

## ABSTRACT

#AsiansforBlacklives?:  
Interracial Coupling and Black Lives Matter Support

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This study examines the relationship between racialized marital selection and support for Black Lives Matter. Nearly a third of Asian American newlyweds are interracially married. Previous research reports that interracial marriages are used as a marker for assimilation and can represent or reshape racial attitudes. With the growing awareness and support for the Black Lives Matter movement, we consider the possible relationship between interracial coupling and support for this social movement. Using the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post Survey, we find that Asian Americans with racially non-white spouses are significantly different from Asian Americans with white spouses in their support for Black Lives Matter, thus suggesting that interracially married Asian Americans vary in their cultural integration rather than just assimilating to the views of the dominant group. With Asian Americans as the fastest growing minority group, this study offers quantitative insights on the need for improving theorization of intergroup relations effects on racial attitudes.

#AsiansforBlackLives?: Interracial Coupling and Black Lives Matter Support

by

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A Thesis

Approved by the Department of Sociology

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## DEDICATION

To Grace and Corey

## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

The death of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor at the hands of law enforcement sparked protests across the country and the globe in the summer of 2020. Hundreds of thousands of American citizens marched in solidarity with the Black Lives Matter movement, holding signs that proclaimed, “No Justice, No Peace” or “End police brutality!” While general awareness of this movement has grown in the past decade, past surveys found that attitudes toward Black Lives Matter vary across racial groups (Horowitz & Livingston, 2016). In the summer of 2020, two-thirds of all Americans supported the Black Lives Matter movement and nearly three quarters of Americans were having conversations about race with their friends and family (Parker et al., 2020). Copies of books such as Ijeoma Oluo’s *So you want to talk about race* and Robin DiAngelo’s *White Fragility* flew off the bookshelves, climbing to top sellers within a week (Harris, 2020). However, the hype and discussion surrounding the movement has since faded as Black Lives Matter support dropped from 67% to 55% by September 2020 (Thomas & Horowitz, 2020).

While the 2020 surge of protests appeared to be America’s racial reckoning, Black Lives Matter is not a novel movement. Tracing its roots back to 2013 when a watch guard was acquitted after fatally shooting Trayvon Martin, an unarmed African American teen, Black Lives Matter is a movement particularly associated with reports of police brutality directed toward members of the African American community. From its

inception in 2013 until March of 2016, the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter has been used in Tweets nearly 11.8 million times (Anderson, 2016). Additionally, from January 2015 to March 2016, nearly a billion tweets were posted about race (i.e. explicitly referencing blacks, whites or race in general) (Anderson, 2016).

Unlike past racial justice movements, Black Lives Matter rallies and protests have garnered more racially diverse support with Asian Americans and Latinos participating alongside Blacks and Whites. The latter groups have vocalized their various opinions toward racial justice for decades, but less known are the attitudes of Asian Americans. Their participation, however, contrasts expectations given the prevalence of the model minority myth and reports of anti-Black sentiments in the community (Zhou, 2004; Lee & Bean, 2010). This is further reinforced through measures of assimilation, including higher intermarriage rates and socioeconomic attainment. Notably high rates of intermarriages with Whites among second generation Asian Americans exhibits assimilation into the dominant group. One expects that attitudes toward Black Lives Matter among Asian Americans will thus emulate those of the dominant group, or White Americans.

Moreover, despite evidence of integration, Asian Americans remain subordinate to Whites in the racialized hierarchy (Bonilla-Silva, 2004). Their foreignness and outsider position prevent Asian Americans from fully assimilating to the dominant group (Tuan, 1998; Kim, 1999). Consequently, the gatekeeping by White Americans cultivated stronger racial salience among Asian Americans and among all racial minorities. The solidarity among non-White racial groups have positively affected non-dominant interracial relationships among Asian Americans. However, this growing trend is not

addressed by traditional assimilation theories, highlighting a gap in past assimilation models.

How do we account for non-dominant interracial marriages in assimilation theories? And how does interracial relationship formation correlate with racial justice interest? Past research has examined these associations primarily among blacks and whites; our study addresses the gap in the literature by centering the narrative on Asian Americans. Thus, we hypothesize that among non-dominant interracially coupled Asian Americans, social integration is more evident through the endorsement of racial justice movements, particularly the Black Lives Matter movement. In contrast, Asian Americans in monoracial and interracial unions with Whites will express greater opposition to the movement indicating a symbolic boundary between Blacks and Asian Americans. Using the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey, we find that Asian Americans coupled with racially non-white spouses are significantly different from Asian Americans with racially white spouses in their support for Black Lives Matter. Those with White, non-Hispanic partners express the least support, those with Black, non-Hispanic partners express the most support while Asian Americans with Latinx and Asian American spouses or partners fall somewhere in between, thus suggesting that interracially married Asian Americans vary in their integration rather than assimilating to hegemonic views.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Literature Review

#### *Complicating Assimilation and Critical Race Theory*

In 1965, the Hart-Celler Act legally banned the national origins formula, or the federal quota system that prevented non-Western European immigrants from moving to the United States. In response, an influx of immigrants hailing from Latin American or Asian countries migrated to America, complicating the racial discourse and traditional assimilation models (Alba & Nee, 1997; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Delgado & Stefancic, 1993). Prior to the lifted ban, conceptions of assimilation were understood in the context of European migration; these theories became foundational to understanding the process of integration into American life.

Park and Burgess defined assimilation as a gradual process of “interpenetration and fusion” of one group or persons into another group, culminating in a common cultural life (1921, p. 736). Decades later, Gordon (1964) posited that the process of assimilation can be broken down into seven subprocesses; acculturation is the first stage and is a prerequisite for structural assimilation. Immigrants and minority groups gradually grow closer in social relations with members of the host society, eventually sharing common values, norms and behaviors. Cultural and structural integration, according to Gordon, is followed by intermarriages on a larger scale (1964). Finally, as minority groups successfully assimilate into the dominant group, frequent contact reduces prejudice, discrimination and power struggles between majority and subordinate groups

(Allport, 1954; Gordon, 1964). Based on these theories, latter generations are expected to achieve full integration (Park & Burgess, 1921; Gordon, 1964).

These theories have been faulted by recent scholars for portraying the assimilation process as static and Anglo-conformist due to the expectations for all minorities to adjust to middle-class White values (Rumbaut & Portes, 1990; Alba & Nee, 1997). Revisions to the classic model proposed that assimilation account for generational shifts and the new influx of non-European immigrants. Therefore, while early theorists projected the full absorption of later generations of immigrants (Gordon, 1964; Warner & Srole, 1945), new empirical evidence reveal the dynamic and complex process of segmented assimilation. Alba and Nee (1997) refines the classic model through their “new assimilation theory” by arguing that the process of assimilation albeit inevitable, requires a mutual acceptance between immigrant groups and mainstream society for successful integration. Additionally, the scholars consider how the assimilation process involves minority groups while the boundary between dominant and subordinate groups is reinforced (Alba & Nee, 1997). This complicates the straight-line theory that underlies the traditional assimilation model by proposing a new understanding of integration into American society: pluralism. Research suggests that some ethnic groups maintain a distinct culture from mainstream society across generations; the choice to retain cultural differences becomes a tool and an obstacle in the process of assimilation (Glazer & Moynihan, 1963; Gans, 1997; Rumbaut & Portes, 1990). On one hand, ethnic group members rely on social and financial capital insofar that the success of latter generations rely on the resources from their ethnic community and social environment (Borjas, 1992); on the other hand, when considering the racism embedded in American institutions and

structures, certain ethnic groups continue to face barriers in education, employment and politics (Glazer & Moynihan, 1963). Gans (1997) contends a reconciliation of assimilation and pluralism theories by noting how acculturation moves more rapidly than assimilation. This suggests that Latinx and Asian immigrants may adopt the values and norms of the host society without achieving full integration. Segmented assimilation theory accounts for the nuanced experiences of immigrants by suggesting that adaptation of minority groups or persons into America's stratified system leads to various outcomes, particularly for second generation immigrants (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

The wave of immigrants from non-European countries is also consequential in other ways. Early assimilation theories were founded on the integration patterns of European immigrants; acculturation signified the adoption of middle class Protestant values (Warner & Srole, 1945; Ignatiev, 1995). But, post 1965, the growing population of Latinx and Asian Americans complicate assimilation models by revealing its Anglo-conformist biases (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). Racial discourse until the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century centered on the black and white divide where "race" primarily referred to African Americans (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Latinx and Asian American experiences were thus compared to African Americans, marginalizing the history and struggles of their own communities (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Alcoff, 2006; Perea, 1997). Developments in critical race theory combat these challenges by accounting for the invisibility of these other minorities through a new racial classification system. Bonilla-Silva (2004) conceptualizes a tri-racial classification system with "whites" at the top of the US racial stratification system, "collective blacks" at the bottom and "honorary whites" in between. This intermediary category includes light skinned Latinos, various

Asian ethnic groups (Chinese, Korean, Japanese) and most multiracials (Bonilla-Silva, 2004). Theorists argue that those positioned in this intermediary category as “honorary whites” share certain privileges as whites but remain subordinate to them (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Lee & Bean, 2010).

The proposed racial ordering further generates ideologies perpetuated and upheld by the dominant group. In order to maintain power and status, Whites at the top of the racial order, expect immigrant and minority groups to conform to their ideals which includes believing in the false narrative of the American dream where individual hard work is always rewarded equitably (Blumer, 1958; Doane, 1997; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Therefore, social factors that shape the life outcomes of minority groups are dismissed and ignored since individual effort presumably explains differences in socio-economic mobility (Bonilla-Silva, 2015). For Bonilla-Silva, this underlying ideology is colorblind racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2010). Overt racism has been replaced by abstract liberalism and individual preference; in other words, racism remains embedded in structures and “out of sight” (Bonilla-Silva, 2015). Consequently, minorities – particularly non-White immigrant groups – are misled to believe they can successfully integrate into mainstream society despite the barriers faced by racialization.

Some racial minorities, in response to the gatekeeping by Whites, resist the dominant ideology through new assimilation patterns. Recent work on racial salience builds on social identity theory which asserts that individuals are shaped by their group identity, where in-group and out-group memberships aid in defining one’s identity (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1985). Being classified as subordinates to Whites thus strengthens the racial salience of racial minorities, both individually and collectively

(Nicholson Jr. et al., 2018; McClain et al., 2009). The growing solidarity amongst non-Whites challenge the classic assimilation models that projected minority groups to only assimilate to the dominant group. Our study addresses this research gap through an analysis of coupled Asian Americans and racial attitudes toward Black Lives Matter. As the fastest growing minority group positioned as “honorary whites,” Asian Americans are the ideal example to consider these theories.

### *Racial Positioning of Asian Americans*

Currently, Asian Americans represent 6.7% of the total US population; but, by 2055, Asians are projected to surpass Latinx as the largest immigrant group (Taylor, 2012; Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). Relative to other racial groups (including Whites), Asian Americans report higher levels of educational attainment and household income, earning them the label “model minority” (Taylor, 2012; Zhou, 2004; Lee & Zhou, 2015). In a study on Asian American youth, Hsin and Xie (2014), determine that cultural orientation and immigrant status are the main contributing factors to academic achievement; Asian immigrant parents socialize their children to focus on academic success while at times neglecting psychological and social development. This feeds into the stereotype perceptions of Asian Americans as “smarter” and more “hardworking” than other racial minority groups (Cuddy et al., 2007; Ho & Jackson, 2001). Sakamoto, Goyette and Kim (2009) add that the favorable socioeconomic status of Asian Americans signals the blurring of minority and majority groups and successful structural integration into American society.

However, these stereotypes derive from scholars who treat Asian Americans as a singular group. New scholarship debunks the myth of the model minority as it

exaggerates Asian American prosperity, homogenizes this extremely diverse population and obscures discriminatory experiences faced by the minority group (Zhou, 2004; Wing, 2007; Chou & Feagin, 2008). For example, recent research comparing Asian American employers with their white counterparts find that the educational advantage does not transfer to the labor market; Asian American workers face barriers in professional development (e.g., mentors, resources) and career advancement (Kim & Sakamoto, 2010; Kim & Zhao, 2014). Furthermore, the above average income for Asian Americans is greatly skewed towards certain subgroups; income levels vary widely across all Asian Americans, with 8 of 19 Asian subgroups reporting higher poverty rates than the U.S. average (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021).

Alternatively, Tuan (1998) presents a different narrative for Asian American racialization. Instead of positioning this racial group between blacks and whites, Tuan argues that Asian Americans are always perceived and treated as forever foreigners (1998). Native-born Asian Americans face similar experiences of racism and discrimination, further alienating them from blacks and whites. Kim (1999) adds to the perpetual foreigner narrative through her “racial triangulation theory” which posits that Asian Americans are not only “valorized” by whites above blacks, but also ostracized from politics due to their foreignness (1999, p. 107). Asian Americans are thus perceived as unfit for American life and barred from integrating into the dominant group, but elevated above other racial minorities, fostering racial tension among minorities (Kim, 1999). Zou and Cheryan (2017) synthesizes these two prevailing theories about Asian Americans in a new model of racial positioning; relative to other minority racial groups, Asian Americans are perceived as more superior, but when compared with whites (and

blacks), Asian Americans are seen as culturally foreign. But despite their ostracization, Asian Americans' hyper educational attainment and above average socioeconomic status reflects the structural integration of this racial group and the closing social distance between Asian Americans and whites (Lee & Zhou, 2015; Zhou, 2004; Bogardus, 1933). Since traditional assimilation models project the full absorption of minority groups – including racial minorities – into mainstream society, Asian Americans are expected to conform to the dominant group through marital and civic assimilation (Gordon, 1964).

### *Assimilating into American Life*

Amongst the four largest racial groups, Asian Americans report the highest rate of intermarriage with nearly a third (29%) of Asian American newlyweds claiming to have a non-Asian partner (Livingston & Brown, 2017). Latinx American newlyweds share similar trends with 27% of Latinx newlyweds marrying outside of their ethnicity while Black newlyweds (18%) and White newlyweds (11%) are the least likely to intermarry. The statistic for Asian American intermarriages is even greater when accounting for nativity: 46% of US born Asian Americans report being in an interracial relationship compared to 24% for Asian immigrants (Livingston & Brown, 2017). Most of these interracial pairings consist of Asian Americans coupled with Whites, suggesting that Asian Americans are replicating integration patterns of early religious minorities (i.e. Jews and Catholics) in America who successfully assimilated into mainstream society (Qian & Lichter, 2007; Ignatiev, 1995). For sociologists, these interracial unions are barometers for understanding race relations in the United States (Allport, 1954; Bogardus, 1933; Kitano et al., 1984; Emerson et al., 2002). High rates of interracial marriages – especially among Asian Americans -- illustrate the closing social distance

between dominant and minority groups, as the latter grows to assimilate to the hegemonic culture and structures of the former (Qian & Lichter, 2007; Kalmijn, 1998; Gordon, 1964).

Further studies suggest that being in an interracial relationship is associated with racial attitudes (Yancey, 2007; Sigelman & Welch, 1993). Based on their mixed methods study, Lee and Bean (2010) find that Asian Americans face more opposition from their family for marrying a black partner than a white partner; the race of the spouse, according to the respondents, has implications on social mobility, particularly for latter generations. Since Asian Americans benefit from their prescribed position in the racial order, many adopt hegemonic racial attitudes and distance themselves from subordinate racial groups, especially blacks (Dhingra, 2003; Lee & Bean, 2010; Park et al., 2015). Yancey (2003) identifies this shift as the black/non-black divide with the new wave of Latinx and Asian immigrants adopting the perspectives of whites. Moreover, a recent study on attitudes toward affirmative action places Asian American attitudes similar to whites when Asian Americans are mentioned alongside blacks as aggrieved minorities (Lee & Tran, 2019). As Asian Americans adopt these racial ideologies, they simultaneously distance themselves from the African American community, thus maintaining their “model minority” status and reproducing the racial hierarchy (Dhingra, 2003; Lee & Bean, 2010; Xu & Lee, 2013; Park & Martinez, 2014).

#### *A Case of Civic Assimilation: Black Lives Matter*

Asian American reinforcement of the black/non-black divide draws clear racial boundaries between Asian Americans and blacks, affecting the formation of alliances (Nicholson Jr. et al., 2018; Yancey, 2003; Hidalgo & Bankston, 2010). The racial

ideology of colorblind racism instructs that equal opportunity is available for all Americans with no hidden advantages for any racial group; by supporting these policies, white Americans become victims of ‘reverse discrimination’ (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Endorsement of civil rights or racial justice movements are perceived as disruptive to the established norms in society, created and perpetuated to solely benefit the dominant group (Bobo and Kleugel, 1993; Park et al., 2020). Hence, the process of assimilation includes internalizing this socio-political narrative.

Support for the popular racial justice movement, Black Lives Matter, is influenced by these underlying racial ideologies. The racial justice movement was created in 2013 in response to the acquittal of George Zimmerman, a neighborhood watch guard who shot and killed 17-year-old Trayvon Martin. Alicia Garza, a California activist, was the first to use the hashtag: #BlackLivesMatter. Along with her two friends, Patrisse Cullors and Opal Tometi, Garza launched this racial justice movement with the intention of generating conversation and educating others about the powerlessness of African Americans. The hashtag (#BlackLivesMatter) became a symbol of Black empowerment as well as an invitation for other communities to join alongside to combat the racism that exists in the structures and institutions.

Historically, some Asian Americans have divested the privilege of being “honorary white” by embracing solidarity with the black community. For example, the San Francisco State strike not only formed alliances between racial minorities in the fight against an education system that favored whites, but also generated a “new consciousness” among Asian Americans which led to the formation of panethnic coalitions and organizations (Omatsu, 2016; Umemoto, 1989). Asian American activism,

however, has been primarily led by latter generations, or native-born Asian Americans, suggesting a generational cleavage within the Asian American community (Espirtu, 1992). Past research confirms a significant difference in racial attitudes, particularly toward blacks, between Asian American immigrants and subsequent generations, with the former group expressing more negative perceptions (Talbot et al., 1999; Roth & Kim, 2013). In sum, based on the current research, we predict:

*H1a: Asian Americans with Asian or White partners will express the least support for Black Lives Matter*

*H1b: Asian Americans with African American or Latinx partners will express the most support for Black Lives Matter*

*H2: Racial attitudes among coupled Asian Americans toward Black Lives Matter will vary across generations.*

## CHAPTER THREE

### Data and Methods

#### *Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey*

We used data from the Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey from 2016 to conduct our analysis. This project is the first collaborative, multi-racial, multi-ethnic survey in race, ethnicity and politics. Social scientists from over 50 universities contributed questions to the full questionnaire. The full survey contained 394 questions and on average, took 43 minutes to complete. An oversample of all racial minorities was included which allows for cross group comparisons.

The 2016 CMPS is the only survey with an oversample of Asian American respondents who were questioned about their views toward Black Lives Matter. Data for this survey was collected from December 3, 2016 to February 5, 2017 through a self-report format administered online. Unlike many previously administered surveys, CMPS 2016 offered its questionnaire in various languages, including English, Spanish, Chinese (simplified), Chinese (traditional), Korean and Vietnamese. These translations are particularly essential for Asian American adults as 74% claim to speak a non-English language at home and 35% report speaking English “less than very well.” (Ramakrishnan et al., 2016). Weights were added within each racial group to align with the adult population in the 2015 Census American Community Survey for the main demographic variables.

Because of this study's focus on Asian Americans, we trimmed the sample to only include respondents who identified as Asian/Asian American ( $n = 3,006$ ). For the purposes of our analysis, we further excluded respondents who reported their marital status as single, divorced or widowed, leaving our subsample with Asian Americans who are currently married or "single, but living with someone" ( $n = 1,823$ ). Lastly, listwise deletion removed all missing data from the sample, leaving us with a total of 1,529 respondents. A summary of all the variables used in this analysis is reflected in Table 1.

### *Dependent Variable*

Our dependent variable measures respondents' attitudes toward Black Lives Matter. We used the following survey question from the 2016 CMPS survey: "From what you have heard about the Black Lives Matter movement, do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose the Black Lives Matter movement activism?" Response categories were ordered accordingly: "strongly support," "somewhat support," "neither support or oppose," "somewhat oppose" and "strongly oppose." Preliminary analyses exhibit no difference between measuring the dependent variable with five categories compared to three categories. Thus, the response categories were recoded by collapsing those who "strongly support" and "somewhat support" into one category and those who "strongly oppose" and "somewhat oppose" into another category, creating three response categories: support, neither support nor oppose and oppose Black Lives Matter. Support for Black Lives Matter was treated as the reference category for two reasons. First, the largest fraction of Asian Americans support Black Lives Matter (Thomas & Horowitz, 2020). Second, Asian Americans vary in political participation (Wong, 2011). By comparing Asian Americans who remain neutral to those

who support the movement, we not only understand how interracially married Asian Americans view Black Lives Matter, but also how willing they are in speaking out in support or participate in the larger racial discourse.

### *Independent Variables*

#### *Race of Spouse or Partner*

Our main independent variable of interest for our first hypothesis derives from the survey question: “What is the race/ethnicity of your spouse or partner?” Respondents could select from the following responses: White, non-Hispanic, Hispanic or Latino, African American, Asian American, Middle Eastern or Arab, American Indian/Native American and other. Due to the low numbers in the response categories of other, Middle Eastern and American Indian/Native American (n = 75), these three groups were recoded as other and treated as a residual category.

#### *Generational Status*

Our second hypothesis interacts the respondents’ race of spouse or partner and respondents’ nativity status. We created a new variable from a combination of survey questions, drawing from birth country of the respondents and the parents. Respondents who answered that they were born in another country were recoded as first generation. The remaining respondents who selected, “United States” were subsequently asked: “Were your parents born in the United States or in another country?” Those who responded “United States” to the former question and “both parents born in another country” in the subsequent question were recoded as 2<sup>nd</sup> generation. The remaining respondents were classified as post-2<sup>nd</sup> generation (3<sup>rd</sup> generation plus); this includes

respondents with one foreign born parent. We additionally considered the unique assimilation patterns of Asian Americans who immigrated as children, adapting to a foreign culture, and struggling with their ethnic identity alongside their native-born counterparts. Past scholarship notes how self-consciousness and ethnic awareness is malleable among youth, affecting the assimilation process (Erikson, 1968; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990; Rumbaut, 1994). Given this, we accounted for respondents who immigrated before adolescence (1.5 generation) by subtracting the year the respondent was born from the year they first arrived to live in the United States. Those who were considered socialized in the United States, or who immigrated before or at 13 years of age were categorized as 2<sup>nd</sup> generation; all others were classified as first generation.

### *Control Variables*

To account for other possible factors in predicting attitudes toward Black Lives Matter, we controlled for several variables that have a known effect on shaping racial views in general and among Asian Americans in particular. First, we adjusted for general demographic characteristics such as age, gender, region, educational attainment, and household income following previous research that posits a significant association among these variables and racial attitudes (Kleugal & Smith, 1986; Schuman et al., 1997; Oliver & Mendelberg, 2000). Second, we controlled for variables associated with civic assimilation. Such variables are predicted to be part of the Americanization process where respondents will participate in society as part of the integration process (Gordon, 1964). These include political party, political ideology, American salience and adherence to Christianity, which are commonly associated with attitudes toward social movements,

and more specifically, racial justice movements (Horowitz & Livingston, 2016; Taylor & Mateyka, 2011; Emerson & Smith, 2000; Carmines & Stimson, 1989).

### *Method of Analysis*

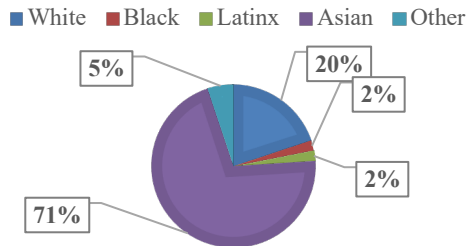
Our analysis begins with a summary of all our variables, outlined in Table 1. Next, our bivariate analysis presents two cross tabulations to compare mean differences in support and opposition toward Black Lives Matter among coupled Asian Americans by race of spouse or partner and by generational status. While a bivariate analysis provides a cursory glance of differences across the race of spouses or partners of the Asian American respondents, we conducted a multivariate analysis using multinomial logistical regression. Since our dependent variable is categorical, we utilize multinomial logistic regressions to identify significant predictors in determining attitudes toward Black Lives Matter. The results of our two multivariate models are presented in Table 2. Model 1 only includes our primary independent variables; Model 2 adds all relevant control variables. We additionally ran two more models with Black, non-Hispanic spouse or partner as the reference category. This not only allowed us to compare the differences amongst interracial coupled Asian Americans, but also reveals the racial justice attitude of monoracially married Asian Americans. These two models are included in Table 2. Finally, we interacted our two independent variables – generation and race of spouse or partner. All of our tables ran models with and without control variables.

## CHAPTER FOUR

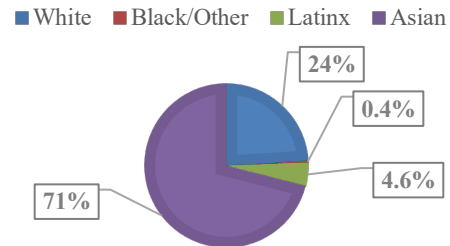
### Results

Table 1 presents a summary of the primary variables used in our analysis. About 37% of coupled Asian Americans in 2016 were supportive of Black Lives Matter, 42% neither support or oppose and the remaining 21% oppose the movement. Most of the respondents were currently married; only about 11% report their marital status as single but living with a partner. The average age of our sample was 44 years old and nearly three quarters of the subsample have at least a four-year Bachelor's degree or higher. Sixty percent of the respondents in this sample were female, skewing our sample slightly since Asian American females are nearly two times more likely than Asian American males to be interracially married (Livingstone & Brown, 2017). Furthermore, only a third of our respondents (29%) were interracially coupled. The rest were in a relationship with another Asian or Asian American. These patterns among the respondents in this survey align with recent reports on interracial marriages among Asian American newlyweds, as seen in Figure 1.

### DISTRIBUTION OF RACE OF PARTNER OR SPOUSE CMPS 2016



### DISTRIBUTION OF RACE OF PARTNER OR SPOUSE PEW RESEARCH 2017\*



\*Percentages are based on the data presented in Pew Research 2017 report

Figure 1. Comparing distribution of race of partner or spouse among coupled Asian Americans

The most common pairing for the 29% of interracial coupled Asian Americans was with White, non-Hispanics (21%), followed by Black, non-Hispanic (2.2%) and Latinx (2%). The remaining 5% have a spouse or partner who is racially categorized as other. Next, 43% of our sample were foreign born, 45% were second generation Asian Americans, while the rest were post second generation (12%). The largest plurality of the respondents was politically moderate (43%) or identified with the Democratic party (39%). Nearly 60% of the subsample did not identify as Christian and 42% hailed from the West Coast. Lastly, American salience was very important to half of the respondents and somewhat important to another 40%.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Mean or %
<b>DEPENDENT VARIABLE</b>	
<u>Support or Oppose BLM</u>	
<i>Support</i>	37.02%
<i>Neither</i>	42.25%
<i>Oppose</i>	20.73%
<b>INDEPENDENT VARIABLE</b>	
<u>Race of Spouse</u>	
<i>White, non-Hispanic</i>	20.01%
<i>Hispanic/Latino</i>	2.22%
<i>Black, non-Hispanic</i>	1.77%
<i>Asian American</i>	71.09%
<i>Other</i>	4.91%
<u>Generation</u>	
<i>1<sup>st</sup> generation</i>	43.03%
<i>2<sup>nd</sup> generation</i>	45.23%
<i>3<sup>rd</sup> generation plus</i>	12.16%
<b>CONTROL VARIABLES</b>	
<u>Age</u>	43.56 (14.35)
<u>Educational Attainment</u>	
<i>Grades 1-8</i>	0.39%
<i>Some high school</i>	1.37%
<i>High school graduate or GED</i>	8.11%
<i>Some college, 2-year degree</i>	15.43%
<i>Bachelor's degree</i>	41.53%
<i>Post-graduate degree</i>	33.16%
<u>Sex</u>	
<i>Male</i>	39.96%
<i>Female</i>	60.04%
<u>Income</u>	
<i>Less than \$20,000</i>	6.28%
<i>\$20,000 – \$29,999</i>	4.64%
<i>\$30,000 – \$39,999</i>	4.84%
<i>\$40,000 – \$49,999</i>	6.02%
<i>\$50,000 – \$59,999</i>	7.59%
<i>\$60,000 – \$69,999</i>	7.26%
<i>\$70,000 – \$79,999</i>	9.88%
<i>\$80,000 – \$89,999</i>	4.64%
<i>\$90,000 – \$99,999</i>	9.68%
<i>\$100,000 – \$149,999</i>	21.45%
<i>\$150,000 – \$199,999</i>	8.50%
<i>\$200,000 or more</i>	9.22%
<u>Political Party</u>	
<i>Republican</i>	23.22%
<i>Democrat</i>	38.78%
<i>Independent</i>	33.16%
<i>Other party</i>	4.84%
<u>Political ideology</u>	
<i>Liberal</i>	29.04%
<i>Moderate</i>	42.51%
<i>Conservative</i>	23.54%
<i>None</i>	4.91%
	(continued)

Variable	Mean or %
<u>Region</u>	
<i>West</i>	41.53%
<i>Northeast</i>	12.62%
<i>Midwest</i>	13.80%
<i>South</i>	32.05%
<u>Christian</u>	
<i>Not Christian</i>	59.78%
<i>Christian</i>	40.22%
<u>American salience</u>	
<i>Not at all important</i>	2.42%
<i>Not very important</i>	7.91%
<i>Somewhat important</i>	40.55%
<i>Very important</i>	49.12%
n = 1,529	

Figure 2 displays the bivariate relationship between the race of the respondent's partner or spouse disaggregated by generation and their views toward the Black Lives Matter movement. In line with past scholarship, we expected Asian Americans with White, non-Hispanic partners to express the most opposition and those with Black, non-Hispanic partners to express the least opposition. We also predicted Asian Americans in monoracial relationships will hew toward the former group while Asian Americans with Latinx spouses or partners will share the views of the latter. Our results show that Asian Americans with White, non-Hispanic spouses or partners express the least support (32.4%) and the most opposition (27.8%), with Asian Americans in monoracial relationships following close behind with 35.9% expressing support for the movement and 19.9% expressing opposition toward Black Lives Matter. Conversely, over two thirds of Asian Americans with Black, non-Hispanic spouses or partners support Black Lives Matter (70.4%), while less than 10% of these respondents oppose the movement (7.4%). Support for the movement among Asian Americans with racially other partners (50.7%) or Latinx partners (58.8%) fall somewhere in between. Similarly, opposition toward Black Lives Matter for these groups are 12.0% and 14.7% respectively. These findings

support Hypothesis 1 accordingly: the race or ethnicity of the respondent's spouse is associated with the respondent's view toward the Black Lives Matter movement. Finally, looking at the respondents who remain neutral, Asian Americans with White, non-Hispanic partners (39.9%) and those with Asian American partners (44.3%) have the highest percentage of neither supporting nor opposing Black Lives Matter; Only about a quarter of Asian Americans with Black, non-Hispanic partners (22.2%) or Latinx partners (26.5%) remain neutral.

In Figure 2.2, we extend our bivariate analysis to examine attitudes toward Black Lives Matter by generational status. We find that our bivariate analysis reveals little difference in means across generations. Over a third of second generation (39.4%) and post second generation (36.6%) coupled Asian Americans support Black Lives Matter; nearly a quarter of both groups of respondents (23%) oppose the movement. Finally, 37.3% of second generation and 40.3% of post second generation coupled Asian Americans neither support nor oppose Black Lives Matter. These percentages vary slightly when compared with first generation coupled Asian Americans, lending support to our second hypothesis: The largest plurality of first generation coupled Asian Americans remain neutral toward Black Lives Matter (47.9%). About a third (34.7%) of first generation coupled Asian Americans support the movement while less than a fifth (17.5%) oppose the movement. How these specific views vary among coupled Asian Americans will be examined next in our multivariate analysis.

## ATTITUDES TOWARD BLM AMONG COUPLED ASIAN AMERICANS BY RACE OF SPOUSE OR PARTNER

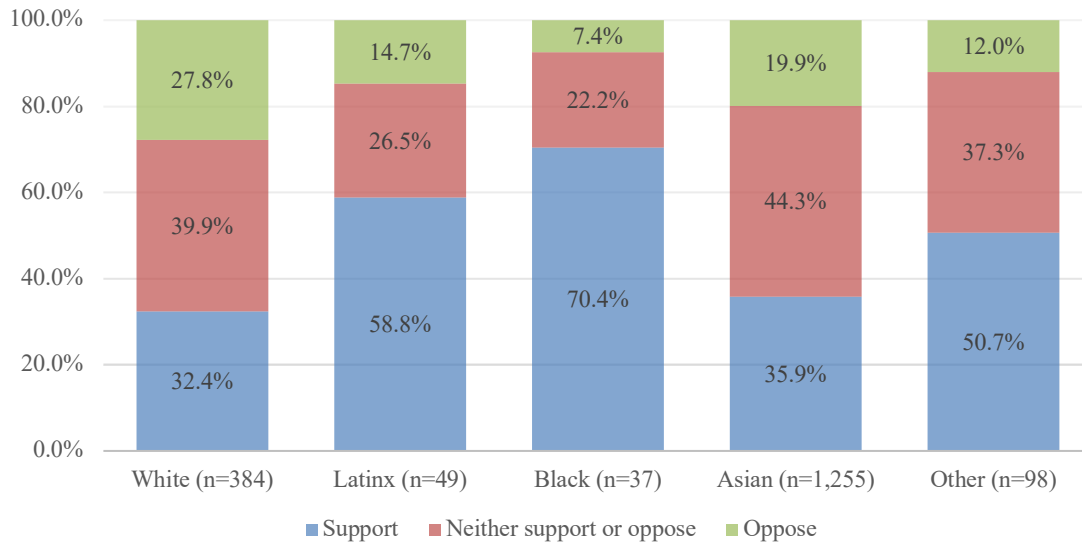


Figure 2.1. Attitudes toward Black Lives Matter among coupled Asian Americans by race of spouse or partner

## ATTITUDES TOWARD BLM AMONG COUPLED ASIAN AMERICANS BY GENERATIONAL STATUS

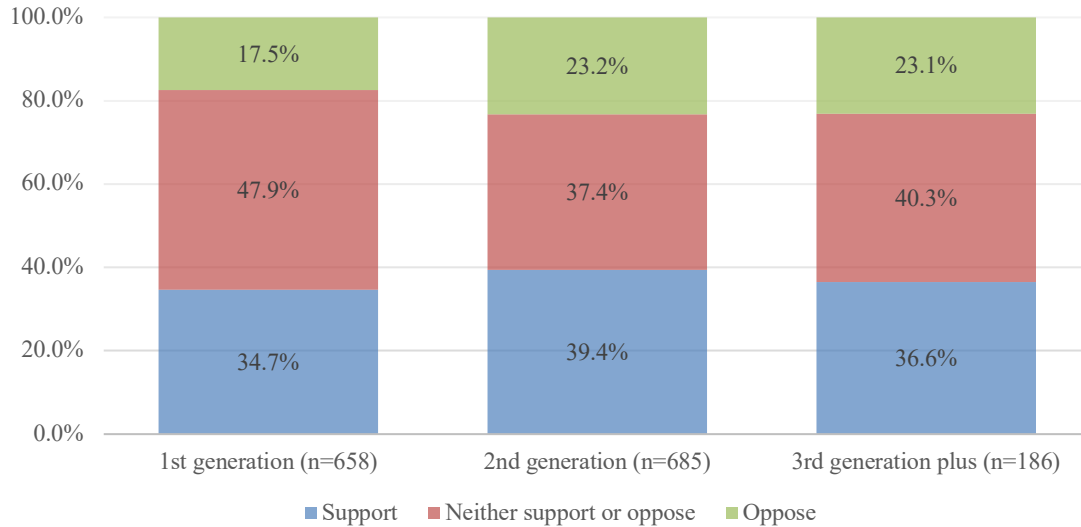


Figure 2.2. Attitudes toward Black Lives Matter among coupled Asian Americans by generational status

Table 2 presents the results of our multinomial logistical regression models where we controlled for various factors associated with racial justice attitudes. Model 1 specifically looked at the primary independent variables; Model 2 includes control variables affecting attitudes toward the Black Lives Matter movement. The full model accounts for about 13% of the variance in predicting attitudes of respondents toward the movement. With respect to our control variables, we note statistical significance for female coupled Asian Americans compared to their male counterparts for remaining neutral toward the Black Lives Matter movement rather than supporting it. Respondents who identify as Democrat or Independent have significantly lower relative risk for opposing Black Lives Matter and for remaining neutral about it compared to supporting the movement, relative to those who are Republican. Likewise, being politically liberal is

a significant predictor for supporting the movement. These findings align with previous research on significant predictors of attitudes toward racial justice movements, particularly for Asian Americans (Wong, 2011; Taylor, 2012; Horowitz & Livingston, 2016). Coupled Asian Americans in the South and the Midwest have significantly lower relative risk for remaining neutral toward the movement than supporting it when compared to Asian Americans in the West. Finally, we find that a one unit increase in American salience is associated with lower relative risk for remaining neutral than supporting Black Lives Matter. This finding substantiates theories on the process of assimilation as discussed in our literature review (Gordon, 1964; Warner & Srole, 1945; Gans, 1992).

In both models we find that having a non-White, non-Hispanic spouse or partner is significantly different from having a White, non-Hispanic spouse or partner in predicting attitudes toward Black Lives Matter. In Model 1, respondents coupled with non-White, or Latinx partners have a significantly lower relative risk for expressing opposition relative to supporting Black Lives Matter. This includes Asian Americans in monoracial relationships, complicating our support for Hypothesis 1a. In Model 2, we find similar results after accounting for all other independent variables, but we lose significance for Asian Americans with Latinx partners, the possible result of a small sample size. Likewise, when looking at respondents who remained neutral about the movement, Asian Americans with non-White, non-Hispanic partners are significantly different from those with White, non-Hispanic partners except for respondents in monoracial relationships. Monoracially coupled Asian Americans do not significantly differ from interracially coupled Asian Americans with White, non-Hispanic partners.

Respondents with Latinx, Black and racially other partners have significantly lower relative risk for remaining neutral than supporting Black Lives Matter relative to Asian Americans with White, non-Hispanic partners. After accounting for our control variables, marriage to or partnering with a racially other spouse or partner is significant at the 0.01 level for neither supporting nor opposing Black Lives Matter when comparing to Asian Americans with White, non-Hispanic partners. Based on our models, our second primary independent variable has unexpected findings. Relative to first generation coupled Asian Americans, second-generation respondents have 25.9% significantly lower relative risk for remaining neutral about the movement compared to supporting it, net of all other independent variables. Our coupled post-second generation respondents are not significantly different from first generation respondents. Accordingly, these findings do not support our second hypothesis.

In Models 3 and 4, we switch the comparison group to Asian Americans coupled with Black, non-Hispanics and we find different results for predicting attitudes toward the Black Lives Matter movement. In line with our initial bivariate analyses, Asian Americans coupled with White, non-Hispanic spouses hold significantly different attitudes when compared with Asian Americans with Black, non-Hispanic partners. Respondents with White, non-Hispanic partners have 434.4% significantly higher relative risk for neither supporting nor opposing the Black Lives Matter movement compared to supporting it relative to respondents with Black, non-Hispanic partners, net of all other independent variables. The same respondents have 725.4% significantly higher relative risk for opposing Black Lives Matter relative to supporting it when controlling for other

independent variables when compared to Asian Americans with Black, non-Hispanic partners.

Additionally, we find that Asian Americans in monoracial relationships are significantly different from interracially coupled Asian Americans with Black, non-Hispanic partners. Net of our control variables, Asian Americans with Asian American spouses or partners have 365.7% significantly higher relative risk for neither endorsing nor opposing the movement rather than supporting it relative to Asian Americans with Black, non-Hispanic spouses or partners. When comparing respondents who oppose the movement versus support Black Lives Matter, monoracially coupled Asian Americans have 414.4% significantly higher relative risk than interracially coupled Asian Americans with Black, non-Hispanic partners. However, in Model 4, this comparison is only significant at the 0.10 level. These findings extend our bivariate analysis where we determined a difference ( $p < 0.10$ ) between monoracially coupled Asian Americans and interracially coupled Asian Americans with White, non-Hispanic partners. Losing statistical significance after accounting for other possible explanatory factors for monoracially coupled Asian Americans who oppose the movement rather than support it thus suggests similar racial attitudes between these respondents and those with Black, non-Hispanic partners. Finally, Asian Americans with Latinx spouses and racially other spouses are not significantly different from Asian Americans with Black, non-Hispanic partners, lending support for Hypothesis 1b.

Table 2. Multinomial Logistic Regression Models Predicting Support for the Black Lives Matter Movement Based on Race of Spouse or Partner

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
VARIABLES	Neutral vs Support	Oppose vs Support	Neutral vs Support	Oppose vs Support	Neutral vs Support	Oppose vs Support	Neutral vs Support	Oppose vs Support
<b>Race of Partner</b>		<i>Ref: White, non-Hispanic</i>				<i>Ref: Black, non-Hispanic</i>		
<i>White, non-Hispanic</i>					3.742** (1.83)	8.281** (6.29)	5.344*** (2.78)	8.254** (6.75)
<i>Latinx</i>	0.383* (0.16)	0.284* (0.15)	0.383* (0.17)	0.450 (0.26)	1.434 (0.89)	2.351 (2.11)	2.045 (1.34)	3.711 (3.60)
<i>Black, non-Hispanic</i>	0.267** (0.13)	0.121** (0.09)	0.187*** (0.10)	0.121** (0.10)				
<i>Asian American</i>	0.979 (0.15)	0.654* (0.11)	0.871 (0.15)	0.523** (0.11)	3.665** (1.74)	5.414* (4.06)	4.657** (2.35)	4.317† (3.48)
<i>Other</i>	0.591† (0.17)	0.279*** (0.11)	0.435** (0.13)	0.211*** (0.10)	2.212 (1.18)	2.306 (1.92)	2.322 (1.30)	1.745 (1.56)
<b>Generation</b> (Ref: 1 <sup>st</sup> generation)								
<i>2<sup>nd</sup> generation</i>	0.713** (0.09)	1.199 (0.18)	0.741* (0.10)	1.224 (0.22)	0.713** (0.09)	1.199 (0.18)	0.741* (0.10)	1.224 (0.22)
<i>3<sup>rd</sup> generation plus</i>	0.798 (0.15)	1.176 (0.27)	0.770 (0.17)	1.037 (0.28)	0.798 (0.15)	1.176 (0.27)	0.770 (0.17)	1.037 (0.28)
<b>Education</b>			0.912 (0.07)	0.853† (0.08)			0.912 (0.07)	0.853† (0.08)
<b>Female</b>			1.300† (0.18)	0.814 (0.14)			1.300† (0.18)	0.814 (0.14)
<b>Age</b>			1.006 (0.005)	1.011† (0.006)			1.006 (0.005)	1.011† (0.006)
<b>Income</b>			0.985 (0.02)	1.054† (0.03)			0.985 (0.02)	1.054† (0.03)
<b>Political Party</b> (Ref: Republican)								
<i>Democrat</i>			0.482*** (0.09)	0.154*** (0.04)			0.482*** (0.09)	0.154*** (0.04)
<i>Independent</i>			0.670* (0.13)	0.410*** (0.09)			0.670* (0.13)	0.410*** (0.09)

(continued)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
VARIABLES	Neutral vs Support	Oppose vs Support	Neutral vs Support	Oppose vs Support	Neutral vs Support	Oppose vs Support	Neutral vs Support	Oppose vs Support
<i>Other</i>			1.303 (0.51)	1.179 (0.52)			1.303 (0.51)	1.179 (0.52)
<b>Political Ideology</b> (Ref: Liberal)								
<i>Moderate</i>			2.237*** (0.33)	3.919*** (0.93)			2.237*** (0.33)	3.919*** (0.93)
<i>Conservative</i>			2.234*** (0.45)	6.925*** (1.87)			2.234*** (0.45)	6.925*** (1.87)
<i>None of the above</i>			3.765*** (1.35)	4.985*** (2.37)			3.765*** (1.35)	4.985*** (2.37)
<b>Region</b> (Ref: West)								
<i>Northeast</i>			0.872 (0.17)	1.177 (0.31)			0.872 (0.17)	1.177 (0.31)
<i>Midwest</i>			0.580** (0.12)	1.025 (0.25)			0.580** (0.12)	1.025 (0.25)
<i>South</i>			0.741* (0.11)	1.018 (0.20)			0.741* (0.11)	1.018 (0.20)
<b>Christian</b>			1.047 (0.14)	1.285 (0.22)			1.047 (0.14)	1.285 (0.22)
<b>American Salience</b>			0.709*** (0.06)	0.840 (0.10)			0.709*** (0.06)	0.840 (0.10)
<b>Constant</b>	1.488** (0.23)	0.763 (0.14)	6.031*** (3.20)	0.928 (0.65)	0.398† (0.19)	0.092** (0.07)	1.128 (0.78)	0.112* (0.12)
<b>Observations</b>	1,529	1,529	1,529	1,529	1,529	1,529	1,529	1,529
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>	0.0160	0.0160	0.1288	0.1288	0.0160	0.0160	0.1288	0.1288

In our final model, we interact the race of partner with generational status among coupled Asian Americans. Our initial bivariate analysis indicates no significant difference in means across generations. Similarly, our multivariate analysis with included interactions confirm these results: The race of spouse or partner does not vary significantly across generational status; generational status of coupled Asian Americans does not vary significantly across race of partner or spouse. This unexpected finding (and large relative risk ratios) may be attributed to sample size, detailed in the next section.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Discussion

Our study illustrates that there is a strong association between interracial coupling and racial attitudes among Asian Americans, specifically toward the Black Lives Matter movement, addressing the lacuna in the literature. We find that the relationship between opposition to Black Lives Matter and the race of the spouse or partner to Asian Americans parallels the racial ordering theorized by Bonilla-Silva (2004). Asian Americans with White, non-Hispanic spouses or partners consistently express the greatest opposition toward the movement, and Asian Americans with Black, non-Hispanic spouses or partners express the greatest support toward Black Lives Matter. Between these extremes, respondents in an interracial relationship with Latinx partners hew closer to the latter while our respondents in monoracial relationships hew closer to the former, lending support to our first hypothesis.

Our multivariate analysis further details how having a White, non-Hispanic partner is significantly associated with racial attitudes toward Black Lives Matter. Asian Americans with non-White partners have significantly lower relative risk for opposing the movement than supporting it relative to those with White partners, suggesting that Asian Americans coupled with Whites are more often culturally assimilated to the views of the dominant group. These hegemonic views are thus a derivative of unchallenged white supremacist ideology, internalized and perpetuated through opposition toward Black Lives Matter.

In contradistinction, having a Latinx or Black partner has a polarizing effect as Asian Americans partnered with these racial groups have a significantly lower relative risk than our respondents with White partners for opposing the movement than supporting Black Lives Matter. These non-White interracial pairings challenge the racialized assumption of assimilation which presumes that assimilation moves minorities toward mainstream society (Bogardus, 1933; Gordon, 1964). Currently, the most common interracial pairings for Asian Americans is with a White, non-Hispanic partner; Yet, these meaningful associations between interracial coupling with non-Whites among Asian Americans and attitudes toward racial justice movements has large implications for rethinking the process of assimilation insofar that these interracial pairings between minority racial groups reflects an assimilation alternative to the traditional Anglo-conformist model. Since traditional assimilation paradigms project the absorption of minorities into the dominant group, the significant associations between interracial non-White pairings and support for Black Lives Matter suggests a bifurcation in the assimilation process and decenters the Anglo-centric narrative. The meaningful relationship between interracially coupled Asian Americans with non-Whites and their views toward Black Lives Matter signals how Asian Americans coupled with other minorities present a counter narrative that resists the dominant assimilation model. Instead, these significant associations allude to the possibility of a new type of assimilation that is critical of white supremacist ideologies. This is of greater significance for Asian Americans who aim to maintain their status as “honorary whites” and bypass interracial unions with non-Whites. Future research should clarify how non-White interracial coupling specifically critiques the dominant narrative to retheorize the process

of assimilation. We also posit that non-White interracial pairings and its relationship with attitudes toward Black Lives Matter have possible implications on future socio-political alliances amongst minority groups. We suggest revisiting this question with better targeted survey questions to define these implications.

Despite our predictions that monoracially coupled Asian Americans will share similar racial attitudes as interracially coupled Asian Americans with White, non-Hispanic partners, our findings suggest otherwise. In both our models, Asian Americans in monoracial relationships vary significantly in their racial attitudes when compared with Asian Americans with White, non-Hispanic partners and those with Black, non-Hispanic partners. As discussed earlier, partnering with a non-White spouse has significantly lower relative risk in opposing the movement than supporting it, but monoracially coupled Asian Americans do not significantly differ from interracially coupled Asian Americans with White, non-Hispanic partners when it comes to remaining neutral versus supporting Black Lives Matter. Contrarily, while monoracially partnered Asian Americans do not differ from respondents with Black, non-Hispanic partners when looking at their level of opposition, the former respondents have higher relative risk than the latter for neither endorsing nor opposing Black Lives Matter than supporting it. These findings complicate our initial predictions (Hypothesis 1A) where we expected monoracially coupled Asian Americans to emulate the racial attitudes of Asian Americans coupled with Whites. However, our results are consistent with past Asian American research (Kim, 1999; Tuan, 1998; Zou & Cheryan, 2017; Xu & Lee, 2013) which positions this racial group as outsiders of the Black and White binary racial discourse. Thus, while Asian American coupling with members of other racial groups is

significantly associated with support or opposition toward Black Lives Matter, monoracially coupled Asian Americans remain neutral by neither endorsing nor opposing the movement due to their racial position as outsiders. The exclusion of Asian Americans from the Black and White racial discourse due to their label as perpetual foreigners (Tuan, 1999) may explain their inclination to remain neutral toward racially driven socio-political movements, such as Black Lives Matter. Being coupled with a non-Asian partner or spouse for Asian Americans is then associated with attitudes toward racial justice movements because these relationships may invite Asian Americans to partake in the Black and White dominated racial discourse. Simultaneously, our results suggest that monoracially coupled Asian Americans remain critically aware of their racial position as subordinate to Whites as the former group significantly differs from Asian Americans coupled with Whites in opposing Black Lives Matter. Evidently, Asian Americans – both interracial and monoracially coupled – are navigating the complex race relations in the United States. This conclusion is consistent with recent qualitative work on interracial coupled Asian Americans (Lee & Bean, 2010; Chong, 2020; Gambol, 2016), but further qualitative work is needed to better clarify how coupled Asian Americans assimilate into the socio-political racial hierarchy.

Finally, although inconsistent with past research, our results indicate no variation in racial attitudes toward Black Lives Matter regardless of generational status. We attribute this unexpected finding to our small sample size, particularly for non-White interracial couples. In sum, attitudes toward racial justice movements vary among coupled Asian Americans. The race of the spouse or partner for coupled Asian Americans is meaningful insofar that being in a relationship with members of different racial groups

align with the tri-racial system theorized by Bonilla Silva (2004). By considering how this racial group adjusts to the socio-political dimensions of American life, we discover how Asian Americans, as the fastest growing minority group, are decentering the dominant assimilation narrative that expects minority integration and conformity to a White Anglo dominant society as the only pathway to integration through partner choice and attitudes toward racial justice movements.

### *Limitations and Future Directions*

Our study has some limitations worth noting. The very small subsamples of interracially coupled Asian Americans, particularly among respondents partnered with Black or Latinx partners greatly affects our results especially when comparing across generational status. We recognize that our cross-sectional data is not a nationally representative survey of Asian Americans and only exhibits a snapshot of racial attitudes toward Black Lives Matter among coupled Asian Americans in 2016. Thus, we cannot determine the direction of effects: being interracially or monoracially coupled among Asian Americans may shape the racial attitudes of our respondents or our Asian American respondents may be in relationship with those who already share similar views and attitudes toward Black Lives Matter. Recent work by Margolis (2018) uncovers how religious beliefs and identity conform to respondents' political identity; this suggests that current political discourse has significant impact on identity formation, including coupling or marriage choice. Therefore, we advise future studies to include the political orientation of spouses or partners in addition to their racial identity. Interacting these two variables will further clarify our current findings for Asian Americans with White spouses or partners.

Secondly, while the CMPS 2016 uniquely oversamples Asians and Asian Americans, the 3,006 Asian American respondents do not account for ethnic variations. Recent Asian American scholarship advocates for the disaggregation of this racial group by ethnicity due to variations in political participation and views (Wong, 2011). Asian ethnic groups are also intermarrying at different rates, affecting assimilation patterns and racial attitudes across different Asian ethnic groups (Kitano et al., 1984; Lee & Fernandez, 1998; Qian et al., 2001). Our limited data on coupled Asian Americans, however, made it necessary for us to look at this racial group as a whole. New oversamples of Asian Americans and further research disaggregating this diverse racial group is essential for better comparisons and understanding of race relations among different Asian ethnic groups and other racial minorities.

Finally, we acknowledge that American society is not static; social change has potential impact to shape our discourse. For instance, the summer of 2020 has significantly shaped – even if temporarily – our national conversations on race and racism. The CMPS 2016 records how interracial and monoracially partnered Asian Americans feel toward this growing social movement, but we were unable to factor in how recent events have changed the views of our respondents. How did international coverage of numerous protests in the summer of 2020 affect or form the racial attitudes of coupled Asian Americans? Or how has the racial formation of coupled Asian Americans generated new alliances such as #AsiansforBlackLives? Simultaneously, national discussions on sexuality and marriage are redefining traditional forms of marriage and relationships. Growing criticism toward heteronormativity has generated new social movements in support of the LGBT community. How does sexuality interact

with Asian American partnerships and racial attitude formation? Future studies must take into account the recent developments in our society in order to form better conclusions of the racial attitudes of Asian Americans.

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