
	(-2.72)	(.14)	(-4.65)	(.20)	(-.79)	(.44)	(-5.64)	(.19)
Other Southeast	.60**	-.51	.75	-.29	4.07***	1.40	.53*	-.63
	(-2.78)	(.18)	(-.98)	(.29)	(3.85)	(.36)	(-2.36)	(.27)
Indian	1.00	.00	-.96	-.04	3.46***	1.24	.63**	-.47
	(-.01)	(.18)	(-.16)	(.27)	(4.01)	(.31)	(-3.12)	(.15)
Other South	.84*	-.18	1.19	.18	4.57***	1.52	-.76*	-.27
	(-2.15)	(.08)	(.88)	(.20)	(4.86)	(.31)	(-2.22)	(.12)
Household Income	1.02*	.02	.89***	-.11	1.02	.02	1.07***	.07
	(2.22)	(.01)	(-3.47)	(.03)	(.37)	(.06)	(4.64)	(.02)
INTERACTION TERMS (Ref: Chinese)								
Japanese	.95	-.05	.85***	-.16	.72***	-.33	.89***	-.12
	(-1.13)	(.04)	(-5.45)	(.03)	(-5.24)	(.06)	(-4.26)	(.03)
Korean	1.11***	.10	1.07*	.07	.87*	-.13	1.02	.02
	(6.41)	(.02)	(2.47)	(.03)	(-2.39)	(.06)	(1.44)	(.02)
Filipino	1.00	.00	.97	-.03	.77***	-.26	.90***	-.11
	(.08)	(.01)	(-1.18)	(.03)	(-4.72)	(.05)	(-4.66)	(.02)
Vietnamese	1.07***	.07	1.15***	.14	.99	-.01	1.14***	.13
	(5.18)	(.01)	(4.77)	(.03)	(-.19)	(.06)	(6.30)	(.02)
Other Southeast	1.18***	.17	1.20**	.18	.92	-09	1.21***	.19
	(5.70)	(.03)	(3.05)	(.06)	(-1.26)	(.07)	(4.54)	(.04)
Indian	.88***	-.12	-.94	-.06	.82***	-.20	.96*	-.04
	(-6.07)	(.02)	(-1.82)	(.04)	(-3.57)	(.06)	(-2.11)	(.02)
Other South	1.07***	.07	1.08*	.08	.89	-.12	1.06	.06
	(4.09)	(.02)	(2.45)	(.03)	(-1.75)	(.07)	(1.46)	(.04)
CONTROLS								
Constant	.29***	-1.23	.06***	-2.80	.00***	-7.27	.05***	-2.91
	(-5.70)	(.22)	(-8.05)	(.35)	(-17.70)	(.41)	(-11.61)	(.25)
Pseudo R-sq	.1469							

*p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001

Note: All analyses done while controlling for age, gender, personal income quartile, metropolitan status, and state of residence.

Table C4: Relative Risk Ration and (Robust Standard Error) for a Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Spousal Race in Asian American Intermarriage by Ethnicity and English Proficiency (N=226,626)

	Interethnic		Interracial With Hispanic		Interracial With Black		Interracial With Whites	
	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)
Ethnicity (Ref: Chinese)								
Japanese	1.65**	.50	11.66***	2.46	33.16***	3.50	7.73***	2.05
	(2.76)	(.18)	(5.48)	(.45)	(8.04)	(.44)	(5.33)	(.38)
Korean	.73	-.31	1.80	.59	8.04**	2.08	1.53	.43
	(-1.54)	(.20)	(1.25)	(.47)	(2.73)	(.76)	(1.80)	(.24)
Filipino	1.03	.03	8.34***	2.12	35.64***	3.57	4.13***	1.42
	(.13)	(.23)	(9.46)	(.22)	(8.88)	(.40)	(4.34)	(.33)
Vietnamese	1.20	.18	.33*	-1.11	.75	-.28	.43***	-.85
	(1.33)	(.13)	(-2.41)	(.46)	(-.51)	(.56)	(-3.80)	(.22)
Other Southeast	1.34	.29	2.37**	.86	8.33***	2.12	.96	-.05
	(1.87)	(.16)	(2.75)	(.31)	(5.45)	(.39)	(-.17)	(.27)
Indian	.83	-.19	.79	-.23	.00***	-12.15	.49*	-.71
	(-1.17)	(.16)	(-.27)	(.85)	(-18.63)	(.65)	(-1.98)	(.36)
Other South	1.28	.25	2.63	.97	.00***	-12.15	.96	-.04
	(1.89)	(.13)	(1.74)	(.56)	(-17.52)	(.71)	(-.08)	(.46)
English Proficiency	1.67***	.51	6.39***	1.86	16.20***	2.79	8.17***	2.10
	(4.47)	(.12)	(9.87)	(.19)	(6.94)	(.40)	(14.48)	(.15)
INTERACTION TERMS (Ref: Chinese X Not Proficient in English)								
Japanese	.94	-.06	.28**	-1.26	.12***	-2.08	.39*	-.94
	(-.20)	(.30)	(-3.04)	(.41)	(-4.51)	(.46)	(-2.23)	(.42)
Korean	1.14	.13	.59	-.53	.20**	-1.63	.93	-.07
	(.82)	(.16)	(-1.26)	(.42)	(-2.6)	(.63)	(-.45)	(.16)
Filipino	.77	-.26	.35***	-1.06	.14***	-2.00	.45***	-.80
	(-1.34)	(.19)	(-5.61)	(.19)	(-5.71)	(.35)	(-3.84)	(.21)
Vietnamese	.75**	-.28	2.15	.77	.81	-.22	1.47**	.38
	(-2.94)	(.10)	(1.64)	(.47)	(-.38)	(.57)	(2.61)	(.15)
Other Southeast	.83	-.18	.59	-.53	.29**	-1.23	1.14	.13
	(-1.19)	(.15)	(-1.62)	(.32)	(-3.00)	(.41)	(.61)	(.21)
Indian	.62*	-.47	.87	-.14	251414.70 ***	12.43	1.05	.05
	(-2.50)	(.19)	(-.17)	(.87)	(19.16)	(.63)	(.16)	(.32)
Other South	.87	-.14	.60	-.51	519202.30 ***	13.16	.99	-.01
	(-.93)	(.15)	(-.92)	(.56)	(19.54)	(.69)	(-.02)	(.45)
CONTROLS								
Constant	.24***	-1.42	.04***	-3.14	.00***	-7.56	.05***	-2.95
	(-7.27)	(.18)	(-9.26)	(.34)	(-17.61)	(.43)	(-11.16)	(.26)
Pseudo R-sq	.1452							

*p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001

Note: All analyses done while controlling for age, gender, personal income quartile, metropolitan status, and state of residence.

APPENDIX D. Additional Multinomial Tables for Chapter 3

Table D1a: Relative Risk Ratio and (Robust Standard Error) for a Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Spousal Race in Asian American Men's Intermarriage by Ethnicity and Educational Attainment (N=116,800)

	Interethnic		Interracial with Hispanic or Black		Interracial with White	
	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)
Ethnicity (Ref: Chinese)						
Japanese	1.85**	.61	7.67***	2.04	7.76***	2.05
	(2.79)	(.22)	(5.88)	(.35)	(7.73)	(.28)
Korean	.74**	-.30	1.68**	.52	2.84***	1.05
	(-2.58)	(.12)	(3.16)	(.16)	(4.78)	(.22)
Filipino	.76*	-.27	4.08***	1.41	4.92***	1.59
	(-2.26)	(.12)	(7.71)	(.18)	(6.52)	(.24)
Vietnamese	.99	-.01	.66	-.42	.73	-.31
	(-.09)	(.12)	(-1.82)	(.23)	(-1.40)	(.22)
Other Southeast	1.03	.03	1.02	.02	1.09	.08
	(.25)	(.13)	(.09)	(.21)	(.35)	(.23)
Indian	1.20	.18	2.22**	.80	1.47	.39
	(1.01)	(.18)	(3.14)	(.25)	(1.77)	(.22)
Other South	1.37*	.32	4.68***	1.54	3.15***	1.15
	(2.44)	(.13)	(5.05)	(.31)	(6.42)	(.18)
Education (Ref: HS or less)						
Some College	1.56***	.45	2.03***	.71	2.41***	.88
	(6.76)	(.07)	(3.35)	(.21)	(8.31)	(.11)
BA	1.46***	.38	1.12	.11	2.60***	.96
	(5.35)	(.07)	(.55)	(.21)	(6.79)	(.14)
Post-BA	1.24*	.21	.71	-.35	2.31***	.84
	(2.22)	(.10)	(-1.82)	(.19)	(6.43)	(.13)
INTERACTION TERMS (Ref: ChineseXHS or Less)						
X SOME COLLEGE						
Japanese	.62**	-.48	.33***	-1.11	.40***	-.91
	(-2.61)	(.19)	(-4.65)	(.24)	(-5.56)	(.16)
Korean	.74**	-.30	.48***	-.73	.49***	-.72
	(-2.72)	(.11)	(-3.59)	(.20)	(-4.92)	(.15)
Filipino	.64***	-.44	.45**	-.80	.36***	-1.02
	(-5.57)	(.08)	(-2.96)	(.27)	(-6.94)	(.15)
Vietnamese	1.02	-.27	.76	-.27	.78	-.24
	(.21)	(.07)	(-1.13)	(.24)	(-1.33)	(.18)
Other Southeast	.71**	-.34	1.00	.00	.63*	-.46
	(-2.94)	(.15)	(.00)	(.27)	(-2.25)	(.20)
Indian	.61***	-.49	.63	-.46	.79	-.24
	(-3.34)	(.15)	(-1.68)	(.28)	(-1.40)	(.17)
Other South	.89	-.11	.61	-.49	.87*	-.14

	(-.85)	(.13)	(-1.84)	(.27)	(-.70)	(.20)
X BA						
Japanese	.64*	-.44	.28***	-1.29	.30***	-1.21
	(-2.17)	(.20)	(-5.97)	(.22)	(-9.62)	(.13)
Korean	.75*	-.29	.50**	-.69	.36***	-1.02
	(-2.14)	(.14)	(-2.81)	(.25)	(-6.00)	(.17)
Filipino	.83*	-.19	.65	-.44	.33***	-1.10
	(-2.06)	(.09)	(-1.88)	(.23)	(-6.20)	(.18)
Vietnamese	.71**	-.22	1.06	.06	.84	-.17
	(-2.94)	(.08)	(.23)	(.25)	(-1.04)	(.16)
Other Southeast	1.09	.09	1.74*	.55	1.04	.04
	(.71)	(.12)	(1.97)	(.28)	(.16)	(.23)
Indian	.45***	-.81	.54*	-.62	.61**	-.50
	(-4.56)	(.18)	(-2.35)	(.26)	(-2.56)	(.19)
Other South	.80	-.22	.57*	-.56	.61*	-.49
	(-1.78)	(.12)	(-2.07)	(.27)	(-2.09)	(.23)
X PROF/GRAD SCHOOL						
Japanese	.94	-.06	.51*	-.68	.40***	-.92
	(-.30)	(.19)	(-2.33)	(.29)	(-5.38)	(.17)
Korean	.80*	-.22	.63*	-.46	.33***	-1.12
	(-1.95)	(.11)	(-2.35)	(.19)	(-7.10)	(.16)
Filipino	1.41*	.34	1.32	.28	.63	-.46
	(2.31)	(.15)	(1.28)	(.22)	(-1.77)	(.26)
Vietnamese	1.47**	.02	2.21**	.79	1.23	.21
	(3.04)	(.11)	(2.59)	(.31)	(.98)	(.21)
Other Southeast	1.47**	.39	2.36	.86	1.37	.32
	(3.04)	(.13)	(1.85)	(.46)	(1.47)	(.22)
Indian	.49***	-.72	.63	-.46	.74	-.30
	(-5.79)	(.12)	(-1.83)	(.25)	(-1.75)	(.17)
Other South	.85	-1.26	.57*	-.56	.46***	-.77
	(-1.40)	(.21)	(-2.44)	(.24)	(-3.83)	(.20)
CONTROLS						
Constant	.28***	-1.26	.03***	-3.38	.03***	-3.64
	(-5.90)	(.21)	(-14.34)	(.24)	(-16.47)	(.22)
Pseudo-R2			.1480			

* p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; Note: All analyses done while controlling for age, personal income quartile, metropolitan status, and state of residence.

Table D2a: Relative Risk Ratio and (Robust Standard Error) for a Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Spousal Race in Asian American Men's Intermarriage by Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation Status (N=116,800)

	Interethnic		Interracial with Hispanic or Black		Interracial with White	
	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)
Ethnicity (Ref: Chinese)						
Japanese	1.07	.06	1.86**	.62	1.97**	.68
	(.17)	(.37)	(2.75)	(.23)	(2.95)	(.23)
Korean	.66***	-.42	.98	-.03	1.13	.12
	(-4.94)	(.09)	(-.17)	(.14)	(1.06)	(.12)
Filipino	.60***	-.52	2.31***	.84	1.75***	.56
	(-5.11)	(.10)	(11.50)	(.07)	(4.28)	(.13)
Vietnamese	.85	-.16	1.08	.07	.86	-.15
	(-.88)	(.19)	(.38)	(.20)	(-.87)	(.17)
Other Southeast	.63**	-.47	.92	-.08	.65	-.44
	(-2.79)	(.17)	(-.47)	(.17)	(-1.66)	(.26)
Indian	.30***	-1.19	.54**	-.61	.56**	-.58
	(-8.45)	(.14)	(-2.84)	(.21)	(-3.15)	(.18)
Other South	.53*	-.64	1.34	.29	.81	-.20
	(-2.47)	(.26)	(.72)	(.41)	(-.62)	(.33)
Immigrant Generation (Ref: Second Generation)						
First Gen	.23***	-1.46	.08***	-2.56	.05***	-2.92
	(-18.07)	(.08)	(-12.44)	(.21)	(-27.10)	(.11)
1.5 Gen	.51***	-.68	.33***	-1.12	.30***	-1.22
	(-7.43)	(.09)	(-8.27)	(.13)	(-13.85)	(.09)
INTERACTION TERMS (Ref: ChineseXSecond+ Gen)						
X FIRST GEN						
Japanese	1.87*	.63	5.88***	1.77	3.95***	1.37
	(2.09)	(.30)	(4.46)	(.40)	(6.56)	(.21)
Korean	.74**	-.30	94	-.07	.50***	-.70
	(-2.80)	(.11)	(-.31)	(.22)	(-4.77)	(.15)
Filipino	.99	-.01	1.14	.13	1.18	.16
	(-.12)	(.09)	(.93)	(.14)	(1.60)	(.10)
Vietnamese	1.07	.07	.50***	-.69	.56**	-.59
	(.44)	(.15)	(-3.22)	(.21)	(-3.16)	(.19)
Other Southeast	2.22***	.80	1.59	.47	2.15***	.76
	(5.82)	(.14)	(1.62)	(.29)	(3.78)	(.20)
Indian	2.35***	.86	3.89***	1.36	2.76***	1.02
	(6.22)	(.14)	(6.29)	(.22)	(8.64)	(.12)
Other South	2.71***	1.00	3.60**	1.28	3.54***	1.26
	(4.39)	(.23)	(1.64)	(.42)	(4.87)	(.26)
X 1.5 GEN						
Japanese	1.93	.66	2.83***	1.04	3.26***	1.18

	(1.56)	(.42)	(4.16)	(.25)	(3.87)	(.31)
Korean	1.08	.08	1.21	.19	1.42*	.35
	(.44)	(.17)	(.92)	(.21)	(2.48)	(.14)
Filipino	1.37***	.32	1.58**	.46	1.61***	.48
	(3.56)	(.09)	(2.97)	(.15)	(4.44)	(.11)
Vietnamese	1.11	.10	.74	-.30	.95	-.05
	(.58)	(.18)	(-1.25)	(.24)	(-.40)	(.13)
Other Southeast	1.39**	.33	1.53	.43	1.38*	.32
	(2.65)	(.12)	(1.85)	(.23)	(1.95)	(.17)
Indian	1.88***	.63	2.57***	.94	1.94***	.66
	(5.46)	(.12)	(5.25)	(.18)	(7.86)	(.08)
Other South	1.87*	.63	1.58	.46	2.22***	.80
	(2.06)	(.30)	(1.64)	(.28)	(3.40)	(.23)
CONTROLS						
Constant	.36***	-1.02	.05***	-3.02	.05***	-3.03
	(-6.45)	(.16)	(-14.61)	(.21)	(-1.02)	(.22)
Pseudo-R2			.1499			

* p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; Note: All analyses done while controlling for age, personal income quartile, occupational categories, metropolitan status, and state of residence.

Table D3a: Relative Risk Ratio and (Robust Standard Error) for a Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Spousal Race in Asian American Men's Intermarriage by Ethnicity and Household Income (N=116,800)

	Interethnic		Interracial with Hispanic or Black		Interracial with White	
	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)
Ethnicity (Ref: Chinese)						
Japanese	1.75*	.56	5.77***	1.75	4.63***	1.53
	(2.44)	(.23)	(6.00)	(.29)	(5.11)	(.30)
Korean	.40***	-.92	.58*	-.54	1.00	.00
	(-5.81)	(.16)	(-2.43)	(.22)	(.00)	(.20)
Filipino	.67***	-.41	3.33***	1.20	3.28***	1.19
	(-3.27)	(.12)	(6.23)	(.19)	(5.96)	(.20)
Vietnamese	.66**	-.42	.36***	-1.01	.38***	-.97
	(-2.76)	(.15)	(-3.78)	(.27)	(-5.34)	(.18)
Other Southeast	.56***	-.58	.61	-.49	.39***	-.95
	(-3.91)	(.15)	(-.99)	(.49)	(-3.32)	(.28)
Indian	1.04	.04	1.77*	.57	.94	-.06
	(.24)	(.18)	(1.98)	(.29)	(-.40)	(.16)
Other South	.92	-.08	2.38***	.87	1.35*	.30
	(-.83)	(.10)	(4.44)	(.20)	(2.07)	(.14)
Household Income	1.03*	.03	.87**	-.14	.99	-.01
	(2.49)	(.01)	(-2.90)	(.05)	(-.29)	(.02)
INTERACTION TERMS (Ref: Chinese)						
Japanese	.95	-.05	.87***	-.14	.91*	-.09
	(-1.22)	(.04)	(-3.47)	(.04)	(-2.2)	(.04)
Korean	1.09***	.09	1.12*	.12	1.03	.03
	(4.16)	(.02)	(2.47)	(.05)	(1.33)	(.02)
Filipino	1.00	.00	.96	-.04	.91***	-.10
	(-.30)	(.02)	(-1.35)	(.03)	(-4.25)	(.02)
Vietnamese	1.07***	.07	1.17**	.16	1.13***	.12
	(3.42)	(.02)	(3.13)	(.05)	(4.21)	(.03)
Other Southeast	1.16***	.15	1.22	.20	1.23***	.21
	(6.78)	(.02)	(1.71)	(.12)	(5.79)	(.04)
Indian	.90***	-.10	.95	-.06	1.02	.02
	(-4.33)	(.02)	(-1.33)	(.04)	(.72)	(.03)
Other South	1.07***	.06	1.07	.06	1.09	.09
	(3.82)	(.02)	(1.25)	(.05)	(1.58)	(.06)
CONTROLS						
Constant	.32***	-1.13	.04***	-3.17		-3.22
	(-4.88)	(.23)	(-13.48)	(.24)		(.23)
Pseudo-R2	.1471					

* p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; Note: All analyses done while controlling for age, personal income quartile, occupational categories, metropolitan status, and state of residence.

Table D1b: Relative Risk Ration and (Robust Standard Error) for a Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Spousal Race in Asian American Women's Intermarriage by Ethnicity and Educational Attainment (N=109,826)

	Interethnic		Interracial With Hispanic		Interracial With Black		Interracial With Whites	
	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)
Ethnicity								
(Ref: Chinese)								
Japanese	1.83**	.60	8.89***	2.19	20.99***	3.04	6.06***	1.80
	(2.86)	(.21)	(4.93)	(.44)	(4.83)	(.63)	(6.18)	(.29)
Korean	1.47	.38	2.47**	.91	17.66***	2.87	4.74***	1.56
	(1.52)	(.25)	(2.87)	(.32)	(5.23)	(.55)	(9.45)	(.16)
Filipino	1.31	.27	6.23***	1.83	39.63***	3.68	4.74***	1.56
	(1.62)	(.17)	(4.28)	(.43)	(6.38)	(.58)	(6.22)	(.25)
Vietnamese	.85	-.16	.71	-.34	1.29	.25	.69*	-.37
	(-.99)	(.16)	(-1.01)	(.34)	(.39)	(.64)	(-2.28)	(.16)
Other Southeast	1.01	.01	2.01*	.70	10.53***	2.35	1.48*	.39
	(.03)	(.15)	(2.25)	(.31)	(4.78)	(.49)	(2.15)	(.18)
Indian	.63**	-.46	.66	-.42	1.40	.33	.40***	-.92
	(-2.81)	(.16)	(-1.05)	(.40)	(.64)	(.52)	(-5.09)	(.18)
Other South	1.01	.01	-68	-.38	3.38***	1.22	.94	-.06
	(.10)	(.14)	(-.97)	(.40)	(3.26)	(.37)	(-.24)	(.28)
Education								
(Ref: HS or Less)								
Some college	1.11*	.11	1.61**	.47	3.42***	1.23	1.53***	.42
	(2.05)	(.05)	(2.66)	(.18)	(3.56)	(.35)	(4.92)	(.09)
BA	1.19**	.18	1.17	.15	2.70*	.99	1.85***	.62
	(2.94)	(.06)	(.55)	(.28)	(2.25)	(.44)	(6.99)	(.09)
Professional/ Graduate Education	1.11	.10	1.08	.08	2.56**	.94	2.11***	.75
	(1.11)	(.09)	(.28)	(.27)	(2.86)	(.33)	(5.56)	(.13)
INTERACTION TERMS (Ref: ChineseXHS or Less)								
X SOME COLLEGE								
Japanese	1.00	.00	.37***	-.99	.24**	-1.41	.58***	-.54
	(-.01)	(.10)	(-4.70)	(.21)	(-3.05)	(.46)	(-5.92)	(.09)
Korean	.72	-.34	.41***	-.88	.11***	-2.24	.39***	-.93
	(-1.90)	(.18)	(-4.31)	(.20)	(-6.56)	(.34)	(-11.61)	(.08)
Filipino	.69***	-.37	.45**	-.80	.14***	-1.96	.41***	-.90
	(-4.30)	(.09)	(-2.86)	(.28)	(-5.48)	(.36)	(-8.87)	(.10)
Vietnamese	.95	-.05	.76	-.28	.56	-.58	.76***	-.27
	(-.40)	(.12)	(-.92)	(.30)	(-1.17)	(.50)	(-3.78)	(.07)
Other Southeast	1.00	.00	.60*	-.51	.24**	-1.43	.64***	-.45
	(.02)	(.09)	(-1.94)	(.26)	(-3.09)	(.46)	(-3.64)	(.12)
Indian	.92	-.08	.51*	.68	.94	-.07	.83	-.19
	(-.68)	(.12)	(-1.96)	(35)	(-.14)	(.46)	(-1.23)	(.15)
Other South	.88	-.13	1.15	.14	.54	-.62	.81	-.21
	(-.78)	(.16)	(.51)	(.28)	(-1.21)	(.52)	(-.86)	(.24)
X BA								

Japanese	.84	-.18	.31***	-1.18	.23***	-1.48	.42***	-.88
	(-1.18)	(.15)	(-4.35)	(.27)	(-3.39)	(.44)	(-9.75)	(.09)
Korean	.64	-.45	.38***	-.97	.05***	-3.03	.25***	-1.39
	(-1.71)	(.26)	(-3.46)	(.28)	(-7.09)	(.43)	(-16.98)	(.08)
Filipino	.62***	-.47	.37**	-.99	.09***	-2.44	.28***	-1.27
	(-4.51)	(.11)	(-2.60)	(.38)	(-3.97)	(.61)	(-8.04)	(.16)
Vietnamese	1.16	.15	1.17	.16	.52	-.65	1.00	.00
	(1.74)	(.08)	(.46)	(.34)	(-1.15)	(.56)	(.00)	(.08)
Other Southeast	1.89***	.64	1.04	.04	.36	-1.01	1.21	.19
	(5.03)	(.13)	(.16)	(.26)	(-1.78)	(.57)	(1.90)	(.10)
Indian	.61***	-.50	.56	-.58	.77	-.27	.84	-.18
	(-3.28)	(.15)	(-1.46)	(.40)	(-.52)	(.51)	(-1.37)	(.13)
Other South	.87	-.14	1.30	.26	.48	-.74	.51***	-.68
	(-.91)	(.16)	(.74)	(.36)	(-1.50)	(.49)	(-4.56)	(.15)
X PROF/GRAD SCHOOL								
Japanese	1.11	.10	.38***	-.96	.14***	-1.96	.47***	-.75
	(.43)	(.24)	(-3.53)	(.27)	(-3.53)	(.56)	(-5.77)	(.13)
Korean	.83	-.18	.46***	-.77	.07***	-2.61	.26***	-1.34
	(-.68)	(.27)	(-3.33)	(.23)	(-5.51)	(.47)	(-14.82)	(.09)
Filipino	1.10	.09	.67	-.40	.15***	-1.89	.45***	-.80
	(.68)	(.14)	(-1.04)	(.38)	(-3.94)	(.48)	(-4.84)	(.16)
Vietnamese	1.97***	.68	1.36	.30	1.00	.00	1.52**	.42
	(5.47)	(.12)	(.88)	(.35)	(.00)	(.55)	(2.90)	(.15)
Other Southeast	2.56***	.94	1.04	.04	.38	-.96	1.48**	.40
	(5.48)	(.17)	(.14)	(.26)	(-1.38)	(.69)	(2.63)	(.15)
Indian	.57***	-.56	.54	-.62	.63	-.46	.89	-.12
	(-4.31)	(.14)	(-1.61)	(.39)	(-.88)	(.52)	(-.77)	(.15)
Other South	1.25	.22	1.11	.10	.69	-.37	.76	-.27
	(1.46)	(.15)	(.27)	(.39)	(-.74)	(.50)	(-1.20)	(.23)
CONTROLS								
Constant	.28***	-1.28	.09***	-2.41	.00***	-6.01	.09***	-2.38
	(-9.39)	(.14)	(-6.50)	(.37)	(-9.59)	.63	(-8.93)	(.27)
Pseudo R-sq	.1233							

* p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; Note: All analyses done while controlling for age, personal income quartile, occupational categories, metropolitan status, and state of residence.

Table D2b: Relative Risk Ration and (Robust Standard Error) for a Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Spousal Race in Asian American Women's Intermarriage by Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation Status (N=109,826)

	Interethnic		Interracial With Hispanic		Interracial With Black		Interracial With Whites	
	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)
Ethnicity								
(Ref: Chinese)								
Japanese	1.03	.03	1.41	.35	.94	-.06	1.28	.25
	(.09)	(.34)	(1.48)	(.23)	(-.18)	(.34)	(.86)	(.29)
Korean	1.13	.13	.87	-.14	1.10	.10	1.16	.15
	(1.05)	(.12)	(-1.50)	(.09)	(.41)	(.24)	(1.45)	(.10)
Filipino	.93	-.07	2.25***	.81	3.19***	1.16	1.47**	.38
	(-.63)	(.11	(8.95)	(.09)	(7.01)	(.17)	(3.17)	(.12)
Vietnamese	1.21	.19	.74	-.31	1.22	.20	.86	-.15
	(.98)	(.19)	(-.97)	(.32)	(.94)	(.22)	(-.75)	(.20)
Other Southeast	.73	-.32	.88	-.13	1.82	.62	.61*	-.50
	(-1.75)	(.18)	(-.72)	(.18)	(1.83)	(.34)	(-2.26)	(.22)
Indian	.26***	-1.33	.37***	-.98	.84	-.17	.36***	-1.03
	(-10.51)	(.13)	(-4.55)	(.22)	(-.83)	(.21)	(-7.50)	(.14)
Other South	.41***	-.89	.61	-.50	1.21	.19	.29***	-1.24
	(-4.44)	(.20)	(-1.84)	(.27)	(.60)	(.31)	(-4.37)	(.28)
Immigrant Generation								
(Ref: Second Generation)								
First Gen	.32***	-1.13	.16***	-1.85	.15***	-1.90	.24***	-1.43
	(-9.29)	(.12)	(-16.14)	(.11)	(-11.23)	(.17)	(-13.90)	(.10)
1.5 Gen	.55***	-.61	.38***	-.95	.33***	-1.12	.41***	-.90
	(-5.03)	(.12)	(-5.75)	(.17)	(-5.53)	(.21)	(-14.03)	(.06)
INTERACTION TERMS								
(Ref: Chinese X Second+ Gen)								
FIRST GEN								
Japanese	3.83***	1.34	9.39***	2.24	33.59***	3.51	7.68***	2.04
	(4.36)	(.31)	(6.95)	(.32)	(8.00)	(.44)	(6.02)	(.34)
Korean	1.03	.03	1.57**	.45	2.50*	.92	1.23	.21
	(.14)	(.19)	(2.99)	(.15)	(2.44)	(.38)	(1.85)	(.11)
Filipino	.96	-.04	1.58***	.46	2.33***	.85	1.26***	.23
	(-.75)	(.05)	(5.16)	(.09)	(5.03)	(.17)	(3.50)	(.07)
Vietnamese	.77	-.27	.91	-.09	.43*	-.84	.63**	-.47
	(-1.14)	(.24)	(-.32)	(.30)	(-2.22)	(.38)	(-2.80)	(.17)
Other Southeast	2.46***	.90	3.49***	1.25	2.51*	.92	3.88***	1.36
	(5.52)	(.16)	(6.73)	(.19)	(2.21)	(.42)	(7.28)	(.19)
Indian	1.77***	.57	1.08	.07	1.49	.40	.78**	-.25
	(4.52)	(.13)	(.33)	(.22)	(1.19)	(.34)	(-2.64)	(.10)
Other South	3.55***	1.27	1.85*	.62	2.35*	.85	3.33***	1.20
	(7.54)	(.17)	(1.95)	(.32)	(2.36)	(.36)	(7.09)	(.17)
1.5 GEN								
Japanese	2.75**	1.10	3.39*	1.22	7.15***	1.97	3.56**	1.27
	(2.69)	(.38)	(1.93)	(.63)	(3.62)	(.54)	(3.16)	(.40)
Korean	1.04	.04	1.56*	.45	2.50**	.91	2.10***	.74

	(.22)	(.20)	(2.10)	(.21)	(2.69)	(.34)	(6.26)	(.12)
Filipino	1.29***	.26	1.63***	.49	2.77***	1.02	1.52***	.42
	(5.60)	(.05)	(3.58)	(.14)	(4.37)	(.23)	(7.79)	(.05)
Vietnamese	.99	-.01	1.16	.14	.81	-.21	.99	-.01
	(-.05)	(.19)	(.44)	(.33)	(-.57)	(.36)	(-.12)	(.11)
Other Southeast	1.84***	.61	1.43	.36	1.80	.59	1.48***	.39
	(4.51)	(.14)	(1.65)	(.22)	(1.46)	(.40)	(3.86)	(.10)
Indian	1.85***	.62	.93	-.07	1.78*	.58	1.43**	.36
	(4.49)	(.14)	(-.27)	(.25)	(2.22)	(.26)	(3.00)	(.12)
Other South	2.22***	.80	.87	-.13	1.33	.29	1.90***	.64
	(3.75)	(.21)	(-.55)	(.24)	(.63)	(.45)	(3.41)	(.19)
CONTROLS								
Constant	.29***	-1.22	.14***	-1.95	.01****	-4.47	.15***	-1.89
	(-8.77)	(.14)	(-10.35)	(.19)	(12.61)	(.35)	(-8.70)	(.22)
Pseudo R-sq	.1266							

* p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; Note: All analyses done while controlling for age, personal income quartile, occupational categories, metropolitan status, and state of residence.

Table D3b: Relative Risk Ration and (Robust Standard Error) for a Multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Spousal Race in Asian American Women's Intermarriage by Ethnicity and Household Income (N=109,826)

	Interethnic		Interracial With Hispanic		Interracial With Black		Interracial With Whites	
	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)	RRR (z)	β (se)
Ethnicity								
Japanese	2.20**	.79	7.60***	2.03	23.74***	3.17	5.54***	1.71
	(3.10)	(.25)	(5.53)	(.37)	(7.40)	(.43)	(6.36)	(.27)
Korean	.69**	-.37	1.02	.02	3.81***	1.34	1.45	.37
	(-2.67)	(.14)	(.09)	(.24)	(3.37)	(.40)	(1.82)	(.20)
Filipino	.99	-.01	3.76***	1.32	17.64***	2.87	3.10***	1.13
	(-.02)	(.21)	(4.71)	(.28)	(7.88)	(.36)	(4.53)	(.25)
Vietnamese	.71	-.34	.41***	-.89	.74	-.30	.35***	-1.05
	(-1.81)	(.19)	(3.56)	(.25)	(-.71)	(.42)	(-5.01)	(.21)
Other Southeast	.65	-.42	.90	-.11	4.99***	1.61	.63	-.47
	(-1.61)	(.26)	(-.41)	(.27)	(4.15)	(.39)	(-1.63)	(.29)
Indian	.93	-.08	.54*	-.61	2.84***	1.04	.51***	-.67
	(-.29)	(.26)	(-2.31)	(.26)	(3.49)	(.30)	(-3.84)	(.17)
Other South	.70**	-.35	.76	-.27	1.85	.61	.55**	-.59
	(-2.58)	(.14)	(-.74)	(.37)	(1.73)	(.35)	(-2.75)	(.01)
Household Income	1.02	.02	.92**	-.08	1.02	.02	1.11***	.10
	(1.39)	(.02)	(-2.81)	(.03)	(.47)	(.05)	(6.75)	(.01)
INTERACTION TERMS (Ref: Chinese)								
Japanese	.96	-.05	.84***	-.17	.71***	-.34	.88***	-.12
	(-1.02)	(.04)	(-5.28)	(.03)	(-5.20)	(.07)	(-5.15)	(.02)
Korean	1.11***	.11	1.03	.03	.87*	-.14	1.02	.02
	(5.72)	(.02)	(1.02)	(.03)	(-2.38)	(.06)	(1.37)	(.02)
Filipino	1.00	.00	.96	-.04	.79***	-.24	.89***	-.11
	(-.03)	(.03)	(-1.29)	(.03)	(-4.56)	(.05)	(-4.29)	(.03)
Vietnamese	1.08**	.08	1.13***	.12	1.00	.00	1.14***	.13
	(2.95)	(.03)	(3.34)	(.04)	(-.02)	(.07)	(5.15)	(.03)
Other Southeast	1.20***	.18	1.17***	.15	.92	-.09	1.19***	.18
	(4.00)	(.05)	(3.65)	(.04)	(-1.07)	(.08)	(3.51)	(.15)
Indian	.85***	-.16	.93*	-.08	.81***	-.21	.93***	-.07
	(-3.94)	(.04)	(-2.42)	(.03)	(-3.91)	(.05)	(-3.71)	(.02)
Other South	1.09***	.08	1.01	.01	1.03	.03	1.04	.04
	(3.41)	(.02)	(.16)	(.07)	(.44)	(.08)	(1.05)	(.04)
CONTROLS								
Constant	.31***	-1.18	.12***	-2.13	.00***	-5.49	.13***	-2.03
	(-6.41)	(.18)	(-6.47)	(.33)	(-11.65)	(.47)	(-6.78)	(.30)
Pseudo R-sq	.1210							

* p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001; Note: All analyses done while controlling for age, personal income quartile, occupational categories, metropolitan status, and state of residence.

Table 4D. Comparison of Means of Household Income and Educational Attainment across Marriage Type among Asian Men (N=116,800)

	Co-ethnic	Interethnic	Interracial w/ Hispanics	Interracial w/ Blacks	Interracial w/ Whites
Household Income	4.44[bcd]	4.71[acd]	4.34[abd]		4.81[abc]
Chinese	4.45[bd]	4.87[acd]	4.59[abd]		5.02[abc]
Japanese	4.73[bc]	4.90[ac]	4.35[abd]		4.83[c]
Korean	4.04[bcd]	4.73[a]	4.51[a]		4.74[a]
Filipino	4.55[bcd]	4.66[aed]	4.25[abd]		4.46[abc]
Vietnamese	3.76[bcd]	4.35[a]	4.25[a]		4.57[a]
Other SE	3.36[bcd]	3.95[a]	3.77[a]		4.09[a]
Indian	5.12[bcd]	4.99[acd]	4.70[abd]		5.41[abc]
Other South	3.69[bd]	4.27[ac]	3.76[bd]		4.52[ac]
Educational Attainment	1.86[bcd]	1.79[acd]	1.53[abd]		1.94[abc]
Chinese	1.75[bd]	1.97[aed]	1.75[bd]		2.20[abc]
Japanese	1.74[cd]	1.80[c]	1.50[abd]		1.87[ac]
Korean	1.82[bd]	1.94[a]	1.73[ad]		1.97[ac]
Filipino	1.32[bd]	1.46[cd]	1.32[bd]		1.57[abc]
Vietnamese	1.09[bcd]	1.36[ad]	1.42[ad]		1.71[abc]
Other SE	.84[bcd]	1.13[ad]	1.13[a]		1.35[ab]
Indian	2.37[bcd]	2.26[acd]	2.03[abd]		2.48[abc]
Other South	1.72[cd]	1.81[c]	1.39[abd]		1.88[ac]

Note: One-way ANOVA was used for testing statistically significant mean differences (p≤.05). Superscripts show relationships statistically significant among a=co-ethnic; b=interethnic; c=interracial w/ Hispanic or Black; d=Interracial w/ Whites