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CAN LOVE CONQUER ALL?: PLATONIC AND ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS ACROSS ETHNORACIAL LINES IN THE U.S.

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CAN LOVE CONQUER ALL?: PLATONIC AND ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS ACROSS ETHNORACIAL LINES IN THE U.S.

EMILCE SANTANA

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Abstract

The goal of this dissertation is to explore processes that shape interethnic and interracial relationships to gain greater insight into the strength, position, and nature of ethnoracial boundaries. In the 1st empirical chapter (chapter 2), I apply the status exchange hypothesis, which theorizes that ethnoracial minorities should have higher socioeconomic status than their white spouses to balance out their ethnoracial status discrepancies, to white-Latino intermarriages. This theory highlights a possible mechanism that drives intermarriage and indicates the height of barriers that groups face when intermarrying. I examine whether there are differences in the importance of status exchange in marriages between whites and foreign-born Latinos vs. whites and native-born Latinos. Unions between ethnoracial minorities and whites are considered to be a measure of integration into the mainstream for minorities given that whites are a socially dominant group. Using data from the 2008 through 2015 American Community Survey, my results suggest that there is evidence of status exchange for both foreign-born and native-born Latinos.

For chapters 3 and 4, I analyze data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen to examine how skin color, a determinant for a host of unequal outcomes among ethnoracial minorities, relates to intergroup dating and friendships for ethnoracial minorities. For the 3rd chapter, I argue that darker skin can increase the likelihood of members from higher status ethnoracial groups to date individuals of lower status ethnoracial groups while lighter skin color can increase the likelihood of lower status ethnoracial group members to date higher status ethnoracial group members. The results from the 4th chapter show similar patterns seen in chapter 3. Specifically, among lower status ethnoracial group members, lighter skin color is associated with having more close friends from higher status groups.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Interethnic and interracial relationships are becoming commonplace in the U.S. Between 1967 and 2015, the percentage of intermarried newlyweds more than quintupled from 3% to 17% (Bialik 2017). According to the previous literature, the prevalence of these relationships has a host of implications for U.S. society. The growing rate of these relationships suggests that ethnoracial lines may be eroding. Gordon (1964) theorizes that marriage between a social dominant group and a minority group is the ultimate step for the integration of a minority group into the dominant group because it is the unification of two individuals of different groups. A high rate of marriage between two groups can blur the distinction between the two groups (Gordon 1964). Moreover, the children of these unions are the drivers of changes in ethnoracial dynamics because they can claim membership to more than one ethnoracial group. Thus, they are the embodiment of blurred boundaries (Lee and Bean 2010).

More casual relationships such as dating and friendships across ethnoracial lines have a range of implications. They may lead to intermarriage, which has more stringent norms attached to it than other types of relationships, in the future (Van Zantvliet and Kalmijn 2013). Having casual intergroup relationships implies that there is a greater level of comfort between these groups even if they do not lead to marriage (Fischer 2011). de Souza Briggs' (2007) argues that,

> On individual as well as collective levels, intergroup ties—informal personal networks, formal associations, and other connections among socially dissimilar persons or groups—are uniquely important in social life as well as social theory. This is especially true when such ties function as bridges, enabling meaningful exchanges across social divides and the social worlds they help define. Bridging ties are particularly crucial where they help bind diverse societies, expanding social and civic identities, opening up insular communities of interest, containing ethnic and other intergroup conflicts, and reducing status inequalities, for example, by widening access to valuable information and endorsements (p.263).

Exploring predictors of casual relationships helps to elucidate which individuals may have the greatest opportunities to interact with members of other ethnoracial groups and who may have greater access to the possible benefits of these ties.

Analyzing possible determinants and mechanisms for different types of intergroup relationships could give researchers deeper insight into ethnoracial dynamics in the U.S. Due to the steady growth of the U.S. Latino and Asian populations (Pew Research 2015), research on mechanisms that drive U.S ethnoracial relations is especially timely. This segment of research could shed light on which factors may encourage these relationships and what are the possible barriers that impede a more integrated society. Research on interethnic and interracial relationships can also inform social policy because the extant literature suggests that these relationships could reduce prejudice amongst different groups toward each other as well as social distance (Allport 1954; Fischer 2011).

Chapter 2 applies the concept of status exchange to intermarriage between Latinos and whites. Specifically, I examine how status exchange may differ for marriages between whites and foreign-born Latinos in comparison to marriages between whites and native-born Latinos. The status exchange hypothesis theorizes that among intermarried couples, in particular ethnoracially intermarried couples, partners of a less privileged ethnoracial background tend to have another attribute to balance out status differences within couples (e.g. black spouses may have greater socioeconomic status relative to their white partners) (Davis 1941; Merton 1941). This theory highlights a barrier that ethnoracial minorities may have to face when intermarrying with native-born whites. I focus on marriages with native-born whites because the immigration literature treats intermarriage with native-born whites as a measure of integration into the mainstream (Alba and Nee 2003).

The status exchange hypothesis has been applied to black-white intermarriage, but with the exception of one study by Kang Fu (2001), there is not a deep understanding of how the concept applies to marriages between whites and Latinos. Latinos are currently the largest ethnoracial minority group (Pew Research 2015), thus, gaining insight as to whether status exchange applies to Latinos can aide race/ethnicity scholars to understand how Latinos may be integrating with whites. Although the intermarriage rates between whites and Latinos are quite high relative to other interethnic and interracial pairings (Wang 2012), these rates do not guarantee that Latinos evade stratifying mechanisms when interacting with whites. Furthermore, analyzing how status exchange may differ by nativity gives more nuanced insight into an axis of inequality toward integration (Choi, Tienda, Cobb-Clark, et al. 2012). The analyses of the American Community Survey data show evidence of status exchange for both foreign-born and native-born Latinos, which suggests that regardless of nativity, Latinos have to compensate for their ethnoracial background by having greater socioeconomic status than their white spouses.

An emerging portion of the literature on relationships argues that skin color may play a significant role in what types of partners an individual attracts. Monk (2014) and Hamilton, Goldsmith, and Darity (2009) find that darker skin color is associated with having partners that have lower occupational prestige and educational attainment. One study explores how skin color relates to dating across ethnoracial lines broadly (Keels and Harris 2014). They find that for blacks, darker skin color is associated with a lower likelihood of dating non-blacks. There are several remaining gaps within the literature as to how skin color relates to relationships across ethnoracial lines. First, Keels and Harris (2014) explore dating across ethnoracial lines broadly without distinguishing between which ethnoracial groups the respondents had reported dating. Moreover, according to the extant literature, ethnoracial groups have different levels of status,

meaning that its members can access particular levels of privilege by virtue of their membership in that ethnoracial group (Song 2004). Thus, how two specific groups relate to one another does not imply that that dynamic is consistent across different interactions with other ethnoracial groups (e.g., intermarriages between whites and Latinos are more common than between whites and blacks, even after accounting for group size (Qian 1997)). The 3rd and 4th chapters of this dissertation address these gaps by exploring how an individual's skin color relates to the likelihood of engaging in romantic and platonic relationships with people of other ethnoracial groups.

Chapter 3 examines interethnic and interracial dating among college students. The three questions I address in this chapter are: 1) How does skin color relate to the likelihood of dating an individual of another ethnoracial group? 2) Does the influence of a person's skin color depend on the combination of ethnoracial backgrounds of the individuals that date? 3) Are there intervening factors that explain this relationship? Using the National Longitudinal Study of Freshman (NLSF), I find that among blacks, darker skin color is a predictor for lower odds of dating whites, Latinos, and Asians and lower odds for Latinos to date whites. Darker skin color is associated with higher odds for Asians to date blacks. Second, I find that skin color may influence dating via friendship networks. I theorize that skin color's relationship to the likelihood of intergroup dating depends on the relative levels of status of the two groups that date. Darker skin among lower status ethnoracial groups is associated with lower odds of dating members of higher status groups while darker skin color among higher status ethnoracial groups is associated with greater odds of dating members of lower status groups.

The final empirical chapter continues in a similar thematic vein to chapter 3 by focusing on how an individual's skin color relates to forming a close friendship across ethnoracial lines.

There is little to no research that analyzes how skin color relates to intergroup friendships. As the previous chapter shows, friendships with members of a particular ethnoracial group are consistently associated with a greater likelihood of dating individuals of that group. My quantitative analyses of friendship dyads in the NLSF dataset demonstrate that darker skin color for blacks is consistently associated with lower odds of having close friendships with different ethnoracial groups. Among Latinos, darker skin color predicts lower odds of having a close white friend while among Asians, darker skin color is correlated with greater odds of having a close friend that identifies as "other". Similar to chapter 3, I argue that the role of skin color is dependent on the relative levels of social status of the friends' ethnoracial backgrounds in that darker skin color predicts a lower likelihood for members of lower status groups to befriend individuals of higher status groups.

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Chapter 2 - Resilient Boundaries: Status Exchange in White-Latino Intermarriage[1]

Abstract

This study applies the status exchange theory to white-Latino intermarriage and explores how the strength of status exchange differs by Latino nativity. The status exchange hypothesis theorizes that couples of unequal social standing engage in an exchange of characteristics, thus suggesting that there are certain obstacles individuals of lower status may face to interact with individuals of higher status. This theory highlights a possible mechanism that drives intermarriage and indicates the rigidity of barriers that different groups encounter when intermarrying. Analyzing differences by nativity provides a greater understanding of the trajectory of Latinos' integration in the U.S. This study uses years 2008-2015 of the American Community Survey and log-linear models for contingency tables. The best fitting models show evidence of status exchange among marriages between foreign-born Latinos and native-born whites. Among native-born Latinos, Latina wives engage in status exchange with native-born whites. These results suggest that both foreign-born and native-born Latinos face similar barriers as blacks when interacting with whites. More broadly, there is evidence for a white-nonwhite racial divide within the U.S.

[1] The work continued in this chapter was presented at the annual meetings of the Population of Association of America (2017), the American Sociological Association (2017), and the Latin American Studies Association (2018).

Introduction

Two salient trends within the U.S. population are the increasing prevalence of ethnoracial intermarriage as well as the rapid growth of the Latino population. In 1980, only 6 percent of newlyweds were couples of different ethnoracial backgrounds (Wang 2012). That figure has more than doubled to 15 percent by 2000 (Wang 2012). Second, as Latin American migration to the U.S. subsides, the Latino population grows substantially due to high birth rates (Krogstad and Lopez 2014). This group is currently the largest U.S. ethnoracial minority group with approximately 53 million individuals, which encompasses 17 percent of the U.S. population (López and Patten 2015). By 2060, the Latino population is projected to grow to 129 million individuals (31 percent of the U.S. population) (Krogstad and Lopez 2014).

Studying stratifying mechanisms within Latino intermarriage could shed light on the future direction of ethnoracial relations in the U.S. Intermarriage is simultaneously a result of and leads to the blurring and reshaping of group boundaries (e.g., Blau, Beeker and Fitzpatrick 1984; Kalmijn 1998; Lee and Edmonston 2005). The immigration literature frames intermarriage with members of the dominant group as a measure of integration (Gordon 1964). If one were to solely go by trends (e.g., the percentage of those who intermarry), Latinos seem to be integrating quite well. For example, when whites marry out, they tend to marry Latinos (Passel, Wang, and Taylor 2010). In 2010, the most common intermarried newlywed ethnoracial combination was white-Latino (43.3 percent) (Wang 2012). Nevertheless, going beyond these simple trends and digging into the mechanisms of intermarriage of Latinos can help uncover this group's integration and by extension their location within shifting ethnoracial dynamics in the U.S., a puzzle which scholars

studying the future of U.S. ethnoracial relations have yet to fully unpack (see Bean, Lee, and Bachmeier 2013).

A well-known theory within the intermarriage literature is the status exchange hypothesis. Scholars have applied this theory mainly to black-white intermarriages to analyze the social distance between blacks and whites (e.g., Gullickson 2006; Gullickson and Torche 2014; Kalmijn 1993; Rosenfeld 2005). The main argument of is that couples that intermarry in one aspect (e.g., socioeconomic status, religion, beauty, intelligence, race, etc.) will probably also intermarry according to another aspect. This trade in characteristics is theorized to "balance out" status discrepancies within a couple. Theories such as the status exchange hypothesis help to tease out possible mechanisms that drive intermarriage and the height of potential barriers that certain group members face in contemplating intermarriage. Even if the prevalence of intermarriage is high, certain groups may have to meet particular standards (e.g., have a higher level of socioeconomic status), implying that intermarriage mechanisms are not uniform across groups. Therefore, analyzing sorting mechanisms among intermarried couples gives us a clearer understanding of how ethnoracial groups interact with one another and how group boundaries are eroding.

There are studies that have added Latinos to the debate on status exchange (Kang Fu 2001; Qian 1997), but the role of nativity, meaning being born in the U.S. (native-born) vs. overseas (foreign-born), remains unclear. Intermarriage trends differ substantially among Latinos by nativity. More specifically, native-born Latinos' outmarrying rates outpace those of foreign-born Latinos (Qian, Lichter, and Tumin 2018). The immigration literature should give us some insight as to how nativity could determine the prevalence of status exchange among certain ethnoracial combinations, but the literature itself is disjointed. According to classical assimilation, integration becomes more apparent among later generations (e.g., from immigrant parents to U.S.-raised

children) (see Gans 1992 for a brief overview). Hence, following this logic, status exchange should wane with each passing generation. However, after the Hart-Celler Act of 1965, immigration from Latin America and Asia has redefined the ethnoracial composition of the U.S. (Massey and Capoferro 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2014). The immigration literature has attempted to accommodate these shifts via lengthy debates to determine which theory best captures the integration trajectories of current U.S. immigrants and their descendants in light of expanding ethnoracial diversity within the U.S. (Alba and Nee 2003; Gans 1992; Portes and Rumbaut 2014; Stepick and Stepick 2010). The extant literature argues that Latinos are more disadvantaged than whites (e.g., Gamoran, Turley, Turner, et al. 2012; Kao and Thompson 2003; National Research Council 2014), but their path to integration is unclear.

This paper explores the role of nativity in shaping status exchange among Latino-white marriages to 1) uncover clues as to the current position of Latinos within changing U.S. ethnoracial dynamics and 2) expand the understanding of the trajectory of integration for Latinos. The study addresses the following questions: Does status exchange exist among marriages between Latinos and whites? Second, does the nativity of Latinos moderate the prevalence of status exchange within this type of relationship? In reference to extant literature on status exchange and immigrant integration, the results show support for segmented assimilation theory because there is evidence of status exchange for both foreign-born and native-born Latinos. Latinos seem to face barriers akin to blacks when intermarrying with whites, even after accounting for nativity, although the rates of Latino-white intermarriage are high relative to other forms of ethnoracial intermarriage. In this paper, I use the terms "Latino" to refer primarily to those who claim heritage from a Spanish-speaking Latin American/Caribbean country, regardless of racial identity. The terms "white" and "black" imply non-Latino individuals who identify as white and black, respectively.

Literature Review

Status Exchange Hypothesis

Davis and Merton individually formulized the concept of status exchange in the early 1940s (Davis 1941; Merton 1941). This theory hypothesizes that within a marriage, there is an exchange of traits so that the discrepancies of one partner (e.g., a high level of beauty yet low level of socioeconomic status) is traded for the discrepancies of the other partner (e.g., low level of beauty and high level of socioeconomic status). Scholars have applied this concept to an array of traits, including beauty and intelligence (McClintock 2014), social origin and current social status (Schwartz, Zeng, and Xie 2016), nativity and socioeconomic status (Choi, Tienda, Cobb-Clark, et al. 2012), in addition to ethnoracial background and socioeconomic status (e.g., Gullickson 2006; Gullickson and Torche 2014; Kalmijn 1993; Qian 1997; Rosenfeld 2005). These exchanges seem contrived, yet they are theorized to be unintentional. Merton (1941) states, "The event may be experienced by them as simply an affectional relationship, but this psychic reaction is manifestly structured by the social organization" (p.373). The proclivity towards status exchange across multiple attributes speaks to the exclusivity of marriage as well as the inequality related to these attributes. In other words, status exchange embodies a particular mechanism of social stratification.

The majority of the intermarriage literature shows that status exchange exists. The one exception is Rosenfeld's (2005) study on black-white intermarriage, which brings into question how to most appropriately model status exchange. He argues that status exchange is an artifact of modeling techniques and makes a case to use tabular analyses over log-linear models. Several scholars (Gullickson and Kang Fu 2010; Kalmijn 2010; Schwartz et al. 2016) have responded by

showing a variety of modeling strategies to operationalize status exchange. Gullickson and Fu (2010) and Kalmijn's (2010) methodologies both argue in favor of status exchange among black-white marriages using the same dataset as Rosenfeld (2005). Furthermore, research outside of the U.S. shows support for the existence of status exchange among ethnoracially intermarried couples (Gullickson and Torche 2014).

The Future of U.S. Ethnoracial Relations

In light of the growing Latino population in the U.S., the implications of this shift on U.S. ethnoracial dynamics remain unclear. The racial divide has largely been between blacks and whites with whites having greater status than blacks (Bean et al. 2013; Lee and Edmonston 2005). There is an array of theories that attempt to gauge future divides. For example, predictions of a "white/non-white divide" originate from the racialization of Asians and Latinos in the sixties as people of color (Bean et al. 2013). Bonilla-Silva (2004) has formulated the "Latin Americanization" hypothesis, which argues that U.S. race relations may become similar to Latin American race relations. The theory predicts a tri-racial system consisting of whites, honorary whites, and collective blacks. A third theory is a "black/non-black divide" which hypothesizes that Latinos and Asians may eventually be treated the same as whites (Bean et al., 2013).

Similar to the uncertain future of U.S. ethnoracial relations, previous research suggests that Latinos' location within the U.S. ethnoracial relations is up for debate. For example, Latinos tend to outperform blacks in educational achievement (test scores) while both groups perform similarly in educational attainment (graduation and completion rates), and neither group surpasses whites (Kao and Thompson 2003). Crime research indicates that blacks disproportionately suffer from the massive increase in incarceration rates more so than Latinos, yet Latinos' rates are higher than

whites (National Research Council 2014). However, recent research on residential segregation argues that Latinos are becoming increasingly more segregated from whites while blacks became less segregated from 1970 to 2010 (Rugh and Massey 2014).

A well-known measure of integration within the immigration literature is ethnoracial intermarriage. Marriage across different groups suggests that there is growing ease and commonality between groups. Given the current level of ethnoracial diversity within the U.S., ethnoracial intermarriage is complex to define. For example, some studies focus broadly on unions between blacks, Latinos, Asians, and whites (e.g., Passel et al. 2010), while other studies utilize a more selective definition of ethnoracial intergroup unions by examining relationships across national origins (e.g., Qian and Cobas 2004). Put differently, a marriage between a Mexican and a Cuban would not be an intermarried couple by the first definition, but it would be by the second definition. The two definitions measure the porousness of different barriers, such as broad ethnoracial boundaries or intra-panethnic boundaries. This current study adds to the conversation on the future of U.S. ethnoracial relations by exploring possible stratifying mechanisms in marriages between Latinos and whites, two numerically prominent ethnoracial groups that have different social standings.

A common way of exploring the marital integration of an ethnoracial group is comparing differences in outcomes by nativity, which is related to generation status (Batson, Qian, and Lichter 2006; Landale and Oropesa 2007; Qian and Cobas 2004). Studies that explore Latino intermarriage show that intermarriage trends differ substantially by nativity (Qian and Lichter 2011; Qian et al. 2018). Native-born tend to outmarry more relative to their foreign-born counterparts (Qian et al. 2018), however, it should be noted that in light of a greater immigrant population is associated

with an increase in co-panethnic marriage between the native-born and foreign-born (Qian and Lichter 2011).

In this study, to gain a better understanding of the trajectory of Latinos within the broader U.S. society, I will explore differences in the prevalence of status exchange by nativity. I use assimilation theories to interpret the possible ways Latino nativity may relate to status exchange, and more broadly understand the possible trajectory of Latinos within U.S. ethnoracial relations. One theory, classical assimilation theory predicts a roughly linear trajectory with the implied assumption that the cultural "mainstream" remains more or less static (Alba and Nee 2003). The most recent iteration of this theory argues that while each immigrant group may assimilate at varying paces (e.g., the integration of blacks is still an on-going process), eventually all groups will assimilate (Alba & Nee, 2003). Following the logic of classic assimilation, hypothesis 1 states that:

> *If classical assimilation holds, there should only be evidence of status exchange for foreign-born Latinos.*

The existence of status exchange among ethnoracially married couples is based on the fact that there are differences in status among ethnoracial groups. Thus, the lack of status exchange would suggest there is a level of commonality between the groups. Native-born Latinos, relative to foreign-born Latinos, should more readily adopt the beliefs, customs, and behaviors of the dominant society. Therefore, native-born Latinos should have greater commonality with native-born whites in comparison to foreign-born Latinos with native-born whites. Applying the framework of status exchange to assimilation, from foreign-born to native-born, the prevalence of status exchange should decline and there should be little to no evidence of status exchange among the native-born. This result would suggest that Latinos are integrating with native-born whites.

The segmented assimilation theory predicts that factors such as human capital, family structure, and modes of incorporation will shape how immigrants and their descendants integrate into the receiving society (Portes and Rumbaut 2014). The theory is usually applied to specific national origin groups (e.g., Mexicans, Cubans, Haitians, etc.), yet the general message of this theory is that not all ethnoracial groups are guaranteed full integration and acceptance into the U.S. mainstream irrespective nativity, which is dominated by native-born whites. Full integration implies that there is no evidence of status exchange between the dominant and minority group, even after accounting for nativity. According to this reasoning, hypothesis 2 states that:

> *If segmented assimilation holds, there should be evidence of status exchange for both foreign-born and native-born Latinos.*

If one were to find that status exchange exists regardless of nativity, this result would imply that Latinos are on a similar track as blacks. As stated previously, black-white intermarriages have shown to exhibit status exchange. According to Lee and Bean (2004), blacks are the least integrated into the mainstream even though this group has the longest history of being in the U.S. relative to other major ethnoracial groups such as Latinos and Asians, which have gain more prominence after 1965 (Pew Research Center 2015). One could argue that blacks' trajectory embodies segmented assimilation because the theory implies that certain groups will face perpetual barriers when interacting with the dominant group in spite of attaining a particular level of assimilation (e.g., economic, educational, residential, nativity, etc.).

Lastly, hypothesis 3 states that:

> *If no assimilation theory holds, there should be no evidence of status exchange for foreign-born and native-born Latinos.*

If there is no evidence of the status exchange across generations, this outcome implies that Latinos are on a different path from U.S. blacks altogether and that perhaps there is not as much of a great boundary between Latinos and whites as between blacks and whites.

Methodology

Data

The American Community Survey (ACS) is a U.S. Census Bureau annual survey designed to capture the broad U.S. population (Census Bureau n.d.; Ruggles, Flood, Goeken, et al. 2010). The ACS does not collect where couples first met or where they married. Since 2008, the survey has measured when they married and the marriage order. Past intermarriage studies that have used data without that information have made age-based assumptions (i.e., limiting sample to respondents of a certain age) to approximate first-time marriages (examples include Batson et al. 2006; Kang Fu 2001; Lichter, Carmalt, and Qian 2011; Qian 1997). Furthermore, intermarriage research that focuses on immigrants usually makes age assumptions as a proxy for immigrants who married their current spouses in the U.S. (Choi et al. 2012). Via the ACS, I can only distinguish between native-born and foreign-born individuals, but I can include immigrants irrespective of what age they migrated to the U.S. as long as their marriages took place after migrating to the U.S. I pool years 2008 through 2015 to have a large enough sample. I focus on first-order newlyweds to mitigate possible confounding variables such as the length of marriage and marriage order.

Variables

Socioeconomic status: Socioeconomic status can be measured via wealth, income, education, occupational prestige, parents' socioeconomic status, etc. They all capture different aspects of socioeconomic status, but the status exchange literature traditionally operationalizes this concept as educational attainment of the coupled individuals. Some may argue that educational attainment alone is not an adequate measure of socioeconomic status, however, educational attainment is the most reliable measure. Educational attainment is not prone to market fluctuations, unlike income and occupation. Relative to educational attainment, financial measures such as income and especially wealth have a notorious reputation for being difficult to collect (Keister & Moller 2000). Lastly, parents' own socioeconomic status does give insight into the individual's social origins (Schwartz et al. 2016) but the goal of this paper is to focus on current socioeconomic status instead of social origins. Thus, educational attainment is not all encompassing, but it is an appropriate and reliable measure that is also a significant predictor for intermarriage among Latinos (Shin 2011). I recode education for both wives and husbands into dummy variables with three categories due to the distribution of the data (twelfth grade or below, some years of college, and four or more years of college).

Ethnoracial background: There are pros and cons to utilizing broad ethnoracial categories such as "Latino" and "white". Several studies have argued for more studies by national origin, specifically when studying Latinos (e.g., Bean and Tienda 1987; Landale, Oropesa, and Bradatan 2006). Certain intermarriage studies have explored trends and possible mechanisms by national origin as well as by racial self-identification (Landale et al. 2006; Qian and Cobas 2004). Nevertheless, panethnic labels such as "Latino" and "Asian" do carry meaning in spite of their Census-based origins (Hitlin, Brown, and Elder 2007). Individuals who are raised in the U.S. or have spent a great deal of time in the U.S. tend to embrace the terms "Hispanic" and/or "Latino"

as part of their identity (Portes and Rumbaut 2014). Thus, I choose to focus on the broader trends of this growing subgroup, Latinos, and its interactions with the U.S. racial majority. In this study, white spouses in this study are individuals who self-identified solely as "white" and "not Latino/Hispanic". Respondents who identify as Latino-origin in the survey, irrespective of their racial self-identification, are coded as Latino in the study.

Nativity: Nativity in this study serves as a rough proxy for immigrant generation. While nativity focuses on a respondent's birthplace, immigrant generation weaves in an individual's birthplace and parents' birthplace. Typical terms include first-generation (foreign-born), second generation (children, in particular native-born children, of first-generation immigrants), and third-generation (native-born children of second-generation respondents). The ACS does not collect parents' birthplace, therefore the native-born children of immigrants cannot be disentangled from the 3^{rd+} generation. I examine the nativity of Latino respondents and explore trends in marriages with native-born whites because assimilation theories tend to frame native-born whites as the baseline for integration in the U.S. (Portes and Rumbaut 2014).

Age: Many intermarriage studies indirectly control for age by reducing the samples to a particular age range to approximate 1st-order marriages. Since the ACS captures newlyweds and the order of marriages, there is no need to reduce the sample by age but the models should control for this factor. Due to the sample's large range of ages, I arbitrarily have three age groups: ages 15-24, 25-34, and 35+. According to a report by Wang (2012), descriptive analyses show that while there are slight age disparities among newlywed couples, there does not seem to be a great difference comparing intermarried couples to ethnoracially homogamous couples. Therefore, I theorize that there will be a strong correlation between the couple's ages irrespective of ethnoracial background.

Methods

Operationalizing Status Exchange

The modeling specifications for this study are based on a Schwartz et al. (2016) study on the exchange between social origins and current socioeconomic status. The main purpose of this operationalization is to compare couples that engage in status exchange to wife-dominant or husband-dominant couples while controlling for 1) the marginal distributions of education and nativity/ethnoracial background, and 2) the prevalence of nativity/ethnoracial and educational homogamy. In other words, when measuring native-born Latino husbands' educational exchange with their white wives, these couples will be compared to wife-dominant couples, which are defined as couples that consist of white wives and native-born Latino husbands and the wives have higher levels of education than their husbands. Similarly, when measuring foreign-born Latino wives' educational exchange with their white husbands, their reference category is husband-dominant couples in which white husbands have greater levels of education than their foreign-born Latina wives. In essence, these coefficients represent four-way interactions. This approach is similar to hypergamy ratios, which compare educationally hypergamous couples, meaning individuals who marry up, to educationally hypogamous couples, which are individuals who marry down (Kalmijn 1993). Furthermore, this operationalization of status exchange takes into account educational and ethnoracial homogamy, which are exceedingly common (e.g.; Fu and Heaton 2008; Kalmijn 1998; Kalmijn 2010; Schwartz and Mare 2005).

Models

There is a general consensus within the intermarriage literature that log-linear models for contingency tables are the best suited methods to study intermarriage. According to Kalmijn (2010), who focuses on status exchange among black-white marriages, these models can account

for the marginal distributions of education. Put differently, they control for the fact that educational levels are distributed differently within ethnoracial groups. In this study, the outcome, log F_{ijklmn}, is the log of the expected frequency of couples that have a particular combination of educational backgrounds (λ_i^{HE} –husband's educational level *i*- and λ_j^{WE} –wife's educational level *j*-), nativity/ethnicity/race backgrounds (λ_k^{HR} and λ_l^{WR}), and age (λ_m^{HA} and λ_n^{WA}). Nativity and ethnicity/race are collapsed into one variable because I solely examine the role of Latinos' nativity. The categories for the combined variables, λ_k^{HR} (husband variable) and λ_l^{WR} (wife variable), are foreign-born Latino (FL), native-born Latino (NL) and native-born white (W). All main models have two-way interactions for each partner's characteristics (e.g., educational level, age, and nativity/ethnicity/race) to account for within-person correlations. There are four principal model types, yet the reference category for status exchange is different depending on whether the focus is on foreign-born Latino husbands', foreign-born Latina wives', native-born Latino husbands', or native-born Latina wives' exchange. Therefore, there are four distinct models in this study and each model will be specified four times to examine the different exchanges.

1) Simple homogamy model:

$$\log F_{ijklmn} = \lambda + \lambda_i^{HE} + \lambda_j^{WE} + \lambda_k^{HR} + \lambda_l^{WRN} + \lambda_m^{HA} + \lambda_n^{WA} + \lambda_{ik}^{HE*HR} + \lambda_{jl}^{WE*WR} + \lambda_{im}^{HE*HA} + \lambda_{jn}^{WE*WA} + \lambda_{km}^{HR*HA} + \lambda_{ln}^{WR*WA} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE=WE,\ HR=FL,WR=W} + \boldsymbol{\lambda_{ijkl}^{HE>WE,\ HR=FL,WR=W}} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE<WE,\ HR=W,WR=FL} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE=WE,\ HR=W,\ WR=FL} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE>WE,\ HR=W,\ WR=FL} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE<WE,\ HR=WR} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE=WE,\ HR=WR} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE>WE,\ HR=WR} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE<WE,\ HR=NL,WR=W} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE=WE,\ HR=NL,WR=W} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE>WE,\ HR=NL,WR=W} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE<WE,\ HR=W,WR=NL} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE=WE,\ HR=W,WR=NL} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE>WE,\ HR=W,WR=NL} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE<WE,\ HR=NH,WR=FL} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE=WE,\ HR=NH,WR=FL} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE>WE,\ HR=NH,WR=FL} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE<WE,\ HR=FL,WR=NL} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE=WE,\ HR=FL,WR=NL} + \lambda_{ijkl}^{HE>WE,\ HR=FL,WR=NL}$$

The first model, referred to by Schwartz et al. (2016) as "simple homogamy" distinguishes between different combinations of the couples' educational and ethnoracial backgrounds. Put differently, this equation has a dummy for the various combinations of educational and nativity/ethnoracial backgrounds. The parameters λ_i^{HE}, λ_j^{WE}, λ_k^{HR}, λ_l^{WR}, λ_m^{HA}, and λ_n^{WA} capture

the marginal distributions of the husbands' and wives' educational levels, nativity/ethnoracial backgrounds, and ages. The interactions, λ_{ik}^{HE*HR}, λ_{jl}^{WE*WR}, λ_{im}^{HE*HA}, λ_{jn}^{WE*WA}, λ_{km}^{HR*HA}, and λ_{ln}^{WR*WA}, represent the correlations between intrapersonal characteristics. This particular written equation shows the operationalization for status exchange among foreign-born Latino husbands. The coefficient in bold represents the status exchange coefficient. The reference category for this model specification is: $\lambda_{ijkl}^{HE<WE,\ HR=FL,WR=W}$.

2) Simple homogamy + age interaction:

$$\log F_{ijklmn} = 1 + \lambda_{mn}^{HA*WA}$$

This model is similar to the simple homogamy model except that it includes an age interaction to account for the potential correlation within a couple's ages.

3) Simple homogamy + age interaction + variable homogamy parameters:

$$\log F_{ijklmn} = 2 + \lambda_{ij}^{HE=WE} + \lambda_{kl}^{HR=WR}$$

The "variable homogamy" model adds measures $\lambda_{ij}^{HE=WE}$ and $\lambda_{kl}^{HR=WR}$ for different types of educational and nativity/ethnoracial homogamy (e.g., distinguishing between a couple that has two high school diplomas vs. a couple with a two BA's or more). Put differently, these measures capture two forms of homogamy separately. There are 3 categories for $\lambda_{ij}^{HE=WE}$ and 3 categories for $\lambda_{kl}^{HR=WR}$.

4) Simple homogamy + age interaction + distance parameters:

$$\log F_{ijklmn} = 2 + \lambda_{ij}^{Distance}$$

The "distance" model builds on model 2 by adding parameters that measure the absolute difference in educational backgrounds within a couple. While Schwartz et al. (2016) create distance parameters for both social origin and educational backgrounds, it is inappropriate to create a distance measure for nativity/ethnoracial background.

Descriptive statistics

Table 1 gives the weighted counts for the number of couples by nativity/ethnoracial and educational background. All models are based on this sample. Although the descriptive results do not control for group size, they are quite telling. Educational homogamy is the largest portion of each ethnoracial/nativity. Similarly, the largest ethnoracial/nativity portions of each educational pairing are the homogamous pairings. Over half of the sample (54.3%) is married to a spouse of the same race/ethnicity, nativity, and educational level. This paper explores the likelihood of surpassing a social ceiling, which is whether a group of lower social standing (Latinos) has to compensate by being more educated than their white spouses given that the primary mechanism is homogamy.

The second table lists the deviance, degrees of freedom, and the Bayesian information criterion (BIC) of each model. I use the following equation to calculate the BIC: Deviance – residual degrees of freedom * log (sample size). A negative BIC suggests that the model fits the data well and is a more parsimonious model than the saturated model (Raftery, 1986). Conversely, a large, positive BIC suggests a poor fit of the data. The worst fitting model is the first model, which suggests that this model does not take into account particular variable interactions within the data. The greatest reduction in the BIC is the introduction of the age interaction to simple model. However, the positive BIC of the second model indicates that the saturated model is preferable to this model. The variable homogamy and distance models both have negative BICs. Between these two models, the variable homogamy model is the best fitting one.

Results

Main Analyses

Table 3 illustrates the odds ratios for intermarriage between Latinos and whites. The coefficients for status exchange measure the odds of being in one type of marriage vs. the reference-category marriage. Specifically, the husbands' exchange coefficient shows the odds of a Latino husband having a white wife with a lower level of education than his own relative to the odds of a Latino husband having a white wife with a higher level of education than his own. Similarly, the wives' exchange coefficient represents the odds of a Latina wife having a white husband with a lower educational level than her own relative to the odds of a Latina wife having a white husband with a greater level of education than her own.

The regressions for both foreign-born and native-born Latina wives show consistent results in favor of status exchange. Among foreign-born wives, the poorer fitting models show odds that are 8 times as high for Latina women to marry a white husband who has less education than them relative to marrying a more educated white husband. The better fitting models show support for foreign-born Latina wives' status exchange, yet the odds shrink to approximately 2.8 to 3 times as high. For native-born Latina wives, the coefficients shift from roughly 3.7 to 4 times as great the odds in the poorer fitting models to about 1.4-1.5 times as great in the better fitting models. All coefficients for foreign-born and native-born Latina wives are significant at the $p<.001$ level.

The coefficients for Latina wives consistently support status exchange, yet the Latino husbands' coefficients show a different pattern. When accounting for simple homogamy as well as correlations between personal characteristics (model 1) and then for the interaction between the partner's ages (model 2), foreign-born Latino husbands show no statistically significant evidence for status exchange with their white wives. There is evidence of status exchange for this subgroup after the models control for variable educational and ethnoracial/nativity homogamy (model 3) or

educational distance (model 4). The best fitting model shows that there is a 127 percent increase in the odds for foreign-born Latino husbands to marry lesser educated white wives than marrying more educated white wives.

The coefficients for native-born Latino husbands are the greatest anomaly. The simpler models, 1 and 2, suggest that there is a greater likelihood for native-born Latino husbands to be less educated than their white wives relative native-born Latino husband being more educated than their white wives, significant at the $p<.001$ level. The coefficients for the two best fitting models are not statistically significant, therefore showing no support for status exchange among these couples. The results for native-born Latino husbands are especially surprising given the past research on gender differences and the status exchange theory. The extant literature (e.g., Gullickson & Kang Fu, 2010; Merton, 1941) has argued that status exchange should be more prevalent among men of lower social standing than women because men's socioeconomic credentials carry more weight than women's credentials.

Robustness Checks

I run three robustness checks: examining the possible role of Latino racial identification, the nativity of whites, and the expansion of the marriage pool within the models. Previous research has shown that there are differences in intermarriage trends among Latinos by racial identification. Qian and Cobas (2004) show that US-born Latinos who self-identify as white have a greater likelihood of marrying a non-Latino white partner relative to US-born Latino non-whites. Within the constraints of the dataset, I only explore the prevalence of status exchange among racially white Latinos. The results are similar to the main results of the study. Second, I explore the possibility that status exchange may also exist among marriages between Latinos and foreign-born

whites. The robustness check for white nativity suggests that status exchange is primarily a phenomenon among marriages between Latinos and native-born whites rather than Latinos and foreign-born whites. The results suggest that when accounting for white nativity, native-born have great status than foreign-born. Thus, the social distance between Latinos and whites is mainly between Latinos and native-born whites. Third, the set of models that include respondents who are neither Latino nor native-born white (e.g., blacks, Asians, etc.) have substantively similar results to the main models of the study. Put differently, even after accounting for the greater marriage market, there is still evidence of status exchange among Latinos and native-born whites.

Conclusion/Discussion

This paper explores possible mechanisms of stratification within Latino-white intermarriage. Although this study cannot make causal claims as to what leads to Latino-white intermarriage, this study shows evidence for segmented assimilation. Broadly, the results suggest that when accounting for factors such as correlations within personal characteristics in addition to trends in age, educational distance, and educational and ethnoracial/nativity homogamy, both foreign-born and native-born Latinos engage in status exchange when intermarrying with native-born whites, with the exception of native-born Latino husbands. Although the prevalence in marriages between Latinos and whites is high relative to other ethnoracial combinations of intermarried couples, Latinos may face challenges akin to blacks. The results hold even after accounting for whites' nativity, the general marriage market, and Latinos' racial self-identification.

Applying the status exchange hypothesis helps to elucidate particular barriers couples may have to overcome to engage in intermarriage. The concept has been applied mainly to black-white

couples, which reflects the historical bias the race/ethnicity literature has had towards exploring stratifying mechanisms between blacks and whites. This study shifts the focus of this concept to another ethnoracial group, specifically one that is the largest ethnoracial minority of the U.S. (López and Patten 2015). Moreover, this study factors in a determinant that has been shown to influence how individuals view and interact with greater society, an individual's nativity (Portes and Rumbaut 2014). Exploring the prevalence of status exchange among Latinos by nativity expands our understanding of how Latinos experiences within the U.S. may differ by nativity and more broadly the integration trajectory of this group.

The extant literature views intermarriage as an indicator of blurring boundaries between different groups. Intermarriage may suggest that boundaries are waning, but it can also harden other group boundaries. Current scholarship predicts that partly due to the growing rates of intermarriage between whites and Latinos/Asians relative to white-black marriages, there may be a new black/non-black divide in the U.S. (Bean et al. 2013; Lee and Bean 2004). However, Latinos seem to face barriers when intermarrying with whites, thus suggesting that Latinos have yet to be fully incorporated with whites although the rate of intermarriage with whites is high relative to blacks. Therefore, currently, the major U.S. ethnoracial boundary may be white vs. non-white.

Future research should also explore the role of factors such as gender, national origin, and region/marriage markets in shaping status exchange between Latinos and whites. The results of this study show that there are differences in the prevalence of status exchange by gender, specifically among native-born Latinos. The status exchange literature has argued that gender differences is not uncommon (e.g., Gullickson and Kang Fu 2010; Merton 1941), yet it is surprising that women would show signs of status exchange rather than men. Possible reasons for this result could be that native-born Latino men face fewer obstacles than native-born Latina

women or that the socioeconomic status of these men does not carry as much social weight as does women's socioeconomic status. Second, Latinos are solidifying as an ethnoracial group, yet differences by national origin should not be dismissed. For example, 21 percent of married Puerto Ricans in 2000 report a non-Latino spouse while 12 percent of married Mexicans and Cubans are intermarried (Lee and Edmonston 2005). Studies such as Bean and Tienda (1987) and Landale et al. (2006) urge researchers to study Latinos by national origin due to such differences. Unfortunately, that task is difficult without the appropriate data. Lastly, the prevalence of intermarriage may vary drastically by area of residence. A recent report on U.S. intermarriage showed that over 70 percent of Latino-white intermarried newlyweds reside in either the South or the West (Wang 2012), hinting at the importance of marriage markets. Recent work has argued that "immigrant replenishment" has reduced the prevalence of Latino intermarriage (Lichter et al. 2011; Waters and Jiménez 2005). Thus, region and marriage markets may influence the prevalence of status exchange among Latino-white marriages.

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Table 1: Combinations by Race/Ethnicity/Nativity and Education (Weighted)

	Husband's Education < Wife's Education	Husband's Education = Wife's Education	Husband's Education > Wife's Education	Total
Foreign-born Latino Husband - White Wife	216	401	96	713
	0.4%	0.7%	0.2%	1.2%
Native-born Latino Husband - White Wife	555	1141	219	1915
	0.9%	1.9%	0.4%	3.2%
Foreign-born Latino Husband - Native-born Latina Wife	450	1144	185	1779
	0.7%	1.9%	0.3%	2.9%
Homogamy by Race/Ethnicity and Nativity	13213	32977	6562	52752
	21.8%	54.3%	10.8%	86.9%
Native-born Latino Husband - Foreign-born Latina Wife	214	683	195	1092
	0.4%	1.1%	0.3%	1.8%
White Husband - Native-born Latina Wife	469	1121	338	1928
	0.8%	1.8%	0.6%	3.2%
White Husband - Foreign-born Latina Wife	131	317	88	536
	0.2%	0.5%	0.1%	0.9%
Total	15248	37784	7683	60715
	25.1%	62.2%	12.7%	100.0%

Table 2: Deviance, Degrees of Freedom, and BIC

	Deviance	Degrees of Freedom	BIC
Simple	37818	55	33376
Simple + age interaction	6760	59	2344
Variable	2922	61	-1481
Distance	3187	60	-1223

Table 3: Exponentiated Exchange Coefficients

	Foreign-born Hispanics		Native-born Hispanics	
	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives
Simple	1.117	8.128***	0.505***	3.951***
Simple + age interaction	1.250	8.296***	0.514***	3.705***
Variable	2.265***	2.982***	0.961	1.441***
Distance	2.162***	2.843***	0.977	1.479***
N	729	729	729	729

* p<0.05 ** p<0.01 *** p<0.001

Chapter 3 - Is Love (Color) Blind?: Skin Color and Interdating across Ethnoracial Groups[1]

Abstract

Skin color is related to disparities within ethnoracial groups, yet the role of skin color in shaping cross-ethnoraical interactions has not been explored in spite of its implications for the trajectory of ethnoracial stratification. Using waves 1, 2, and 4 of the National Longitudinal Study of Freshmen, this study investigates: Among ethnoracial minorities, how does a person's skin color relate to the likelihood of dating individuals from another ethnoracial group? Does this relationship depend on the combination of ethnoracial backgrounds of the individuals that date? Are there intervening factors that explain this relationship? The results show that darker skin color is associated with lower odds for blacks to date whites, Latinos, and Asians, as well as for Latinos to date whites, and greater odds for Asians to date blacks. A possible determinant that may shape the relationship between skin color and interdating is social networks. Broadly, the direction of skin color seems to be a function of status levels tied to ethnoracial groups, however, to fully understand how skin color may shape dating, social networks must also be examined.

[1] The work continued in this chapter was presented at the annual meetings of the Population of Association of America (2018) and the American Sociological Association (2018).

Introduction

Since 1965, the United States' ethnoracial makeup has undergone multiple dramatic demographic shifts such that by 2055, the U.S. will no longer have a numerical ethnoracial majority (Hirschman and Massey 2008; Lee and Bean 2004; Pew Research 2015; Portes and Rumbaut 2014). Research on how different ethnoracial groups interact with one another sheds light on the dynamics of U.S. ethnoracial hierarchy and possible factors that maintain this structure. In spite of the expansive research on marriages across ethnoracial groups (intermarriage), research on informal interactions such as dating and friendship is less robust.

Informal interactions can give us better insight into how ethnoracial boundaries function because there are fewer social norms attached to these interactions relative to institutionalized relationships such as marriage. Yancey (2002) theorizes that, "Because of the informal nature of American dating, it can be argued that there is greater widespread acceptance of interracial dating as compared to interracial marriage. Thus, those who resist interdating are also more likely to be resistant to racial integration" (181). Examining possible barriers to dating can give greater insight into how deeply rooted certain obstacles may be for more equal ethnoracial relations. Research on cross-ethnoracial friendships argues that even friendships can serve as an indicator of how different ethnoracial groups are interacting and accepting of one another (Doyle and Kao 2007) and can help to reduce racial prejudice (Allport 1954). Therefore, exploring the possible mechanisms that shape relationships beyond marriages enriches the study of ethnoracial relations because it clarifies the rigidness of particular ethnoracial boundaries.

While inequality between ethnoracial groups has been well documented, there is heterogeneity within ethnoracial groups. The previous literature argues that an individual's skin

color can determine different forms of intragroup stratification because of skin color's association with social status. For example, among blacks and Latinos, darker skin color is associated with poorer health outcomes and lower socioeconomic status (Codina and Montalvo 1994; Espino and Franz 2002; Hunter 2005; Monk 2014, 2015). There is little research as to how skin color can predict interethnic and interracial racial dating (henceforth I will refer to these phenomena collectively as "interdating") in spite of past work that highlights a relationship between skin color and spousal characteristics (Hamilton, Goldsmith, and Darity 2009; Monk 2014). The one study that directly addresses this question, Keels and Harris (2014), looks broadly at the role of skin color in dating across ethnoracial lines without examining how results may differ by which group respondents report dating. The study finds that skin color is significant for blacks, but the relationship between skin color and broad interdating was accounted for by friendship networks. The results lead to the following three questions: 1) How does skin color relate to the likelihood of dating an individual of another ethnoracial group? 2) Does the significance of a person's skin color depend on the combination of ethnoracial backgrounds of the individuals that date? 3) Are there intervening factors that explain this relationship?

This study uses the National Longitudinal Study of Freshmen (NLSF). The dataset examines a cohort of freshmen that started college in Fall 1999 across 28 institutions of higher education. Although the dataset does not speak to the broad U.S. population, this dataset is ideal for studying interdating. College students tend to have a well-defined dating/social pool (see Fischer 2008), therefore gauging the influence of social networks, a significant factor to dating and marriage (Kalmijn 1998; McClintock 2010; Van Zantvliet and Kalmijn 2013), is more feasible than using large-scale datasets such as the American Community Survey or the Current Population

Survey. Furthermore, college is the first time away from parents for many people, thus there is greater freedom from parents' control and opinions to experiment (Rosenfeld 2007). Lastly, the intermarriage literature suggests that educational homogamy is a major predictor for ethnoracial intermarriage (Kalmijn 1998). Studying college students gives an educational "leveled playing field" that is not always available in the greater population (see Fischer 2011). In short, using this dataset to study interdating accounts for several confounding factors.

Using waves 1, 2, and 4 of the NLSF, I analyze how skin color relates to interdating across four major ethnoracial groups. I make the following argument: the role of an individual's skin color is dependent on the ethnoracial combination of the individuals that interdate such that darker skin is associated with an increase in the likelihood of members of higher status ethnoracial groups to date individuals of lower status ethnoracial groups while lighter skin color is correlated to an increase in the odds of lower status ethnoracial group members to date higher status ethnoracial group members. Moreover, when examining individual characteristics that may influence romantic relationships between ethnoracial groups, structural factors such as informal ties to other ethnoracial groups are significant.

Literature Review

Dating across Ethnoracial Lines

Dating encompasses a variety of interactions with romantic intent that are of sociological interest. Dating can be as casual as going on actual dates (e.g., going to dinner or to the movies) with different people to being in a committed romantic relationship (Bogle 2007; McClintock 2010). Although dating does not have the same level of commitment as marriage, there tends to

be more gravity to two individuals dating than hooking up. Hook-ups are more sporadic and spontaneous; often one-time romantic encounters (Bogle 2007; McClintock 2010). Hooking up has become increasingly common among college campuses and in some cases has replaced dating (Bogle 2007). Nonetheless, dating can serve as a lens to explore how individuals relate to one another at a plausibly more committed romantic level without the expectations attached to marriage. There is little empirical work on dating across ethnoracial groups. There has been some research on the prevalence of interdating (Fujino 1997; Gurung and Duong 1999; Shibazaki and Brennan 1998; Yancey 2002) with a focus on dating preferences (Hwang 2013; Yancey 2007, 2009).

The few studies that have explored interdating behavior have highlighted particular patterns. Interdating is more common than intermarriage (Joyner and Kao 2005; Morgan 2012; Van Zantvliet and Kalmijn 2013), which is expected given that there is more fluidity and less expectations to dating relative to marriage. When contemplating dating across ethnoracial lines, certain ethnoracial groups are more desirable than others (Hwang 2013; Yancey 2009). Whites seem to be the most desirable group across virtually all ethnoracial groups while blacks are the least desirable (Hwang 2013; Yancey 2009).

Several studies show that there is a strong bias toward homophily across all major ethnoracial groups in both dating and marriage (Hwang 2013; Levin, Taylor, and Caudle 2007; McClintock 2010). According to intermarriage research, possible reasons for racial homophily could be a desire to keep bloodlines pure and to avoid grappling with cultural gaps (Kibria 2002; Morgan 2009). The intermarriage literature highlights other forms of homophiliy such as religious and educational homophily (Kalmijn 1998; Qian 1997). McClintock (2014) argues that people tend to marry individuals of similar beauty and socioeconomic status levels. Furthermore,

homogamy according to one aspect may lead to intermarriage by another aspect (e.g., interracial couple with similar socioeconomic status).

Research that controls for confounders shows a complex story between gender and the likelihood of interdating (Levin et al. 2007; Wang and Kao 2007). McClintock's (2010) homophily bias measures show that cross-ethnoracial dating differs by gender. In the study, white women and black women have the highest levels of homophily bias among women within dates and long-term relationships, yet black men and Asian men have the highest figures for homophily bias among men. Past research suggests that the ethnoracial backgrounds of both the respondent and the partner in question can determine the relationship between gender and the likelihood of interdating. Levin et al. (2007) illustrate that both white and Latino men have a greater likelihood of dating Asians relative to white and Latina women counterparts dating Asians, yet these same respondents have a lower likelihood of dating blacks than do white and Latina women. Research on intermarriage shows similarly complex patterns (Jacobs and Labov 2002; Passel, Wang, and Taylor 2010).

Beyond homophilous background characteristics and gender, personal factors and familial characteristics are associated with the likelihood of interdating. Yancey's (2002) analyses indicate that not identifying as catholic is associated with a greater likelihood of interdating. The intermarriage literature suggests that native-born individuals are more likely to outmarry than their foreign-born counterparts (Lichter, Carmalt, and Qian 2011; Morgan 2009; Qian and Lichter 2001). Moreover, parental influence, which includes socioeconomic background, nativity, and parents' opinions, can shape who individuals choose to date and marry (Morgan 2013; Stephens, Fernández, and Richman 2012; Wang and Kao 2007). For example, Latino children of immigrants tend to intermarry less than Latino children of native-born parents (Lichter et al. 2011; Morgan 2009). This result may be due to immigrant parents' emphasis on marrying within one's own

ethnic/national origin group (Foner and Dreby 2011; Morgan 2009). Lastly, having more educated parents is associated with a greater likelihood of having a romantic relationship across ethnoracial lines (King and Bratter 2007).

The literature on romantic relationships makes a strong case for the significance of the following related concepts: dating markets, social networks, and exposure to other ethnoracial groups. Having greater access to a more ethnoracially diverse pool and friend networks increases the likelihood of interdating and intermarrying (Kalmijn 1998; McClintock 2010; Van Zantvliet and Kalmijn 2013). Van Zantvliet and Kalmijn (2013) claim that romantic partners do not always have to meet via social networks, but the social environment, such as the presence of particular group within the school environment, may raise the likelihood of interdating and intermarrying. Choi and Tienda (2017) similarly show that marriage markets are correlated to intermarriage, net of individual characteristics. Even growing up in a more diverse neighborhood is associated with a greater likelihood of interdating later in life (Yancey 2002). The social psychology literature has argued that exposure to other groups decreases the prevalence of stereotypes and prejudice (also known as the contact hypothesis) (Allport 1954), which may be a factor in how social networks and the environment determine the chances of interdating and intermarrying.

Skin Color and Social Stratification

Skin color in the U.S. embodies a range of meanings. Darker skin color is related to the savage and uneducated while lighter skin color is associated with beauty and civility across different ethnoracial groups (Dixon and Telles 2017; Hunter 2005; Rondilla and Spickard 2007). The extant literature shows that skin color is related to an array of unequal outcomes such as socioeconomic status, perceived discrimination, mental health, and political outcomes (e.g.,

Canache, Hayes, Mondak, and Seligson 2014; Codina and Montalvo 1994; Hochschild and Weaver 2007; Hunter 2005; Klonoff and Landrine 2000; Monk 2014, 2015). Hunter (2005) finds that lighter skin color is associated with greater levels of education and income for black women and higher educational level for Mexican American women. Hochschild and Weaver (2007) show that skin color is associated with the likelihood of holding political office. Klonoff and Landrine (2000) find that darker skin is significantly related to perceiving racial discrimination among blacks and they argue that researchers should treat discrimination as a determinant for poorer physical health. Monk's (2015) findings further support this argument. Akin to blacks, darker skin color is associated with poorer mental health among U.S.-born Mexican men (Codina and Montalvo 1994). More broadly, skin color is a theorized indicator in determining how quickly members of a particular ethnoracial group can integrate into another ethnoracial group (Bonilla-Silva 2004; Gans 2012). Bonilla-Silva (2004) argues that lighter-skinned Latinos will assimilate into an "honorary white" group, an intermediate category, while darker-skinned Latinos will integrate into a "collective black" category, the group with the lowest social status. Gans (2012) makes a similar argument about Latinos as well as for Asians.

It should be noted that darker skin may be associated with certain benefits. Lighter-skinned ethnoracial minorities may face issues of authenticity (i.e., their ethnoracial identity is put into question because they do not follow a stereotypical look) (Hunter 2005, 2007; Stephens and Fernández 2012). Nonetheless, the negative impact that may be associated with lighter skin color does not compare with the negative effects of having a darker complexion (Hunter 2005, 2007; Stephens and Fernández 2012).

Social Status and Crossing Ethnoracial Lines

A prevalent theme within the skin color literature is its association with status. In addition to skin color's relationship to measures of status such as household income and educational attainment (for an example, see Allen, Telles, and Hunter 2000) , historically, lighter skin color has been heavily tied to privilege and access. Within the U.S., the lighter-skinned, racially-mixed children of slaves and slave-masters tended to receive better treatment relative to other darker slaves and had more opportunities to receive useful assets such as training and education (Dixon and Telles 2017; Hunter 2005; Rondilla and Spickard 2007). These individuals had an easier route to taking on leadership positions because of the social and economic capital that came with having evident white ancestry (Dixon and Telles 2017; Hunter 2005; Rondilla and Spickard 2007). Moreover, past research suggests that skin color is associated with spousal characteristics that are associated with status such as educational level, skin color, and occupational prestige (Hughes and Hertel 1990; Hunter 1998, 2005; Monk 2014).

U.S. ethnoracial relations are based on a hierarchy in which particular groups have specific levels of status. Historically, the racial divide has mainly been between whites and blacks with whites as the socially dominant group while blacks have had the least amount of status. The surge in immigrants from Latin America and Asia starting in the 60s has irrevocably changed U.S. racial dynamics (Lee and Bean 2004; Massey and Pren 2012; Portes and Rumbaut 2014). Measures such as intermarriage, interdating, residential segregation, and the flexibility in racial self-identification for Latino and Asian multiracials -relative to black multiracials- indicate that Latinos and Asians are integrating with whites at a more rapid pace than blacks (Bean, Lee, and Bachmeier 2013; Hwang 2013; Lee and Bean 2004, 2010; Waters and Jiménez 2005). The pace of integration, according to these measures, suggests that Latinos and Asians have a greater proximity to whites, therefore these groups are most likely higher in the ethnoracial hierarchy than blacks. Given the

research on ethnoracial patterns in dating and marriage, this study assumes that Asians and Latinos occupy an intermediate space between whites and blacks.

Hypotheses 1a and 1b hypothesize the direction of skin color in predicting the likelihood of interdating. Since lighter skin color is a sign of higher status among ethnoracial minorities and its association with different measures of status, I theorize that lighter skin color is correlated to lower odds for lower status groups to date higher status groups. Similarly, because darker skin in general connotes a lower status, I also hypothesize that darker skin is associated with greater odds for a member of a higher status ethnoracial group to date individuals from a lower status ethnoracial group.

> *Hypothesis 1a: Lighter skin color will be associated with greater odds of interdating for members of a lower status group who date members of a higher status group.*
> *Hypothesis 1b: Darker skin color will be associated with greater odds of interdating for members of a higher status group who date members of a lower status group*

Mechanisms for Skin Color Inequality

The literature points to discrimination as the main mechanism between skin color and unequal outcomes. One of the few studies that qualitatively explores *how* skin color determines unequal outcomes across different situations illustrates that skin color-based discrimination, known as colorism, manifests itself through various forms (Montalvo 2005). Colorism could entail being teased by others for having darker skin, treated with less respect, and shunned by others (Montalvo 2005). Keels and Harris (2014) find that friendship networks explain the relationship between skin color and interdating for blacks. Thus, another possible mechanism for interdating is that skin color may influence friendship networks, which in turn may influence which groups

respondents date (Van Zantvliet and Kalmijn 2013). Alternatively, people who have more diverse friendships may have fewer biases toward other groups and are thus more inclined to date outside of their own ethnoracial group (Van Zantvliet and Kalmijn 2013).

Hypotheses 2 and 3 speak to possible mechanisms that may explain the relationship between skin color and interdating. The intercoupling literature has not thoroughly explored the role of skin color, but it has emphasized a range of personal, familial, and social network predictors. If skin color were to influence the likelihood of interdating, it would most likely be a function of these characteristics. However, if skin color, specifically unfair treatment due to skin color, directly affects the likelihood of interdating, then skin color should be a significant factor even after accounting for predictors that the intercoupling literature has argued as pertinent (hypothesis 3).

> *Hypothesis 2: If skin color indirectly stratifies interdating opportunities, then accounting for personal, familial, and social network determinants should render skin color an insignificant factor.*
> *Hypothesis 3: If colorism is directly associated with the odds of interdating, skin color should remain significant even after controlling for personal, familial, and social network determinants.*

Methodology

Data

I use the National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen for this study (National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen n.d.). The dataset captures the experiences of a cohort of freshmen from 28 U.S. institutions of higher education that was enrolled in Fall 1999. The respondents are followed starting their freshman year up to 4 years later. Wave 1 was collected at the beginning of the 1st

year, wave 2 at the end of the 1st year, wave 3 at the end of the 2nd year, wave 4 at the end of the 3rd year, wave 5 at the end of the 4th year, and a short post-graduation follow-up. The dataset cannot speak to the broad U.S. population, but this dataset's unique combination of qualities makes it ideal for this study. First, there are sizeable initial samples of Asian (n=959), Latino (n=916), and black (n=1051) respondents. These samples make separate analyses by group feasible. Second, wave 1 has an interviewer-coded skin color measure. Third, multiple waves have questions about dating and relationships. For the purposes of this study, I limit the sample to students who have stayed at the same institution for the length of the study and to respondents who have reported dating in wave 4. I estimate this sample based on an enrollment variable from the post-graduation wave. I focus on respondents who graduated from their original school on time, graduated late from the original school, and those who were still enrolled in the original college during the collection of post-survey data. By focusing on this subsection of the sample, I can make plausible assumptions about the dating pool of the respondents.

Modeling and Variables

The main models for this study are logit models with clustered standard errors by respondents' colleges. All regressions within the study are by ethnoracial group and are weighted. The weights account for the oversampling of ethnoracial minorities by college. Since the likelihood of interdating relies on group size, adding the weights could give a more accurate representation of the experiences of these respondents. Moreover, along with the clustered standard errors by college, the weighted results can speak more broadly to the sampled college populations. The outcome variables are a series of dummy variables that capture whether a respondent has dated someone of a particular ethnoracial group within the past year. I source the

outcome variables from three questions in wave 4. Respondents are primed to focus on the most recent academic year because the first question about romantic relationships in this wave asks, "Have you been on any dates since the school year began?" The main question of interest asks, "Have you dated anyone outside of your race or ethnic group?" The follow-up questions ask whether the respondent has dated whites, blacks, Latinos, and/or Asians. Respondents are allowed to give more than one response.

The main explanatory variable is an interviewer-coded skin color measure collected at wave 1. The original variable has 11 categories. Due to the sample size of certain categories, I top-code the variable to range from 1 to 8 (lightest to darkest). Interviewers were given verbal instructions for how to rate a respondent's skin color. There have been disagreements as to which method of capturing skin color is optimal. Villarreal's (2012) response to Flores and Telles' (2012) critique of Villarreal's (2010) study shows that each approach is imperfect. There is human bias to interviewer-coded skin color measure based on word descriptors instead of a visual guide but using a skin color palette does not eliminate interview bias. Garcia and Abascal (2016) illustrate that even when using a color palette, a person's perceptions of another's skin color may be a function of the other's ethnicity. Put differently, beyond capturing skin color via a machine such as the Photovolt 577 reflectance meter, all measures that involve human coding will have bias. However, that human bias can be useful. The interviewer-coded skin color measure is theorized in this study to be a proxy for greater society's perceptions of a given respondent's skin color.

I use eleven control variables: respondent's sex, nativity, religion, mother and father's nativity, highest level of parental educational attainment, percentage of friends of a particular ethnoracial group (white, black, Latino, and Asian), and college fixed effects. The unweighted subsample Ns after listwise deletion are 497 (blacks), 481 (Latinos), and 500 (Asians). I use

multiple imputation to maximize the sample sizes, which increase to 536 (blacks), 519 (Latinos), and 523 (Asians). The friends percentages are calculated from a wave 2 measure that asks, "Thinking about the 10 closest friends you have made since coming to college, how many are:…Black? Hispanic? Asian? White?" The friendship measure mirrors the outcome variable. To give an example, for models that predict the odds of dating whites, I use the variable measuring percentage of white friends. I use the same approach for the other three outcomes.

The choice of covariates is theoretically guided, but there are some accommodations due to the nature of the dataset. For example, intermarriage studies tend to do analyses by gender because there are differences in how intermarriage operates by gender (e.g., Choi and Tienda 2017; Jacobs and Labov 2002; Morgan 2013). However, splitting the data into such specific categories (e.g., black women who date Asians) leads to very small sample sizes for the regressions. Second, I focus on wave 4 because it was one of the two waves within the study that limited the timing of dating to the academic year that the survey was conducted. I can make the plausible assumption that a respondent's college is their primary dating pool within that time frame. Table 1 shows the weighted variable distributions of the original sample (wave 1) and the sample of respondents that stayed at the same college (referred to as the "stable sample") based on collected data from the colleges' registrars after wave 5. I only show variables that are captured at wave 1. The stable sample is 11% smaller than the original sample (3804 to 3376 respondents), but the distributions for the original and stable samples are virtually identical.

Descriptive Statistics

Tables 2 and 3 show the weighted distributions of the independent and dependent variables used in this study. The target sample is respondents who reported having dated within the time

frame of wave 4 and did not transfer from their original college. I calculate the percentages and averages by race/ethnicity. Both tables show that there is a great deal of heterogeneity across ethnoracial groups. For example, the percentages of foreign-born respondents are substantially higher for Latinos and Asians (20% and 32%, respectively) compared to blacks (9%, respectively). There is a similar pattern for having foreign-born parents. The skin color measure shows that blacks tend to rate darker than the other groups while Latinos and Asians have the same average (4). The averages for percentage of friends of a particular ethnoracial group are more telling. In general, respondents seem to gravitate more toward friends of the sample ethnoracial group. This pattern is especially true for blacks. Asians and Latinos stray from this pattern. In these colleges, Latinos tend to befriend more whites than Latinos (56% vs. 18%) while Asians on average have approximately the same percentage of white and Asian friends (41-43%).

The differences in patterns by race/ethnicity become starker when examining table 3. Of the three ethnoracial groups, blacks are the most exclusive. However, interdating is common for Latinos and Asians, which may speak to their theorized position as intermediate groups. Over half of the Latino and Asian subsamples report dating whites (80% and 58% respectively). In general, both tables 2 and 3 show that the black subsample tends to interact least with other ethnoracial groups while Asians and Latinos interact the most with other groups, especially with whites.

Multivariate analyses

Main results

Table 4 shows the odds ratios for predictors of blacks dating whites (regressions 1-4), Latinos (regressions 5-8), and Asians (regressions 9-12). We see that skin color is broadly a

statistically significant predictor for blacks when they are dating whites, Latinos, and Asians, thus showing support for hypothesis 1a. The bivariate analysis for blacks dating whites shows that with each level of darker skin color, a black respondent is predicted to have approximately a 15% reduction in the odds of dating whites, significant at the $p<0.001$ level. When accounting for personal factors and familial factors (regressions 2 and 3), the skin color coefficients are similar to the bivariate analysis, but the level of significance drops to $p<0.01$. The fourth regression, which takes into account personal characteristics, parental background, and social networks, shows that the skin color coefficient is similar to the previous regressions, but it is now marginally significant (p-value = 0.076). Graph 1 shows that the predicted probability changes from 44% to 26% from the lightest to the darkest skin color rating. The results suggest the following: 1) darker skin color is associated with a lower likelihood for blacks to date whites, 2) there may be a lack of statistical power in the full model, and, 3) social networks may be a mediating factor between skin color and interdating.

The results for blacks dating Hispanics (regressions 5-8) show a similar story. Referring back to table 4, the results follow hypothesis 1a's prediction. The bivariate analysis suggests that a level of darker skin color is associated with 17% decrease in the odds of dating Latinos relative to not dating Latinos within that year, significant at the $p<0.05$. Net of personal characteristics, the reduction in the odds is roughly 15% at the $p<0.05$ level. Regression 7 shows that when controlling for both personal and familial characteristics, a unit increase in the skin color variable is associated with roughly 83% the odds of dating Latinos, significant at the $p<0.05$ level. Finally, when accounting for personal characteristics, familial background, and social networks, one unit of darker skin color is associated with an 18% decrease in the odds for blacks to report dating Latinos (p-value = 0.051). The predicted probability for blacks dating Latinos ranges from

38% for the lightest skin shade to 15% for the darkest skin shade. Similar to the results for blacks dating whites, the analyses for blacks dating Latinos suggest that skin color may relate to interdating via social networks and that there may be of lack of statistical power due to small N.

The regression analyses for blacks dating Asians (regressions 9-12) give support to hypothesis 1a. Regression 9 shows a statistically significant bivariate relationship between skin color and dating Asians among blacks. In this model, a unit increase in the skin color variable is associated with a 12% reduction in the odds of dating Asians, significant at the $p<0.05$ level. The skin color coefficient across the models is associated with a 10-14% lower odds of dating Asians. The level of significance is stable across models, so there is strong evidence for hypothesis 3 because there is a direct association between skin color and dating Asians among blacks even after accounting for possible mediating variables. Based on the full model, the predicted probabilities from graph 1 range from 20% for the lightest skin shade to 10% for the darkest skin shade.

Table 5 illustrates the regression results predicting the odds of Latinos interdating with whites (regressions 1-4), blacks (regressions 5-8), and Asians (regressions 9-12). The bivariate analysis for Latinos dating whites shows that without adjusting for any other factors, one unit of darker skin color is associated with 75% as great the odds of Latinos dating whites versus not dating whites, significant at the $p<0.05$ level, which follows hypothesis 1a. The coefficient and the p-value remain stable even when controlling for personal characteristics and familial background (regressions 2 and 3). When accounting for familial background, personal characteristics, and social networks simultaneously, a unit increase in darker skin color is correlated to approximately a 21% reduction in the odds for Latinos to date whites, but the coefficient is no longer statistically significant (p-value = 0.1). Similar to the results for blacks

dating whites and blacks dating Latinos, this set of regressions suggest that there may be an issue of statistical power because the skin color coefficient in the full model (regression 4) is comparable to the skin color coefficient of regressions 1-3. However, the loss of statistical significance may also suggest that skin color may relate to the odds of Latinos dating whites via social networks. Although the skin color coefficient is not statistically significant in the full model, the plotted predicted probabilities in graph 2 give a sense of how skin color relates to the probability of Latinos to date whites. The predicted probabilities range from 87% for the lightest skin shade to 62% for the darkest skin shade.

The other notable result for Latinos is that the unadjusted analysis for skin color and the odds of dating Asians shows that darker skin color is statistically significant to *greate*r odds of Latinos dating Asians ($p<0.10$ level). More specifically, a unit increase in the skin color variable is associated with a 6% increase in the odds of Latinos dating Asians. Since Asians and Latinos are theorized to be intermediate groups, the implicit assumption is that skin color would not be a statistically significant result in either direction. These results lose significance when adjusting for personal characteristics.

Table 6 shows the odds ratios for regressions that predict the odds of Asians dating whites (regressions 1-4), blacks (regressions 5-8), and Latinos (regressions 9-12). Skin color does not seem to be a significant predictor for Asians dating whites or Latinos. However, the results predicting the likelihood of Asians dating blacks show support for hypothesis 1b. Regressions 5-7, which range from a bivariate analysis between skin color and the odds of dating blacks to controlling for personal and familial characteristics, do not show evidence for a statistically significant relationship between skin color and the odds of Asians dating blacks. Once social networks are added to the model, a one unit increase in the skin color variable is

correlated to a 58% increase in the odds of Asians dating blacks. The coefficient is significant at the $p<0.05$ level. Graph 3 illustrates that the predicted probability of Asians to date blacks for the lightest shade is 4% while the probability grows to 31% for the darkest shade.

A consistent finding across the full models for blacks, Latinos, and Asians is that the percentage of friends of a specific group in wave 2 has a statistically significant association with dating a member of that group in wave 4. Given that in certain sets of regressions, the skin color coefficient losses statistical significance once friendship networks are added to the models and past research suggests that skin color may relate to interdating via friendships, I conduct path analyses to better elucidate whether there is evidence for this phenomenon. Table 7 shows the log-odds for the direct associations between skin color and interdating and friendships and interdating, and the association between skin color and friendships. There is a statistically negative association between darker skin color and friendships for blacks dating Latinos and Latinos dating whites. The total association between skin color and interdating for blacks dating Latinos according to this model is -.101*.039 + -.203 = -.207 with a p-value of .048. In terms of odds ratios, a unit increase in the skin color variable is associated with a 19% reduction ($e^{(-.207)}$ = .813) in the odds of dating Latinos. For Latinos dating whites, the total association is -.223*.024 + -.233 = -.238 with a p-value of .094. A unit increase in the skin color variable is associated with a 21% reduction ($e^{(-.238)}$ = .788) in the odds of dating whites.

Robustness checks

I run a variety of robustness checks to ensure that the main results are stable. The first group of measures I explore is exposure to a particular ethnoracial group in high school. High school may be a particularly influential time because many individuals begin to date around that

period (Van Zantvliet and Kalmijn 2013). I examine the possible role of three measures: an estimate of the ethnoracial composition of the respondent's last high school, their ten closest friends in their last year of high school, and of the three-block radius where they lived the year prior to beginning college. The measures are either percentages or converted into percentages to more easily interpret the coefficients. The skin color coefficients are substantively similar to the full models of the main results. Second, I explore the role of dating exposure and recoding skin color as a series of dummy variables. The number of individuals a respondent dates within a year is a form of exposure. There is the possibility that if an individual dates more people, there is a greater likelihood that that person will interdate. The NLSF does not measure how many individuals a respondent dates, but it does report how many dates the respondent has been on within the past year. The results remain stable after adding the variable to the full models. I recode the skin color variable into a series of dummies. The results in general seem consistent with the continuous coding. One notable exception is that there is evidence of a curvilinear relationship between skin color and the odds of Latinos dating blacks because medium-skinned respondents had greater odds of dating blacks relative to lighter respondents, significant at the $p<.05$ level, but there was not statistically significant difference between lighter and darker respondents. Fourth, I explore whether skin color is associated with college features. The bivariate analyses between skin color and measures such as the percentage of a specific ethnoracial group within the student body and percentage of students who have financial need overall do not show a significant relationship between skin color and these measures. The one exception is that among Latino respondents, darker skin color is correlated to a lower percentage of Latino students within the student body, significant at the $p<.05$ level.

A consistent result within both the intermarriage literature and the skin color inequality literature is that there may be differences by gender. Although the focus of this study is to examine the broad relationship between skin color and interdating across different ethnoracial groups, exploring interaction effects between skin color and gender could shed light as to whether the relationship between skin color and interdating varies by gender. The interactions show a similar story to the main results. For Latinos, darker skin color is associated with higher odds of Latino men dating blacks (31% increase in the odds per unit increase in the skin color variable, $p<.05$) and a decrease in the odds for Latina women to date whites (23% decrease in the odds per unit increase, $p<.05$). Moreover, the skin color coefficient for Asians dating blacks may be driven by Asian women. Among Asian women, there 55% increase in the odds per unit increase in the skin color variable, $p<.05$). The analyses also suggest that skin color may work in opposing fashions by gender. For Latino men, there is a 51% increase in the odds of dating Asians per unit increase in the skin color variable, significant at the $p<.01$-level. Among Latinas, a unit increase in the skin color variable is associated with a 25% decrease in the odds of dating Asians, significant at the $p<.01$-level. These results also hint at the complex relationship Asians and Latinos have as intermediate ethnoracial groups.

Lastly, I explore how multiracial/multiethnic self-identification may change the results between skin color and the odds of interdating. I originally divided the sample using information that respondents gave to their colleges before enrolling in Fall 1999. The study captured an additional race/ethnicity measure that gave respondents more flexibility on self-identification. The variable categories are: non-Hispanic black, non-Hispanic white, Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, Korean, Filipino, other Asian), Hispanic black (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Central American, South American), Hispanic white (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban,

Dominican, Central American, South American), mixed, and other. I recoded the variable in a number of ways depending on the subsample. For blacks, I create a dummy variable for respondents whose response are not "non-Hispanic black". For Latino respondents, I have three separate measures: a dummy variable for respondents who identify as anything other than Latino/Hispanic, a racial variable that distinguishes between those who responded as "white", "black", or anything else, and an ethnicity variable that differentiates between those who responded as "Mexican", "South American", "Central American", Caribbean (based on those who label themselves as "Cuban", "Dominican", or "Puerto Rican"), or anything else. Lastly, I have two variables for Asian respondents: a dummy variable for those who identify as anything other than Asian, and an ethnicity measure that distinguishes between those who identify as "Chinese", "Indian", or anything else.

The results aresimilar to the main results, especially for Latinos. The two major exceptions are for blacks and the addition of the ethnicity variable for Asians. Among blacks, skin color is at most marginally significant throughout the complete set of analyses once the non-black dummy is in the models. The results suggest that black multiracials are driving the skin color results, which aligns with previous findings that black multiracials – who tend to be lighter-skinned that black monoracials- have greater access to certain privileges and opportunities than black monoracials (Dixon and Telles 2017). Moreover, among Asians, there is evidence that there is a statistically significant association between darker skin color and lower odds of dating Latinos until social network are accounted for in the full model.

Conclusion/Discussion

This study seeks to 1) examine the possible relationship between an individual's skin color and their likelihood of dating a member of another ethnoracial group (referred to as "interdating"), 2) determine whether the ethnoracial combinations of the individual and dating partners influence the relationship between skin color and interdating, and 3) explore possible intervening factors in the relationship between skin color and interdating. Using waves 1, 2, and 4 of the National Longitudinal Study of Freshmen (NLSF), the results show that darker skin color is associated with lower odds for blacks to date whites, Latinos, and Asians, as well as for Latinos to date whites, yet it also associated with greater odds for Asians to date blacks. A factor that may determine the relationship between skin color and interdating is social networks. Skin color is partly associated with interdating via friendships for blacks dating Latinos and Latinos dating whites, however, for Asians dating blacks, accounting for social networks uncovers the relationship between darker skin color and a greater likelihood to date blacks.

Among the three ethnoracial groups considered in the study, skin color seems to be especially salient for blacks. The results of this study speak to the previous literature on U.S. race relations, which theorizes blacks as the least socially integrated group in the U.S. (Lee and Bean 2004; 2010). Past research argues that skin color is significant for blacks as a marker of beauty and status (Dixon and Telles 2017; Hunter 2005; Rondilla and Spickard 2007). Therefore, skin color may be a more salient factor because of the greater distant between blacks and other ethnoracial groups relative to the social distance between Asians, Latinos, and whites. The robustness checks also suggest that multiracial identity is an underlying determinant for the results. Beyond the privilege that is associated with lighter skin, lighter skin color could facilitate interactions with whites, Latinos, and Asians because of greater commonality due to common ancestry.

This study also highlights that ethnoracial relations among minorities is unclear but should be further explored. For example, interacting gender with skin color shows that even after accounting for personal background, familial characteristics, and friendship networks, skin color may work in opposing directions depending on gender for Latinos dating Asians. Similarly, when accounting for ethnicity among Asians, skin color may be significant for dating Latinos. In general, the literature suggests that Asians, relative to Latinos and blacks, have had more success integrating into the mainstream. For example, Asians outperform all other ethnoracial groups across several educational outcomes (Kao and Thompson 2003). Furthermore, stereotypes such as "the model minority" probably color others' perceptions of this group (Lee 1996). However, in terms of intermarriage, not accounting for group size, Latinos marry whites at a greater rate than Asians (Passel et al. 2010).

Future research should examine the possible sources of omitted variable bias that are not covered in this study. Examining the characteristics of the people that respondents are dating (e.g., their socioeconomic status, skin color, etc.) could uncover other factors that determine the sorting behavior. Based on the results this study, there may be a "balancing" trade with respect to skin color when members of different ethnoracial groups date. It could be that when higher status group members date lower status group members, such as Asians dating blacks, having darker skin for Asians could be associated with a greater affinity for blacks because darker skin carries negative connotations among Asians. Similarly, lighter skin color is seen broadly as a positive characteristic among multiple ethnoracial minority groups. The privileges associated with lighter skin could lead to a greater affinity for dating whites, Latinos, and Asians. There could be other "trade-offs" but without information on partners, researchers cannot tease them out. Futhermore, ethnoracial groups such as Native Americans and Middle-Easterners also challenge the older

conceptualization of a bipolar U.S. ethnoracial hierarchy (Kim 2004). This study focuses on three major ethnoracial groups (blacks, Asians, and Latinos) due to data limitations.

This paper has implications for the future of ethnoracial relations. Research gives evidence of an ethnoracial hierarchy that manifests itself across different aspects of life (e.g., romance, educational outcomes, residential segregation, the workplace, etc.) (Kao and Thompson 2003; Lee and Bean 2004, 2010; Rugh and Massey 2014; Waldinger and Lichter 2003). These differences in outcomes are the foundations of a stratified society. This study suggests that ethnoracial boundaries are very much intact, not only between whites and non-whites or whites and blacks, but even among ethnoracial minorities. How ethnoracial groups interact socially with one another can influence racial prejudice and redefine future ethnoracial divides (Allport 1954; Doyle and Kao 2007). This study suggests that individual characteristics, such as phenotype, and structural factors (e.g., availability of romantic partners and friendships) can jointly determine how ethnoracial groups interact with one another.

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Table 1: Comparison of variable distributions of original and stable samples (weighted)

	Original	Stable
Skin Color Rating		
Average Rating	3 (1.76)	3(1.75)
Demographic Background		
Race/Ethnicity (percent)		
White	70	70
Black	9	8
Hispanic/Latino	9	8
Asian	13	14
Male (percent)	45	46
Foreign-Born (percent)	9	9
Religious Background (percent)		
Catholic	33	34
Protestant	39	38
Other	28	28
Parental Background		
Mother: Foreign-Born (percent)	24	24
Father: Foreign-Born (percent)	24	25
Highest Parental Educational Level (percent)		
Some College or Less	15	15
College Graduate/Some Graduate Studies	27	27
Graduate Degree	58	58
Colleges		
College Type (percent)		
Liberal Arts College	8	7
Private Research University	51	53
Public Research University	41	40

N	3804	3376

Note: Descriptive statistics are based on data without multiple imputation

Table 2: Weighted Distribution of Explanatory Variables

	Black	Latino	Asian
Skin Color Rating			
Average Rating	6	4	4
	(1.83)	(1.77)	(1.92)
Demographic Background			
Male (percent)	31	42	40
Foreign-Born (percent)	9	20	32
Religious Background (percent)			
Catholic	16	73	18
Protestant	74	13	26
Other	10	14	56
Parental Background			
Mother: Foreign-Born (percent)	20	51	89
Father: Foreign-Born (percent)	21	52	88
Highest Parental Educational Level (percent)			
Some College or Less	30	27	20
College Graduate/Some Graduate Studies	30	33	22
Graduate Degree	40	40	58
Social Context			
College Type (percent)			
Liberal Arts College	5	4	5
Private Research University	41	40	51
Public Research University	54	56	44
Average of Percentage of White Friends	17	56	43
	(22.68)	(26.83)	(28.54)
Average of Percentage of Black Friends	69	12	7
	(31.51)	(12.73)	(9.95)

Average of Percentage of Latino Friends	4 (7.94)	18 (19.83)	6 (9.08)
Average of Percentage of Asian Friends	6 (10.29)	12 (13.80)	41 (30.00)

Note: Descriptive statistics are based on data without multiple imputation

Table 3: Weighted Distribution of Outcome Variables (Percent)

	Black	Latino	Asian
Dating Whites	31	80	58
Dating Blacks	X	18	11
Dating Latinos	20	X	13
Dating Asians	13	22	X

Note: Descriptive statistics are based on data without multiple imputation

Table 4: Odds Ratios for Blacks Dating Whites, Latinos, and Asians

	Dating Whites				Dating Latinos				Dating Asians			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Skin Color	0.851***	0.867**	0.832**	0.851+	0.827*	0.848*	0.823*	0.816+	0.883*	0.900*	0.881*	0.864*
Demographic Background												
Male	----	1.867***	1.777***	1.544**	----	1.646*	1.621*	1.751*	----	4.685***	4.568***	4.427***
Foreign-Born	----	2.511	1.322	1.914	----	2.196	1.600	1.920	----	1.427	0.935	0.954
Religion (reference = "Catholic")												
Protestant	----	0.880	1.055	1.150	----	0.619	0.682	0.581	----	0.579	0.658	0.699
Other	----	2.212	2.275	2.606	----	1.213	1.226	1.127	----	1.702	1.723	1.684
Parental Background												
M: Foreign-Born	----	----	1.154	0.688	----	----	1.150	0.893	----	----	1.433	0.871
F: Foreign-Born	----	----	2.284	2.780	----	----	1.484	1.632	----	----	1.322	2.224
Highest Level of Education (reference = "Some College or Less")												
College Graduate/ Some Graduate Studies	----	----	1.016	0.835	----	----	1.430	1.412	----	----	0.824	0.565
Graduate Degree	----	----	1.867***	1.442+	----	----	1.266	1.181	----	----	1.129	0.816
Social Networks												

Percentage of White Friends	----	----	----	1.034***	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Percentage of Latino Friends	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.040*	----	----	----	----
Percentage of Asian Friends	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.052***
College Fixed Effects	----	----	----	X	----	----	----	X	----	----	----	X
N	534	534	534	534	522	522	522	522	527	527	527	527

$^{+}p < 0.1$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$

Table 5: Odds Ratios for Latinos Dating Whites, Blacks, and Asians

	Dating Whites					Dating Blacks				Dating Asians		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Skin Color	0.754*	0.745*	0.767*	0.792	1.047	1.070	1.057	1.052	1.057+	1.053	1.040	0.961
Demographic Background												
Male	----	1.623+	1.522+	1.743+	----	0.552***	0.533***	0.563**	----	3.032***	3.181***	3.106***
Foreign-Born	----	1.500	1.645	1.866	----	1.165	1.007	1.021	----	1.603**	1.476+	2.232***
Religion (reference = "Catholic")												
Protestant	----	0.961	0.762	0.555	----	0.544	0.618	0.675	----	0.347	0.403	0.354
Other	----	1.015	0.944	0.869	----	1.987	1.788	2.451	----	1.868+	2.199*	2.168+
Parental Background												
M: Foreign-Born	----	----	1.246	1.255	----	----	0.683	0.603	----	----	1.430+	1.431
F: Foreign-Born	----	----	0.538*	0.533*	----	----	1.723*	1.942*	----	----	1.071	0.974
Highest Level of Education (reference = "Some College or Less")												
College Graduate/ Some Graduate Studies	----	----	2.577**	2.559**	----	----	0.586*	0.591*	----	----	0.796	0.768
Graduate Degree	----	----	2.362**	1.901	----	----	1.615	1.847+	----	----	0.624	0.688
Social Networks												
Percentage of	----	----	----	1.025***	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

White Friends												
Percentage of Blacks Friends	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.044**	----	----	----	----
Percentage of Asians Friends	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.047***
College Fixed Effects	----	----	----	X	----	----	----	X	----	----	----	X
N	507	507	507	507	514	514	514	514	499	499	499	499

$^{+}p < 0.1, ^{*}p < 0.05, ^{**}p < 0.01, ^{***}p < 0.001$

Table 6: Odds Ratios for Asians Dating Whites, Blacks, and Latinos

	Dating Whites				Dating Blacks				Dating Latinos			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Skin Color	0.927	0.942	0.949	1.043	1.097	1.219	1.226	1.583*	0.921	0.917	0.919	1.021
Demographic Background												
Male	----	0.800	0.799	0.713+	----	0.352*	0.364*	0.291**	----	1.089	1.144	0.971
Foreign-Born	----	0.829+	1.026	1.033	----	1.397	1.414	1.612	----	0.737	0.773	0.597
Religion (reference = "Catholic")												
Protestant	----	1.195	1.032	1.260	----	2.101	2.209	3.652	----	1.097	1.278	1.507
Other	----	1.388	1.310	1.448	----	0.922	1.011	1.069		1.057	1.304	1.780
Parental Background												
M: Foreign-Born	----	----	0.612	0.848	----	----	1.081	1.146	----	----	0.678	1.183
F: Foreign-Born	----	----	0.755	0.780	----	----	0.420+	0.461	----	----	0.442	0.446
Highest Level of Education (reference = "Some College or Less")												
College graduate/ Some Graduate Studies	----	----	1.602*	0.968	----	----	1.647	1.154	----	----	0.868	0.815
Graduate Degree	----	----	2.767+	1.829	----	----	1.385	1.055	----	----	0.747	0.681
Social Networks												
Percentage of White Friends	----	----	----	1.030***	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

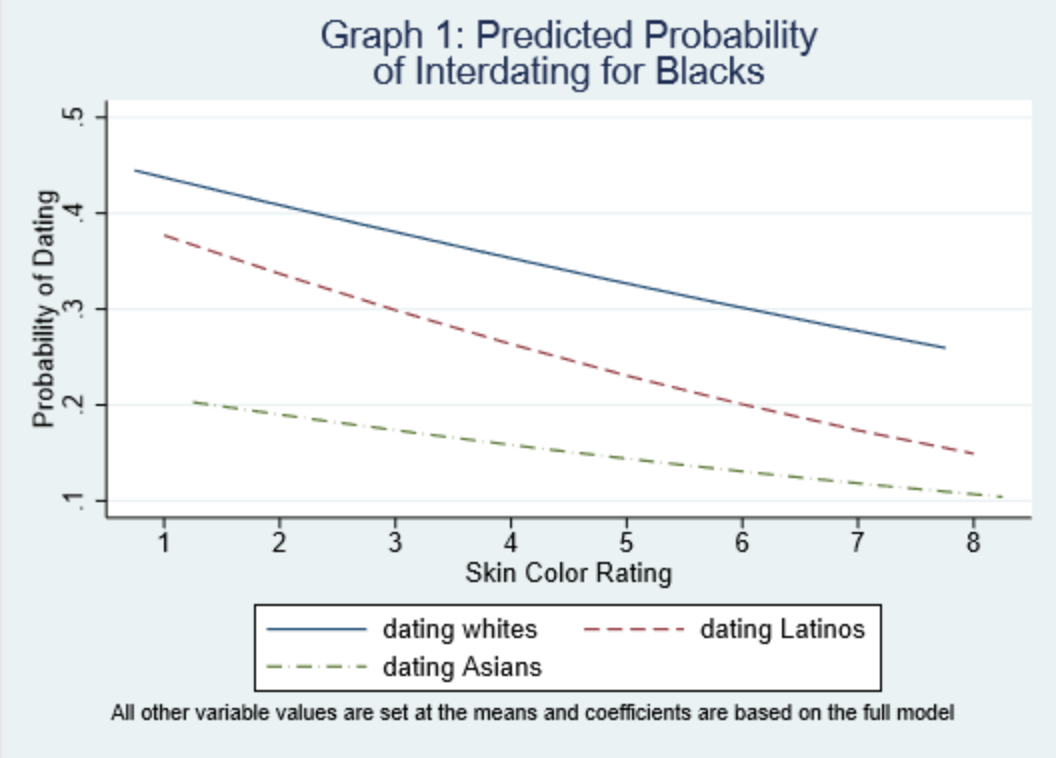
Percentage of Black Friends	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.066***	----	----	----	----
Percentage of Latino Friends	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.080***
College Fixed Effects	----	----	----	X	----	----	----	X	----	----	----	X
N	519	519	519	519	498	498	498	498	500	500	500	500

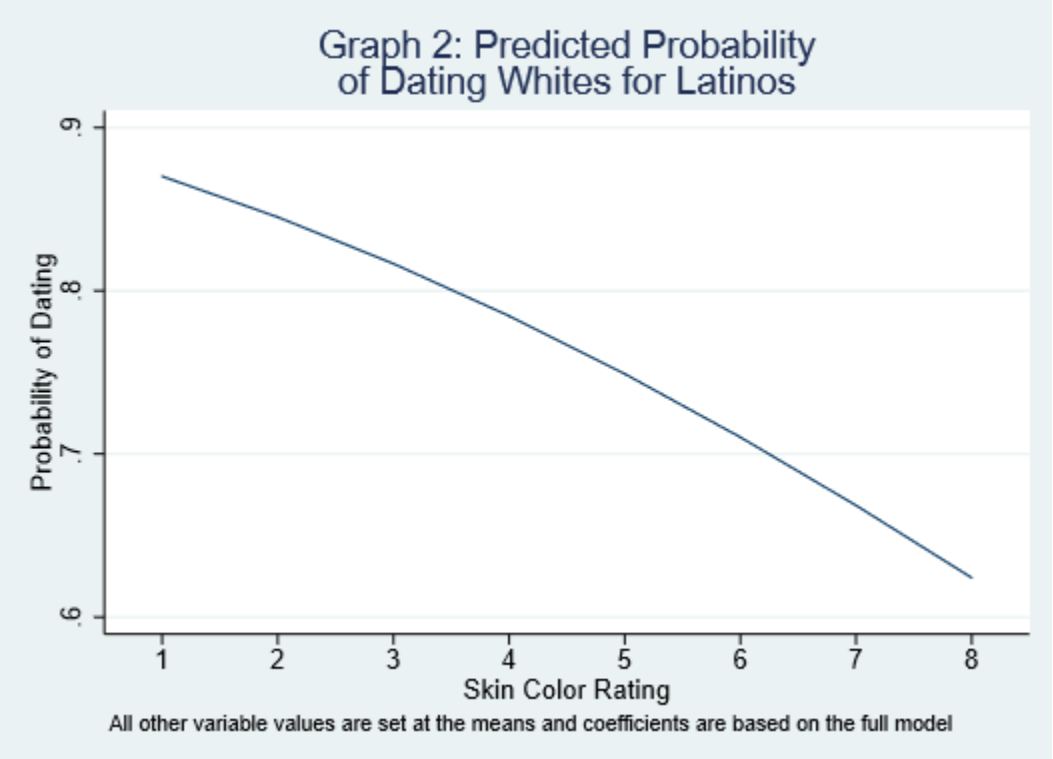
$^{+}p < 0.1$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$

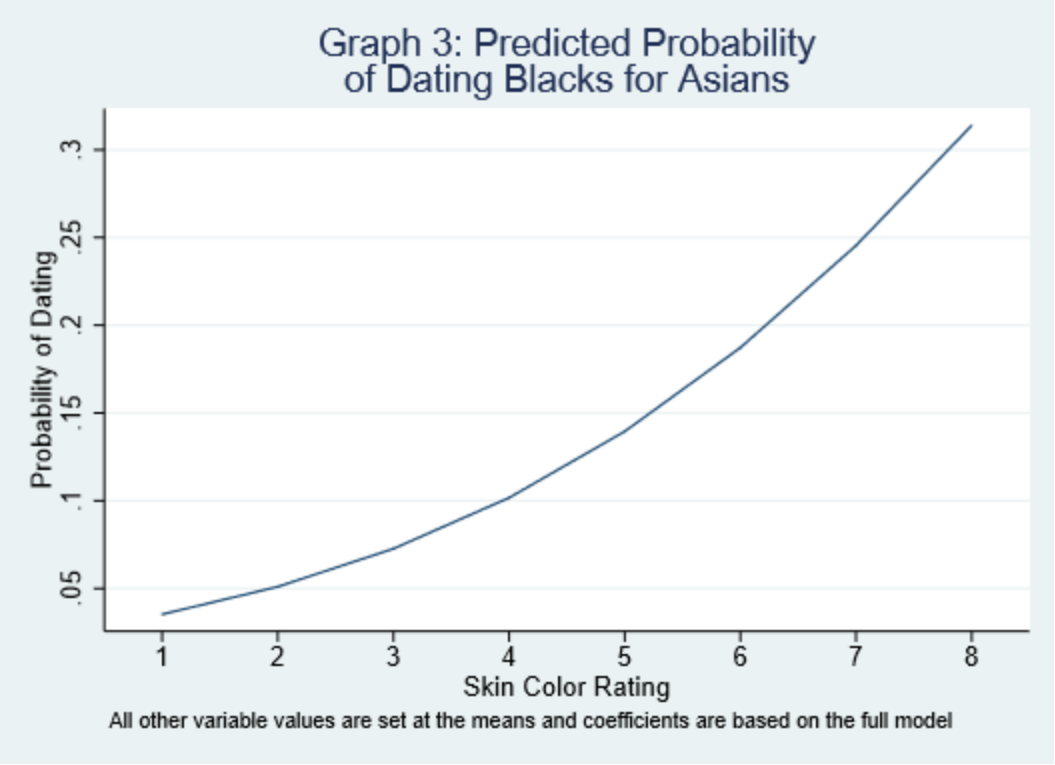
Table 7: Log-odds of Path Analysis

	Blacks Dating Whites (1)	Blacks Dating Latinos (2)	Latinos Dating Whites (3)
Skin Color	-.162^{+}	-.203^{+}	-.233
% of Friends of a Particular Group	.033***	.039*	.024***
Skin color → % of Friends of a Particular Group	-.059	-.101*	-.223*
N	534	522	507

$^{+}$ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$
Note: Models control for full set of variables


Graph 1: Predicted Probability of Interdating for Blacks
Probability of Dating
.1
.2
.3
.4
.5
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
Skin Color Rating
dating whites
dating Latinos
dating Asians
All other variable values are set at the means and coefficients are based on the full model


Graph 2: Predicted Probability of Dating Whites for Latinos
Probability of Dating
.6
.7
.8
.9
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
Skin Color Rating
All other variable values are set at the means and coefficients are based on the full model


Graph 3: Predicted Probability
of Dating Blacks for Asians
Probability of Dating
.05
.1
.15
.2
.25
.3
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
Skin Color Rating
All other variable values are set at the means and coefficients are based on the full model

Chapter 4 - Skin Color and Friendships across Ethnoracial Lines

Abstract

Friendships between members of different ethnoracial groups can help to reduce prejudice and ease tensions across ethnoracial groups. A large body of literature has explored the possible determinants for the formation of these friendships. One unexplored factor is the role of an individual's skin color in influencing opportunities to befriend members of other ethnoracial groups. This study seeks to answer two questions: for ethnoracial minorities, how is an individual's skin color associated with the likelihood that they will engage in a cross-ethnoracial friendship? Does the role of skin color depend on the ethnoracial combination of the two groups that befriend one another? Using waves 1, 2, and 3 of the National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen and a series of multinomial logit models, I find that darker skin color is associated with lower odds for blacks to have close integroup friendships with all examined ethnoracial groups, while darker skin color is correlated to lower odds for Latinos to have white close friends and greater odds for Asians to have close friends who identify as "other". These results suggest that the role of skin color is a function of the relative levels of social status of the two ethnoracial groups that befriend one another. I argue that lighter-skinned members of lower status ethnoracial groups have greater odds of having close friendships with members of higher status ethnoracial groups.

Introduction

The Pew Research Center (2015) predicts that by 2055, less than half of the U.S. population will be non-Latino white because of the growing shares of Asian and Latinos. In spite of this increasing ethnoracial diversity, a report by the Public Religion Research Institute shows that, on average, most friendships are ethnoracially homogeneous (Cox, Navarro-Rivera, and Jones 2016; Pew Research Center 2015). The social network of the average non-Latino white is 91% homogeneous whereas for the typical non-Latino black and Latino, the networks are 83% and 64% homogeneous, respectively. Although intergroup friendships may be infrequent, they can have great implications for U.S. ethnoracial relations. According to the social psychological literature, contact with other ethnoracial group members can help reduce prejudice toward that group (Allport 1954; Tropp and Pettigrew 2005). Moreover, in light of the U.S.'s growing ethnoracial diversity, identifying the potential determinants that shape the formation of interethnic and interracial relationships, including informal nonmarital relationships, might help uncover mechanisms to overcome the nation's ethnoracial divides.

The extant literature suggests that understanding interethnic and interracial relationships can offer insights into the nature of intergroup relations. For example, among multiracial individuals, intergroup close friendships may be a function of which other group memberships they claim as part of their identity (Doyle and Kao 2007). Whereas multiracial blacks – relative to their non-black monoracial counterparts- have a greater likelihood of reporting a black best friend, multiracial whites (except for black-white multiracials) are more likely than their non-white monoracial counterparts to have a white friend. Put differently, this research highlights which groups more readily interact and blend with one another. Furthermore, having friends in different ethnoracial groups is associated with being in a romantic intergroup relationship later

on in life (Van Zantvliet and Kalmijn 2013). Two possible explanations for this result are that 1) people in more diverse networks are less biased to begin with and become less biased over time, and 2) people find partners via their diverse friendship networks. Lastly, according to Fischer (2011), cross-ethnoracial friendships can reduce feelings of social distance to ethnoracial minorities among whites.

An underexplored determinant for intergroup friendships is skin color. There is a large body of literature that gives evidence to the stratifying role of skin color, especially among ethnoracial minorities. Different skin tone shades are tied to particular stereotypes, with darker skin color being associated with negative traits such as dirtiness, lower status, and unattractiveness and lighter skin color being associated with positive attributes such as civility, cleanliness, and beauty (Hunter 2005; Dixon and Telles 2017). Previous research shows that darker skin color is correlated with an array of lower socioeconomic and health outcomes (Codina and Montalvo 1994; Hunter 2005; Monk 2015).

A growing subset of this literature suggests that an individual's skin color is associated with characteristics of their romantic partners. For example, Monk (2014) finds that among U.S. blacks, having a lighter skin tone is related to having a partner with higher educational attainment. Santana (2018a) shows that skin color can be a significant predictor for dating across ethnoracial lines, although darker skin color is not consistently associated with lower odds of dating members of other ethnoracial groups. The author argues that the specific role of skin color depends on the relative social status of the two ethnoracial groups that interact with one another. Second, skin color's relationship to dating may in part be a function of friendship networks and the greater dating pool (Santana 2018a). Therefore, there is the strong possibility that skin color can play an influential role in intergroup friendships.

I seek to understand further how skin color may influence interactions across ethnoracial lines because exploring determinants of friendships could give new insight into the strength of the boundaries among ethnoracial groups. The questions I address in the study are: *Among ethnoracial minorities, is an individual's skin color associated with the likelihood that they will engage in a cross-race/ethnicity friendship? Does the role of skin color depend on the specific ethnoracial combination of the groups involved?* Based on an analysis of the National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen, I argue that darker skin color is associated with lowers odds for ethnoracial minorities to have a close friend from a higher status ethnoracial group.

Literature Review

Patterns and Predictors for Intergroup Friendships

Research on intergroup friendships shows major differences in the prevalence of this type of relationship by race/ethnicity. Joyner and Kao (2000) find that once school racial composition is controlled, blacks and Asians, relative to whites, have lower odds of forming an intergroup friendship. Quillian and Campbell (2003) explore the likelihood of having a friend of a particular ethnoracial background using a methodological approach that accounts for all possible friendships within a school. They find salient intergroup differences in the likelihood of observing particular ethnoracial combinations. For example, the odds that blacks befriend black Latinos are notably higher than the odds that blacks have a white Latino, other Latino, or an Asian friend. Whites gravitate most strongly toward white Latinos and least toward blacks (Quillian and Campbell 2003). A consistent pattern for all ethnoracial groups is the preference

for ethnoracial *intra*group friendships (Espenshade and Radford 2009; Joyner and Kao 2000; Quillian and Campbell 2003).

Social networks, ranging from marital and personal networks to work networks, show a tendency toward homophily with respect to individual characteristics such as gender, age, and socioeconomic status (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001). Individuals of the same gender have greater chances of being friends, even after accounting for ethnoracial origins (Hallinan and Smith 1985; Hallinan and Teixeira 1987 a, b). Similarly, friendship reciprocity, meaning each individual referring to the other individual as a friend, is also a predictor for friendship (Hallinan and Teixeria 1987 a, b; Hallinan and Williams 1989). Quillian and Campbell (2003) find that similar socioeconomic backgrounds may also encourage the formation of friendships.

Beyond similarity, the broader literature on relationships suggests that certain individual characteristics are associated with the formation of interracial and interethnic relationships. Gender, for example, may have distinct effects depending on the specific ethnoracial combination of intergroup friendships (Hallinan and Teixeria 1987b). Hallinan and Teixeria (1987b) find that black female students exhibit a greater likelihood of having a best friend of a different ethnoracial group relative to black male students whereas the reverse is true for white students. Research also suggests that generation status may be a factor in forming intergroup friendships for Latinos (Quillian and Campbell 2003) and intermarriage literature finds that being native-born is correlated to an increase in the likelihood that Latinos will marry across ethnoracial lines (Qian, Lichter, and Tumin 2018). However, Espenshade and Radford (2009) obtained mixed findings about how generation status relates to interactions across different ethnoracial lines.

Higher social status (as measured by class rankings) may increase the likelihood that blacks have white friends (Hallinan and Teixeira 1987 a, b). These particular findings fit into a pattern within research on different types of intergroup relationships, which suggests that members of lower status ethnoracial groups who have "high status" traits (e.g., greater socioeconomic status or lighter skin color), relative to group members with "low status" traits, have a greater likelihood of interacting with members of higher status ethnoracial groups because said traits may offset the lower status associated with their ethnoracial group (e.g., Kalmijn 2012; Santana 2018a; Wang and Kao 2007). Similarly, socioeconomic status in the former parents with more education is associated with a greater likelihood of having cross-ethnoracial interactions (King and Bratter 2007).

Cross-ethnoracial friendship studies within educational institutions highlight the significance of school attributes in determining friendship patterns. For example, taking a course related to a particular ethnoracial minority group is associated with greaters chances of having a close friend of that group (Espenshade and Radford 2009). Past research argues that having a greater proportion of in-group members within the school discourages intergroup friendships (Joyner and Kara 2000). However, Quillian and Campbell (2003) find that among whites and blacks (and to some extent among Asians and Latinos), a greater share of in-group members is associated with a lower likelihood of same-race friendships. Papers that have explored the role of outgroup members find that a greater proportion of another ethnoracial group is associated with a higher likelihood of forming a close outgroup friendship (Hallinan and Smith 1985; Hallinan and Teixeira 1987a).

Inequality by Skin Color

Social stratification by skin color in the U.S. stems from the country's history with slavery. Lighter-skinned slaves, who were mainly the result of master-slave relations, tended to receive more education and better treatment than other slaves (Dixon and Telles 2017; Hunter 2005). After the Civil War, lighter-skinned former slaves were more likely to take leadership positions relative to their darker-skinned counterparts, which fed into the perception that blacks' who were more successful and seemed more intelligent had these traits because of their white heritage (Hunter 2005). The benefits these slaves received has passed onto later generations (Dixon and Telles 2017; Hunter 2005). Drake and Cayton's (1945) work illustrates the ways in which light-skinned blacks in the 1940's could inhabit white spaces by virtue of being able to pass as white. Thus, the U.S. historically has associated lighter skin color, relative to darker skin color, with greater social status, wealth, and privilege.

Scholars have theorized that skin color within the U.S. is an aspect of race that is charged with stereotypes (Dixon and Telles 2017). Lighter skin color's historical association with wealth, beauty, and status remains intact, while darker skin color is tied to ugliness and incivility (Hunter 2005). Skin color functions as a kind of bodily capital in predicting a range of within-group inequalities (Monk 2014). The bodily capital encoded within light skin color appears to lead to preferential treatment from others, expectations of better treatment, and inherited socioeconomic status associated with said bodily capital (Dixon and Telles 2017; Hunter 2005; Santana 2018b; Stephens, Fernandez, and Richman 2012).

To give a few concrete examples of the stratifying role of skin color, darker-skinned blacks tend to have lower health and socioeconomic outcomes than their lighter-skinned counterparts (Hunter 2005; Monk 2014, 2015) and experience more racial discrimination (Klonoff and Landrine 2000). Darker-skinned Latinos likewise tend to have lower occupational

prestige scores (Espino and Franz 2002), perceive more discrimination in anonymous situations (Santana 2018b), and earn lower incomes (Telles and Murguia 1990) in comparison to those with lighter skin tones. There is not much work on the role of skin color on unequal outcomes among Asians, but research suggests that broadly there is a preference for lighter skin (Rondilla and Spickard 2007; Dixon and Telles 2017). Simultaneously, however, across different ethnoracial groups in the U.S., darker skin color can also serve as a measure of authenticity (Hunter 2005). Among Latinos, having tanned skin and the ability to speak Spanish are indicators of authenticity (Hunter 2005; Stephens and Fernandez 2012) and blacks display a similar pattern, especially among black men (Hunter 2005).

An emerging segment of the skin color literature explores the role of skin color in relationships. Research suggests that for blacks, skin color is associated with spousal characteristics such as educational attainment and skin color (Monk 2014). Research on the role of skin color in determining the likelihood of dating people of different ethnoracial backgrounds suggests that skin color operates as a stratifying factor, however, the relative social status of the groups may determine whether lighter or darker skin color is related to a greater or lower likelihood of crossing ethnoracial lines (Santana 2018a). The concept of ethnoracial groups having particular levels of social status stems from previous research that theorizes that ethnoracial relations are based on a hierarchy in which whites are at the top while blacks are at the most disadvantaged and Asians and Latinos are approximately in the middle (Gans 2012). Skin color, due to its role as a status symbol and an indication of mixed ancestry, may shape opportunities within ethnoracial groups to cross ethnoracial lines. Specifically, lighter skin color, which has greater status and signals proximity to whiteness, is associated with greater access to

higher status groups whereas darker skin color, which signals lower status and non-white ancestry, may lead to more interactions with members of lower status groups.

There is evidence that the role of darker skin color in constraining romantic interactions with other group members may in part be a function of their friendships (Keels and Harris 2014; Santana 2018a). Although the literature on skin color and relationships is growing, there is not a deep understanding of how skin color influences friendships. Studying this relationship may therefore clarify the intricacies and dynamics of cross-ethnoracial friendships. In this study, I test two hypotheses:

> *Hypothesis 1: Net of personal, familial, and contextual factors, lighter skin color should be associated with greater odds for members of lower status ethnoracial groups to form friendships with members of higher status ethnoracial groups.*
>
> *Hypothesis 2: Net of personal, familial, and contextual factors, darker skin color should be associated with greater odds for members of higher status ethnoracial groups to form friendships with members of lower status ethnoracial groups.*

Methodology

I use the National Longitudinal Survey of Freshmen for this study, which followed a cohort of freshmen that enrolled in 28 selective institutions of higher education in the Fall of 1999 and were followed for four years. Although the data may not be generalizable to the greater U.S. population, they do speak to a particularly insightful period in adult life. For many students, college is the first time away from their parents, giving them greater freedom to experiment socially by befriending and dating people that they may not have considered interacting with while living at home. If skin color is indeed a significant predictor of intergroup formation,

therefore, college and university campuses would seem to offer a favorable environment for this relationship to be expressed and observed.

The outcome variable, the race of a close friend, is based on measures collected at wave 3 (the end of sophomore year). The survey asks about the four individuals who are closest to the respondent, which I reduce to responses that are identified as "friend" but were not either "parent", "sibling", or "relative". The explanatory variables are either from wave 1 (collected at the beginning of freshman year) or wave 2 (collected at the end of freshman year). The main explanatory variable, skin color, is an ordinal variable that ranges from 1 (lightest) to 8 (darkest). The original skin color variable is top-coded owing to sparse observations.

The models account for personal characteristics (respondent's sex, nativity, and a measure for whether the respondent and the friend are of the same sex), parental characteristics (nativity and highest educational attainment), and contextual factors (whether the respondent took an ethnic or racial studies course during their freshman year, percentage of same race students at the institution, percentage of students with financial need in the academic year of 1998-1999 -I proxy financial need for institutions that do not have a response for this measure by using the academic year of 2001-2002- , the region in which the institution is located, and whether this location is in an urban area). Due to the modelling strategy, I cannot use college fixed-effects, so I add an assortment of variables that may be associated with the cultural climate of the colleges. For example, the West Coast has the highest rate of intermarried newlyweds while the Midwest has the lowest -22% and 11% between 2008-2010-, which suggests that certain areas are more welcoming to intergroup relationships than others (Wang 2012). Furthermore, there is the possibility that schools with greater proportions of students with financial need may also have greater ethnoracial diversity because of the well-established link

between socioeconomic status and ethnoracial background (Keister and Moller 2000; Wilson 2009).

The unit of analysis for the study is friendship pairs. Table 1 shows the distribution, by ethnoracial group (black, Latino, and Asian), of how many friendships respondents report. The models are multinomial logit models with standard errors adjusted by respondent to account for the non-independence of observations. I run the models separately by ethnoracial group because past research highlights how the roles of particular factors can differ substantially by separate models and are associated with distinct forms of intra-group inequality (Hallinan and Teixeira 1987b). A respondent's ethnoracial group membership is determined by the race/ethnicity information they reported to their institution when applying for admission.

Tables 2 and 3 present the distributions for the explanatory and outcomes variables in the final sample of friendship pairs. The distribution of the outcome variable is especially telling. More than half of the black subsample reports an ethnoracially homogeneous friendship while 19% and 40% of the Latino and Asian subsamples report a homogeneous friendship, respectively. When crossing ethnoracial boundaries, reporting a white friend is the most common response.

Results

Main Results

Table 4 presents the multivariate models predicting the odds of intergroup friendships among blacks. The bivariate results suggest that darker skin color is significantly associated with lower odds of having a close friend who identifies as white or "other" -relative to having a close

black friend-. The coefficients are statistically significant at the $p<0.001$ and $p<0.01$ levels respectively. Once personal and familial characteristics are accounted for, darker skin color is correlated to a significantly lower likelihood of having close Latino and Asian friends. The weakest association is between skin color and the likelihood of having a close Asian friend. One unit increase in the skin color darkness measure reduces the odds of having a close friend by 12.4% ($p<.10$), net of personal and familial characteristics. The most statistically significant relationship for skin color among blacks is the likelihood of having a close white friend relative. A unit increase in the darkness of skin color is associated with a 19.6% decrease in the odds of having a close white friend ($p<0.001$). The skin color coefficients in the full models, which control for contextual characteristics, are similar substantively to the previous set of results. Graph 1's predicted probabilities show that skin color may be especially pertinent to friendships between blacks and whites. Among the lightest respondents, the predicted probability of reporting a white close friend is 39.1% while the darkest respondents have a probability of 17.0%. The shift in probability is much smaller for reporting Latino and Asian close friends. For example, the predicted probability for respondents to report a close Asian friend range from 5.8% for the lightest respondents to 4.6% for the darkest respondents. Overall, even if the predicted effect may be small in certain cases, the results give support to hypothesis 1 because lighter skin color is consistently associated with greater odds of having intergroup friendships for blacks.

Among blacks, other significant factors worth mentioning are gender, nativity, parental background, taking an ethnic studies course, the demographic makeup of the college, and the college's location. Referring to the full model, we see evidence that males display significantly greater odds of having a close white friend, whereas being foreign-born is significantly

correlated with lower odds of having a close Latino friend. In addition, when the friendship is with someone of the same sex, the odds that the friend is from some other group are generally lower. Among parental background measures in the full models, having foreign-born parents seems to be associated with (at least marginally significantly) greater odds of having close intergroup friendships with multiple groups. Moreover, having a more educated parent is correlated to higher odds of having a white close friend, which follows the pattern of higher status being related to interacting with higher status groups. The contextual coefficients also follow the patterns seen in the previous literature. The model shows that taking an ethnic course may cut the odds of having a white close friend by more than 50% ($p<0.001$). Having a higher percentage of blacks within the college is associated with statistically significant lower odds of having a white, Asian, or "other" close friend whereas a greater proportion of students with financial need is correlated with higher odds of having an intergroup friendship. Lastly, there is weak evidence that a college's location is associated with the likelihood of having an intergroup friendship.

The results in table 5 show quite distinct patterns for Latinos. Of all outcomes, darker skin color is significantly and consistently associated with lower odds of having a close white friend, relative to a close friend being Latino. In the full model, a unit increase in the skin color variable is associated with 14.4% lower odds of having a close white friend ($p<0.01$). In the bivariate analysis, darker skin color also is marginally associated with lower odds of having an Asian close friend and when accounting solely for personal and familial characteristics, darker skin color is correlated with greater odds of having a black close friend ($p<.05$). Graph 2 illustrates that there is over a 20-percentage point difference in the probability of reporting a

close white friend (62.4% for the lightest skin shade to 40.9% for the darkest skin shade). The results give evidence mainly to hypothesis 1.

According to the full model, both respondent and parental foreign nativity are correlated to lower odds of having an intergroup friendship while having a more educated parent is associated with greater odds. Being of the same gender is related to an increase in the odds of having an Asian friend. Among contextual predictors, the role of an ethnic studies course seems to depend on which outgroup is considered. The variable is significantly associated with lower odds of having a close white friend but greater odds of having a close black friend. A greater proportion of Latinos is correlated to a reduction in the odds of having a white close friend. Location and urbanicity are also related to the likelihood of having an intergroup friendship.

Table 6 shows the regressions for Asians. Skin color in general is not a strong predictor of having interethnic and interracial friendships. It is marginally significant for one outcome in the bivariate analysis. Darker skin color is associated with lower odds of having a Latino close friend, but those results change once personal and familial characteristics are controlled. The full model indicates that a unit increase in skin color darkness is associated with a 13.0% increase in the odds that Asians have a close friend who identifies as "other" ($p<.05$). Graph 3 presents the predicted probability for Asians to report a friend who is "other". The probability more than doubles from 5.6% for the lightest respondents to 13.4% for the darkest respondents. Since the "other" category could refer to individuals of various backgrounds, the results do not necessarily give evidence to either hypotheses, but the result does suggest that in the case of Asians, darker skin color is associated with some sort of ethnoracial boundary crossing.

Referring to the full model, we see that being male is only marginally significant in predicting greater odds of having a white close friend. Similar to Latinos, both respondent and

parental nativity are significantly associated with a lower likelihood of having an intergroup friendship. Having a highly educated parent is significantly correlated with greater odds of having a white close friend. As for contextual factors, Asians show the same pattern seen among blacks and Latinos in that taking an ethnic studies course is associated with a decrease in the odds of having a close friend by over 50% ($p<0.001$). An increase in the proportion of Asians within the respondent's college is significantly associated with lower odds of having a white or Latino close. Regional location and urbanicity are also associated with the race of close friends.

Robustness Checks

I run a series of robustness checks to ensure that the results remain stable. I examine whether the results differ when recoding the skin color measure into a set of dummies, the ethnoracial composition of respondent's club participation, measures related to a friend's background, and mixed ancestry of respondents. Exchanging the continuous skin color variables for the set of dummies yields substantively similar results overall. When adding measures for the ethnoracial composition of clubs, which was collected in the same wave as the outcome, the results are similar but there is a reduction in the level of statistical significance for certain models, which may be due to smaller N in the models with club measures. Third, the full models do not include measures for friend's age and educational level or whether the friend and respondent attend the same college because 1) there is substantial overlap between the three measures, 2) the vast majority of the friends reported in the sample are college-level/aged students, thus the coefficients were not as insightful, and 3) the skin color coefficients of the full models do not change when adding the measures separately or jointly. Fourth, I interact gender and skin color due to previous research that documents differences in how skin color relates to

inequality by gender (Hunter 2005). Adding the interaction to the full models support the hypothesis 1. To be specific, for black women, darker skin color is associated with lower odds of having close friendships with whites, Latinos, and "other", while darker-skinned Latina women have statistically significant lower odds of having white friends (in comparison to having a close Latino friend).

Lastly, I explore a second ethnoracial self-identification measure that was collected in the first wave of the survey rather than prior to the survey as the first ethnoracial measure. This second ethnoracial variable has the following options: non-Latino black, non-Latino white, Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, Korean, Filipino, other Asian), Latino black (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Central American, South American), Latino white (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Central American, South American), mixed, and other. I recode this variable into various ways depending on the ethnoracial group. For blacks, I create a dummy variable that distinguishes between respondents who responded solely as "(non-Latino) black" versus respondents with any other response. For Latinos, there is a dummy variable that differentiates between respondents who identify as being Latino versus identifying as anything else but "Latino", a racial measure that distinguishes between "black", "white", and anything else, and a national origin variable with the categories "Mexican", "South American", "Central American", Caribbean (based on those who identify as "Cuban", "Dominican", or "Puerto Rican"), or anything else. For Asian respondents, there is a dummy variable that separates the sample between those identified as "Asian" and anything else and a categorical measure to differentiate between those who identify as "Chinese", "Indian", or anything else.

The results for blacks show that the skin color coefficient loses statistical significance for most of the outcomes and the coefficients get closer to 1 while the "black vs. other" measure is

highly significant across most of the outcomes. Since skin color and the secondary ethnoracial measures are strongly correlated to one another, results suggests that blacks of mixed ancestry, who are lighter than those who are not of mixed ancestry, are driving the results for blacks. Among Latinos, the results demonstrate that when accounting for national origin, there is a marginally significant relationship between skin color and having a black friend. Darker skin color is correlated to greater odds for this outcome. For Asians, when adding the national origin measure, the skin color coefficient is no longer statistically significant for the "other" outcome while the coefficient in the model predicting having a Latino friend shows that darker skin color is associated with lower odds of having a Latino friend, significant at the $p<.05$-level.

Conclusion

In this study, I argue that an individual's skin color is associated with their likelihood of forming close friendships across ethnoracial lines. The full models show that among blacks, the group theorized to have the lowest social status, lighter skin color may help to promote friendships across various ethnoracial groups. Among Latinos, lighter skin color is associated with greater odds of having a close friendship with whites, the most socially dominant group in the U.S. Lastly, among Asians, darker skin color is associated with greater odds of having friends that ethnoracially identify as "other".

The results of this study also highlight how personal, familial, and contextual factors function differently across ethnoracial groups and outcomes. For example, respondent and parental foreign nativity is associated with a greater likelihood for blacks to engage in close interethnic and interracial friendships while the opposite holds for Latinos and Asians. Waters'

(1999) study on black immigrants and children of immigrants suggests that children of immigrants with strong ties to their ancestral background can more readily dismiss possible obstacles that blacks face such as discrimination. Thus, interacting with non-blacks may seem more feasible for black children of immigrants than for black children of natives. However, Latino immigrant parents have been shown to encourage their children to marry within their own ethnic group (Foner and Dreby 2011; Morgan 2009), so the possible effect of parental nativity is negative in this situation. Across multiple ethnoracial groups, taking an ethnic studies is associated with a decrease in the odds of having a close white friend. For most ethnoracial groups, having a relatively well-educated parent is associated with a higher likelihood of having a friendship across ethnoracial lines, especially with whites. In contrast, a greater percentage of same-group members within the respondent's college is correlated to lower odds of having an intergroup friendship.

The overall story of the study remains stable in light of robustness checks. There are two robustness check results that are especially insightful. For blacks, an underlying factor that may be driving the results for skin color is mixed ancestry. The literature has shown that blacks of mixed ancestry are more likely to identify with being black than with another ethnoracial group (Lee and Bean 2004). These results suggest that ethnoracial lines may blur via ethnoracial group members who have particular skin shades that are associated with mixed heritage and a particular status within their ethnoracial group. Second, when accounting for national origin among Asians, darker skin is significantly correlated to lower odds of reporting a close Latino friends. There is not much work on relations between Latino and Asians, however, in light of the growing demographic prominence of these two groups, race/ethnicity scholars should further explore how Latinos and Asians interact with one another.

This study points to certain factors that future research should further explore that cannot be examined in this study due to lack of data. Previous research suggests that factors related to the sampled educational institutions can be influential. Classroom/school culture, tracking by ability, and the race of an individual's freshman-year roommate may influence the likelihood of forming interethnic and interracial friendships (Espenshade and Radford 2009; Hallinan and Teixeira 1987 a, b). Second, smaller college student population may be more conducive to intergroup friendships (Fischer 2008). Within this study, it is methodologically not possible to use college fixed effects in the multinomial models. Lastly, future research on skin color and interethnic and interracial friendships would benefit from having more information on the friend's background and characteristics to gauge how the combination of the respondent's and the friend's traits may interact.

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Table 1: Percentage Distribution of Reported Close Friendships among Respondents

	Race of Respondent		
Amount	Black	Latino	Asian
1	17	14	12
2	31	28	22
3	34	33	35
4	18	25	32
Total (N)	743	653	717

Table 2: Percentage Distribution of Friends' Ethnoracial Background in Friendship Dyads

	Race of Respondent		
Race of Friend	Black	Latino	Asian
White	23	54	45
Black	**59**	6	3
Latino	3	**19**	3
Asian	5	10	**40**
Other	9	11	8
Total (N)	1,880	1,752	2,056

Table 3: Percentage Distribution of Explanatory Variables by Ethnoracial Background

	Race of Respondent		
Independent Variable	Black	Latino	Asian
Skin Color Rating			
Average Rating	6	4	4
	(1.87)	(1.73)	(1.80)
Demographic and Parental Background			
Male (percent)	34	43	44
Foreign-Born (percent)	8	19	31
Mother Foreign-Born (percent)	22	52	87
Father Foreign-Born (percent)	22	55	87
Highest Level of Parental Education (percent)			
Some College or Less	30	30	16
College Graduate	31	30	26
Graduate Degree	39	40	58
Same-Sex Friendship (percent)	77	75	75
Campus Context			
Took Ethnic Studies Course (percent)	22	7	14
Average Percentage of Same Race Students	12 (19.47)	6 (3.26)	14 (9.52)
Average Percentage of Students with Financial Need	44 (7.66)	44 (6.53)	44 (6.93)
Region (percent)			
Northeast	31	40	35
Midwest	27	28	28
West	12	15	14
South	29	17	24
Urban Location (percent)	61	63	59
Total (N)	1,880	1,752	2,056

Table 4: Odds Ratios for Blacks to Have an Intergroup Close Friendship

	Race of Friend (reference = Black)				Race of Friend (reference = Black)				Race of Friend (reference = Black)			
	White	Asian	Latino	Other	White	Asian	Latino	Other	White	Asian	Latino	Other
Skin Color	0.817***	0.915	0.892	0.861**	0.804***	0.876+	0.850*	0.843**	0.802***	0.874+	0.860*	0.852**
Demographic and Parental Background												
Male	----	----	----	----	1.888***	1.327	1.015	1.111	1.639**	1.212	1.014	1.079
Foreign-Born	----	----	----	----	0.676	0.543	0.281*	1.002	0.639	0.519	0.283*	0.940
F: Foreign-Born	----	----	----	----	1.078	1.587	3.070*	1.711	1.133	1.736	2.909*	1.557
M: Foreign-Born	----	----	----	----	1.841*	2.390*	1.236	1.010	1.716+	2.167+	1.121	0.954
Highest Level of Parental Education (reference = "Some College or Below")												
College Graduate/ Some Post-Graduate Work	----	----	----	----	1.613*	1.278	0.851	1.083	1.510+	1.329	0.851	1.109
Graduate/ Professional Degree	----	----	----	----	2.194***	1.274	0.949	1.386	1.921**	1.174	0.907	1.284
Same-sex Friendship	----	----	----	----	0.687**	0.616*	0.545*	0.720	0.686**	0.645+	0.551*	0.752
Campus Context												
Took an Ethnic Studies Course	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0.413***	0.622	0.906	0.688
Percentage of	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.038**	1.035+	1.024	1.049**

Students with Financial Need												
Percentage of Black Students	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0.969***	0.952***	0.985	0.986*
Location of college (reference = "Northeast")												
Midwest	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.179	1.004	0.721	0.700
West	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.041	1.826	0.566	0.976
South	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.171	1.069	0.553	0.606+
Urban Location	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0.767+	0.750	0.991	0.965
N	1880			1880					1880			
pseudo R^2	0.012			0.042					0.071			

Table 5: Odds Ratios for Latinos to Have an Intergroup Close Friendship

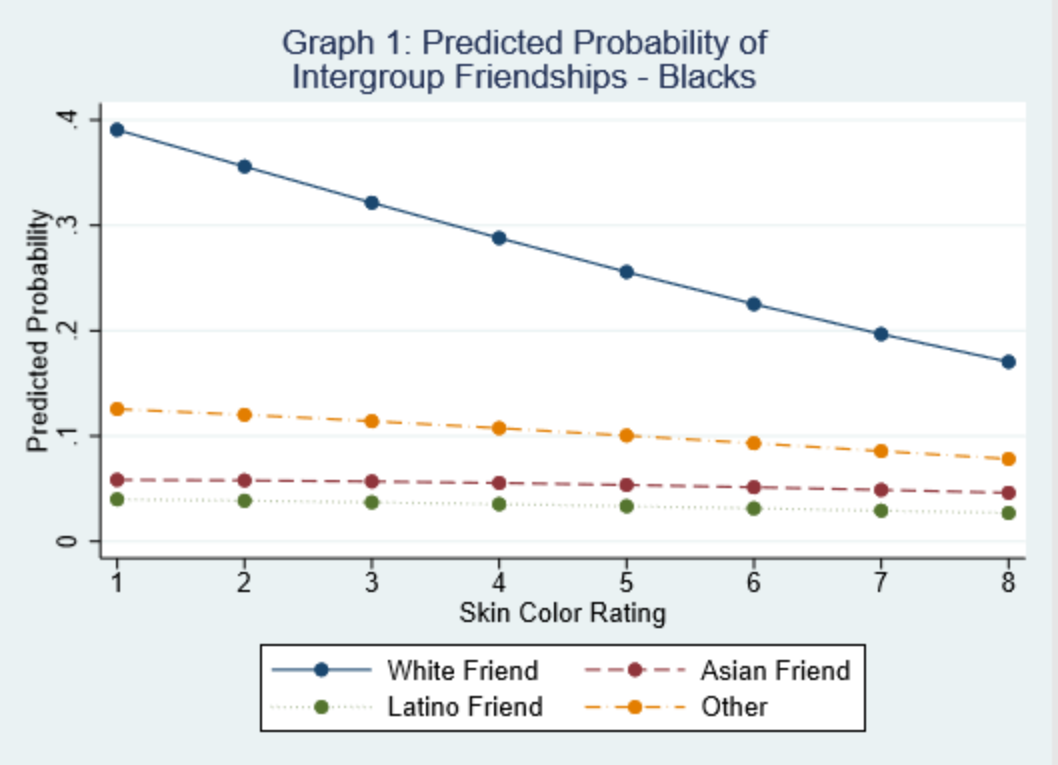
	Race of Friend (reference = Latinos)				Race of Friend (reference = Latinos)				Race of Friend (reference = Latinos)			
	White	Asian	Black	Other	White	Asian	Black	Other	White	Asian	Black	Other
Skin Color	0.819***	0.889+	1.123	0.904	0.885*	0.936	1.152*	0.959	0.856**	0.930	1.112	0.940
Demographic and Parental Background												
Male	----	----	----	----	1.154	1.186	1.218	0.929	1.039	1.127	1.215	0.889
Foreign-Born	----	----	----	----	0.849	0.875	0.627	0.536*	0.811	0.896	0.681	0.537*
F: Foreign-Born	----	----	----	----	0.642*	0.627*	0.914	1.114	0.655*	0.685	0.887	1.108
M: Foreign-Born	----	----	----	----	0.615**	0.793	0.725	0.710	0.614**	0.813	0.856	0.727
Highest Level of Parental Education (reference = "Some College or Below")												
College Graduate/ Some Post-Graduate Work	----	----	----	----	2.612***	1.609+	1.440	2.196**	2.314***	1.568	1.357	2.117*
Graduate/ Professional Degree	----	----	----	----	3.067***	2.155**	1.106	2.373**	2.640***	2.042**	0.998	2.226**
Same-sex Friendship	----	----	----	----	1.232	1.614*	1.180	0.940	1.216	1.597*	1.191	0.924
Campus Context												
Took an Ethnic Studies Course	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0.511*	0.772	3.045**	0.995
Percentage of	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0.981	0.996	0.970	0.995

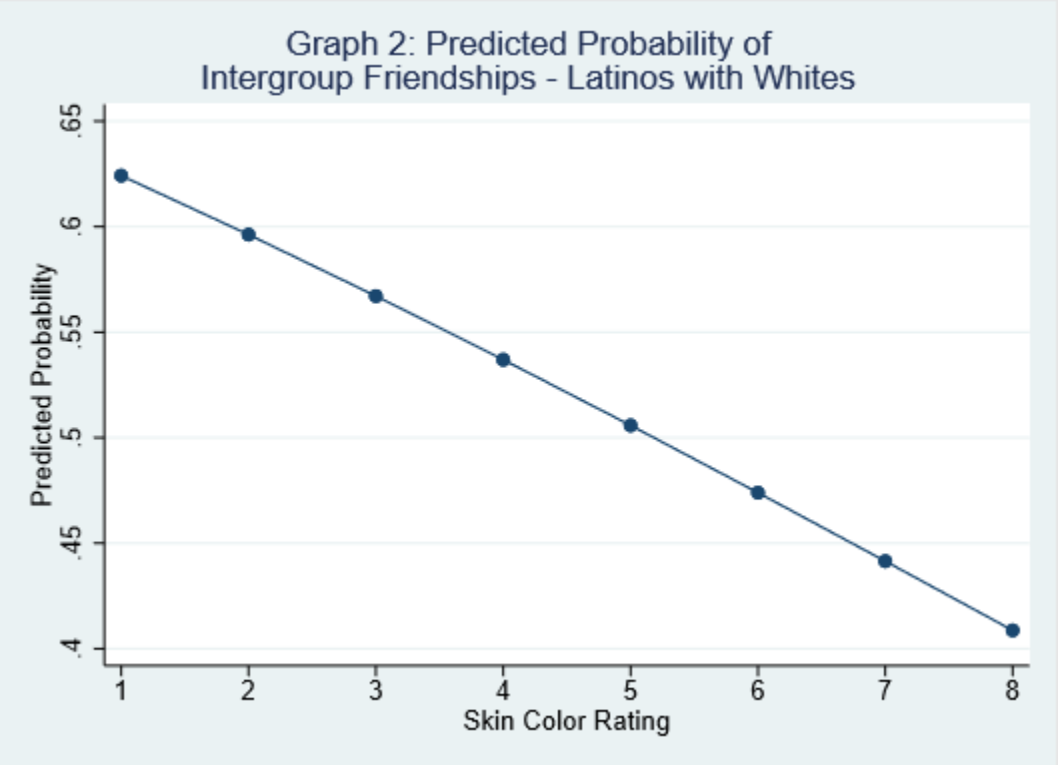
Students with Financial Need												
Percentage of Latino Students	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0.854**	1.053	0.996	0.984
Location of college (reference = "Northeast")												
Midwest	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.170	1.433	0.875	1.568
West	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.632	1.029	0.282+	0.756
South	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.077	0.970	1.188	0.770
Urban Location	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0.870	0.644+	0.498*	1.129
N	1752			1752					1752			
pseudo R^2	0.011			0.043					0.073			

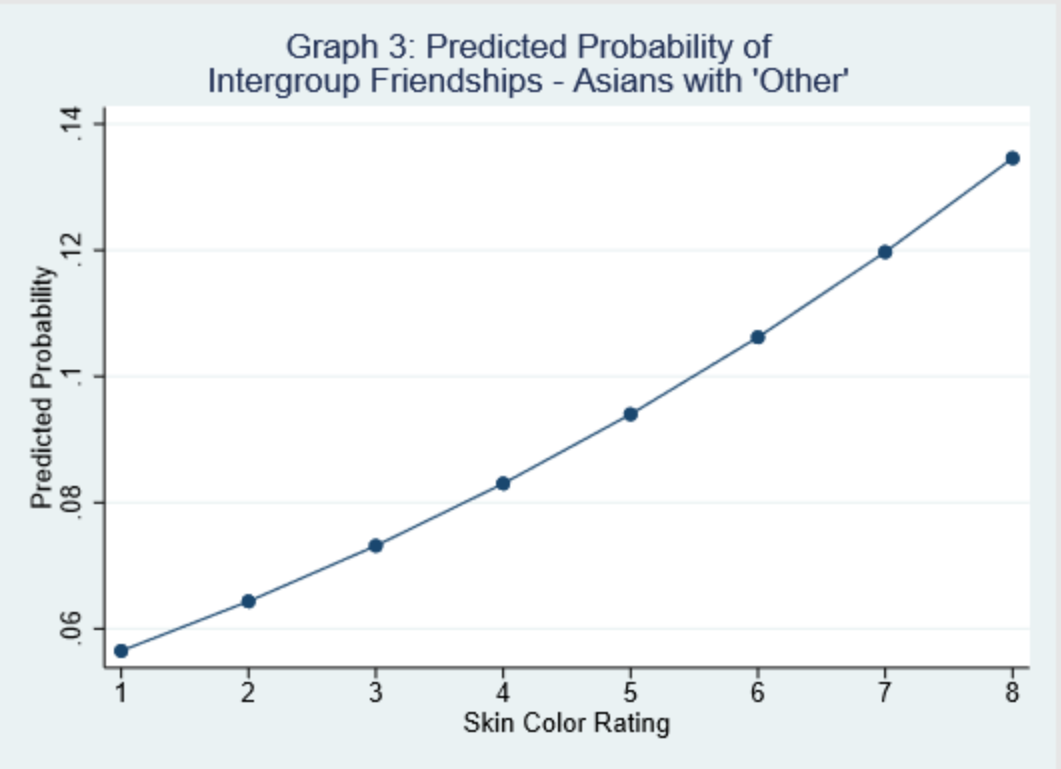
Table 6: Odds Ratios for Asians to Have an Intergroup Close Friendship

	Race of Friend (reference = Asian)				Race of Friend (reference = Asian)				Race of Friend (reference = Asian)			
	White	Black	Latino	Other	White	Black	Latino	Other	White	Black	Latino	Other
Skin Color	1.017	0.978	0.869^{+}	1.055	1.012	0.987	0.886	1.084	0.976	0.934	0.909	1.130*
Demographic and Parental Background												
Male	----	----	----	----	1.262^{+}	1.006	1.033	0.737	1.293^{+}	1.092	1.062	0.701
Foreign-Born	----	----	----	----	0.681**	1.052	0.792	0.608*	0.735*	1.089	0.832	0.632^{+}
F: Foreign-Born	----	----	----	----	0.380***	0.326**	0.374*	0.416**	0.411***	0.385*	0.378^{+}	0.366**
M: Foreign-Born	----	----	----	----	0.474**	0.631	0.493	0.823	0.643^{+}	0.681	0.604	0.841
Highest Level of Parental Education (reference = "Some College or Below")												
College Graduate/ Some Post-Graduate Work	----	----	----	----	1.349	0.915	1.387	0.795	1.303	0.890	1.449	0.816
Graduate/ Professional Degree	----	----	----	----	2.074***	1.682	0.794	1.041	2.103***	1.700	0.806	1.099
Same-sex Friendship	----	----	----	----	0.957	0.797	0.889	1.168	0.916	0.782	0.884	1.196
Campus Context												
Took an Ethnic Studies Course	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0.407***	1.072	1.194	0.850
Percentage of	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0.998	1.012	0.993	0.995

Students with Financial Need												
Percentage of Asian Students	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0.939***	0.974	0.943*	0.998
Location of college (reference = "Northeast")												
Midwest	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.126	1.304	0.756	0.575
West	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1.465	0.624	3.252+	0.959
South	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0.962	1.407	0.723	1.624
Urban Location	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0.733*	0.586+	0.976	0.844
N	2056			2056					2056			
pseudo R^2	0.001			0.038					0.080			


Graph 1: Predicted Probability of
Intergroup Friendships - Blacks
Predicted Probability
0
.1
.2
.3
.4
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
Skin Color Rating
White Friend
Asian Friend
Latino Friend
Other


Graph 2: Predicted Probability of
Intergroup Friendships - Latinos with Whites
Predicted Probability
.4
.45
.5
.55
.6
.65
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
Skin Color Rating


Graph 3: Predicted Probability of
Intergroup Friendships - Asians with 'Other'
Predicted Probability
.06
.08
.1
.12
.14
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
Skin Color Rating

Chapter 5 – Conclusion

This dissertation explores particular gaps within the literature on interethnic and interracial relationships in order to examine possible determinants and mechanisms that influence the formation of these relationships. Studying U.S. intergroup relationships gives scholars and policy makers insight into U.S. ethnoracial relations, such as what are the factors that may encourage these relationships and what are the possible directions of future ethnoracial relations. The extant literature lays out various theories for the trajectory of U.S. ethnoracial relations. Bonilla-Silva (2004), for example, theorizes that relations will evolve into a triracial hierarchy consisting of whites, honorary whites, and collective blacks, akin to Latin American race relations. There is the possibility of the ethnoracial structure reformulating into a white vs. non-white divide in which minorities remain at a disadvantage relative to whites (Bean, Lee, and Bachmeier 2013). Past research has also argued in favor of a black vs. non-black divide because of the distinct disadvantages U.S. blacks face (Bean et al. 2013; Lee and Bean 2010). The results of this dissertation imply that minorities, in particular blacks and Latinos, face notable barriers when interacting with whites. While there is support for the theory of a white vs. non-white divide, there is also some evidence of a hierarchy among non-whites.

Overview of Dissertation

In the first empirical chapter (chapter 2), I seek to answer the following questions: 1) Is status exchange prevalent among marriages between Latinos and whites? 2) Are there differences in the prevalence of status exchange by Latino nativity? Using years 2008-2015 of the American Community Survey and log-linear modeling, the results show that foreign-born

Latino spouses and native-born Latina wives engage in status exchange with their native-born white spouses. The implications of this study are that Latinos, regardless of nativity, face similar obstacles to intermarrying with whites as blacks with whites.

Chapter 3 is an analysis of the role of an individual's skin color in their likelihood of dating members of other ethnoracial groups and possible mechanisms that explain the relationship between skin color and intergroup dating for minorities. Based on quantitative analyses of the National Longitudinal Study of Freshmen (NLSF), I find that for blacks, darker skin color is correlated to lower odds of dating various groups. For Latinos, darker skin color is related to lower odds of dating whites. Among Asians, darker skin color is associated with greater odds of dating blacks. Moreover, skin color may influence dating via friendship networks. I argue that the role of skin color is a function of the relative levels of social status of the ethnoracial groups that date. Lighter skin color among lower status ethnoracial groups is associated with a greater likelihood to date members of higher status groups. Similarly, darker skin color among higher status groups is correlated to a greater likelihood to date individuals of lower status groups.

The final empirical chapter, chapter 4, builds off of chapter 3 by exploring the role of skin color in determining intergroup friendships. I conduct a series of analyses utilizing the NLSF to find that among blacks, darker skin color is consistently associated with lower odds of having a close friend of different ethnoracial groups. For Latinos, darker skin color is correlated to lower odds of having a close white friend. Asians show an opposing pattern because darker skin is associated with higher odds of having a close friend who is ethnoracially "other". Similar to chapter 3, I argue that for members of lower status groups, darker skin color is associated with a lower likelihood of befriending members of higher status groups.

One of the major patterns of this dissertation is that for ethnoracial minorities, there are particular salient barriers to interacting with whites. Latinos, which are described as having a closer proximity to whites relative to blacks with whites (Lee and Bean 2010), seem to face barriers that are similar to blacks. Not only is there evidence of status exchange for both native-born and foreign-born Latinos when marrying whites, chapters 3 and 4 show that skin color, whether directly or indirectly, may influence the likelihood of forming intergroup relationships. The chapters that examine outcomes for blacks show similar results. Therefore, although different ethnoracial groups have particular levels of social status, these is a palpable distinction between whites and non-whites.

Within the chapters on skin color, skin color is a consistent predictor of intergroup relationships among blacks. For both dating and forming friendships, darker skin color is associated with lower odds of crossing ethnoracial boundaries. In other words, among blacks, those who are lighter are most likely to restructure ethnoracial boundaries for blacks. What remains unclear about these results is whether lighter skin color in itself makes blacks more attractive to non-blacks or perhaps it is the non-black ancestry associated with lighter skin that eases the formation of intergroup relationship for blacks. The robustness checks show that among blacks, there is a strong relationship between mixed ethnoracial background and skin color. Given that for other minority groups, accounting for mixed ethnoracial background in general does not change the results for skin color and the likelihood of forming intergroup relationships, blacks seem to be an anomaly.

Future Research

The chapter on status exchange suggests that Latinos face hurdles to integrating with whites in spite of the relatively high rate of intermarriage for this pairing. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the trajectory of Latinos into the mainstream, research should examine the patterns of status exchange by generation (e.g., grandparents, parents, children, etc.). It is possible to explore these patterns by generation-since-immigration (e.g., immigrants, children of immigrants, grandchildren of immigrants, etc.) by utilizing data that captures both respondent and parental nativity. However, a longitudinal dataset could better tease out trends in status exchange across time and whether the prevalence in status exchange among Latinos differs when they and their families have more embedded roots in the U.S.

Future research on skin color and intergroup relationships can expand on the results of this dissertation in two major ways. First, analyses could be expanded to a broader population beyond college students. While there are benefits to focusing on college students (e.g., easier to control for possible dating/friendship pool and a more leveled playing field because college students plausibly interact mainly with other college students), exploring the relationship between skin color and crossing ethnoracial lines in a broader population would enrich the understanding of how skin color relates to social stratification. Second, the dataset for chapters 3 and 4 were collected at the turn of 21st century. The U.S. population has become more ethnoracially diverse and online dating has grown in popularity since the early 2000s (Finkel, Eastwick, Karney, et al. 2012; Pew Research 2015). Increased diversity may encourage people to interact with others outside of their own ethnoracial group, but research on online dating suggests that it is still quite segregated by ethnoracial background (Robnett and Feliciano 2011). Therefore, research on this topic using more current data can give scholars even deeper insight into the significance of skin color in modern intergroup relationships.

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