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The demographic changes brought about by the influx of immigrants from Asia and Latin America over the last several decades have the potential to drastically alter race relations, racial boundaries, and racial hierarchies in the United States. Increasingly, binary conceptions of racial/ethnic¹ boundaries and hierarchy, in which whites are on top and nonwhites as a whole are on the bottom, have been challenged, as studies reveal that whites may be more accepting of some racial/ethnic groups than others (Gans 1999; Yancey 2003; Bonilla-Silva 2004). One of the most common approaches to understanding changing race relations, assimilation, and racial hierarchies in the United States is to examine interracial dating and marriage patterns. However, dating and marriage outcomes are limited because they do not reveal the factors driving these pairings in the first place. This study takes a new approach to understanding whites' acceptance of various non-white groups by examining stated racial preferences for dates among a sample of white internet daters. Through an analysis of approximately 1500 internet dating profiles posted in four regions of the country, we examine the gendered racial hierarchies revealed by the dating preferences of white men and white women. Our findings have important implications for our understanding of racial hierarchy and assimilation patterns in the U.S. and show how the placement of various racial groups in the US racial structure varies by gender.

Although studies show that racial attitudes among whites have become increasingly tolerant (Schuman et al. 1997), and most white Americans do not object to inter-racial marriage (Ludwig 2004; Pew Research Center 2003), intermarriage rates do not mirror these positive attitudes. Currently, only about 4% of white Americans marry non-whites (Qian and Lichter 2007). Gallagher (2003:251) poses the question, “[Why do] individuals... say they would marry

¹ For simplicity, we generally use the term race or racial to refer to both racial and ethnic groups.

outside of their racial group but typically do not?” One reason may be that survey respondents mask their true attitudes in order not to appear racist. Another reason may be that individuals may agree in abstract terms that racial intermarriage is acceptable, but are not open to inter-racial dating or marriage in concrete situations. A third reason is that individuals may be open to interracial dating and marriage, but may not come into contact with members of other racial groups to meet them. Although intermarriage studies that control for racial group size are better able to assess the opportunity structure, these studies still cannot measure whether individuals actually come into contact with members of different racial groups in their neighborhoods, schools, or workplaces (Harris and Ono 2005; Qian and Lichter 2007). Therefore, intermarriage data may not necessarily capture social distance between groups, as much as constraints in the opportunities to meet members of other racial groups. For these reasons, we argue that stated acceptance of other racial groups as dates may be a better indicator of the social distance whites feel towards other groups than actual dating or marriage pairings.

In contrast to studies of dating or marriage outcomes or abstract attitudes as indicators of racial hierarchy and incorporation, this study focuses on stated racial preferences (inclusive of not only blacks, but of Latinos, Asians, East Indians, Middle Easterners, and Native Americans) for dates among white internet daters. While intermarriage remains an important marker of the strength of racial boundaries, dating relationships are increasingly important. Individuals now spend less time in marital relationships than in the past; men and women are marrying later in life and an increasing proportion of adults spend more of their lives single (Schoen and Standish 2001). While not everyone will marry in their lifetimes, nearly all will enter into dating relationships, which makes dating an important arena in which race relations are played out. The degree to which the dominant group is willing to accept members of other ethnic and racial

groups as dating partners is an important indicator of the degree to which whites allow boundaries between them and other groups to be weakened. Thus, acceptance by the dominant group of other groups as possible dates is an indicator of the latter's current standing in the racial hierarchy, as well as of the possibility for assimilation and racial boundary change in the future.² We focus on gender differences in the willingness of the dominant group, whites, to date outside of one's racial group, and argue that such willingness is the product of a gendered racialized hierarchy in which men and women of specific racial groups are differentially accepted by whites as dating partners.

Assimilation and Racial Hierarchies

Given that racial attitudes are most restrictive regarding intimate relationships, it has long been held that intermarriage between whites and racial minorities serves as an indicator of increased integration, the breakdown of barriers, and lower social distance (Park 1924; Gordon 1964; Bogardus 1968). Marital assimilation with the dominant group is an important step in the process of full societal inclusion (Gordon 1964). Over time, Italian, Irish, Polish and other European immigrants intermarried with, and ultimately came to be seen as, whites (Roediger 1991; Igantiev 1995; Brodtkin 1998; Gerstle 1999; Jacobson 1999; Foner 2000).

Recent studies move beyond analyses of black and white relationships to examine the place of newer immigrant groups in the racial hierarchy (Qian 2002; Yancey 2003; Lee and Bean 2004; Qian and Lichter 2007). Many scholars suggest that blacks remain at the greatest social distance from whites, and that racism towards blacks is more entrenched and pernicious than for Asians and Latinos (Massey and Denton 1987; Herring and Amisshah 1997; Feliciano 2001;

² We note that our view of assimilation is *not* a normative one; that is, we are not arguing that assimilation is necessarily something that *should* happen. Instead, we use the term assimilation analytically, to describe the process through which European immigrant groups became integrated into U.S. society historically. At issue is whether a similar process is occurring among Latinos, blacks, and Asians; we argue that this process cannot occur if whites are not willing to enter into close interpersonal relationships with members of these groups.

Yancey 2003; Bonilla-Silva 2004; Lee and Bean 2004). Lee and Bean (2004) argue that intermarriage data suggest that the key divide in the US racial system is between blacks and non-blacks. Similarly, Yancey (2003) views Latinos and Asians as assimilating minorities. These authors argue that, as in the past, when the boundaries of “whiteness” stretched to include European immigrant groups previously considered nonwhite, the same process may be occurring for Asians and Latinos (Alba 1985; Gerstle 1999), since about fifty percent of third-generation Latinos and Asians intermarry with whites (Lee, Bean, Batalova, and Sandhu 2003: 45).

Based on their finding that blacks are less likely than whites, Asians, or Latinos to intermarry, Qian and Lichter (2007) also conclude that the white-black boundary is stronger than that between whites and other nonwhites. However, they concur with Bonilla-Silva’s (2004) interpretation that this suggests the emergence of a tripartite system in which nonwhite, non-black, groups enjoy a relatively stable intermediary position, rather than indicating that Latinos and Asians are assimilating. Bonilla-Silva (2004) proposes that the United States’ racial stratification system is becoming similar to that in Latin American and Caribbean countries, with an intermediary tier of “honorary whites.” This intermediary group is comprised of “most light-skinned Latinos,” as well as most Asian groups, while the “collective black” includes “blacks, dark-skinned Latinos, Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians,” as well as most multi-racials (932-933). While used as evidence for both tri-racial and bi-racial theories, intermarriage outcomes themselves do not show whether racial preferences or social distance between groups drive these patterns, as opposed to opportunities to meet marriage partners. Nevertheless, both of these literatures suggest that blacks should be the least preferred racial group by whites in dating situations, while Asians and Latinos should be more preferred. However, these authors generally do not consider that minority groups’ place in the racial hierarchy may vary by gender.

Social Exchange and Homogamy in Dating and Marriage

While much of the literature on interracial relationships focuses on interracial marriages, there is a growing body of empirical research on interracial dating (Fujino 1997; Yancey and Yancey 1998; Yancey 2002; Blackwell and Lichter 2004; Miller, Olson, and Fazio 2004; Joyner and Kao 2005). Several of these studies argue that an exclusive focus on intermarriage fails to capture the relationship between the latter and interracial dating, and underestimates interracial relationships and their possible link to increases in cohabitation in lieu of marriage (Blackwell and Lichter 2004; Joyner and Kao 2005; Rosenfeld and Kim 2005). Many of the same social processes that shape marriage also affect dating. Blackwell and Lichter (2004:719) argue “the rather stringent sorting criteria that men and women use in selecting a marital partner, which manifests itself in marital homogamy, is also used in dating and cohabitating relationships.” Race is one of the major criteria that sorts marriage and dating. For example, Phua and Kaufman (2003) find that most male internet daters prefer to date within their own race or whites, and that blacks are the least preferred group. However, because the study is limited to men, we do not know how these findings vary by gender.

Many intermarriage studies employ or test social exchange theory (Blau 1964), which posits that lower caste men trade wealth and education for a higher caste mate (Davis 1941; Merton 1941). The exchange hypothesis was first used to explain the higher rates of outmarriage between black men and white women, as opposed to black women-white men pairings (Merton 1941). According to exchange theory, traditional sex roles defining men as primary breadwinners give primacy to men’s economic status in the marriage market, while women’s social and physical characteristics are more valued. Thus, exchange theory continues to be offered as an explanation for the higher rates of black male – white female marriages despite the fact that

black women tend to be more educated than black men. However, the empirical evidence for the theory has been mixed. Several scholars find that majority group members who out-marry come from lower socio-economic backgrounds, while the racial minorities they marry possess higher socio-economic status (Kalmijn 1993; Crowder and Tolnay 2000; Fu 2001). In contrast, other studies find that homogamy, not social exchange, characterizes most marriages (Mare 1991; Rosenfeld 2005; Schwartz and Mare 2005). That is, individuals tend to marry persons similar to themselves in terms of characteristics such as race, education, social origins, and religion (Mare 1991; Kalmijn 1998). Thus, interracial marriage partners both tend to be well-educated, regardless of race (Heaton and Albrecht 1996; Rosenfeld 2005).

According to exchange theory, males from minority groups which tend to have high economic statuses (such as East Indians or Asians) should have higher rates of intermarriage with whites than their female counterparts. However, intermarriage data do not support this theory since Asian American women are more likely to marry whites than Asian American males (Jacobs and Labov 2002; Qian and Lichter 2007). Jacobs and Labov (2002) argue that the higher rates of Asian female-white male pairings can partly be accounted for by war brides. If such opportunity explanations account for the Asian gender differences in outmarriage, exchange theories may still be valid, and would be supported if we found that Asian, Middle Eastern, and East Indian men (groups with higher than average economic status) are more desired dating partners of white women than black or latino men (groups with lower than average economic status).

Gendered Racial Hierarchies

Though most authors give primacy to racial formation, we argue that gender formation is no less important. Omi and Winant (1994:68) acknowledge that “race is gendered and gender is

racialized” in their conceptualization of racial formation. Like Collins (1990), they conceptualize gender as overlapping and interlocking with race and class,. However, they do not delineate the nature of these relations or how racial formations are gendered in practice. Following the work of Glenn (2002), which shows how American citizenship and labor are shaped by race and gender as “interacting, interlocking structures (6),” we propose that race intersects with gender to create a gendered racial hierarchy in which both race and gender operate simultaneously to structure society. Gendered racial hierarchy organizes social relations, shapes institutions, provides cultural meanings, and constructs social practices. Thus, we expect that preferences in dating may manifest in the overlap of race and gender formations producing different racial hierarchies for men and women within specific racial groups.

Several studies support the notion that interracial mate preferences are gendered. For example, white women are more likely than white men to state a white racial preference (Sakai and Johnson 1997) and report more disapproval from family and friends than white males when they date nonwhites (Miller, Olson, and Fazio 2004). White males are also more likely to date nonwhites than their female counterparts (Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan 1995). Based on these studies, we expect to find that white men are more open to interracial dating than their white female counterparts.

As mentioned earlier, intermarriage studies show that Asian women and black men are more likely to marry whites than their counterparts of the other sex (Heaton and Albrecht 1996; Farley 1999; Liang and Ito 1999; Crowder and Tolnay 2000; Jacobs and Labov 2002). However, marriage outcomes cannot reveal whether gender differences in outmarriage are due to opportunities (such as white servicemen meeting Asian wives abroad), or due to gendered racial preferences. We argue that sex differences in marriage and dating outcomes are partly shaped by

gender differences in dating preferences. Why might white men and white women differ in their placement of Asians, blacks, and perhaps Latinos, in the racial hierarchy? Gendered racial hierarchies may be a product of historically grounded intersections of gendered and racialized ideas about masculinity and femininity that continue to dominate popular culture. Intimate relations between whites and each of the racial groups we consider are unique not only for their historic specificity, but also for their gendered nature.

Black men and women have not shared the same experiences with regard to intimate relations with whites. Slavery provided a mechanism through which white men had unbridled access to black women's bodies (Kennedy 2003). In contrast, Black men who were *suspected* of intimate relations with white women were brutally killed. This legacy has shaped the contours of contemporary intimate relations between blacks and whites. Cultural portrayals of Black Americans also influence the perceptions and attitudes held by society about who is desirable and who is not. Much of the contemporary imagery of Black women consists of the mammy, the whore, or the tragic mulatto (Jewell 1993:37-47; Anderson 1997:9-118). Black women are rarely portrayed as attractive, and their sexuality is often coupled with lewd acts or promiscuity. These stereotypical images are not limited to physical attributes, but also include negative personality traits, values, and characteristics, such as being domineering or bossy (Bordo 1993; Perkins and Uno 1996). Black womanhood is often constructed as the antithesis of white femininity (Collins 2005).

Unlike black women, Latinas and Asian women are thought to embody an idealized femininity that is at once exotic and sexual as well as chaste and virginal (Berg 2002). Asian and Latina women have been defined as "the embodiment of perfect womanhood and exotic femininity" (Espiritu 1997: 113; Arrizon and Manzor 2000). Schaeffer-Grabel (2004) argues

that these stereotypical traits are desirable to white men, many of whom “are looking for a traditional wife and family relationship they nostalgically think existed during the 1950s...”.

Based on this literature, we expect to find that white men are more likely to prefer to date Asian and Latina women than black women.

The cultural portrayals of black men differ from that of black women. In general, the images of black men in the media include a variety of criminals, as well as comedic sidekicks; yet there are also more positive images as athletes, clergy, and political leaders. While women’s femininity is heavily defined by physical attributes, masculinity rests on other attributes as well, including the acquisition of wealth, status and power (Kalmijn 1993; Stewart, Stinnett and Rosenfeld 2000). However, while physical traits matter more in the selection of potential female mates than male mates (Hitsch et al 2006), men’s physical attributes are not unimportant.

Images of Asian American men as asexual and lacking masculinity are pervasive (Kim 1986; Espiritu 1997; Fong 1998:192; Chen 1999). As Fong notes, “Despite a few notable exceptions, Asian men have most often been depicted as strangely asexual characters. Asian women, in contrast, have often been depicted as almost completely sexual (192).” In her study of sexual stereotypes in the media, Kim (1986) makes a similar observation. Middle Easterners are often conflated with Arabs by Americans. Several studies of media portrayals (Dorsey 2002; Muscati 2002; Steinberg 2002; Shaheen 2003; Merskin 2004), suggest that Arabs are viewed as “evil, bloodthirsty, animalistic terrorists (Merskin 2004:157).” Shaheen’s (2003) study of 900 films in which Arabs and Muslims appear, show that most Arabs and Muslims are depicted as “heartless, brutal, uncivilized, religious fanatics (p. 171).” If the images and stereotypes of black, Asian, and Middle Eastern males influence white women’s dating preferences, we expect to find that black men are more often preferred dates than Asian, Middle Eastern, or East Indian men.

Inter-racial marriage and dating outcomes depend upon *both* opportunity and preferences (Kalmijn 1998). However, preferences are often inferred from outcomes and rarely examined directly. Internet dating offers a unique lens through which to understand the process of mate selection, since date preferences are explicitly stated on profiles, and the process is relatively unencumbered by opportunity contexts (individuals are, in theory, free to express preferences for dates who live or work anywhere). As internet use becomes increasingly common (73 % of all Americans use the internet) and internet dating become increasingly mainstream (most single individuals who use the internet have used the internet to find dates (Madden and Lenhart 2006), this medium represents a fruitful arena for research.

DATA AND METHODS

Internet Site Data

We collected data from internet dating profiles posted on Yahoo Personals, the most popular national on-line dating website (Madden and Lenhart 2006), between September 2004 and May 2005. We randomly selected profiles from people who self-identified as black, white, Latino, and Asian living within 50 miles of four major U.S. cities: New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and Atlanta. These cities allow for regional diversity (West, Northeast, Midwest, and South), and include cities thought to be the most diverse and tolerant (Los Angeles and New York), as well as cities that are considered more conservative (Atlanta). Given that persons over the age of 50 are less well-represented on the internet (Madden and Lenhart 2006), we limited the age range to those ages 18-50. Since we view racial preferences as inputs into eventual marriage outcomes, we also limited the sample to those who were only seeking heterosexual dates. We randomly selected 200 profiles for each race/gender combination in each city, for a

total sample size of 6070³. Since this paper is concerned with the dominant group's acceptance of minorities, we focus exclusively on the sample of white respondents in all four regions (N=1558).

We coded all the demographic information about the person who posted the profile (age, sex, race, education, etc...), and information about the characteristics they seek in a date (age, body type, education, race etc...). Daters are asked to state a preference for a number of characteristics, such as ethnicity. The default is "any," meaning that daters have no preference for that characteristic. If they wish to state a preference, they then check the boxes of the characteristics they prefer. In terms of ethnicity, they can select one or more out of 10 groups. Those groups include Caucasian/white, African-American/black, Asian, Hispanic/Latino, Middle Eastern, Pacific Islander, East Indian, Inter-racial, and Other. This data allow us to examine whether whites change the default "any" option more often for ethnicity than they do for other characteristics, such as education or religion. We can also examine which groups whites express willingness to date, and which groups they exclude. Finally, we can examine the relationships between gender and dating preferences.

Limitations and Advantages of the dataset

There are some limitations to using data collected off of the internet to examine racial/ethnic preferences in dating. The first concern is that the selection of people who choose to date on the internet are not a random sample of the population. While it is free to post profiles on Yahoo personals, which perhaps makes this a more representative sample than previous studies of paid personal advertisements (Sakai and Johnson 1997; Yancey 2002), sample selection is still a potential concern. Access to the internet and skills in expressing oneself in writing in English

³ The sample size is smaller than our targeted sample size of 6400 because there were fewer than 200 Asian male and female profiles posted in Atlanta, and we had to eliminate many duplicate profiles.

are requirements for posting a dating profile on this website. We examined the characteristics of our daters in comparison to the general population in the regions, as well as the population of internet users, using the October 2003 Computer and Internet Use Supplement. We found that, even compared to a sample of internet users, the daters in our sample tend to be older, more educated (but see footnote 5), slightly more likely to be divorced, and more likely to be employed (See Appendix Table 1). Therefore, our results may not be generalizable to the population as a whole, or even the population of internet users, who tend to be younger and less educated than our sample. While this is a major limitation of the study, the sample selection does not bias our results in any clear direction in terms of racial preferences; in fact, we might expect *more* openness towards inter-racial dating in our study than among the general population since the website is multi-ethnic,⁴ and more educated respondents have been shown to express more positive racial attitudes (Bobo and Massagli 2001).

A further concern is that internet users who choose to use the internet to find dates may be selected on some unobserved characteristics. For instance, they may be especially choosy about who they date (and thus unable to find their preferred dates in the off-line world). In this case, our sample might be biased towards selecting whites who wish to date only certain racial groups. However, it is also likely that some internet daters simply choose the internet as a convenient way to expand their dating pool, which would not pose a major sample selection bias. Still, since some of these daters may be especially choosy, it is important to examine differences in racial exclusion by including a control variable for how choosy the dater is in general.

⁴ We examined a random sample of Yahoo daters and found that the representation of racial groups on the site was close to the proportion of internet users among each racial group in these regions. Given that whites have the option to use other on-line dating services, which are stratified by religion (jdate.com) or class (rightstuffdating.com), Yahoo may attract a sample of individuals who are more tolerant than the dating population generally, which would mean that our findings *underestimate* the degree of racial exclusion by the general population of white daters.

Another limitation of the data is that we cannot distinguish between those who are on the internet in search of a serious relationship that could lead to marriage, versus those who are seeking only a casual dating or sexual relationship. Given prior research which shows that interracial relationships are less likely than same-race relationships to lead to marriage (Joyner and Kao 2005), our results do not necessarily represent willingness to engage in serious interracial relationships. Nevertheless, willingness or unwillingness to date someone of another racial group, even casually, is an indication of a certain level of social acceptance and is a necessary condition for more serious relationships to develop.

A further limitation is that, given that people post these profiles to “sell themselves” to potential dates, there may be some misrepresentation in daters’ self-descriptions and stated preferences. For example, some daters might lie about their age or body type to try to appear more desirable to potential dates. Indeed, Cornwell and Lundgren (2001) find that misrepresentation of age and physical characteristics is higher among daters who meet in cyberspace than among those who meet in person. However, they find no gender differences in the levels of misrepresentation, nor do they find misrepresentation of characteristics such as education.⁵ While misrepresentation certainly occurs, we are not concerned with the effects of respondents’ characteristics (age, height, body type, education) per se (these variables are included as controls), as much as we are with their stated preferences. A more serious problem is if daters do not accurately state their true preferences. For instance, daters who wish to appear politically correct might state that they are open to dating all minority groups, even if that is not the case. Prior research suggests that this occurs. Hitsch et al’s (2006) study of the users of an internet dating website in San Diego and Boston examines actual on-line contact. They find that

⁵ Despite these findings, because the representation of individuals with post-graduate degrees far exceeds that in the population of internet users in these regions, we do suspect some inflation in terms of educational attainment in our data. Thus, we only use stated education as a control variable and do not focus on the *effects* of education per se.

individuals who do *not* state racial preferences in their profiles nevertheless tend to discriminate against members of different racial groups (Hitsch et al. 2006). For this reason, we focus the bulk of our analysis on users who *do* state racial preferences. We believe that daters who *do* state racial preferences are far less likely to misrepresent their true racial preferences. Indeed, Hitsch's (2006:23) study finds that, among those who state racial preferences, "users act in a manner that is consistent with their stated preferences." Further, if on-line daters do misrepresent preferences, they are likely to do so in the direction of *including* racial/ethnic groups who, in reality, they are not open to dating. The daters would have no reason to *exclude* groups that they are actually open to dating. Thus, we focus our analysis primarily on questions of exclusion—which groups do whites *not* want to date? However, we suspect that our results probably *underestimate* the degree to which certain racial groups are excluded in real-life dating situations.

These data limitations are far outweighed by a number of advantages. First, internet use has expanded exponentially in the past decade, and internet dating has become increasingly popular. A recent survey found that nearly three out of four of all internet users who are single and looking for romantic partners have used the internet to find dates (Madden and Lenhart 2006). Second, and most importantly, our data provide a rare opportunity for researchers to examine how people behave in real-life situations. Most surveys of attitudes regarding inter-racial liaisons ask about one's reaction to a relative or a child who wants to marry someone of another race (Herring and Amisshah 1997; Yancey 2003). Such data limit the analysis to attitudes based on hypothetical scenarios. Additionally, surveys and interviews may be affected by the interaction between respondents and interviewers; respondents may not want to appear biased, or may not take the time to thoughtfully answer questions. In contrast, our data reflect what people

state they are looking for in an actual search for a date. While these stated preferences may not be the same as *revealed* preferences, we can think of no logical reason why daters who express a racial preference would *exclude* members of racial/ethnic groups who they are actually open to dating. Again, this suggests our results may be biased, but only in the direction of *underestimating* the degree of racial exclusion that actually occurs in on-line dating situations.

A further strength of our approach is that, unlike studies of marriage and dating *outcomes*, stated racial preferences are not constrained by physical proximity. Harris and Ono (2005) argue that racial intermarriage is strongly affected by the geographic proximity of different racial groups. In contrast, internet dating allows for potentially nationwide dating pools; individuals are free to state preferences for groups they might not normally come into contact with in their neighborhoods, schools, or workplaces. Therefore, stated racial/ethnic preferences may be a better indicator of the social distance between groups and the level of color-blindness in contemporary U.S. society than dating or marriage outcomes.

Variables and Sample Characteristics

The characteristics of the white daters in our sample are shown in Table 1. We present the data separately for men and women, and separately for those who express a preference for one or more racial groups (since much of our analyses focus only on those who express a racial preference).

INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

The average age of our sample is around 33 years old, for both men and women. The sample of those who state an ethnic preference is slightly older. The sample is about evenly divided among Los Angeles, New York City, Chicago and Atlanta. However, Atlanta is slightly overrepresented among both men and women with an ethnic preference.

As stated earlier, the daters in our sample are more educated than average Americans; over 90% state they have completed at least some college schooling and a substantial proportion have post-graduate degrees. The women in the sample appear to be somewhat less educated than the men.⁶ In general, the sample of those who express an ethnic preference does not differ substantially from the entire sample. Over half of the sample state that they are Christians; this proportion is slightly higher among those who state an ethnic preference, for both men and women. Politically, only about one in five identify as liberal or very liberal;⁷ the percentage is even lower among those who stated an ethnic preference.

Two key control variables measure how choosy the dater is in general. In addition to ethnicity, daters can express a preference for nineteen other possible characteristics in a potential date, such as age, height, or education. Percentage of preferences is the percentage of items for which the dater expresses a preference. We see that women tend to be choosier about their dates; they express preferences for almost half of the characteristics, while men only express preferences for 36% of the items (54% vs. 42% among those who state a racial preference).⁸ Daters can express preferences for up to 10 different racial groups; the average number of racial groups preferred is shown for men and women; we see that when white women express a racial preference, it is for fewer groups (1.84), while when white men state a racial preference, they tend to include more groups (3.42).

⁶ This finding is consistent with our suspicion that some daters inflated their educational attainment. Given traditional gender roles of men as providers, men would be more likely to misrepresent their education than women. The same would be true of income or employment status; we do not include employment as a predictor because we do not have much variability, and we exclude analyses of income because over half the daters chose not to answer this question.

⁷ We examined several different codings of political views, and found that the key distinctions were between those who identified as liberal or very liberal vs. all others.

⁸ Women may be choosier, but the finding may also reflect gendered dating dynamics. Since women are more likely to be approached by men on the internet as opposed to vice-versa (Hitsch et al 2006), it may be more important for them to state their preferences.

We also consider daters' preferences for other key physical and social characteristics, in addition to race, including education, religion, height, and body type. Relative to these other characteristics, race is an important criteria whites consider when choosing dates; 72% of white women and 59% of white men express a preference for race, while only 69% of women and 44% of men express a preference for education, and only 42% of women and 23% of men express a preference for religion. Physical characteristics are also important criteria; for white women, height is especially important; 78% express a height preference, while only 54% of men express a height preference. Body type is especially important for men; 86% of white men express a body type preference, compared to 76% of white women. Relative to all other characteristics,⁹ ethnicity is the fourth most frequently expressed characteristic by white women (after age, height, and body type), and the third most stated preference by white men (after age and body type). In short, ethnicity is one of the top criteria whites consider when deciding who they want to date.¹⁰

Gender Differences in Hierarchies of Racial/Ethnic Exclusion

Since daters may select among ten different racial/ethnic groups as preferred dates, our sample includes numerous possible responses to the question of which racial/ethnic groups are preferred (Appendix Table 2 shows the top combinations of racial preferences). To simplify the analysis, we focus on the extent to which each racial group is *excluded* as a possible date. Figure

⁹ The other characteristics (in order of how often they were stated preferences) include age, height, body type, education, drinking behavior, smoking behavior, marital status, employment status, wants children, has children, religion, income, language, political views, hair color, living situation, religious service attendance, occupation, and eye color. Results available upon request.

¹⁰ To reinforce that this finding is not a data artifact, we considered the placement of the race/ethnicity question. At the time of our data collection, race/ethnicity was the seventh preference users may state, following age, marital status, body type, height, eye color, and hair color. One might argue that race/ethnicity is more likely to be filled out, not because it is more important, but because it is among these first few questions asked. However, we argue that the order of the question is *not* likely a major factor driving our results because other characteristics that appear early are among the *least* likely to be expressed. For instance, eye color is the 5th item, but is the *least* likely to be filled out, even though it immediately follows body type, which is one of the most commonly stated preferences.

1 shows the racial preferences for dates among white women and men. As previously mentioned, women are more likely than men to state a racial preference. They are also more likely to prefer to date whites only; among those with an expressed preference, approximately 64% of white women prefer whites only compared to only about 29% of white men. Accordingly, white women are more likely than white men to exclude certain racial groups from dating consideration. Indeed, over 90% of white women who state a racial preference prefer *not* to date East Indians, Middle Easterners, Asians, and blacks. White men, in contrast, only prefer *not* to date one group at levels above 90%: black women. Thus, not only do white women and men exclude groups at different rates, the hierarchies of who they prefer to date vary considerably. Black women are the least preferred racial group for white men; however, black men are only the fourth most excluded group for white women (behind East Indian, Middle Eastern, and Asian men). In contrast, Asians are one of the top three most excluded groups by white women, while Asians are among the *least* excluded groups by white men.

INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Two groups that rank similarly in the hierarchies of white men and women are Latinos. Latinos are the most *included* non-white racial group for both white women and men. Still, 77% of white women with stated racial preferences prefer *not* to date Latinos. However, only 48% of white men exclude Latinas, which is consistent with white males' tendencies to be more inclusive of non-whites in general (with the exception of blacks).

Given that women appear to be choosier about stated dating preferences in general, we ask whether gender differences are significant once we control for background characteristics, especially the choosiness of men and women. We conducted logistic regression analyses on nine dichotomous outcomes: whether daters stated a racial preference or not, whether they preferred

to date whites only, and whether they excluded blacks, East Indians, Middle Easterners, Native Americans, Asians, Latinos and whites.

Table 2 presents the odds ratios of the effects of gender on these nine outcomes. We present four models. The first includes no controls; the second controls only for the choosiness of the daters (the percentage of characteristics they stated a preference for and the number of racial groups preferred). The third model adds controls for background characteristics, such as age, region, body type, educational attainment, religion, and political affiliation. Finally, model 4 controls for whether the daters express preferences for body type, height, religion, and education, characteristics that they may associate with certain racial groups.

INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

The first outcome is whether the dater states a racial preference for dates. Model 1 indicates that white women are approximately 1.8 times as likely to state a racial preference as white men. However, once we control for the degree of choosiness of daters in general, we find that the difference between men and women is no longer significant. This suggests that white men appear to care less about race than white women do because men are less choosy in general about the characteristics of their dates.

Consistent with the descriptive results, white women are also significantly more likely than white men to prefer to date whites only. Regardless of controls, white women are over four times as likely to prefer to date only whites as are white men. These findings reinforce that white males are more open to interracial dating in general than white females are.

However, the degree of openness or willingness to date non-whites varies considerably depending upon which racial group is considered. Thus, when we consider who excludes blacks, gender patterns are much different than when we consider who excludes Asians. Looking at

whether blacks are excluded, we see that once we control, in Model 2, for the choosiness of the dater, white men are well over three times more likely than white women to exclude blacks. The odds ratio does not change substantially once background variables are included in Model 3. In Model 4, the odds ratio for female declines even further, to .234, which suggests that, net of background characteristics and other dating preferences, white males remain over four times as likely to exclude blacks as white women.

White men appear more open to dating East Indians and Middle Easterners than white women, but that finding is completely explained by the greater choosiness of women in general (Model 2). In contrast, the effect of gender on the likelihood of excluding Native Americans varies dramatically once controls for choosiness are included in the second model. Similar to the findings for blacks, white women are about half as likely to exclude Native American men as white men are to exclude Native American women (Models 2-4)¹¹.

The opposite pattern emerges when we examine gender differences in Asian exclusion. White men are much more *inclusive* of Asians than are white women. Even with all controls, white women are over eight times as likely as white men to exclude Asians as dates (Model 4).

White males and females are similar in their exclusion of Latinos as possible dates. Once the control for choosiness is introduced in Model 2, white men and women do not vary significantly in the degree to which they include or exclude Latinos as possible dates.

In sum, these findings demonstrate how racial preferences for dates among whites are gendered. White men appear more open to dating non-whites in general, but they are only open to dating certain non-white groups, and are much more exclusionary towards black women than white women are towards black men. The exclusion of blacks is unique because of the manner in

¹¹ One possible explanation for this finding, consistent with some past research, is that white Americans sometimes identify as Native American even though they are not affiliated with a tribe (Snipp 1989). This would explain why white women appear more open to dating Native Americans than some other minority groups.

which it is gendered. On the one hand, both white men and white women exclude blacks at high rates. However, among a small subset of white women, there is a preference for *only* black men (see Appendix Table 2). In contrast, white men not only consistently exclude black women at extremely high rates, a subset prefer all other groups *except* black women. The exclusion of Asians also differs significantly by gender. White women are much more likely than white men to exclude Asians. White women exclude East Indians, Middle Easterners, and Asians at similarly high rates. However, while white men are similarly likely to exclude East Indians and Middle Easterners, they are much more likely to *include* Asian women as preferred dates. If they are open to dating non-whites at all, both white men and white women are most likely to *include* Latinos as possible dates.

Predictors of Exclusion of Blacks and Asians by White Men and Women

The previous table shows that gender differences in racial exclusion by whites are most prominent for blacks and Asians. To explore this finding further, Table 3 shows the results of the full models (Table 2, Model 4) predicting the exclusion of blacks and Asians. Here, we highlight what factors help predict whether white women or men exclude blacks or Asians, in order to further explore the dynamics driving gendered racial exclusion.

INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

In terms of demographic characteristics, we see that, in general, age is not a significant factor predicting racial exclusion, although, among white males, increased age is associated with a decline in the likelihood of excluding Asian women as possible dates. Regional differences are mostly not significant, with two exceptions: white men from New York are far more *inclusive* of black women as possible dates than are white men in Atlanta. In contrast, white women in Chicago are far more likely to *exclude* Asian men as possible dates than are white women in

Atlanta. Education is not a significant predictor of Asian exclusion for white men or women, but the findings suggest that college-educated females and males are more likely to exclude blacks than those with only high school degrees.

Body type, political views, and religion are also related to the exclusion of blacks or Asians. Among white women, one of the most striking findings is that white women who describe themselves as slim, slender, athletic, fit or average are nearly seven times as likely to exclude black men as dates as women who describe themselves as thick, voluptuous, a few extra pounds, or large. For white men, body type has no effect on their likelihood of excluding blacks or Asians.¹² While political views also have no effect on racial exclusion by white men, white women who describe themselves as liberal or very liberal are less likely to exclude black men as dates than women who are not political, middle of the road, or conservative. Surprisingly, liberal white women appear more likely to exclude Asian men as dates, although this finding only borders on significance. Finally, religion affects black exclusion, and Asian exclusion among white women. Specifically, we see that whites who identified as Jewish were dropped from the analysis of black exclusion because it was a perfect predictor; that is, *all* white men and women who identified as Jewish excluded blacks as possible dates; all white women who identified as Jewish also excluded Asian men as possible dates. Further, white men who do not state a religion or who state their religion as “other” are far more *inclusive* of black women as dates than those who describe themselves as not religious. Likewise, white women of “other” religions are more likely to *include* Asian males as dates.

Finally, we see that preferences for other characteristics in a date affect racial exclusion. Religious preferences are strongly related to the exclusion of blacks as dates for both white men

¹² We also examined whether height had any effect on racial exclusion and consistently found no significant effects. To simplify the analysis, we therefore excluded it from the final models.

and women; white women who state a religious preference are nearly three times as likely to exclude blacks, while white men who state religious preferences are over four times as likely to exclude black women as dates. However, religious preferences are not related to the exclusion of Asians. While education preferences have no effect on white women's exclusion, White men who express an education preference are nearly three times as likely to exclude black women as dates as those who do not have an education preference. White men and women's physical preferences are related to the exclusion of blacks and Asians in interesting ways. Preferences for body type or height have no effect on the exclusion of blacks among white women. Among white men, however, a preference for a particular body type increases the likelihood of excluding black women as possible dates substantially. Similarly, a preference for a particular height by white women substantially increases the likelihood of excluding Asian men. Although none of these factors explain the gender differences in the exclusion of blacks or Asians (see Table 2), these findings suggest that the idea that black women or Asian men are associated with undesirable physical and social characteristics may be part of the reason they are so highly excluded by white men and women.

DISCUSSION

Our findings confirm the expectation that "race matters" in dating situations, consistent with prior studies of dating interactions (Hitsch et al. 2006; Fisman et al. 2006). In fact, race is one of the top characteristics for which whites express a preference; whites express racial preferences even more than preferences for religion or education. Nevertheless, how race matters to whites varies by gender.

Our findings contradict the common assumption that racial inclusion and exclusion occur in a genderless fashion. Instead, we find that white men are more likely than white women to

date non-whites in general, and the racial preferences of white men and white women significantly differ. White men are more likely than white women to exclude blacks as possible dates, while white women are more likely to exclude Asians. Whites' exclusion of Latinos, East Indians, and Middle Easterners, however, does not significantly vary by gender; both white men and white women are highly exclusionary towards East Indians and Middle Easterners, and Latinos are the non-white group that whites are most open towards dating.

While our results should be interpreted with caution because our sample is not representative and because we cannot examine how stated preferences relate to behavior, our findings are consistent with several other studies, such as Hitsch et al.'s (2006) study of *revealed* dating preferences, and Fisman et al.'s (2006) study of speed dating, which also find that women are less open to inter-racial dating than men. Unlike those studies, however, we examine whites' gendered racial preferences for multiple non-white groups. In addition, and perhaps most importantly, our findings mirror cohabitation and intermarriage patterns (see Appendix Figure 1). That is, just as Latinas are the most often preferred out-date by white men, followed by Asian women, with black women the least preferred, white men are most likely to be cohabitating with, or married to, Latinas, followed by Asian women, and then Black women. Similarly, among white women, just as Latinos are also the most preferred of the three racial groups, followed by black men and then Asian men, white women are most likely to be cohabitating with, or married to, Latinos, followed by blacks, and then Asian men. Cohabitation and marriage patterns also mirror racial preferences in that white men and women do not differ significantly from each other in their likelihood of being married to or cohabitating with a Latino/a, while white men are clearly more likely than white women to be married or living with an Asian woman, and white women are clearly more likely to be married or living with a black man. The consistency of our

findings with census data suggests that the racial preferences of whites are an important factor shaping dating and marriage patterns.

While minority groups' preferences also drive dating and marriage outcomes, we note that whites' preferences seem most important. Whites' racial preferences may partly stem from their perceptions that members of minority groups are not interested in dating them. However, our analyses of minorities' racial preferences (not shown; available upon request) show that Asians, blacks, and Latinos are *more* likely to include whites as possible dates than whites are to include them. This suggests that whites, as the dominant group in U.S. society, remain in the privileged position of being able to facilitate or hinder the full incorporation of minorities.

Given that intimate relationships inform assimilation patterns, and hold implications for racial hierarchy positions, our results suggest that gender is significant in this process. That white women are not as open to dating non-whites as are white men, and that they construct different racial hierarchies of dating preferences, implies that men and women in racial/ethnic groups may not enjoy similar patterns of inclusion or exclusion. Many white men prefer Latina or Asian women, but most are not open to dating black women. In contrast, some white women prefer black or Latino men, but few are open to dating Asian men. Thus, among whites, racial/ethnic preferences, as well as ideas about different racial/ethnic groups, are strongly gendered.

Our analysis of the predictors of the exclusion of blacks and Asians provides some support for the idea that gendered cultural portrayals and stereotypes about groups shape racial preferences. Our finding that white women who do not fit conventional norms of beauty (i.e. those who are not thin or athletic-looking) are much more likely to *include* black men as possible dates than other white women is consistent with the notion that cultural ideals about beauty

shape racial preferences. Much research has shown that, in dating and marriage markets, physical attractiveness is a more valued trait for women than men (Stewart, Stinnet and Rosenfeld 2000). Therefore, an openness to dating black men among these white women may actually reflect their knowledge that they do not fit the conventional beauty standards that appeal to white men. Similarly, that white men who have body type preferences are more likely to exclude black women suggests that they may associate black women with unattractive physical characteristics. This idea is consistent with cultural and media studies which find that black women are often depicted negatively, in terms of both physical and personal characteristics (Bordo 1993; Perkins 1996; Collins 2005).

While physical characteristics may not be as valued among women daters as their male counterparts (Hitsch 2006), our findings suggest that the negative images of Asian American men as asexual and lacking masculinity (Kim 1986; Espiritu 1997; Fong 1998:192; Chen 1999) may contribute to their high levels of exclusion by white women. That white women who express height preferences are much more likely to exclude Asian men as dates is consistent with this interpretation, and this suggests that the idea that Asian men do not fit the ideal version of masculinity (i.e. tall) partly explains why they are excluded at such high rates by white women.

In contrast to the varied positions Asians and blacks encounter in white men and women's racial hierarchies, Latinos/as are the most included out-group for both white men and women. This supports previous research regarding the inclusion of Latinos as "honorary whites" (Bonilla-Silva 2004), as well as the alternative interpretation that Latinos are an assimilating minority (Yancey 2003). Yet, while Latinos appear to be assimilating with regard to marriage and dating, on other key measures of inclusion, such as poverty, income, or education, they do not fare better than Blacks (Bureau of the Census, CPS March 2005). Further, although blacks are

more segregated, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans are more likely to live in high-poverty neighborhoods (South, Crowder and Chavez 2005). Nevertheless, to a far greater extent than for blacks, at least some Latinos, according to our findings, are accepted as “honorary whites.” This suggests the need for further research which is able to more carefully delineate *which* Latinos (such as the lighter-skinned, more highly educated, native born) are more accepted by whites or are able to cross boundaries into whiteness themselves. Although the results indicate greater inclusion of Latinos, we suspect that those with darker skin tones may not receive the same reception as lighter-skinned Latinos. Indeed, in the media, it is often light-skinned Latino/a actors and actresses who enjoy both onscreen and off screen relationships with whites and are cast in roles in which their ethnicity is inconsequential, which reinforces our finding that whites are likely to view, at least light-skinned Latinos, as “honorary whites” and thus as potential dates.

Our findings are consistent with the idea that the evolving images and stereotypes of Latinas and Asian women may create images of greater mainstream desirability than that of the men in their respective ethnic groups. This is particularly so among Asian men, who do not fit idealized conceptions of masculinity, and are thus excluded at high rates. Conversely, it appears that the images and stereotypes of black women remain distant from idealized conceptions of femininity, rendering them less attractive than their male counterparts. Such cultural ideals are one reason why men and women in certain racial groups may vary in their racial hierarchy position and thus face more constraints in dating and marriage markets than others.

CONCLUSION

While interracial marriage has long served as a proxy of racial inclusion (Park 1924; Gordon 1964; Bogardus 1968), we employ willingness to date outside of one’s own race as an indicator that holds implications for understanding racial formation, racial hierarchy, and racial

inclusion. This study shows how racial formation (Omi and Winant 1987) is inherently gendered. Our findings point to the complexity of this process, suggesting that both assimilation theory and social exchange theory may not adequately address crucial dimensions of exclusion.

Our findings contradict social exchange theory in that Asian men, Middle Easterners, and East Indians are unable to exchange their education and income for white privilege. Although East Indian and Middle Eastern men and women are similarly excluded by whites, they, like Asian men, are well educated and enjoy high incomes (Barringer, Takeuchi, and Xenos 1990). Asian males' high levels of education and income, and relatively low levels of residential segregation (Massey and Denton 1992), have not elevated their acceptance as white women's potential mates. These findings add to a growing body of empirical evidence suggesting that the processes of incorporation of new immigrant groups do not parallel those of earlier European origin immigrant groups (Portes and Zhou 1993).

The results regarding blacks and Asians suggest a gendered model of racial exclusion. Unlike the work of Bonilla-Silva (2004), our findings indicate that racial hierarchies rest on a more complex set of relations than a tri-racial system implies. The data show that group position is not only based on race, but on its intersection with gender. While previous work asserts that blacks are at the bottom of the racial hierarchy, this study shows that white women are more inclusive of black men than white men are of black women, who are, *by far*, the least desired potential date of white men. In contrast, black men rank ahead of Asian, Middle Eastern, and East Indian men, among groups white women are willing to date, while Asian women rank highly among the groups white men are willing to date. Preferences for physical characteristics contribute to the racial exclusion of black women and Asian men by whites, but do not explain them entirely. Nevertheless, the consistency between gendered racial preferences and observed

inter-cohabitation and inter-marriage patterns suggest that preferences are an important input into dating and marriage outcomes.

Acceptance by the dominant group is necessary for boundaries and social distance between minority groups and whites to be weakened, yet this study shows that whites continue to exclude minority groups at high rates, in a way that privileges some minorities in a gendered manner. We have suggested that gendered racial preferences on the part of whites are a product of a gendered racial formation process, as manifested in the historic treatment and cultural portrayals of racial men and women. Further research is needed that includes the intersection of not only gender, but of class and skin color with racial formation. Such analyses that examine the intersection of these formations are essential to an understanding of racial inclusion and exclusion in the United States.

Table 1. Characteristics of Sample of White On-line Daters, 2004-2005

	Women		Men	
	All	w/ Stated Ethnic Preference	All	w/ Stated Ethnic Preference
Age (mean, std. dev.)	32.66 (8.50)	33.47 (8.39)	33.66 (6.98)	34.28 (7.02)
Body Type:(%)				
Thick, A few extra lbs, large, voluptuous	11.44	11.56	5.41	6.10
Slim, slender, average, athletic, fit	88.56	88.44	94.59	93.90
Region: (%)				
Los Angeles	22.59	20.23	23.71	22.00
New York City	25.38	24.28	27.06	25.05
Chicago	25.38	25.63	24.87	22.88
Atlanta	26.64	29.87	24.36	30.07
Educational attainment: (%)				
High School Only	8.23	8.48	4.64	5.23
Some college	30.40	29.29	21.01	22.44
College graduate	42.68	43.55	48.20	47.71
Post-graduate	18.69	18.69	26.16	24.62
Religious affiliation: (%)				
Not Religious	19.67	18.11	25.64	24.40
Other Religion	4.04	3.85	3.99	3.49
Christian/Catholic	54.39	58.00	46.01	50.98
Jewish	5.58	5.39	5.15	5.45
No Answer	16.32	14.64	19.20	15.69
Political affiliation: (%)				
Liberal or Very Liberal	21.90	18.88	21.78	19.61
Conservative, Very Conservative, Middle of the Road, Not Political, No Answer	78.10	81.12	78.22	80.39
% of Items with Stated Preferences (mean, std. dev.)	48.23 (21.21)	54.21 (18.39)	36.37 (18.71)	42.23 (18.10)
# of Racial/Ethnic Groups Preferred (mean, std. dev.)	1.33 (1.58)	1.84 (1.59)	2.02 (2.49)	3.42 (2.39)
Stated Preference for Race/Ethnicity (%)	72.38	100.00	59.15	100.00
Stated Preference for Education (%)	69.18	74.18	43.81	46.41
Stated Preference for Religion (%)	41.56	53.18	22.94	30.71
Stated Preference for Height (%)	77.96	86.13	53.99	57.08
Stated Preference for Body Type (%)	75.87	84.97	85.95	91.29
N	717	519	776	459

Figure 1. Racial Preferences for Dates, White Women and Men

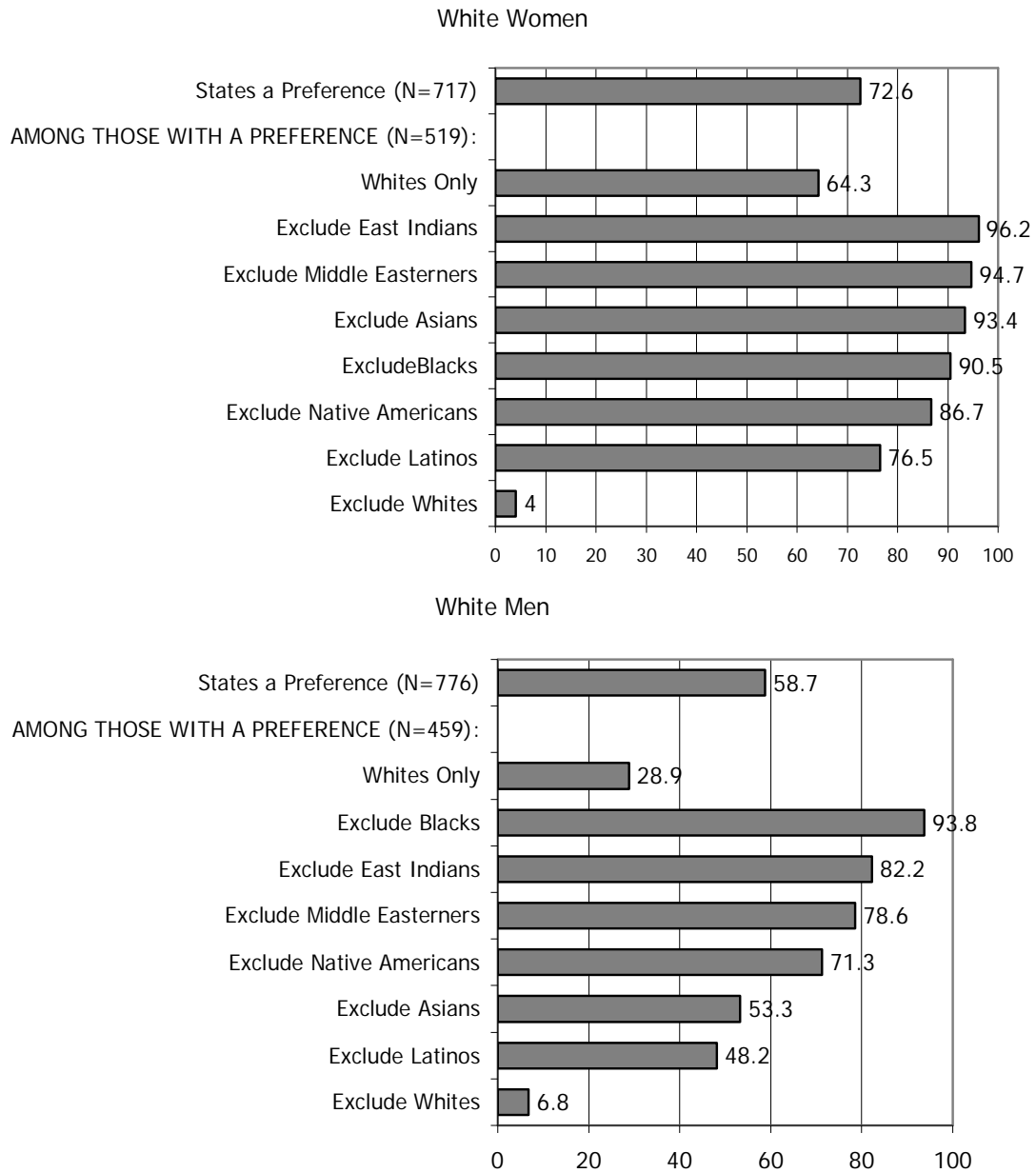


Table 2. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regressions of the Effects of Female Gender on Racial Preferences in Dating

Dependent Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	N
States a Racial Preference	1.817***	1.104	1.062	1.291 [^]	1495
AMONG THOSE WITH A PREFERENCE:					
Whites Only	4.537***	4.522***	4.747***	4.895***	980
Exclude Blacks	0.680	0.268***	0.257***	0.234***	927 ^a
Exclude East Indians	5.530***	1.547	1.524	1.698	980
Exclude Middle Easterners	4.967***	1.648	1.595	1.416	980
Exclude Native Americans	2.644***	0.405**	0.401**	0.385**	980
Exclude Asians	11.768***	8.032***	8.346***	8.332***	980
Exclude Latinos	3.485***	1.108	1.123	1.202	980
Exclude Whites	0.609 [^]	0.736	0.767	0.684	980

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; [^] $p < .10$

Notes:

Model 1: no controls

Model 2: controls for choosiness (% of preferences stated and number of ethnic/racial groups preferred)

Model 3: Model 2 + physical and background characteristics (body type, age, region, education, political affiliation)

Model 4: Model 3 + preferences for body type, education, religion, and height

(Complete Models available upon request)

^a Jewish religion perfectly predicts black exclusion; 53 cases dropped from analysis.

Table 3. Odds Ratios from Logistic Regressions of Racial Preferences in Dating

	Excludes Blacks		Excludes Asians	
	Females	Males	Females	Males
Age	0.992	0.949	1.008	0.948**
Region:				
Los Angeles	0.433	0.326	2.823	0.846
New York	0.462	0.126**	1.268	1.57
Chicago (reference=Atlanta)	0.738	0.376	4.620*	1.641
Education:				
Some College	2.940*	3.439	0.970	1.121
College Graduate	4.194*	5.763*	0.440	1.281
Post-Graduate (reference = high school or less)	3.075+	3.624	0.384	1.153
Body Type:				
Slim/Slender/Athletic/Fit/Average (reference=Thick/Voluptuous, Few Extra Pounds, Large)	6.816***	0.604	1.366	1.163
Political Views:				
Liberal or Very Liberal (reference = Conservative, Very Conservative, Middle of the Road, Not Political)	0.364*	1.582	3.953+	1.407
Religion:				
Other	4.207	0.100*	0.136*	2.232
Christian/Catholic	1.673	0.450	0.723	1.254
Jewish	-	-	-	0.715
Missing (reference= Not Religious)	0.704	0.141**	1.488	1.334
Preference for:				
Religion	2.390*	4.007*	0.936	1.389
Body Type	1.325	5.657*	0.603	1.464
Education	1.932	2.872*	0.670	0.863
Height	0.641	1.057	4.724*	1.001
Percentage of Preferences	0.987	0.946**	0.990	1.006
Number of Ethnic Groups Preferred	0.532***	0.697***	0.370***	0.418***
N	493	434	493	459

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; ^ p < .10

Notes:

Jewish religion perfectly predicts Black exclusion

Appendix Table 1. Characteristics of Yahoo Daters, Single Internet Users in CPS, and General Population in CPS, Non-Hispanic Whites, Ages 18-50, Atlanta, Los Angeles, Chicago, New York*

	CPS-General Population	CPS-Single Internet Users**	Yahoo Daters
Age	34.95 (9.48)	30.06 (9.70)	33.19 (7.79)
Education***:			
High School Grad or Less	27.82	17.90	6.37
Some College	27.60	29.41	25.61
College Graduate	32.07	39.13	45.45
Post Graduate	12.52	13.56	22.56
Marital Status***:			
Married	54.19	0.00	0.00
Never Married	37.11	73.57	71.62
Divorced	6.83	21.42	25.05
Widowed	0.58	1.18	0.98
Separated	1.28	3.84	2.35
Employment Status***:			
Employed	80.1	85.30	91.59
Unemployed	3.21	3.89	0.20
Student	2.96	3.64	7.61
Other-Not in Labor Force	13.74	7.17	0.60
N	4700	1343	1558

* Weighted Equally by Region: Atlanta, New York, Los Angeles, Chicago only

** Single Persons with Internet Use at Home

*** Age Standardized based on age distribution of Yahoo Daters

Appendix Table 2. Most Common Racial Preferences among Whites

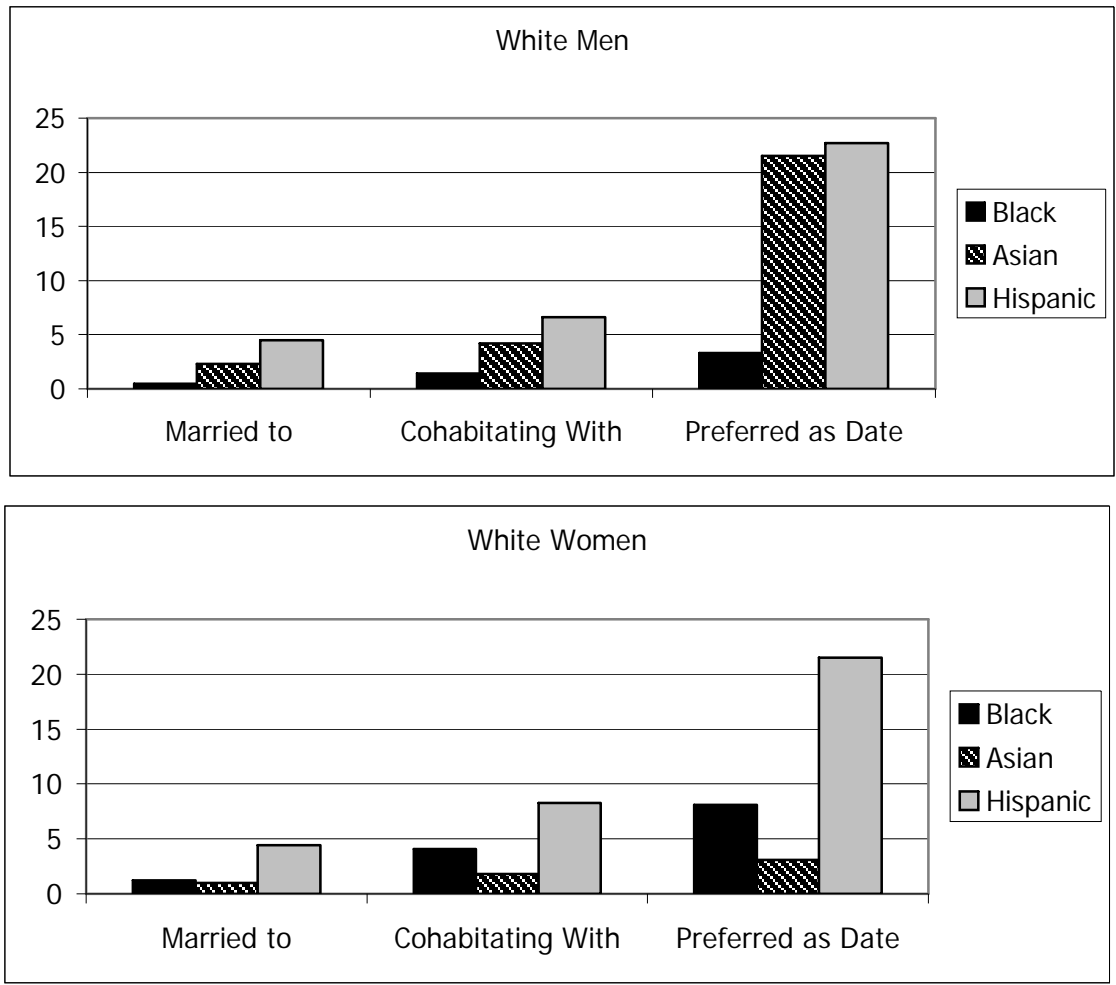
	Males	Females
No Stated Preference	41.27	27.38
White only	16.96	46.69
White and Latino	3.12	4.50
Asian, White, Latino	2.62	0.79
All <i>Except</i> Black*	1.75	0.00
Black only	0.37	1.46
All <i>Except</i> Black and Inter-racial	1.37	0.26
Asian and White	1.37	0.13
Asian only	1.25	0.13
White and Other	0.50	0.93
White, Asian, Latino, Pacific Islander	1.25	0.13
White and Native American	0.25	1.06
White, Latino, Native American	0.75	0.53
Black, White, Latino	0.12	1.06
Black and White	0.00	0.79
White, Latino, Pacific Islander	0.12	0.66
Other Combinations	26.93	13.50
	100%	100%
N	802	756

Notes:

The Table includes the top 10 racial preference combinations for males and females

* Includes Asian, White, East Indian, Latino, Middle Eastern, Native American, Pacific Islander, Inter-racial, Other

Appendix Figure 1. Inter-Marriage, Inter-Cohabitation, and Racial Preferences for Dates among Whites in Atlanta, Chicago, Los Angeles, New York



Data Sources: Yahoo Personals, American Community Survey, 2005

Notes: ACS data weighted equally by 4 regions; Predicted Percentages with Preference for Each Group based on Table 2, Model 4.

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