HOW EXTERNAL RACIAL CLASSIFICATIONS SHAPE LATINO DATING CHOICES[1]

Cynthia Feliciano
Department of Sociology and Department of Chicano/Latino Studies, University of California, Irvine

Belinda Robnett
Department of Sociology, University of California, Irvine

Abstract

Understanding how different dimensions of race relate to the lived experiences of Latinos may shed light on the assimilation trajectories of different segments of the Latino population. Existing research suggests that racial appearance influences Latinos' socioeconomic outcomes due to discrimination. However, researchers have not examined how Latinos' perceived race relates to their acceptance of other racial/ethnic groups, thus revealing their agency in the assimilation process and how it is shaped by existing racial structures. Using a sample of over 6000 profiles collected from an internet dating website, this study finds that considering others' classifications of race in addition to self-identifications changes our understanding of Latinos' acceptance of other racial/ethnic groups as dates. Latinos who appear White are most likely to exclude Blacks and include Whites as possible dates while the opposite is true for those classified as Black. Latinos perceived *as* Latino fall somewhere in between those with a White versus Black racial phenotype in their acceptance of Blacks and Whites. These findings suggest that neither external classifications nor self-identifications of race alone can adequately assess the assimilation prospects of self-identified Latinos: those perceived as White may be assuming the position of Whites in the racial hierarchy, those perceived as Black may be assimilating into the bottom of the racial hierarchy along with African Americans, while those perceived as Latino may be maintaining an in-between status.

Keywords: Race, Latinos, Dating, Assimilation, Phenotype

INTRODUCTION

Latinos[2] currently comprise over 16% of the U.S. population, and are projected to grow to over 30% of the population by 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). The implications of this demographic change for U.S. racial and ethnic boundaries are the subject

Du Bois Review, 11:2 (2014) 295–328.

doi:10.1017/S1742058X14000204

of critical debate: there is little agreement about where Latinos currently fit within a hierarchy of racial and ethnic categories in U.S. society, let alone how the Latino population may be changing the U.S. racial structure itself (Bonilla-Silva 2004; Feliciano et al., 2011; Frank et al., 2010). Will Latinos comprise a separate racial category (or do they already)? Or, will they eventually assimilate into the "White" category, as some argue was the case with descendants of European immigrants (but see Fox and Guglielmo, 2012)? Moreover, given the diversity of individuals subsumed under the terms "Latino" or "Hispanic," can anything be said generally about their assimilation[3] patterns at all (Feliciano et al., 2011)?

One major source of difference among Latinos is phenotypic. By outward appearance, some who self-identify as Latino are seen by others as Black or White (Itzigsohn 2009; Rodriguez 2000). Existing studies link Latinos' racial appearance to socioeconomic indictors of assimilation, arguing that Latinos with darker skin experience more discrimination (Arce et al., 1987; Bonilla-Silva 2004; Espino and Franz, 2002; Frank et al., 2010; Hunter 2005; Roth 2010; Telles and Murguia, 1990). But how does racial phenotype relate to indicators that have implications for assimilation in general? And is variation in observed race related to Latinos' discrimination *against* others?

In its broadest form, assimilation is the breaking down of boundaries between ethnic or racial groups. Scholars often look to data on intermarriage to address long-standing questions about Latinos' (and other racial and ethnic groups') assimilation trajectories (Feliciano 2001; Lieberson and Waters, 1988; Qian and Lichter, 2001, 2007). Intermarriage is considered a benchmark of assimilation because it can both reflect existing boundaries and act as a mechanism for change by breaking boundaries down. Dating is a necessary precursor to intermarriage that is also both an indicator and facilitator of assimilation. However, while dating and marriage *outcomes* help to reveal assimilation trajectories, they cannot reveal the *mechanisms* through which we see these outcomes. While one can assume that interracial relationships reflect both an openness towards another group and the opportunity to meet, we do not know *whose* preferences drive relationship outcomes. To examine the mechanisms that lead to dating and marriage outcomes, we draw on racial preference data from internet dating profiles. These data are uniquely suited to address questions of social distance between groups and assimilation trajectories for several reasons: (1) in the online context, opportunities to meet are relatively unconstrained, and (2) people's stated preferences for dates match up with patterns of interracial marriages in the general population, suggesting "that matches formed through the internet may not differ substantially from those formed in other ways…" (Schwartz 2013, p. 458), and (3) these data reveal the *agency* of different racial/ethnic groups in the pursuit of relationships that may lead to assimilation through the stated acceptance (and unstated, but implicit rejection) of particular racial/ethnic groups as possible dates.

This study goes beyond previous research by considering whether the racial/ethnic dating preferences of self-identified Latinos vary by their race/ethnicity as observed by outsiders. The assumption of previous research has been that phenotype matters for Latinos' assimilation trajectories because Latinos who appear non-White face discrimination *by* others. We show that discrimination *towards* others also varies by racial appearance. Latinos who appear "White" accept dominant racial hierarchies privileging Whites over other groups, although not to the degree that self-identified Whites do. In contrast, those who appear "Black" prefer dating Blacks over dating Whites, but not to the degree that self-identified Blacks do. Self-identified Latinos who are viewed by others *as* Latino are more accepting of Whites than Blacks, and fall in-between those who appear "White" or "Black" in the degree to which they accept Blacks as dates. We draw on these findings to make several arguments: (1) racial phenotype influences assimilation through Latinos' *own agency*[4] and acceptance of other groups, not just the dominant group's acceptance

(or lack) of them; (2) different segments of the Latino population are assimilating in different ways—some may assimilate into the White racial group, others may assimilate into the Black racial group, and some are assimilating into a Latino racialized category (Browne and Odem, 2012; Golash-Boza 2006); (3) *both* external evaluations of Latinos' race *and* self-identity matter in shaping these trajectories; and, consequently, (4) survey researchers should include both external and internal assessments of race and ethnicity.

THE COMPLEXITY OF ETHNIC AND RACIAL CLASSIFICATIONS FOR LATINOS

Because this article argues that "Latinos" are a diverse category that do not fit neatly into existing racial or ethnic classifications, we refrain from defining Latinos as either a racial or an ethnic group. Instead, we use the term Latino to refer simply to individuals who self-identify as Latino or Hispanic. Whether we call this a racial or an ethnic category is less important from our view than the strength of the boundary separating different segments of the Latino population from other ethnic or racial groups (Alba 2005). We use the language of race throughout this article because we engage with the literature on the multidimensionality of race, specifically dealing with appearance, which is often understood as central to the race concept. Some argue that the Latino population is being "racialized" (Cobas et al., 2009). Through this process, people begin to think of Latinos (like Blacks or Asians) as a group with a singular racial appearance, although this may be more imagined than real. However, while "Latino" is perhaps becoming a racialized category, we do not assume that all those who self-identify as Latino are racialized into it. Rather, some segment of the self-identified Latino population may be racialized *as* Latino, others' racial categorizations may be more flexible, and others may be racialized as Black.

According to current official federal guidelines, Latinos are an ethnic group who can be of any race. Yet, when confronted with the standard census questions that ask separately one's "Hispanic Origin" and one's race, many, if not most, Latinos reject official racial categories of White, Black, Asian, or Native American, choosing instead to mark "Other" or to not respond at all (Hitlin et al., 2007; Perez 2008; Rodriguez 2000; Roth 2010; Vaquera and Kao, 2006). At the same time, those who compile census data results usually treat Latinos as a separate category regardless of how they self-identify racially, with some contending that there are five major racial groups in the United States: Whites, Blacks, Asians, Native Americans, and Latinos. For example, projections that Whites will soon become the minority group ignore the fact that many Latinos self-identify as White on the U.S. Census (Patterson 2001). Further, the Census Bureau is currently considering eliminating the separate "Hispanic origin" question on the 2020 Census, in favor of a combined "race or origin" question that includes a Hispanic/Latino category alongside White, Black, American Indian, and Asian (El Nasser 2013). Although some argue that this change would more closely correspond to Latinos' own conceptions of race (Campbell and Rogalin, 2006; Hitlin et al., 2007; Perez 2008), others are critical of this change (Ayala and Huet, 2013).

While not explicitly stated officially, the current separation of Latinos from the Census' existing racial categories is often understood as a way to measure the diverse racial phenotypes among Latinos. Some scholars have distinguished between "Black Hispanics," "White Hispanics" and "Other Hispanics" in their analyses, using stated racial identity on the Census as a proxy for racial appearance (Qian and Cobas, 2004). For example, Orlando Patterson (2001) assumed that racial self-identity corresponds to Latinos' lived experience of race when he argued that "nearly half of the Hispanic population is white in every social sense of the term" because they chose the White

racial category on the Census. However, as Richard Alba (2005, p. 38) points out, we actually know little about "the social role of phenotypical differences" among Latinos; he notes that "White" may be the stated racial self-identity because it is the desired category, and *not* because it corresponds to phenotype. Indeed, recent research has shown that there is considerable mismatch between how Latinos self-identify in racial terms and their race as observed by outsiders (Itzigsohn 2009; Rodriguez 2000; Roth 2010). For example, 36% of the Dominican immigrants in Itzigsohn's (2009) survey responded that others see them as Black, but only 7% self-identified as Black in response to a question resembling the 2010 Census' race question. Such incongruities reveal that "race" has multiple dimensions, all of which may have different relationships to varied aspects of individuals' lived experiences (Roth 2010). Debates over how to classify the growing Latino population reveal the socially constructed dynamics of racial and ethnic classifications.

A growing body of scholarship considers the multidimensionality of the race concept by analyzing multiple measures of race (Ahmed et al., 2007; Brown et al., 2006; Harris and Sim, 2002; Roth 2010; Saperstein 2006, 2008; Saperstein and Penner, 2010; Telles and Lim, 1998). While some research has treated racial appearance, most commonly measured by skin color, as a source of heterogeneity *within* racial groups, recent research emphasizes that because of the socially constructed nature of race, racial appearance is but one way we might conceive of the idea of the race (Rodriguez 2000; Roth 2005; Saperstein 2008). In other words, because race is not a fixed individual attribute but rather a relational concept, different measures of race, such as self-identifications versus observer classifications, all contribute to how individuals experience race (Roth 2010; Saperstein 2008). This work recognizes that self-identifications of race do not always correspond to outsiders' classifications although the two are generated through dialectical processes (Ahmed et al., 2007; Nagel 1994).

Although most of the existing research has focused on discrepancies in classification, such as between outsider and self-assessments, and the factors related to such discrepancies (Ahmed et al., 2007; Brown et al., 2006; Saperstein 2006; Saperstein and Penner, 2010), a few existing studies have examined whether multiple measures of race are differentially associated with outcomes such as income (Bailey et al., 2013; Saperstein 2006; Telles and Lim, 1998), education (Bruch and Loveman, 2011; Campbell 2009), criminal justice system contact (Penner et al., 2012), and health (Saperstein 2009). These studies suggest that observed race is more important than self-identification for understanding inequality outcomes because perceptions of others drive discrimination (Saperstein 2006; Telles and Murguia, 1990). The association between Latinos' phenotype and outcomes such as employment, income, and education has also been studied (Arce et al., 1987; Campbell 2009; Espino and Franz, 2002; Frank et al., 2010; Telles and Murguia, 1990), but limited research has examined how self-identified Latinos' racial appearance relates to their behaviors or attitudes *towards* other ethnic and racial groups. Existing research has thus not considered that perceived race may not only relate to how one is treated by others, but also to *how one treats others*.

Further, different measures of race may lead to different conclusions about the assimilation trajectories of distinct segments of the Latino population. For instance, some have suggested that because native-born Latinos have higher intermarriage and cohabitation rates with Whites than other minorities do (Qian and Lichter, 2007), Latinos are assimilating into the White mainstream (Yancey 2003). For example, 21% of newly married Latino men in 2008 married Whites, compared to only 14% of newly married Asian men and 13% of newly married Black men (Passel et al., 2010). However, the relatively high rates of Latino intermarriage and cohabitation with Whites may be driven by marriages between self-identified Latinos who appear White, thus masking persistent racial boundaries between Whites and Latinos who

appear non-White. Our study shows that examining observed race in addition to self-identification changes our understandings of Latinos' acceptance of other racial-ethnic groups in the domain of intimacy, which has implications for intermarriage outcomes and assimilation trajectories.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF RACIAL PREFERENCES IN DATING FOR ASSIMILATION

Latinos' racial dating choices have implications for assimilation trajectories because they feed into marriage and childbearing outcomes. If enough intermixing occurs, existing groups will no longer be socially meaningful: new ethnic or racial groups may be created or the boundaries of old groups may be expanded (Gordon 1964). This study adds to a growing body of research that analyzes racial preference data from internet daters to assess the salience of group boundaries (Feliciano et al., 2011; Feliciano et al., 2009; Hitsch et al., 2010b; Robnett and Feliciano, 2011; Sautter et al., 2010; Skopek et al., 2011; Wilson et al., 2007; Yancey 2007, 2009). Dating is an increasingly important arena where racial and ethnic relations are played out. While intermarriage remains an important barometer of racial boundaries and assimilation (Qian and Lichter, 2007), its importance may be diminishing since men and women are marrying later in life and an increasing proportion of adults spend more of their lives single (Schoen and Standish, 2001). Individuals may be much more willing to interracially date than they are to interracially marry (Blackwell and Lichter, 2004; Fujino 1997; Joyner and Kao, 2005), but interracial marriage or cohabitation cannot occur if individuals are closed to the possibility of dating outside of their own ethnic or racial group.

Moreover, the most common approaches to understanding ethnic and racial boundaries in the United States—analyses of intermarriage data and surveys of racial attitudes—have limitations. First, marriage (and dating or cohabitation) outcomes are limited because they do not reveal the factors driving interracial pairings in the first place. Romantic relationships are shaped by both preferences and opportunities. The distinction between preferences and opportunities is important for understanding racial boundaries because, historically, descendants of European immigrants intermarried once they moved out of ethnic neighborhoods and into mainstream institutions (i.e., once opportunities increased) (Alba 1981). On the other hand, even with increased education and integration, Blacks have low intermarriage rates, suggesting that preferences (on the part of Whites, Blacks, or Others) drive their relatively low intermarriage rates (Feliciano 2001; Qian and Lichter, 2007). However, intermarriage data themselves cannot distinguish preferences from opportunities, nor reveal *whose* preferences drive marriage patterns.

Second, surveys about attitudes towards other racial groups and race-based policies, or acceptance of other racial groups in various realms (i.e., social distance scales [Bogardus 1928]) are usually based on hypothetical scenarios (such as questions about whether one would oppose their child marrying someone of another race) (Herring and Amissah, 1997; Yancey 2003). Respondents have been found to appear more racially tolerant in abstract survey questions than in in-depth interviews (Bonilla-Silva and Forman, 2000). In both interviews and surveys, respondents may mask their true views, understanding that in post-civil rights U.S. society, it is no longer socially acceptable to express racial biases (Bonilla-Silva and Baiocchi, 2001; Gallagher 2008). Examining the acceptance of various racial groups among people in a real-life dating situation free from opportunity constraints

overcomes these limitations and thus offers a unique perspective on the salience of racial and ethnic boundaries.

RACIAL APPEARANCE AND ASSIMILATION AMONG LATINOS

Theoretically, racial appearance is an important factor related to assimilation patterns. The classic view of assimilation, based on the experiences of European immigrants and their descendants, argued that assimilation unfolded over generations; eventually enough intermarriage with the dominant group occurred that the original group boundaries ceased to be meaningful such that any remaining ethnic distinctions are only symbolic (Alba 1990; Gans 1979; Gordon 1964; Waters 1990). Some argue that this process is occurring for Latinos (Warren and Twine, 1997; Yancey 2003). While not often emphasized, early scholars noted that the pace of assimilation was slower for darker-skinned ethnic groups, such as Greeks and Italians (Warner and Srole, 1945).

However, the influence of phenotype on the assimilation process is usually framed only in terms of acceptance *by* others. Segmented assimilation theory posits that contemporary immigrants and their children may not assimilate according to the classic pattern due to many "vulnerabilities", particularly their racial appearance (Portes and Zhou, 1993). Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou (1993) argue that European immigrants' "skin color reduced a major barrier to entry into the American mainstream" (p. 76), an advantage that most children of immigrants from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean do not have. Segmented assimilation theory proposes two alternative paths for non-White immigrant groups: "selective assimilation," in which these groups retain their own unique ethnic/racial identities, or "downward assimilation," in which assimilation is "into the underclass" (p. 82). Consistent with segmented assimilation theory, the considerable phenotypic diversity *within* the Latino category may mean that different assimilation patterns could apply to different segments of Latinos (Bonilla-Silva 2004; Feliciano 2001; Forman et al., 2002; Murgia and Forman, 2003; Qian and Cobas, 2004), and even different segments within the same national-origin group (Murgia and Forman, 2003; Rumbaut 2009; Telles and Ortiz, 2008). Assimilation into the dominant group may occur quickly for some lighter-skinned Latinos, and slower or not at all for others (Feliciano et al., 2011; Frank et al., 2010).

The emphasis in aforementioned research has most often been on racial appearance as a barrier to assimilation because of discrimination and negative treatment *by* others (Arce et al., 1987; Bonilla-Silva 2004; Telles and Murguia, 1990). Scholars have focused less on how members of ethnic and racial groups *themselves* contribute to the assimilation process and how their attitudes and behaviors vary by racial appearance. A few studies have considered how skin color affects racial self-identification, finding that darker-skinned Latinos are more likely to identify as "other" or "Black" and less likely to identify as "White" (Frank et al., 2010; Golash-Boza and Darity, 2008). These self-identifications indicate that only some Latinos are pursuing entry into the White racial group through their self-identification choices, although these choices are also partly shaped by whether Latinos are accepted or discriminated against by the dominant group (Frank et al., 2010; Golash-Boza 2006). Edward Murgia and Tyrone Forman's (2003) attitudinal study found that Mexican Americans with lighter skin expressed more warmth towards Whites than those with darker skin, but found no relation between skin color and warmth towards Blacks. Research has also shown that Latinos who identify as non-White are less likely to marry non-Latino Whites (Qian and Cobas, 2004). However, we do not know how much racial self-identity corresponds to phenotype (Itzigsohn 2009; Roth 2010), nor whose preferences ultimately

drive these intermarriage patterns. The current study moves beyond these inquiries to consider the agency of self-identified Latinos in the assimilation process by examining whether their observed race relates to their acceptance of other racial or ethnic groups in a real-life dating situation.

RACIAL CLASSIFICATIONS, OBSERVED RACE, AND RACIAL PREFERENCES

Why would outsiders' racial classifications of self-identified Latinos relate to their racial preferences in dating? Posing this question suggests that self-identification as "Latino" or "Hispanic" masks variability in the lived experiences of those who appear phenotypically Black or White. Indeed, it is not clear that Latinos are a meaningful group at all given the diversity subsumed under the term (Feliciano et al., 2011; Frank et al., 2010). There is considerable variation in the way Latinos self-identify, the way they are treated by others, and their socioeconomic outcomes. For example, descendants of Latin Americans in the United States do not collectively accept a pan-ethnic Latino or Hispanic identity, often choosing instead to emphasize their unique national origins (Oboler 1992). Even among those who identify with the same national-origin group, variation in racial appearance may lead to very different life experiences. For example, a *NY Times* article profiling two Cuban immigrants, one who appeared "White" and one who appeared "Black," highlighted how differences in racial appearance led to divergent experiences with police, neighborhoods, employment, and dating (Ojito 2001).

Just as racial appearance may influence employment and neighborhood options, outsiders' racial classifications of Latinos may drive their options in the dating market. A White racial phenotype may be considered a form of capital in dating situations. Exchange theory in mate selection posits that lower status individuals trade their capital, whether economic, human, or physical, for a higher status mate (Davis 1941; Fu 2001; Gullickson 2006; Merton 1941). Given that Whites have historically ranked highest on the racial hierarchy in the United States and Blacks the lowest, it follows that Latinos who have physical capital in the form of a White phenotype might believe that they can trade on that capital for a higher racial status mate (White). From the opposite perspective, Latinos without such physical capital would marry lower racial status mates (Blacks). Intermarriage data provide some preliminary evidence for such exchanges as Latinos who identify as non-White are less likely to marry non-Latino Whites (Qian and Cobas, 2004); however, these data are limited because we know that racial self-identity often conflicts with racial appearance (Itzigsohn 2009), and because racial self-identity is fluid and may be influenced by who one marries (Saperstein and Penner, 2012). Studies also show that Latino national-origin groups that tend to have more African ancestry, such as Puerto Ricans, have higher intermarriage rates with Blacks than other Latino national-origin groups (Fu 2007), suggesting that phenotype affects mating outcomes. Exchange theory would predict that, recognizing their options, Latinos who are perceived as White would be more likely to include Whites as possible dates while Latinos who are perceived as Black would be more likely to include Blacks as possible dates. Importantly, this view suggests that Latinos' agency in dating choices is highly influenced by the existing racial social structure.

Another reason why outsiders' racial classifications may influence dating choices is that phenotype is often considered a marker of ethnic legitimacy (Brunsma and Rockquemore, 2001; Hunter 2007; Hunter 2005; Jiménez 2004, 2010). Individuals whom others view as appearing closer to the prototype for their racial or ethnic group are often assumed to *be* authentic members of a particular racial or ethnic group, while

others are suspected to not be. Experimental research has shown that, with considerable agreement, subjects do identify a prototypical "Latino" appearance (Wilkins et al., 2010). Among Latinos, those with lighter skin, who report being able to "pass" as White, often feel less authentic than their darker-skinned counterparts who look more stereotypically Latino (Hunter 2007; Hunter 2005; Jiménez 2004). For example, the light-skinned Mexican American women in Margaret Hunter's (2005) study report facing the scrutiny of co-ethnics who consider them less authentically Chicana or Mexican. Thus, for some light-skinned Latinos, boundaries between them and other Latinos may be more difficult to negotiate than boundaries between them and Whites (Jiménez 2010). To avoid claims of ethnic illegitimacy, Latinos who appear White may feel more comfortable dating non-Latino Whites.

Another mechanism linking observed race and racial preferences may be through the salience and strength of ethnic or racial identities. Research on African Americans has shown that the lighter-skinned tend to exhibit less pride in and identify less with their ethnic heritage (Brown et al., 1998; Freeman et al., 1966; Wilkins et al., 2010). Among Latinos, the lighter-skinned are more likely to identify as racially "White" as opposed to their darker-skinned counterparts who more often identify racially as "Other" (Golash-Boza and Darity, 2008). Lighter-skinned Latinos who appear phenotypically White may exhibit less ethnic pride and thus be less concerned about ethnic homophily.

Discriminatory experiences linked to appearance may also shape racial preferences. Darker-skinned Latinos are more likely to report having experienced discrimination (Jiménez 2010; Telles and Ortiz, 2008). Tomás Jiménez (2008, 2010) argues that due to sustained immigration, many Mexican Americans are mistaken for foreign-born Latinos based on their physical appearance. Experiencing nativism and discrimination reinforces the salience of a Mexican-origin identity and sharpens boundaries between Whites and people of Mexican descent (Jiménez 2008). This suggests that those Latinos who exhibit a more stereotypical Latino appearance may be more likely to exclude Whites as possible dates because of such negative experiences.

RESEARCH QUESTION AND HYPOTHESES

This study considers one major research question: How do racial preferences among self-identified Latinos vary by their observed race? Based on the literature discussed above, we hypothesize that among self-identified Latinos:

1) *Those perceived as Latino by others are more likely than those who are viewed as non-Latino to prefer homophily in dating.*
2) *Racial preferences in dating among those perceived by outsiders as Black are more similar to self-identified Blacks than are those of Latinos who are viewed as non-Black.*
3) *Racial preferences in dating among those perceived as White are more similar to self-identified Whites than are those of Latinos who are viewed as non-White.*

DATA AND METHODS

We collected data between September 2004 and May 2005 from internet dating profiles posted on Yahoo Personals, which was then the most popular national online dating website (Madden and Lenhart, 2006). At the time of data collection, posting dating profiles on Yahoo Personals was free. We selected profiles from people who

self-identified as Black, White, Asian, and Latino[5] living within fifty miles of four major U.S. cities: New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Atlanta. We chose these cities because they vary by region (West, Northeast, Midwest, and South), historical and contemporary racial politics, racial compositions, group sizes, and national origin groups represented. Latinos make up 9% in Atlanta, 19% in Chicago, 22% in New York, and 44% in Los Angeles (based on authors' calculations of the 2005 Community Survey). Each of the four metropolitan areas has different immigration histories, and thus differs markedly in the national origin make-up of their Latino populations. Mexicans, both historically and currently, are the dominant national-origin group in Los Angeles, although Central Americans are also represented in sizable numbers. Only recently have Latinos including Mexicans, Carribeans, and Central Americans migrated to Atlanta. In Chicago, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans predominate. Dominicans and Puerto Ricans are the dominant Latino groups in New York (Ennis et al., 2011). Dominicans and Puerto Ricans are also far more likely to self-identify as Black or African American (12.9% and 8.7% respectively) than other Latino ethnic groups such as Guatemalans (1.1%) or Mexicans (.9%) (Ennis et al., 2011). Since racial identities overlap to some degree with racial classifications by others (although we know these often do not correspond), we expect our sample of Latinos who are classified as Black to be overrepresented by New Yorkers. Because we were interested in racial preferences as inputs into eventual marriage and childbearing outcomes, we limited the sample to those ages 18–50, who were only seeking opposite-sex dates. We selected 200 profiles for each race/gender combination in each metropolitan area, for a total sample size of more than 6000.[6]

We coded all the quantitative information available on the daters' profiles. Daters filled out a checklist of demographic information about themselves, such as age, sex, religion, educational level, and race/ethnicity. In response to the question, "my ethnicity is mostly…", daters selected one of ten choices. The options included Black/African American, Asian, Caucasian/White, East Indian, Hispanic/Latino, Middle Eastern, Native-American, Pacific Islander, Inter-racial, or Other. Daters could only designate one ethnicity option, or they could refuse to answer (I"ll tell you later").[7] Daters also filled out a checklist of nineteen possible characteristics that they might be seeking in a date (such as a particular age, body type, education, and race/ethnicity).[8] The default was "any," suggesting that daters have no preference for that characteristic. If they wished to state a preference, they then checked the boxes of the characteristics they preferred. In terms of race/ethnicity, they could select one or more out of ten groups. Those groups included Caucasian/white, African American/black, Asian, Hispanic/Latino, Middle Eastern, Pacific Islander, East Indian, Inter-racial, and Other. Choices could not be ranked.

Data Considerations

Although internet use has expanded exponentially in recent years, internet users are still a select sample, and this is especially true among Blacks and Latinos (Jayajit and Bosman, 2005; Mack 2001). For example, around the time of our data collection, 71% of Whites used the internet, compared to only 60% of Blacks (Fox and Livingston, 2007). Internet use among Latinos varies by language: English-dominant or bilingual Latinos use the internet at rates similar to Whites, but only 32% of Spanish-dominant Latinos use the internet (Fox and Livingston, 2007). However, the most inequality in internet use is found by socioeconomic status; those with the lowest income and education levels are far less likely to go online across and within all racial/ethnic groups (Fox and Livingston, 2007; Martin and Robinson, 2007). Thus, our data cannot be generalized

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X14000204 Published online by Cambridge University Press

beyond the population of U.S. internet users in these four metropolitan areas, who have higher socioeconomic status than the general U.S. population.[9] The sample of Blacks and Latinos is even more selective than the sample of Whites and Asians in this regard, and the sample of Latinos also underrepresents recent immigrants.

In addition, although internet dating has become, by most accounts, a mainstream practice in recent years (Rosenfeld and Thomas, 2012; Sautter et al., 2010), internet daters may still be a select group of single internet users. However, recent survey research suggests that internet daters do not differ in socioeconomic or demographic characteristics (such as gender, race, or education) from single internet users who do not use internet dating services (Sautter et al., 2010). The strongest determinants of internet dating among single internet users were whether respondents were actively looking for a partner and whether they knew someone who had tried online dating (Sautter et al., 2010). Thus, our data are fairly representative of single internet users in these U.S. metropolitan areas, who tend to be more educated and skilled in writing in English.

A further sample selection issue was the possibility of self-selecting minorities who are especially open to interracial dating. This might be the case if Yahoo Personals were dominated by Whites; minority daters also have the option to use ethnic-specific websites. However, Whites were actually underrepresented on the website compared to their representation among internet users in all the regions except for Los Angeles (where their representation approximates the percentage of internet users).[10] In general, the racial distribution of internet daters on Yahoo Personals closely approximates the racial distribution of internet users in the four metropolitan areas (table available upon request). Thus, we have little reason to expect that the racial makeup of the Yahoo dating pool would affect racial preferences any more than racial preferences are shaped by the racial makeup of the communities in which the daters live, a factor we include in our analysis.

We also consider the possibility that some internet daters might be especially choosy about who they date (and thus unable to find their preferred dates off-line). We account for this by examining differences in racial exclusion and inclusion *controlling* for how choosy the dater is in general, which is measured by the percentage of characteristics for which the dater states a preference.

Unfortunately, the website does not distinguish between those who are looking for a serious relationship, versus those who are seeking only a casual 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. However, willingness to even casually date someone of another racial group indicates a certain level of social acceptance and is necessary for a more serious relationship to develop.

We were also concerned that there might be some misrepresentation in daters' stated preferences. However, if online daters do misrepresent racial preferences, they are likely to do so in the direction of *including* racial groups whom, in reality, they are not open to dating. Prior research examining actual online contact on a dating Website shows that daters who do *not* state any racial preferences in their profiles nevertheless tend to discriminate against members of different racial groups (Hitsch et al., 2010b). Also, preferring "any" racial group is the default on the website; daters who are in a rush to complete a profile may choose to disregard the choices. Others may wish to appear politically correct. For these reasons, we make an analytical distinction between those who state they are open to dating "any" racial group and those who stated particular choices and excluded and included particular groups. Given that these are real individuals searching for a date, daters would have no reason to *exclude* groups that

they are actually open to dating, and thus we are confident that the patterns we find accurately represent true preferences, even if they underestimate the degree to which particular racial groups are actually excluded.

Despite their limitations, the data hold a number of advantages. Even if not representative of the general population, internet dating pools are not trivial: approximately sixteen million Americans use such services; nearly three-quarters of all internet users who are single and looking for romantic partners have used the internet to find dates and Yahoo Personals had more than six million unique visitors each month (Madden and Lenhart, 2006). Morever, the internet is now one of the primary ways that couples meet (Rosenfeld and Thomas, 2012). There is also remarkable consistency between patterns of racial preferences stated in internet profiles and patterns of interracial unions in marriages and cohabitating relationships (Hitsch et al., 2010a). This suggests that preferences stated on the internet correspond to preferences that drive union formation regardless of where couples meet. Most importantly, these data provide a rare opportunity to reveal preferences as stated in a real-life situation, unlike attitudinal surveys or social distance scales based on hypothetical scenarios.

Measurement of Perceived Race

Our key independent variable is the perceived race of the Latino daters. Because the way outsiders categorize others by race may vary by the observer's own characteristics, especially their own racial background (Harris 2002), three research assistants from different racial backgrounds independently assessed the daters' race based on their photographs.[11] The coders were provided copies of the self-identified Latino daters' profiles and were instructed to code the racial category that best described the dater, based solely on his/her appearance in the photograph. The racial categories the coders could choose from were White/Caucasian, Black/African American, Asian, Latino/Hispanic, or Other. Although there is debate about whether Latinos are considered a racial or ethnic category, we followed Wendy Roth (2010) in referring to Latinos as a racial category because individuals recognize a phenotypic "Hispanic" racial type (characterized by brown skin and a mix of European, indigenous, and/or African features). Experimental research has confirmed that there is a prototypical "Hispanic" or "Latino" appearance (Wilkins et al., 2010). None of the coders expressed confusion or questioned whether Latino/Hispanic was a valid racial category.

The coders were not told that these daters self-identified as Latino and were explicitly instructed *not* to look at any parts of the profile except for the photograph.[12] We note that while many previous studies only examine phenotypic dimensions of race (i.e., skin color), the observers here may have relied on self-presentations of cultural identities as well (as expressed through clothing, hairstyle, etc…). Thus, our study captures how observers categorize others based on both physical and cultural aspects of appearance. Racial classifications may also be affected by social status cues. For example, previous research has shown that observers are more likely to categorize individuals as White if they are dressed in a business suit, and Black if dressed in a janitor's uniform (Freeman et al., 2011). Thus, the racial categorizations here may also be based on implicit associations between social status and race to the extent that status is indicated in a photograph.

Agreement between any two coders ranged from 68–74%.[13] In cases of disagreement, if two coders agreed, we used that racial category as the observed race. If all three raters disagreed (4.5% of all cases), we recoded the dater's observed race into a residual "ambiguous" category, which was then collapsed into the "other" category. Figure 1 shows the coders' assessments of the observed race of the self-identified

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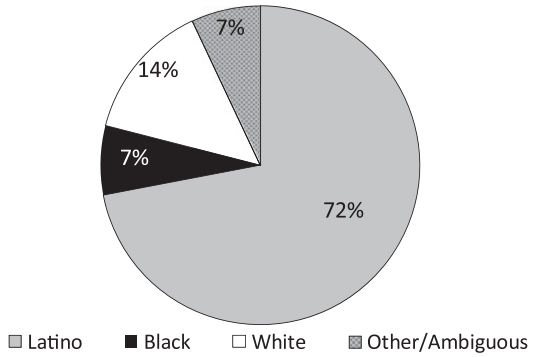

Fig. 1. Observed Race of Self-Identified Latinos, Yahoo Internet Daters, N=1528

Latino sample. We see that about 72% of the Latinos were observed as "Latino" in appearance, while 14% were perceived as "White," 7% as "Black," and 7% as Other/ambiguous.

Control Variables

Because previous research has indicated that personal characteristics shape racial preferences (Feliciano et al., 2011; Feliciano et al., 2009; Wilson et al., 2007; Yancey 2007, 2009), we controlled for the dater's gender, age (daters average around thirty-three years old), education (coded as high school graduate or less, some college, college graduate, or post-graduate), political views (coded as liberal or very liberal vs. middle of the road, conservative or not political), religion (Christian, not religious, other, or no answer), Spanish language knowledge (speaks Spanish, does not speak Spanish, and no answer), and body type (slim/slender/average, thick/a few extra pounds/voluptuous, and no answer).

We also wanted to account for the possibility that daters were using race as a proxy for their preferences for other characteristics, such as body type or education. For example, some daters might exclude Blacks not because they care about race per se, but because they want to date someone highly educated, and therefore engaged in statistical discrimination based on the knowledge that Blacks, on average, have lower levels of education. To account for this, we control for whether the dater stated a preference for educational attainment, religion, body type, or language.[14] We also considered that daters expressing racial preferences were just more particular in general about their date's characteristics by including a control variable for how selective the dater was about their date's characteristics overall, based on the percentage of the nineteen other items for which the dater expressed a preference.

We also considered that racial preferences might just result from exposure to different racial groups in their communities. To address this, we examined the racial composition of the community that each dater reported as their residence on their profiles. Using data from the 2005 American Community Survey (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2005), we collected data on the percent non-Hispanic White, percent non-Hispanic Black, and percent Latino in each town/municipality.[15]

Dependent Variables

We coded racial preferences into three sets of multinomial dependent variables. Daters chose more than four hundred unique combinations of racial groups as preferred dates. For example, daters might indicate that their "match" should be

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Caucasion (White), Asian, or Hispanic/Latino, others might indicate that their "match" should be African/American (Black), Inter-racial, or Other, and others might indicate that their "match" should only be Hispanic/Latino. To simplify, we focus on three multinomial outcomes. First, we examine a preference for racial homophily using a four category dependent variable: (1) includes own racial group *and* other groups; (2) includes own racial group *only*; (3) excludes own racial group/includes *only other* racial groups; and (4) no stated preference. Second, we examine acceptance of Whites using a three category outcome: (1) excludes Whites, (2) includes Whites, and (3) no stated preference. Third, we similarly examine acceptance of Blacks: (1) excludes Blacks, (2) includes Blacks, and (3) no stated preference.

Analytic Strategy

We begin by comparing the sample characteristics by both self-identified race and, for Latinos, observed race. Next, we present descriptive statistics of racial homophily preferences, followed by acceptance of Blacks and Whites as dates for the full sample, by race and observed race. To examine whether racial differences are significant once we control for sample characteristics, we next present results from multivariate multinomal logistic regression analyses, focusing first on the Latino sample only and then comparing predicted probabilities of Black and White inclusion among all the racial groups.

RESULTS

Sample Characteristics by Self-identified and Observed Race

Previous research has shown that online daters' racial preferences are influenced by characteristics other than their own race, such as education, body type, political views, religion, language, the racial composition of their communities, and preferences for other characteristics (Feliciano et al., 2011; Feliciano et al., 2009; Wilson et al., 2007; Yancey 2007, 2009). In this section, we examine whether these characteristics differ by self-identified or observed race; later, we consider whether such characteristics, rather than race alone, are driving patterns of dating choices.

Table 1 shows how various characteristics differ by self-identified race and, for self-identified Latinos, by observed race. First, we note that, by design, the dataset contains nearly equal numbers of men and women. However, when Latinos are disaggregated by observed race, we see that coders were more likely to view self-identified Latino males as White and other/ambiguous, while more females were observed to be Black. Since all three coders were female, it is possible that this finding is driven by the gender of the coder. Future research is needed to test whether observers' gender affects whether they view the race of men and women differently. Here, this finding suggests the importance of conducting analyses that control for gender, particularly since previous research has shown that the racial preferences of men and women can be quite divergent (Feliciano et al., 2009; Robnett and Feliciano, 2011; Wilson et al., 2007).

By design, the data are also fairly evenly split by metropolitan area. However, Latinos in New York were less likely to be classified as White (14%) than those in Los Angeles, Chicago, or Atlanta. Of Latinos who were viewed as Black, 43% lived in New York, 39% lived in Atlanta, while far fewer lived in Chicago (14%) or Los Angeles (4%). As suggested earlier, these findings may be driven by the varying contexts of these four metropolitan areas. Puerto Ricans and Dominicans represent the largest and second largest groups, respectively, of Latinos in New York; members of these

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Table 1. Sample Characteristics: Means and Percentages by Race and, for Latinos, Observed Race (standard deviations for continuous variables in parentheses)

	Self-Identified Race				Observed Race of Latinos			
	White	Black	Asian	Latinos	Observed White	Observed Black	Observed Latino	Observed Other/ Ambiguous
Females	48.55	49.55	48.50	47.95	43.46	56.84	48.60	42.61
Males	51.45	50.45	51.50	52.05	56.54	43.16	51.40	57.39
Age	33.19 (7.80)	32.36 (7.36)	30.38 (6.98)	29.74 (7.79)	31.92 (7.67)	29.46 (9.01)	29.37 (7.74)	29.54 (6.99)
Metropolitan Area:								
Los Angeles	23.76	24.68	26.93	26.02	27.57	4.21	27.87	23.48
New York	26.08	25.06	26.58	26.02	14.49	43.16	27.33	21.74
Chicago	25.11	25.71	27.00	25.37	27.10	13.68	25.79	26.96
Atlanta	25.05	24.55	19.49	22.58	30.84	38.95	19.00	27.83
Racial Composition of Municipality:								
Percentage of Non-Hispanic Blacks	26.47 (18.47)	32.07 (20.38)	21.30 (16.82)	22.72 (17.25)	23.42 (18.15)	30.42 (33.34)	21.93 (16.87)	22.81 (17.47)
Percentage of Non-Hispanic Whites	38.74 (14.90)	32.33 (14.69)	39.93 (17.75)	37.06 (18.97)	40.72 (19.13)	33.34 (20.21)	36.25 (18.79)	40.43 (17.96)
Education:								
High school or less	6.37	4.78	4.60	14.54	7.62	19.15	15.54	15.18
Some college	25.63	43.46	19.40	44.17	37.62	43.62	45.51	43.75
College graduate	45.42	37.94	49.28	31.64	43.81	31.91	29.68	27.68
Post graduate	22.58	13.82	26.72	9.65	10.95	5.32	9.27	13.39
Body type:								
Thick, voluptuous, large	8.41	27.91	5.01	22.12	11.21	29.47	23.98	17.39

Continued

Table 1. (continued)

	Self-Identified Race				Observed Race of Latinos			
	White	Black	Asian	Latinos	Observed White	Observed Black	Observed Latino	Observed Other/ Ambiguous
Average, slim, athletic	90.82	71.12	92.62	75.86	87.38	70.53	73.85	79.13
No answer	0.77	0.97	2.37	2.02	1.40	0.00	2.17	3.48
Political views:								
Liberal or Very Liberal	21.77	21.12	16.91	17.11	19.16	16.84	16.65	17.39
Other	78.23	78.88	83.09	82.89	80.84	83.16	83.16	82.61
Religion								
Not religious	22.48	11.24	24.01	11.98	14.49	8.42	11.76	12.28
Christian/Catholic	54.59	60.79	38.07	61.00	62.15	63.16	60.18	65.79
Other	4.11	8.33	13.99	8.59	6.07	16.84	8.51	7.02
No answer	18.82	19.64	23.94	18.42	17.29	11.58	19.55	14.91
Spanish Language								
Speaks Spanish	7.64	5.30	6.19	58.85	58.41	60.00	59.37	52.63
Does not Speak Spanish	59.02	61.37	73.35	12.37	14.95	17.89	10.68	20.18
No answer	33.33	33.33	20.46	28.78	26.64	22.11	29.95	27.19
Preferences for Other Characteristics								
Choosiness (% of preferences)	40.48 (21.05)	42.69 (22.22)	41.94 (21.11)	40.90 (22.06)	40.01 (21.34)	45.98 (21.97)	40.81 (22.25)	39.04 (21.14)
Preference for Religion	31.41	34.69	25.47	30.34	28.04	33.68	30.68	27.19
Preference for Body Type	80.35	76.29	77.11	75.26	76.17	82.11	75.11	67.54
Preference for Education	54.78	59.04	56.92	55.24	50.93	63.16	54.93	60
Preference for Height	64.87	66.93	66.04	64.09	59.81	75.79	63.98	63.48
N	1557	1548	1437	1537	214	95	1105	115

groups also tend to have more African ancestry than other Latino groups, such as Mexicans who are the dominant group in Los Angeles and Chicago. Puerto Ricans in New York have historically lived in closer proximity to African Americans (Massey and Bitterman, 1985), and Atlanta is a majority African American city (54%) (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). This suggests more opportunities for Latino-Black relationships in these cities and that more of the self-identified Latino daters in these cities may actually have one African American parent. While our data do not allow us to identify these individuals, we do consider the racial composition of the daters' surrounding community. Indeed, Table 1 shows that Latinos who are observed as White, Latino, or Other tend to live in communities with lower percentages of non-Latino Blacks (22–23%) than self-identified Whites do (26%). In contrast, the average percentage of non-Latino Blacks in the communities of Latinos who are perceived as Black (30%) is similar to that of self-identified Blacks (32%). Likewise, the average percentage of non-Latino Whites in the communities of Latinos who are seen as White (41%) is similar to that of self-identified Whites (39%). Differences in observed race by metropolitan area and community racial composition suggest the importance of considering whether these factors are driving any differences by observed race in racial preferences, an analysis we discuss later.

Education varies by self-identified race in expected ways: White and Asian daters are much more likely to have college degrees than Blacks or Latinos. Among Latinos, we see that those who are observed as White are more likely to have college and graduate degrees, especially compared with those who are classified as Black or Latino. Conversely, 19% of self-identified Latinos who are perceived as Black have only a high school education or less compared with 8% of those perceived as White. These educational differences could be the result of at least two different processes. First, Latinos who are perceived as White may benefit from the symbolic capital of Whiteness in their schooling experiences, while those perceived as Black, like African Americans, may face negative teacher perceptions and expectations that negatively impact their educational attainment (Downey and Pribesh, 2004). Second, lighter-skinned Latinos may be more likely to come from highly educated families; in most Latin American countries, lighter skin is associated with higher class status (Bonilla-Silva 2004). Thus, Latinos who appear White may have inherited class advantages even prior to migration, while those who appear Black may have inherited class disadvantages. Regardless of the reason, these educational differences suggest that we must consider whether any differences in racial preferences by perceived race among Latinos are related to their educational backgrounds or educational preferences.

Only a few differences in other characteristics are notable. In terms of body type, we see that Black and Latino internet daters are more likely to describe themselves as having a larger body type than Asians or Whites. However, we see significant variation among Latinos by observed race, with those who are observed as White more likely to have thinner body types (87%), especially compared with Latinos classified as Black (71%). Self-identified Latinos and Blacks are also more likely to be religious than Whites and Asians. Further, "Black" Latinos (self-identified Latinos who others perceive as Black) are nearly twice as likely to be of a religion other than Christian/Catholic (17%)[16] compared with "White" Latinos (6%), "Latino" Latinos (9%) and other/ambiguous Latinos (7%). Over half of all Latino daters report speaking Spanish, with few differences by observed race. In terms of how choosy daters are about their dates' characteristics, we see few differences by race; "Black" Latinos do express more preferences, particularly for height, but this is likely explained by the higher proportion of women in this category.

Before turning to multivariate analyses that consider how variation in these characteristics may shape racial differences in racial preferences in dating, we turn to descriptive analyses of our dependent variables.

Homophily Preferences by Self-identified and Observed Race

Table 2 shows the in-group and out-group preferences of Yahoo daters, comparing self-identified Whites, Blacks, Asians, and Latinos, and comparing the preferences of self-identified Latinos by observed race. We see that Latinos in general (and Asians) are far less likely to prefer racial homophily than either Whites or Blacks; 10% of all self-identified Latinos prefer to date only other Latinos compared to 31% of Whites and 24% of Blacks who prefer to date only Whites and Blacks, respectively ($p<.001$).

Differences in racial homophily preferences among Latinos by observed race are less pronounced than those between all self-identified Latinos and Blacks or Whites. While self-identified Latinos whose observed race is also Latino are slightly more likely than those perceived as White or Black to prefer to only date other Latinos (11% vs. 9% and 6%), these differences are not statistically significant. Thus, we find limited support for hypothesis one, that Latinos who are perceived as Latino are more likely to prefer racial homophily in dating. Nonetheless, there is some support for the idea that self-identified Latinos who appear Latino are *less* likely to prefer *outdating* as compared to those who appear Black or White. Latinos who are categorized as White (10%) or Black (12%) are more likely than those categorized as Latino or other (6%) to prefer to *only* date *non*-Latinos ($p<.05$).

We explored these differences further by examining which racial groups Latinos who exclude other Latinos as possible dates (n=111) *are* open to dating, and found starkly divergent patterns by observed race (see Appendix Figure 1). For example, among those self-identified Latinos perceived as White who do not include other Latinos as possible dates, 91% accept Whites as dates, compared to only 75% of those whom observers classify as Latino ($p<.10$), and only 18% of those who are perceived as Black ($p<.001$). We found the opposite pattern when we examined acceptance of Blacks among self-identified Latinos who prefer to only date non-Latinos. Here, only 14% of "White" Latinos and 20% of "Latino" Latinos include Blacks, compared to 73% of Latinos classified as Black ($p<.001$).

Acceptance of Blacks and Whites by Self-identified and Observed Race

As suggested by the above findings, differences among self-identified Latinos by observed race are the most divergent if we compare their preferences for Blacks or Whites. Table 3 makes these comparisons, as well as comparisons between self-identified Whites, Blacks, Asians, and Latinos.

Table 3 shows that when self-identified Latinos are considered as a whole, they tend to be more inclusive of Blacks as potential dates than Whites or Asians are. Although 50% of self-identified Latinos exclude Blacks, 14% explicitly include Blacks; this compares to more than 60% of self-identified Whites and Asians excluding Blacks and 5% and 4% including Blacks, respectively ($p<.001$). However, the degree of acceptance of Blacks as dates varies widely by Latinos' perceived race: about 51% of Latinos who are observed as Latino exclude Blacks, while 14% explicitly include Blacks. Among self-identified Latinos who are perceived as White, 54% exclude Blacks, and only 8% explicitly include Blacks, percentages that are not statistically different from those of self-identified Whites (60% of whom exclude Blacks, while 5% include Blacks). In contrast, Latinos whom observers classify as Black are the most inclusive of Blacks

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Table 2. Preferences for Homophily by Self-Identified Race and, For Latinos, by Observed Race, Yahoo Internet Daters

	Self-Identified Race				Observed Race among Self-identified Latinos			
	White	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**White**	**Black**	**Latino**	**Other**
Prefers Own Only	31.41^{LL}	23.51^{LL}	08.91	10.27	08.88	06.32	11.04	08.77
Excludes Own	03.47^{LL}	06.33	17.54^{LL}	07.26	10.28^{LL}	11.58^{LL}	06.43	06.14
Prefers Own and Others	30.64^{LL}	36.30^{LL}	41.20^{LL}	46.73	42.99	50.53	47.24	45.61
No Stated Preference	34.49	33.85	32.36	35.73	37.85	31.58	35.29	39.47
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Significantly different from Self-Id Whites Overall?	n/a	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Significantly different from Self-Id Blacks Overall?	***	n/a	***	***	***	***	***	***
Significantly different from Observed Latinos?	***	***	***	n/a	ns	ns	n/a	ns
N	1557	1548	1437	1528	214	95	1105	114

Notes: LL signifies a difference from Self-identified Latino-Observed Latino category significant at $p<.05$ level;
***$p<.001$.

Table 3. Inclusion/Exclusion of Blacks and Whites by Self-Identified Race and, For Latinos, by Observed Race, Yahoo Internet Daters

	Self-Identified Race				Observed Race among Self-identified Latinos			
	White	**Black**	**Asian**	**Latino**	**White**	**Black**	**Latino**	**Other**
No Stated Preference	34.49	33.85	32.36	35.73	37.85	31.58	35.29	39.47
Excludes Blacks	60.31^{LL***}	$6.33^{W***, LL***}$	$63.95^{W*, LL***}$	49.87^{W***}	$54.21^{Wns, LL+}$	$27.37^{W***, LL***}$	50.95^{W***}	$50.00^{W*, LL}$
Includes Blacks	5.20	59.82	3.69	14.40	7.94	41.05	13.76	10.53
Excludes Whites	$3.47^{B***, LL***}$	49.42^{LL***}	$15.31^{B***, LL***}$	20.81^{B***}	$12.62^{B***, LL*}$	$42.11^{B*, LL***}$	21.18^{B***}	$14.91^{B***, LLns}$
Includes Whites	62.04	16.73	52.33	43.46	49.53	26.32	43.53	45.61
N	1557	1548	1437	1528	214	95	1105	114

Notes: LL=significance test relative to observed Latinos, W=significance test relative to self-id whites, B=significance test relative to self-id Blacks, $^{ns}p > .10$, $^{+}p < .10$, $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$.

as possible dates—41% explicitly include Blacks, although 27% still exclude Blacks. Thus, these findings lend support for hypotheses two and three: self-identified Latinos who appear White are more similar to self-identified Whites in their inclusion of Whites than Latinos who appear Black, Latino, or Other are; on the other hand, self-identified Latinos who are perceived as Black are more similar to self-identified Blacks in their inclusion of Whites than Latinos who are perceived as non-Black are.

Table 3 also shows how preferences for Whites vary by self-identified race and observed race for Latinos. In comparing the acceptance of Blacks versus Whites as dates, one important finding is that Latinos who are observed as White, Latino, or Other, as well as self-identified Asians, much more often include Whites as possible dates than they include Blacks. For instance, 44% of observed Latinos include Whites while only 14% include Blacks. However, self-identified Latinos who are perceived as Black are similar to self-identified Blacks in that they are much more likely to accept Blacks (41%) than Whites (26%) as dates. "Black" Latinos, while still somewhat more likely to include Whites than self-identified Blacks are (26% vs. 17%), are much less likely to include Whites than are Latinos observed as Latino (44%) or "Other" (46%). In addition, we note that, other than self-identified Whites themselves, "White" Latinos are the group least likely to exclude Whites as possible dates (13% vs. 42% of "Black" Latinos, 21% of Latinos perceived as Latinos and 15% of "Other" Latinos). These findings further support the hypotheses that Latinos who are perceived as Black are more similar to self-identified Blacks in terms of their racial preferences in dating than Latinos who are perceived as non-Black are, and that Latinos who are perceived as White are more similar to Whites in their racial preferences than Latinos perceived as non-White are.

Multivariate Analyses of the Acceptance of Blacks and Whites as Dates

Table 4 considers whether differences in racial preferences among Latinos by observed race can be explained by other factors, such as gender,[17] metropolitan area,[18] education level, Spanish language knowledge, or the racial composition of their community. Findings show that these factors do not explain the differences we see by observed race. Net of all of these and other factors, self-identified Latinos who are classified as Black are five times as likely as those who are classified as Latino to include Blacks as dates, but far less likely to include Whites. Latinos whose observed race is White are about half as likely to include Blacks and over one and a half times as likely to include Whites as compared with self-identified Latinos who are perceived as Latino.

Table 4. Relative Risk Ratios from Multinomial Regressions of Excluding or Including Whites and Blacks among Self-identified Latinos (n=1528)

	Includes Blacks versus Excludes Blacks	Includes Whites versus Excludes Whites
Observed Race:		
Black	5.09***	0.27***
White	0.60+	1.61*
Other (reference = Latino)	0.77	1.31

Notes: $^{+}p < .10$ $^{*}p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$; No stated preference versus excludes outcome not shown. Models control for gender, age, metropolitan area, education, body type, religion, Spanish language, choosiness, preferences for religion, body type, education and height, and racial composition of municipality.

Thus, differences among Latinos by observed race are significant and not explained by other factors. These findings lend further support to hypotheses two and three: self-identified Latinos who are perceived as Black are more similar to self-identified Blacks in their racial dating choices than are Latinos who are perceived as non-Black, and self-identified Latinos who are perceived as White are more similar to self-identified Whites than are Latinos who are viewed as non-White.

Figure 2 shows predicted probabilities from multinomial regression analyses comparing Latinos' preferences for Whites and Blacks to those of self-identified Blacks, Whites, and Asians. The full models on which this figure is based are shown in Appendix Tables A and B. First, in comparing the inclusion of Blacks versus the inclusion of Whites, self-identified Latinos perceived as White, self-identified Latinos perceived as Latino, self-identified Whites, and self-identified Asians all are far more likely to accept Whites than Blacks as possible dates, net of other factors. For example, the models predict that the probability of Latinos who are perceived as Latino preferring Whites is .46 compared to a predicted probability of only .15 preferring Blacks. However, we see the opposite pattern for self-identified Blacks and Latinos who are observed as Black: these groups prefer Blacks more than Whites. Among Latinos whom outsiders view as Black, the predicted probability of preferring Blacks is .39 compared to .23 preferring Whites. These findings further support hypotheses two and three, that the racial choices in dating of self-identified Latinos who appear Black or White are more similar to the racial group they are categorized by outsiders as belonging to than are the racial choices of self-identified Latinos who are not perceived as belonging to those racial groups.

Although at first glance these patterns might indicate a simple mirroring of Whites' preferences among Latinos who appear White or a simple mirroring of Blacks' preferences among Latinos who are perceived as Black, the reality is somewhat more complex. First, even self-identified Latinos who are perceived as White

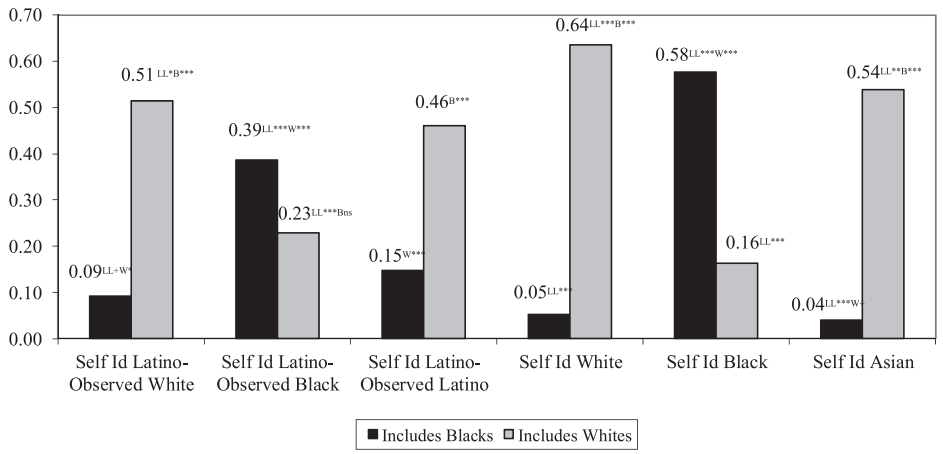

Fig. 2. Predicted Probabilities of Including Whites and Blacks as Possible Dates, by Self-Identified Race and, for Latinos, Observed Race, Yahoo Internet Daters

Notes: LL=significance test relative to observed Latinos, W=significance test relative to self-id Whites, B=significance test relative to self-id Blacks, ^{ns}p>.10, $^{+}$p < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001. Multinomial regression models control for gender, age, metropolitan area, racial composition of municipality, education, body type, religion, Spanish language, choosiness, preferences for religion, body type, education, and height.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X14000204 Published online by Cambridge University Press

are significantly more likely to accept Blacks (.09) than self-identified Whites are (.05) ($p<.05$) (although the majority of "White" Latinos still exclude Blacks). Thus, unlike Asians, who are even more exclusionary of Blacks as dates than self-identified Whites are, self-identified Latinos of all racial phenotypes are more open to dating Blacks than Whites are. Second, although "Black" Latinos, like self-identified Blacks, are much more likely to accept Blacks as dates than they are to accept Whites (.39 vs. .23) and have a relatively low probability of including Whites (.23 for "Black" Latinos, .16 for self-identified Blacks), they differ from self-identified Blacks in their acceptance of Blacks as dates: less than half explicitly include Blacks, and the predicted probability of excluding Blacks remains somewhat high (.27—not shown). Nevertheless, the disparity between Latinos who appear Black and Latinos who appear White or Latino is striking in the former's greater acceptance of Blacks and greater exclusion of Whites. These findings suggest that both perceived race and self-identification matter for shaping assimilation trajectories in so far as dating choices feed into eventual interracial pairings and marital assimilation.

Overall, the key finding emerging from these analyses is that self-identified Latinos exhibit dating choice patterns that are similar to those of the racial group they are viewed by others as belonging to. Thus, Latinos who appear White are more similar to Whites in their preferences for Whites and Blacks than are Latinos who are perceived as Latino, Black, or Other. "White" Latinos are more likely to prefer Whites than Latinos who are perceived as Latino or, especially, Black are. Conversely, Latinos whose observed race is Black are more similar to self-identified Blacks in their racial preferences than are Latinos who are perceived as Latino, White, or Other. "Black" Latinos are more likely to prefer Blacks than "Latino" Latinos and especially "White" Latinos are. Nevertheless, these findings do not suggest that *only* observed race matters in shaping dating choices since self-identified Latinos still differ in important ways from self-identified Whites or Blacks.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Observed Race and Latinos' Assimilation Patterns

This study's findings suggest that observed race is a key factor that may lead to divergent assimilation trajectories among the self-identified Latino population. Our unique contribution is to highlight how external racial classification is associated with Latinos' acceptance (or lack) of others in dating situations. Most existing research suggesting that racial appearance stratifies the assimilation trajectories of Latinos has tended to focus on socioeconomic outcomes, suggesting that discriminatory treatment by others is the key mechanism (Bonilla-Silva 2004; Hunter 2005; Telles and Murguia, 1990). A few other studies have suggested that self-identification choices among Latinos indicate the pursuit of a particular assimilation trajectory (Frank et al., 2010; Golash-Boza and Darity, 2008). In contrast, we show how racial appearance relates to stated acceptance of other racial groups as possible dates, an outcome that potentially impacts mate selection and thus possibilities for intermarriage and marital assimilation. While the Latino daters in this study may be responding to discrimination or lack of acceptance by others with their dating choices, ultimately they are deciding to limit or expand their dating options to particular racial groups; this has implications for assimilation. For example, we find that Latinos who are perceived as White choose to exclude Blacks and include Whites as possible dates at high rates, a decision that may lead to marriage with Whites and to their descendants' adoption of a White racial identity and categorization. Importantly, current choices can lead to future assimilation regardless

of whether that is the intended outcome. We argue that Latino online daters are exhibiting agency in this process by making particular racial dating choices and not others, but also that their agency is shaped by the existing racial structure as evidenced by differences in choices based on how they are racially classified by others.

Thus, this study moves beyond existing research and theories suggesting racial appearance influences assimilation through the impact of differential treatment *by* others on socioeconomic outcomes (Portes and Zhou, 1993), by showing that Latinos' racial appearance also influences their assimilation trajectories through their own decisions to exclude or include members of other racial-ethnic groups as possible dates. While we are not suggesting that the majority of relationships begin online, prior research has shown remarkable consistency between patterns of stated preferences for dates and patterns of interracial pairings (Feliciano et al., 2009; Hitsch et al., 2010a). This suggests that stated preferences among online daters are capturing preferences that exist among the general population and feed into eventual dating and marriage outcomes. Thus, we argue that these dating choices matter because they capture social distance between groups and influence assimilation—the breaking down of boundaries between groups—in its broadest sense by shaping with whom one marries and/or has children. Through the children born of mixed unions, boundary crossing may occur as descendants of today's self-identified Latinos may come to identify and be classified as exclusively White or Black (Alba 2005). Theoretically, boundary shifting might occur if crossings occurred on a large scale, so that, for example, those who today self-identify and are classified as Latino might be seen and identify in the future as White (Alba 2005). Another theoretical possibility is the restructuring of boundaries such that new racial-ethnic groups are formed; for example, self-identified Latinos who are perceived as Black could merge with Blacks into a new racial category that identifies and is seen as "Non-White."

Our findings suggest that racial appearance is an important factor shaping such possible assimilation outcomes. Among self-identified Latinos who are perceived as White, our findings provide evidence of boundary crossing and eventual assimilation into Whiteness (Yancey 2003). These Latinos accept Whites and exclude Blacks as possible dates to a greater extent than those who are perceived as belonging to other racial groups. Among Latinos who are classified by others as Black, we see evidence of eventual assimilation into Blackness or perhaps developing into a new pan-minority group with Blacks (Carter 2005). These Latinos are distinct from those perceived as White or Latino and more similar to self-identified Blacks in that they are much more likely to include Blacks and exclude Whites as dates. Self-identified Latinos whom outsiders observe *as* Latino seem to fall into a "racial middle" (O'Brien 2008) as a racial group distinct from Whites or Blacks. While these Latinos tend to privilege Whites over other racial groups as acceptable dates, they fall in between "White" Latinos and "Black" Latinos in their levels of excluding Blacks as dates and are far more inclusive of Blacks than self-identified Whites or Asians are. Those Latinos viewed as Latino are also slightly less likely than Latinos perceived as White or Black to exclude other Latinos as possible dates. Thus, it is likely that Latinos who both self-identify and are perceived as Latino are more likely than those who self-identify as Latino but are viewed as White or Black to date (and eventually mate with) other Latinos. When one also considers that most self-identified Latinos in our sample are also perceived by others as belonging to a Latino racial category, separate from Blacks or Whites (72%), this suggests that the "racial middle" may persist for some time. Thus, our findings support the view that assimilation processes vary because Latinos experience racialization differently (Golash-Boza 2006; Golash-Boza and Darity, 2008). Some who identify as Latino are racialized as White, others are racialized as Black, while still

others are racialized as a separate Latino group in the "racial middle" (Bonilla-Silva 2004; O'Brien 2008). This view contrasts with perspectives that argue that Latinos as a whole are predominantly assimilating into Whiteness (Yancey 2003) or joining with Asians as a new "non-Black" group (Gans 1999; Lee and Bean, 2004). We argue that claims about the assimilation trajectories of self-identified Latinos as a whole are problematic given the divergences by racial phenotype.

Why Would Perceived Race Influence Dating Choices?

While our data do not allow us to test the mechanisms through which perceived race shapes dating choices, our findings are consistent with a number of existing theories. According to exchange theory (Davis 1941; Fu 2001; Merton 1941), self-identified Latinos who appear White are more likely to include Whites than other Latinos are because only they have the privilege of being able to exchange their physical capital for a White partner. In contrast, those who are classified as Latino or Black may recognize that their lower racial status constrains them such that they must be more accepting of lower status racial groups in order to date. Self-identified Latinos' dating choices, according to this perspective, are driven by an acceptance of dominant racial hierarchies in the United States, in which Whites are afforded the highest status.

Another explanation for the link between observed race and racial preferences is through acceptance by co-ethnics: boundaries with other Latinos may be particularly salient for Latinos who do not "appear" Latino and may be assumed to be less authentically Latino by their co-ethnics (Hunter 2005, 2007; Jiménez 2010); these Latinos may feel more comfortable dating the racial group they appear more similar to. The link may also be through the strength of ethnic identification, which may be weaker among lighter-skinned Latinos, as research suggests it is for light-skinned African Americans (Brown et al., 1998; Wilkins et al., 2010). Some Latinos may self-identify as Latino, but not feel strong attachments to this identity, and therefore may be more open to dating non-Latinos.

Discrimination or lack of acceptance from other racial groups may also be a mechanism shaping racial choices in dating. Self-identified Latinos who are classified by outsiders as Black or Latino may be more likely than those who are seen as White to have experienced discrimination from Whites. Thus, these Latinos may be more likely to exclude Whites as possible dates as a reaction to negative experiences or because they believe they are unlikely to be accepted by Whites. Such experiences may be particularly pronounced for Latinos who are perceived as Black, which might explain why their acceptance of Whites as dates is relatively low and mirrors that of self-identified Blacks. Thus, the differences we find by racial appearance suggest that Latinos' agency in choosing dating partners is influenced by the existing racial structure.

The Racial Classification Problem

The findings of this study have implications for the measurement of Latino populations in the United States. Most surveys, as well as the Census, rely only on self-identifications of race, but our research suggests that outsider classification captures a dimension of race that is distinct from self-identification and is independently associated with different outcomes. The Census Bureaus' current method of separately assessing self-identified race and self-identified Hispanic origin, despite claims that it measures differences by "social" race (Patterson 2001), may inadequately capture the different dimensions of race relevant to understanding the lived experiences of the Hispanic

origin population. Our findings illustrate that, not only do outsider classifications of race often not correspond to self-identifications, but in addition, the two dimensions of race yield different pictures of Latinos' acceptance of other racial-ethnic groups as dates. For example, our sample of self-identified Latinos overall were far more likely to accept Whites as possible dates than Blacks but were also much more accepting of Blacks as dates than self-identified Asians or Whites were. However, these patterns mask some important differences by observed race *among* self-identified Latinos. We found significant variation by observed race in terms of which racial groups (Whites or Blacks) Latinos were more likely to include as dates, and their degree of acceptance of Blacks and Whites. Thus, while it was the case that those classified by others as Latino or White were more likely to accept Whites than Blacks as dates, the *reverse* was the case among those classified as Black. Indeed, in terms of acceptance of Whites as dates, "Black" Latino daters were more similar to self-identified Blacks than to "White" Latinos or those perceived as Latino. The greater acceptance of Blacks by self-identified Latinos than by Whites or Asians was also qualified since that acceptance was much greater among "Black" Latinos, followed by "Latino" Latinos, with "White" Latinos only slightly more likely to include Blacks than self-identified Whites did. Thus, we argue that *both* external assessments of race *and* self-identity matter in shaping dating choices and subsequent dating and marriage outcomes.

Relying on self-identification data as currently collected by the Census would mask such patterns. Not only has prior research shown that many self-identified Latinos do not identify with a particular racial category based on their physical appearance (Roth 2010), the outside observers in this study, consistent with the findings of previous research (Hitlin et al., 2007), viewed Latino or Hispanic *as* a valid racial category. Although our sample cannot be generalized to the entire U.S. population, our finding that coders perceived only 14% of self-identified Latinos to be White, while 53% of self-identified Latinos on the Census claim a White racial identity, suggests that these two measures often do not correspond (Humes et al., 2011). Indeed, previous research has shown that racial self-identity and outsiders' assessments of race often conflict (Itzigsohn 2009; Rodriguez 2000; Roth 2010). Thus, the Census' current proposal to include Latino or Hispanic as another "race or origin" category would not solve this issue because it does not provide a measure of how others perceive one's race.

We argue that neither interviewer classifications nor self-identifications of race alone can adequately assess interracial relations through survey research, particularly for Latinos. For example, the patterns of racial inclusion revealed through this study suggest that intermarriage studies that rely on self-identification data alone likely *underestimate* the degree of intermarriage between self-identified Latinos who appear White and self-identified Whites, and *overestimate* the degree of intermarriage between self-identified Latinos who appear non-White and self-identified Whites. However, relying only on interviewer classification of race would also be misleading. Our results show, for instance, that the racial preferences of self-identified Latinos who are classified by others as Black differ in important ways from those who self-identify as Black. The former are far less likely than self-identified Blacks to include Blacks as possible dates. Along the same lines, self-identified Latinos who are classified as White are more likely than self-identified Whites to accept Blacks as dates. In order to more accurately capture the nuances of Latinos' lived experiences of race, including both interviewer assessments of race *and* self-identifications that include Latino as a category would be ideal. In the absence of interviewer classifications, a question that asks how others view one's race might be an appropriate proxy.

Future Research

This study suggests a number of directions for future research. To get a better picture of overall assimilation trajectories among the self-identified Latino population, a more representative sample is needed. Here, outsiders classified 72% of self-identified Latino daters as Latino, suggesting the majority of this population experiences racialization as a middle group. However, because of the select nature of the online dating sample, we cannot generalize to how outsiders would racially classify the general population of self-identified Latinos. Even though these internet daters had the option to choose "multiracial" or "other" as their race if they desired, some of the findings might be driven by multiracial Latinos. Although our findings approximate survey situations where respondents are given the option to self-identify as Latino and must identify with only one category, data are needed that can assess whether patterns would differ if daters had the option to identify with more than one racial category.

Our findings show that both self-identity and outsider classification of race clearly influence dating choices, but research that examines the racial appearance of self-identified Blacks and Whites is needed in order to ascertain which dimension of race is more important in shaping dating preferences. Importantly, the mechanisms that we suggest link racial appearance to dating choices are not limited to processes unique only among Latinos. Individuals who self-identify as members of other racial or ethnic groups, such as Black or Middle Eastern, also vary in observed race. Thus, we might expect future research to reveal similar divergences in dating choices by perceived race among these populations. Future research is also needed that would delineate the social and psychological forces behind the patterns we find.

Overall, the patterns here clearly show that perceived race is an important source of heterogeneity within the self-identified Latino population that is associated with differential acceptance of other racial groups as dates. Thus, considering multiple dimensions of race better captures the complexity of how race is experienced by Latinos and how this relates to choices that may lead to divergent assimilation trajectories.

Corresponding author: Cynthia Feliciano, University of California, Irvine, Department of Sociology, 3151 Social Science Plaza, Irvine, CA 92697–5100. E-mail: felician@uci.edu

NOTES

1. We thank Edelina Burciaga, Briana Jex, Goldie Komaie, Rennie Lee, and Melanie Skemer for helpful research assistance and Nina Bandelj, Catherine Bolzendahl, Joy Pixley, Andrew Penner, Kristin Turney, and anonymous reviewers for helpful comments on earlier versions of this work. This project was funded by a University of California, Irvine Special Research Grant.
2. We use the terms Latino and Hispanic interchangeably to refer to the population who self-identifies as having origins in Latin America or the Spanish-speaking Caribbean.
3. We note that our view of assimilation is *not* a normative one; that is, we are not arguing that assimilation is necessarily desirable or intentional. Instead, we use the term assimilation *analytically*, to describe a process through which boundaries between ethnic and racial groups are broken down.
4. By using the term agency, we do not imply that Latinos' dating choices are not influenced by structural factors, such as discrimination. However, we view Latinos' stated dating choices as an expression of agency because, as Hays (1994) argues, "agency always implies that an array of alternative forms of behavior are possible, and people make (conscious or unconscious) *choices* among those alternatives" (p. 62).
5. We also collected a random sample of Yahoo internet dating profiles from the four metropolitan areas. This data showed that self-identified Whites, Blacks, Asians, and Latinos accounted for 93% of all daters.

6. To extract our sample, we first used the search criteria on the website to display all the profiles for each gender and race combination in the age range within fifty miles of each city. Then, to get as representative a sample as possible within each race/gender combination in each city, we sorted profiles by how recently they were posted or edited; we then selected the first 200 profiles that appeared within each race/gender/city. We wanted to eliminate any potential bias that might have resulted from selecting directly from the default order in which the profiles appeared on the site (it was unknown how the order was determined) or by sorting by other possible criteria, such as age or distance from the city center. We aimed for a sample size of 6400 in order to allow for robust statistical tests of differences across three strata: gender, race, and metropolitan area. The sample size is smaller than our targeted sample size because there were fewer than 200 Latina and Asian male profiles posted in Atlanta, and we eliminated all duplicate profiles.
7. Only 1.5% of daters in our random sample did not state their race/ethnicity.
8. 66% of daters expressed preferences for particular racial/ethnic groups; this was the third most common characteristic daters expressed a preference for, following age (99%) and body type (77%).
9. To further address the selection issue, we examined the characteristics of our daters in comparison to the population of internet users in the four regions, using the October 2003 Current Population Survey School Enrollment and Computer Use Supplement File (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2003). Even compared to a sample of internet users, the daters in our sample tend to be more educated, slightly more likely to be divorced, and more likely to be employed (table available upon request). These disparities partly, but not entirely, stem from the slightly older age structure of our sample.
10. Using a random sample of Yahoo internet daters, we compared their racial makeup to a sample of internet users in each region using the October 2003 CPS School Enrollment and Computer Use Supplement File (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2003).
11. The three assistants included a Black female student from greater Los Angeles, a Latina female student from greater San Francisco, and a White female student from New York City.
12. Because the coders completed the coding in a very short amount of time, we believe that, for the most part, they followed the instructions and did not look at the information on the profiles. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that one or more of the coders did consult the text of the profiles on occasion. If so, this would bias the coding in the direction of more daters being categorized as Latino, consistent with the daters' own self-identity.
13. The Black and Latina students agreed on the most racial categorizations (74%), while the Black and White students agreed the least (68%). The substantive results did not change if any one coder's assessments were used, but combining all three explained slightly more variance. Given that these were categorical codings, we could not calculate an overall inter-rater reliability score for each outcome, but the mean inter-rater reliability score of .76 indicates that there is considerable overlap in these three observers' perceptions of race. The coders were in the most agreement about who was Black, and the least agreement about who was "other" or Asian. Interestingly, the White coder perceived more of the daters to be White, while the Latina coder perceived more of the daters to be Latino.
14. We also conducted analyses coding for the particular preference (i.e., whether someone had a preference for someone college educated, Christian religion, or a thin body type, etc…). The results were substantively the same as reported here. Because controlling for whether they had a preference at all for these characteristics explained more of the variance, we opted to only include the simpler coding in our final results.
15. All daters entered their zip code, which was converted by the Yahoo website to a town/city/municipality that was publicly viewed. Racial composition data for each municipality/town was obtained from the 2005 American Community Survey in several ways. First, we used a name search for each municipality/town and obtained the racial composition data based on the municipality/town name. If this did not yield any search results, we used an address in that particular municipality/town and obtained the racial composition data based on that address. When using an address search, the American Community Survey provides demographic characteristics based on several geographic areas: PUMA, School District, Congressional District, etc. Generally, the racial composition data was collected with the following preference: by PUMA and then by School District. We gave preference to results returned by PUMA because they represented a smaller geographic area. These data revealed that daters in our sample were dispersed throughout each metropolitan area, and did not primarily live within each central city. Thus, we found a wide range of racial

compositions even within one metropolitan area. For example, in the Los Angeles area, 44% of the Latino daters lived in Los Angeles, but the rest were dispersed over seventy-two different towns/municipalities. These areas ranged from a low of 7% Latino (Studio City) to a high of 87% Latino (Pico Rivera).

16. The "other" religions could not be identified from the data. The website included Buddhist/Taoist, Jewish, and Muslim as other options, but all of these "Black" Latinos chose the residual "other" religious category.
17. We tested whether differences in preferences for homophily/outdating or inclusion of Blacks/Whites by observed race among Latinos varied by gender and found no significant interaction effects. We did find significant gender differences by self-identified race that are consistent with previous research (Robnett and Feliciano, 2011). However, since differences by our key independent variable, observed race, do not vary by gender we consider an analysis of gender differences to be beyond the scope of this paper.
18. We tested whether differences in preferences for homophily/outdating or inclusion of Blacks/Whites by observed race among Latinos varied by metropolitan area and found no significant interaction effects.

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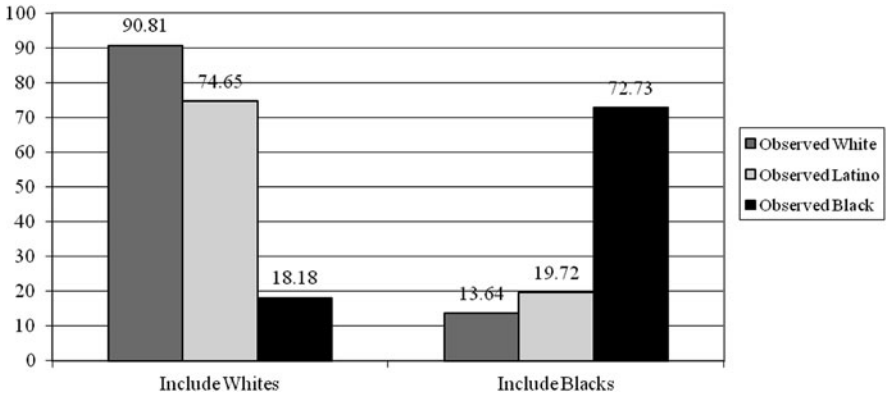

Appendix Fig. 1. Racial Preferences among Self-Identified Latinos Who Exclude Other Latinos as Possible Dates, by Observed Race (n=111)

Appendix Table A. Relative Risk Ratios from Multinomial Regressions of Including Whites, Yahoo Internet Daters, N=6070

	Includes Whites versus Excludes Whites	No Stated Preference versus Excludes Whites
Race:		
Self-id Latino - Observed Latino	6.08***	1.88***
Seld-id Latino - Observed Black	1.58	1.07
Self-id Latino - Observed White	10.53***	3.17***
Self-id Latino - Observed Other	8.61***	2.65**
Self-id White	48.88***	11.32***
Self-id Asian (reference = Self-id Black)	8.75***	2.05***
Female	1.22*	0.78**
Age	1.01	0.98***
Metropolitan Area:		
Los Angeles	0.79*	1.31*
New York	1.07	1.45*
Chicago (reference = Atlanta)	1.12	1.48**
Racial Composition of Municipality:		
Percentage of Non-Hispanic Whites	1.01***	1.01**
Education:		
Some College	1.10	1.11
College Graduate	0.99	1.05
Post Graduate (reference = High School or less)	0.98	1.13
Body Type:		
Slender/Fit/Average Body type (vs. thick, large)	1.99***	1.83***
Body type - did not answer (reference = thick, large)	2.60**	2.61**
Politically Liberal	0.94	1.40**
Religion		
Christian	0.78*	0.79*
Other Religion	0.91	0.91
Religion - did not answer (reference = not religious)	0.83	0.89
Spanish Language		
Speaks Spanish	1.12	1.16
Spanish language - did not answer (reference = Does Not Speak Spanish)	1.02	0.71
Preferences for Other Characteristics		
Choosiness (% of preferences)	1.01**	0.98***
Preference for Religion	0.95	0.70**
Preference for Body Type	1.69	0.85
Preference for Education	1.30	1.41***
Preference for Height	0.92	0.80*

Notes: $^{+}p < .10$ $^{*}p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X14000204 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Appendix Table B. Relative Risk Ratios from Multinomial Regressions of Including Blacks, Yahoo Internet Daters, N=6070

	Include Blacks versus Excludes Blacks	No Stated Preference versus Excludes Blacks
Race:		
Self-id Latino - Observed Latino	3.29***	1.11
Seld-id Latino - Observed Black	16.94***	2.36**
Self-id Latino - Observed White	1.97*	1.18
Self-id Latino - Observed Other	2.57**	1.18
Self-id Black	98.50***	9.48***
Self-id Asian (reference = Self-id White)	0.70+	0.76**
Female	1.26*	0.75***
Age	1.00	0.98***
Metropolitan Area:		
Los Angeles	0.92	1.56***
New York	0.79+	1.34**
Chicago (reference = Atlanta)	0.69**	1.26*
Racial Composition of Municipality:		
Percentage of Non-Hispanic Blacks	1.01**	1.00+
Education:		
Some College	0.70*	0.95
College Graduate	0.57**	0.90
Post Graduate (reference = High School or less)	0.66*	1.01
Body Type:		
Slender/Fit/Average Body type (vs. thick, large)	0.56***	0.96
Body type - did not answer (reference = thick, large)	0.88	1.32
Politically Liberal	1.18	1.55***
Religion		
Christian	1.04	0.94
Other Religion	1.06	1.01
Religion - did not answer (reference = not religious)	1.30+	1.11
Spanish Language		
Speaks Spanish	0.70	0.95
Spanish language - did not answer (reference = Does Not Speak Spanish)	0.87	0.63***
Preferences for Other Characteristics		
Choosiness (% of preferences)	1.00	0.97***
Preference for Religion	0.77*	0.67***
Preference for Body Type	0.76*	0.57***
Preference for Education	0.97	1.18*
Preference for Height	1.06	0.87+

Notes: +p < .10 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X14000204 Published online by Cambridge University Press