Gender differences in predictors of Filipino out-marriage

Bryan Jonathan James

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GENDER DIFFERENCES IN PREDICTORS OF
FILIPINO OUT-MARRIAGE

by

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Bachelor of Arts
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
2000

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the

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ABSTRACT

Gender Differences in Predictors of Filipino Interracial Marriages

by

Bryan James

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Previous research demonstrates that Filipinas have higher rates of out-marriage to whites than Filipinos. This thesis asks, what factors explain this gender difference in Filipino/as' out-marriage patterns? Using a sample of Filipino/as married to whites, I examine gender differences in rates of out-marriage, employ logistic regression to predict the likelihood of out-marriage, and test for gender differences in the effects of independent variables. Bivariate results demonstrate a small, but significant gender difference in out-marriage. Results show that when controlling for all variables, there is no gender difference in the likelihood of out-marriage. However, the effects of spouse's citizenship and spouse's occupation differ by gender. Marrying a U.S. citizen increases the likelihood of out-marriage, but the effect is stronger for women than men. In addition, marrying a professional worker decreases the likelihood of out-marriage, but the effect is stronger for women than for men.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A large gender difference exists in rates of out-marriage among Filipino/as. Research exhibits that Filipinas are more likely to out-marry than Filipinos (Barringer, Gardner, and Levin 1993; Barringer, Takeuchi, and Xenos 1990; Bonus 2000; Jedlicka 1991; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Sassler and Schoen 1999). However, why this gender difference exists is still unknown. While researchers have theories of why the gender difference exists (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Ordonez 1997) there are no studies that separate Filipino/as from other Asian ethnic groups and examine how demographic, assimilation, and socioeconomic status variables may explain the gender difference. This paper seeks to answer why there is a gender difference in Filipino/a out-marriage.

Since the 1960s social scientists have increasingly turned their attention to the study of out-marriages. Out-marriage is a marriage between two people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds. Although they employ a variety of theoretical perspectives, researchers have generally been interested in answering the question of why people marry outside of their own racial or ethnic group (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995; Barringer et al. 1990; Blau, Blum, and Schwartz 1982; Bonus 2000; Blau, Becker, and Fitzpatrick 1984; Hwang, Saenz, and Aguirre 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Jedlicka 1991; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Mochizuki 1987; Okamura 1998; Pido 1986; Sassler and Schoen 1999). Six million Filipino/as live in America today (U.S. Census
2002) constituting the largest group of Asians living within the United States. High rates of employment, greater income, and high educational attainment for both Filipino/as designate them as one of the most successful minority groups in recent history (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995; Barringer et al. 1990; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Okamura 1998). As the population of the United States increases and diverse groups of people come into contact with one another for the first time, some social scientists predict that out-marriages will increase exponentially (Blau et al. 1982, 1984).

Although all Asian Americans have higher rates of out-marriage than African-Americans and Latinos (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995; Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Jiobu 1998; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001) some researchers have found that Filipina out-marriage rates are considerably higher than other Asian ethnic groups, possibly the highest among any ethnic group living in America today (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001). Kitano and Daniels (1995, 2001) found that while Filipina out-marriage rates are as high as 75 percent, Filipinos only out-marry at rates of around 32 percent. Barringer et al. (1990) found Japanese women out-marry at higher rates than Filipinas, but still found a significant gender difference in Filipino/a out-marriage. While the rates of Filipino/a out-marriage may vary greatly across studies, one thing is agreed upon: Filipinas are significantly more likely to out-marry white men than most other Asian and non-Asian ethnic groups and significantly more likely to out-marry whites than Filipinos (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995; Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Ordonez 1997).

Studying Filipino/a out-marriage is a first step to understanding how Asian ethnic groups differ and how assimilation affects out-marriage. By studying Filipino/as apart
from other Asians we can then see how they differ from others as well as each other in out-marriage. In addition to examining gender differences, this study seeks to explain how Filipino/as are different from other Asian ethnic groups and why they should be examined separately.

Definition of Terms

In this paper, “Filipino/a” refers to all Filipinos, men or women, living within or outside of the United States. When describing Filipino men, I also use the term Filipino. The term “Filipina” refers to a Filipino woman. The group “Asian American” refers specifically to all individuals of Asian ethnic backgrounds living in the United States. This group includes, Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, Vietnamese, all Pacific Islanders, Hawaiians, Polynesians, all Indo-Asians, and Cambodians as well as all other Asian ethnic groups living in the United States. The term “Asian” refers to all Asian people living either in the United States or elsewhere around the world.

The term “out-marriage” is used to describe exogamy, in this case out-marriage refers to partnerships between Filipino/as and white people. “In-marriage” is used to describe endogamy, in this case in-marriages among Filipino/as.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the factors that explain gender differences in the likelihood of Filipino/a out-marriage. The strength of this paper is that I examine Filipino/as and specify their spouses’ ethnicity. In order to study Filipino/a out-marriage patterns not only do Filipino/as need to be separated from the larger group of Asians, but
their spouses do as well. In many studies, the term “out-marriage” or “interracial marriage” is subsumed into one category while the spouses’ ethnic heritage becomes a forgotten variable. By accounting for the spouses’ racial and ethnic make-up, in this case whites, we can begin to further our knowledge of gender differences in Filipino/a out-marriage patterns.

Of the studies on exogamy, few have focused on Asians’ out-marriage patterns. Most studies that do focus on Asian out-marriages do not control for ethnic differences among Asian people. Indeed, the term “Asian” implies people from China, Japan, the Philippines, Indo-Asia, Vietnam, Cambodia, the Hawaiian Islands, Polynesia, Korea, and all Pacific Islanders (U.S. Census 2002). With so many ethnic groups subsumed into one category, variation across Asian ethnic groups due to cultural norms, historical events, and regional differences are obscured. Thus, it is important that studies of out-marriage recognize variation across all Asian ethnic groups and study each Asian ethnic group separately in order to retain the group’s individuality.

Previous research dealing with out-marriage has used a macro-level approach to Asians as one group or they examined whites who out-marry spouses who are not white (Blau et al. 1982, 1984; Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Schoen 1986). Several studies have separated Asians into distinct ethnic categories (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995; Barringer et al. 1990; Jiobu 1998; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001) and examine specifically Filipino/as; however, these models are not specific to marriages between Filipino/as and whites. Filipino/as are either incorporated into models developed for other Asian ethnic groups such as Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese, Cambodian and Korean therefore losing their uniqueness in the process (Jiobu 1998) or...
examined without accounting for the out-married spouses’ specific racial or ethnic background (Blau et al. 1982, 1984; Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997).

Research Questions

Prior research examining out-marriage has developed macro structural models of out-marriage (Blau et al. 1982, 1984; Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Saenz et al. 1994) using living space and willingness to interact with other ethnic groups as predictors of out-marriage.

This paper is what explains gender differences in the likelihood of out-marriage among Filipino/as. First, I make bivariate comparisons between Filipino/as to examine differences in out-marriage rates. Second, I use logistic regression to identify which independent variables are significant predictors of out-marriage for Filipino/as. Finally, I employ t-tests for the difference in coefficients to test for gender differences in the effects of independent variables on the likelihood of out-marriage.

Significance of Study

Although Filipino/as are the largest Asian ethnic group living in America today, little research examines them separately from other Asian Americans (Barringer et al. 1990; Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Bonus 2000; Hwang et al. 1994; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Pido 1986). As the United States becomes increasingly multi-ethnic it is important to investigate out-marriage patterns and their implications for changing ethnicities and family forms. Out-marriage patterns play a large role in changing a
society's norms and values from the traditional standard to a more progressive ideology that affect the cultural norms and values of a society (Blau et al. 1982, 1984).

As out-marriage occurs at higher rates, society becomes more multi-ethnic and forces the entire culture to re-think the historical norms and focus on changing the future (Villa 1995). Multi-ethnic people can no longer be placed in the box that society has labeled for them, they are more than just “White,” “Black,” and “Filipino.” Recently the U.S. Census changed its entire racial and ethnic response format due to the large numbers of Americans who identify with more than one race (U.S. Census 2002). The change in format required years of debate in Washington D.C. about America and its changing cultural foundation. Policy makers arrived at the conclusion that America was indeed a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society and the future of United States cultural standards are evolving from a variety of European, African-American, Latin, and Asian norms. A society that changes its ethnic make-up in turn changes its self-identity, norms, and standards and the way it views current issues such as affirmative action and assimilation (Villa 1995).

Researchers often fail to complicate the dynamic nature of out-marriage by examining them from the perspective of only one half of the couple instead of the more accurate perspective of both partners (Blau et al. 1982, 1984; Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997). When two people from different ethnic backgrounds marry, it affects both of their cultures, identities, and worldviews therefore changing society twofold (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001). The 2000 U.S. Census reports that 6.8 million Americans identified with more than one race. Of those 6.8 million, 247,396 or 15.3 percent marked “white and Asian,” making it the largest category of multi-racial people.
Asian Americans and whites are out-marrying at rapid rates and research suggests Filipino/as are leading the way (Barringer et al. 1990; Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001).

Examining the gender difference in Filipino/a out-marriage is important for two reasons. One, it may lead us to a better understanding of how American society views Filipino/as and how Filipino/as view themselves (Ordonez 1997). And second, it could provide evidence that Filipino/a cultural values are not gender based as first thought, but rather they are shared between both men and women (Jensen 1995; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001). While recent scholarship on Filipinas shows the cultural reasons why Filipinas out-marry at high rates, few studies focus on Filipinos’ out-marriage rates (Aghayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Revilla 1989).

When the United States bought the Philippines from Spain in 1902, Filipinas began to see American servicemen as the bearers of ideal beauty and for a Filipina to marry a white American male gave her instant elite social status (Ordonez 1997). While these values about white Americans are solely directed towards Filipinas, some research shows that Filipinos may have also absorbed these ideals (Jensen 1995). The Philippines is a matriarchal society in which women are role models for all Filipino/a children (Jensen 1995). Jensen explains that, because Filipinas shape the ideals and values of Filipino/a society so much, young Filipinos’ values and ideals are affected. Therefore, ideals that are intended for Filipinas will also affect Filipinos (Jensen 1995).

How these cultural values affected Filipinos is first seen in the second wave of Filipino immigrants into the United States (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001). The second wave of Filipino immigration was made up almost entirely of men who were unskilled
laborers. Due to the heavy manual labor required of Filipino immigrants during this period of immigration Filipinos out-numbered Filipinas in the U.S. 23 to 1 (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995). Between 1929 and 1950, Filipinos who immigrated into the U.S. as part of this second wave were the first Asian ethnic group that outwardly sought white female companionship (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001).

In 1965, the third wave of Filipino/a immigration into the United States brought mostly Filipinas immigrating to take nursing positions at U.S. hospitals (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001). Demographers and U.S. politicians at the time thought the recent influx of Filipinas would balance out the extremely high out-marriage rates of Filipinos, however Filipinas began to out-marry whites at a higher rate than Filipinos (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001).

Inspired by the high rate of out-marriage among Filipino immigrants, Revilla (1989) conducted a study on Filipino college student in the Los Angeles. Revilla (1989) examined whether gender differences existed in Filipino/as perceptions of out-marriage. Revilla found no gender differences when looking for a mate, 40 percent of Filipino/as had no preference for Filipino/as, indeed, a staggeringly high number compared to the 20 percent preference rate found in most other groups including whites and Latinos (Revilla 1989). Moreover, when Revilla asked Filipino/as whom they prefer to marry, both men and women overwhelmingly responded, “whites” (Revilla 1995).

This paper examines gender differences in out-marriage among Filipino/as to find if both men and women have cultural values that favor marrying whites. Although some empirical studies show that Filipinas out-marry at significantly higher rates than Filipinos (Barringer et al. 1990; Hwang and Saenz 1997), some qualitative and historical research
suggests that the gender difference in out-marriage may not be that large (Jensen 1995; Revilla 1989). A gender difference in out-marriage rates would provide evidence that women internalize these values more than men. Conversely, no gender difference in out-marriage may mean that Filipinos internalize the same values as women. If it is not about Filipino/as cultural values then maybe it is about whites’ willingness to marry Filipino/as.

While a large gender difference has been shown between Filipino/as in the rates of out-marriage the reasons for this gender difference are still unknown (Barringer et al. 1990; Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001). Out-marriage creates families and more specifically offspring that change and influence a society’s values, norms, and economic productivity (Barringer et al. 1990; Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Bonus 2000; Jiobu 1998; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Okamura 1998; Okamura and Agbayani-Siewert 1997; Ordonez 1997; Pido 1986; Sassler and Schoen 1999). By examining Filipino/as out-marriage to whites, we can gain a better understanding of the demographic, regional, and occupational indicators that impact gender differences in the likelihood of out-marriage.

Filipino/a Out-Marriage

Over the past 20 years, researchers have examined Filipino/a out-marriage from a variety of angles. Filipino/as have a long and complex cultural history that includes influences from Indonesia and the Pacific Islands, Spain, and the United States (Agbayani-Seiwert and Siewert 1995; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Villa 1995). Due to Filipino/as own cultural values, assimilation into the larger society is extremely
important (Bergano and Begano-Kinney 1997; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001). These varied cultural influences and assimilation have mixed over time to form one of the most unique and diverse cultures on earth (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Bonus 2000; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001).

Hwang and Saenz (1997) studied out-marriage among Asians and found support for Blau and his colleagues (1982) theory of close proximity of living space and the acceptance of other cultures are necessary factors for out-marriage to occur. However, there may be deeper cultural reasons for the high rates of Filipino/a out-marriage. While Blau and associates (1982) may have been correct in assuming close proximity of living space and the acceptance of other cultures are necessary factors for out-marriage to occur, when the United States colonized the Philippines, American culture dominated over traditional Filipino culture (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995; Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Bonus 2000; Ordonez 1997; Pido 1986). Filipino/ as began to think they were American because they interacted so heavily with American culture, so much so that it overcame traditional Filipino culture and became their own (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995; Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Ordonez 1997; Pido 1986). Marrying white American men became a cultural value for Filipinas (Ordonez 1997).

Research suggests that Filipinas consider out-marriage to a white American man an upward social move, while marrying a Filipino is considered a lateral one (Bonus 2000; Ordonez 1997; Pido 1986). Marrying a white American man gives Filipinas a newfound sense of status and power (Ordonez 1997). To this day, American culture and movies leave a lasting impression on Filipinas as they see white American men as the bearers of ideal beauty (Villa 1995; Ordonez 1997).
Perhaps more important is the way that Filipino/as see themselves. At the end of the Spanish-American War Filipino/as began to see themselves as Americans (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997). Filipino/as began wanting to “look American” and became the world’s largest consumers of skin whitening products (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997 Ordonez 1997; Pido 1986). Public schools in the Philippines adopted the American curriculum by teaching English and American history (Okamura and Agbayani-Siewert 1997). The combination of speaking English, having an education, and wanting to belong allows Filipino/as in the United States to assimilate into American culture rather quickly (Okamura 1998; Ordonez 1997; Pido 1986).

Filipino/as view separation from mainstream American society and culture as counterproductive to their goal of assimilation (Okamura 1998). For example, when the city of Los Angeles encouraged the large Filipino/a community to create Little Manila, resistance within the Filipino/a community was strong, resulting in a strip mall with 12 broken-down storefronts (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995).

While U.S. colonization of the Philippines and decades of internalized American cultural influence may have an affect on out-marriage, few studies have focused on Filipino/a out-marriage using modern methods (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995; Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Ordonez 1997; Okamura 1998). Partial explanations of Filipino/a out-marriage among researchers and using compounded Asian ethnic groups findings to directly relate to Filipino/as leaves many questions unanswered. How demographic indicators, socioeconomic status, assimilation, and occupation affect Filipino/a out-marriage is still relatively unexplored.
While some questions have been answered about Filipino/a out-marriage many have not. High out-marriage rates among Filipino/as are often examined through a recent cultural lens and not viewed through a historical perspective. Reasons for Filipino/a out-marriage rates go far past recent history and have roots in 350 years of colonization, militarization, and American cultural influence (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Ordonez 1997; Pido 1986).

The independent variables in this study include demographics, assimilation, and occupation and are based on historical and cultural facts, as well as being drawn from previous scholarship on the subject of out-marriage. While previous empirical data has influenced the direction and content of this paper, qualitative data, personal stories, and books written by Filipino/as on Filipino/as have guided the hypotheses. Some empirical data is used to reinforce the underlying theories of this paper, however to base the hypotheses of this paper solely upon these previous studies could be problematic (Barringer et al. 1990; Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997). Much of the preceding empirical literature focuses on Asians as a whole and then makes reference to Filipino/a culture and society (Hwang and Saenz 1997; Schoen 1986). The personal works of family, culture, and society composed through the literary prose of Filipino/a academics and scholars provide valuable insight into a complex ethnic group that often have difficulties in relating their own cultural identity (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Okamura and Agbayani-Siewert 1997, Pido et al. 1986; Villa 1995). Using these personal works, I deduce that high socioeconomic status, greater assimilation, and professional occupational will have a positive effect on out-marriage for Filipino/as and their spouses.
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter first reviews the main theoretical approaches to out-marriage from previous research. I discuss specific research on out-marriage among Filipino/as and particularly research demonstrating gender differences in out-marriage among Filipino/as. I then examine methodological issues from previous studies that suggest culture and education are crucial factors for explaining gender differences in Filipino/a out-marriage.

Macro Structural Theory

Currently, the dominant macro theory for explaining out-marriage is the structural perspective. Social scientists use the macro-structural perspective to explain why people choose marriage partners (Blau et al. 1982, 1984; Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Saenz et al 1994). The macro-structural theory of out-marriage emphasizes two factors. First, a group’s relative size is inversely related to the proportion of its members who out-marry. And second, group heterogeneity is directly related to the rate of out-marriage (Blau et al. 1982, 1984; Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997).

According to Blau and colleagues (1982, 1984) small group size limits mate selection opportunities within the group. Therefore, to compensate for the lack of opportunity, group members are more likely to look outside of their own ethnic group to find a
suitable partner. Blau and colleagues (1982, 1984) also posits that an ethnic group’s intimacy based on geographic proximity and personal bonds is directly related to the rates of out-marriage. If an ethnic group has a cohesive quality that promotes group solidarity, group members will be less likely to go outside their group to find marriage partners, even if those outside partners may be better suited to the individuals.

Macro-structural theory heavily influences the theoretic orientation of this analysis. The Macro-structural theoretical foundation is premised on the idea that ethnic groups’ assimilation into mainstream society is positively correlated to rates of out-marriage. For Filipino/a out-marriage this is an important premise because assimilation into American culture is held in high regard for Filipino/as (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Ordonez 1997). From a macro-structural perspective we would expect that Filipino/as’ high assimilation rates will predict a greater likelihood of out-marriage.

Social Exchange Theory

Social exchange theory is another explanation of out-marriage (Eshleman 2000). Social exchange theory is an economic model of social relationships that posits four main assumptions. First, it assumes that most types of human gratification originate in the actions of others, such as a spouse or child. Second, it suggests that people enter into new relationships because they are rewarding emotionally, physically, or economically. Existing relationships continue over time because people continue to find them rewarding, thus when a person no longer finds the relationship rewarding, it ends. Third, as people receive rewards or benefits from social relationships, they are under an obligation to reciprocate by supplying benefits in return. Finally, for individuals earning
social credit through giving is preferable to building social debt through receiving (Eshleman 2000).

In early research, Homans (1958) used theories of psychological reductionism and behavioralism as the basis of social exchange theory. Homans argued that whether peoples' desires in a relationship are emotional, physical, or material, social relationships are give and take. If a person takes too much from their significant other the intimate relationship will end due to the feeling of “debt” owed; whether emotional, mental, or financial (Homans 1958). Blau and colleagues (1982, 1984) built on Homans' work and applied this theory to marriage. Blau and his colleagues demonstrated that people choose marriage partners based on rational criteria such as emotional, material, and physical exchange as well as on closeness of living proximity and availability of inter-group interactions. However, not all social exchange is explained through the actual behavior of individuals, rather exchange is more subjective and interpretative (Eshleman 2000). Exchange, like interaction, is a creative process that occurs between actors. Only by understanding that the human mind responds subjectively to stimuli can we understand why individuals choose their marriage partners (Blau et al. 1982, 1984). Thus, Blau and Homans account for rational and geographical reasons for marriage, but they do not discuss the historical attitudes and beliefs that may also lead to out-marriage.

Currently, some researchers argue that individuals choose marriage partners according to criteria such as income, occupational prestige, education level, religious values, and beliefs about childrearing (Barringer et al. 1990; Jedlicka 1991; Sassler and Schoen 1999). More recently, others have drawn on exchange theory to find ways of modeling social relationships to include emotional motivations (Sassler and Schoen
These studies attempt to examine emotional variables such as physical attractiveness, love, and overall emotional attraction (Jedlicka 1991; Jiobu 1998; Ordonez 1997). However, values such as physical attractiveness are hard to measure objectively. Furthermore, expected outcomes of seemingly non-rational decision making, such as marrying quickly or without considering future implications, should be discussed when dealing with out-marriage (Jedlicka 1991; Jiobu 1998; Ordonez 1997).

Jiobu (1998) and Bergano and Bergano-Kinney (1997) explain that the reasons for marriages of Filipinas and whites are due to physical attraction and that both parties are driven by expectations of role fulfillment. Researchers claim Asian women are more accepted by white society because they are seen as highly sexual, attentive, loyal, and devoted to family (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Jiobu 1998; Ordonez 1997). These are all qualities that make Asian women, and particularly Filipinas, desirable to white men and is one explanation for the high rates of marriage between Filipinas and white men (Ordonez 1997). Due to a presumed middle class upbringing, white men are often thought to value the more traditional woman’s role of the subservient, eager-to-please housewife because that is what they grew up with (Ordonez 1997). While African-American and Latina women have worked for years outside of the home, white women were more domestic, fulfilling the more traditional role of tending to the children and taking care of her husband (Ordonez 1997). White men may have fond memories of this relationship and idealize it, therefore looking for a marriage that engages their ideal of what a marriage is; the wife tends to the home and husband while that husband works to support the family (Ordonez 1997).
Bergano and Bergano-Kinney (1997) argue that for Filipinos/as “marrying up” means “marrying white.” Children of a white man and a Filipina are viewed by some in Filipino/a culture as more valuable, precious, and better prepared for modern-society. Therefore “social exchange” for Filipinas and white men is the expectation that the man is getting a traditional housewife with exotic looks while the Filipina is getting a high-status husband who provides financial and emotional stability for the family and desirable offspring (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Ordonez 1997). The social pressure put on Filipinos to marry white women is not as great (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997). This is because women are traditionally linked to their husbands’ success and social status (Eshleman 2000). For Filipinos, white women do not provide the same kind of upward social movement that a white husband provides to a Filipina.

As it pertains to marriage, social exchange theory has two main weaknesses. First, it assumes that individuals choose marriage partners according to explicitly rational criterion. Second, the exchange approach removes the romantic element from marriage and social relationships (Eshleman 2000). That is, social exchange does not account for non-rational aspects of decision-making such as love. Theorists must acknowledge that humans act irrationally and acknowledge aspects of human nature, such as love, in explanations of social relationships (Eshleman 2000).

Social exchange theory is helpful in examining Filipino/a out-marriage because it assumes there is a beneficial exchange to out-marriage for both individuals. While the idea that all Filipinas are submissive and eager to please is unfounded, some research demonstrates that Filipinas have high levels of education and professional occupations.
(Barringer et al. 1990; Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Okamura and Agbayani-Siewert 1997). This could show that the social exchange between husband and wife is different than previously thought.

Role Theory

Role theory is a micro-level theory that suggests people entering into relationships have specific personal “goals of action” that the other person fulfills, but are not outwardly shared (Eshleman 2000). Roles focus on definitions, meanings, and shared social expectations. Role consensus is when the husband and wife perceive that they share the same ideas of what roles each one fulfills (Eshleman 2000). Role consensus between a husband and wife can be the basis for marriage as well as all future activities. Applied to marriage, role theory posits that all marriageable people have expectations regarding their own behavior and also that of their respective partner. These desires, whether implicit or explicit, are internalized and serve to directly influence the person’s behavior as well as the behavior desired in a marriage partner (Eshleman 2000). While exchange theory is based on the actual act of give and take, role theory is based on the unspoken and perhaps unknown expectations of a partner’s actions.

Role theory allows us to view perceptions of men and women and the ideal roles they think their partner or spouse fulfills. Some research suggests roles and role negotiation are actually an exercise of power (Backman 1981). In the case of out-marriage between Filipinas and white men, men have an idealized expectation of a Filipinas’ behavior that may relate to role theory power issues. This role includes that of a traditional wife: submissive, subservient, easy to please, a good housekeeper, faithful,
loyal, and not likely to initiate divorce (Jedlicka 1991; Ordonez 1997). Moreover, Ordonez (1997) explains that in addition to the desired traditional role of a housewife, white men are also gaining a wife who is seen by American culture as erotic and exotic, this expected fulfillment and sexual attraction is shared by the husband and wife (Ordonez 1997). Marrying a white male is the ultimate move up the social ladder.

"White men are seen as beautiful and having power. Marrying one can lead to a sense of status and power...to the point where when she looks into the mirror, instead of brown skin she sees white" (Ordonez 1997: 123).

While there is both empirical data and qualitative research that refutes the notion that Filipinas are uneducated and impoverished looking for a quick fix to their societal woes by marrying a white man, there is a further explanation to role theory that relates to Filipinas' current socioeconomic status and the theme throughout this paper. While Filipinas have been shown to have high levels of education and holding professional occupations they still could look to white men as the last prize of total cultural acceptance (Barringer et al. 1990; Bonus 2000; Okamura and Agbayani-Siewert 1997). While the role of the Filipina housewife may be unproven and stereotypical, the role that the white husband plays could still be valid. Whether Filipinas have a high level of education or hold a position of occupational power, they may still be seen as Filipina (Villa 1995). Therefore, the role white husbands' play is still valuable in that he provides the last small step up the ladder of total cultural assimilation. With husbands' social and occupational status often being associated directly with the wives', it is hypothesized in this paper that spouses' demographic, assimilation, and occupational variables will positively affect their rate of out-marriage for both women and men.
Value Theory

Value theory is another micro-level theoretical approach to studying marriage. Value theory suggests that personal attraction is shared when people perceive themselves as sharing similar value orientations. Values are not concrete goals of action like roles, but instead are criteria through which goals are chosen (Eshleman 2000). Unlike roles, values are openly shared between partners. When people share, or perceive themselves as sharing, similar values it validates each individual’s emotional attachment to the other and enhances the modes of communication (Eshleman 2000). In other words, values are openly communicated roles. Once the couple communicates their expected roles of each other, it is agreed upon, and then becomes a shared value in the relationship. When this shared value is acted upon, the relationship becomes an exchange (Eshleman 2000).

Recently, research on mail order brides and war brides has used value theory to explain why people choose a partner outside of their own racial background (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Ordonez 1997; Saenz et al. 1994). Researchers employ role and value theories to explain why men who look for mail order and war brides expect the roles of the perfect exotic housewife to be fulfilled. Traditional Asian culture encourages women to be quite and soft spoken (Ordonez 1997). White American men view this soft spoken demeanor as a sign of submissiveness, vastly different from the more liberated out-spoken American women of the late twenty first century (Ordonez 1997). With this in-mind, traditional women’s roles are brought forth into the conscious mind of the man, and he therefore places these role expectations upon Asian women. Men often vocalize
these role expectations to their wives and have them reinforced by the Asian bride; in turn the expectations become values that they both seemingly share.

Just as social exchange theory posits: Asian women who are married to white men also hold role and value expectations (Jedlicka 1991; Ordonez 1997). Often, white men are seen as the best way to move up the social ladder (Ordonez 1997). Asian women believe that a white husband can provide better for them financially and emotionally, and this gives them instant access to the social elite (Jedlicka 1991; Ordonez 1997). The social exchange is the Asian woman fulfilling the role of the traditional housewife while the man works to make money and support the family. Traditionally in American culture, a woman’s social standing is directly related to her husbands (Eshleman 2000). By fulfilling her role as “housewife” she can then also fulfill her own personal goal of better social standing by marrying a white man.

Using value theory to influence the hypotheses of this paper could be problematic. Ordonez (1997) and Jedlicka (1991) both relate value theory to mail order brides because the roles each person will play in the relationship is negotiated up front. The predicament this causes is that mail order brides coming to America, as mentioned later in the paper, are so small in numbers they are insignificant and cannot be generalized to the rest of the Filipina population (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001). While roles can be negotiated later on in the relationship, values cannot; they are theorized as the foundation of the relationship. Although discussing value theory is necessary when examining out-marriage, previous literature on Filipinas does not support the idea that Filipinas are staying at home to raise children and tend to the home, which would provide support of value theory (Barringer et al 1990; Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Kitano and
Daniels 1995, 2001). Therefore macro-structural, social exchange, and role theory are better suited for this paper because they provide more support to the hypotheses.

Research on Asian Out-Marriages

Filipino/as remain one of the least researched ethnic groups in social science, especially in the field of marriage and family (Min 1995). In past research, using last names on marriage certificates was the only method for studying Asian out-marriage (Min 1995). Due to Filipino/as’ mixed ethnic heritage, many have Spanish surnames as opposed to the more traditionally sounding Asian ones. Because of this, it was difficult for researchers to differentiate between a person of Spanish descent and a person of Filipino ancestry by examining the last name. When more sophisticated techniques were used for studying marital patterns, Filipino/as were lost in the shuffle (Min 1995). Filipino/as' perceived “American attitudes” and high assimilation rates into American society often meant they were used as the comparison group to other Asian ethnic groups being studied (Min 1995).

The trends in Asian out-marriage may hold true for some Asian ethnic groups, however, Filipino/as have different patterns of out-marriage. Research shows that Asian women who have low levels of education are more likely to marry outside of their own ethnic group (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Okamura 1998; Ordonez 1997). Barringer and associates (1990) found among women of the six major Asian ethnic groups (Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Vietnamese, and Cambodian) that Filipinas have the highest average education levels with 21.7 percent of Filipinas having a four-year college degree. Kitano and Daniels (1995, 2001) findings
support Barringer and his colleagues finding that 49.5 percent of Filipinas have four-year college degree with only around 23 percent of Filipinos possessing a college diploma (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001).

In past research on Filipinas, mail order brides have been framed as a potential problem when studying out-marriage rates of Asian women and white males (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Ordonez 1997). Even though Mochizuki (1987) found that 75 percent of advertisements for mail order brides are for Filipinas attempting to come to the United States, this is not as big a problem as first thought (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001). Researchers found that from 1980-1989 only 1,750 Filipina mail order brides came into the United States, accounting for an insignificant number of the total out-marriages between Filipinas and whites in the United States (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001).

Structural explanations of out-marriage often focus on the marriage market, which is the available pool of eligible partners (Blau et al. 1982; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Saenz et al. 1994). According to Raymo (1998), Asian American women are less likely to accept this trade because of their strict upbringing. Many grew up with fathers who still harbor old world beliefs about a woman’s role. As these Asian American women become adults they reject all values placed on them by their fathers, especially that of a submissive housewife.

Other research shows that, due to a lack of eligible Asian American men, Asian American women have a high rate of marrying non-Asians (Hwang and Saenz 1997; Raymo 1998; Schoen 1986). Researchers find that as Asian American men age, the likelihood of out-marriage with white women increases significantly (Hwang and Saenz 1997, 2001).
1997; Raymo 1998; Schoen 1986). Raymo (1998) suggests that as time goes on Asian American women’s beliefs about marriage change from “traditional” to a more modern egalitarian model of sharing both housework and caring for the children. Asian American men still hold the traditional values of what a wife should be and therefore the men and women are no longer compatible.

Further support for the structural explanations of out-marriage suggest that while Asian American women out-marry for a more egalitarian minded spouse, Asian American men out-marry to gain the traditional values lost in the modern Asian woman (Raymo 1998). High education and income levels for Asian American men and women usually mean they are marrying later in life (Raymo 1998). As Asian American men accumulate wealth, they now have the resource available to them to marry into “white society” (Raymo 1998). Kitano and Daniels (1995, 2001) believe this leaves a large population of Asian American women left without eligible Asian American men to marry. The lack of available Asian American men forces Asian American women to marry from the largest pool of eligible men who most closely represent their levels of education and income: white males. Thus, even if they would prefer to have an Asian American man as a spouse, a white man may be the only eligible partner available (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Raymo 1998; Schoen 1986).

Cultural explanations may provide part of the explanation; however social exchange theory and macro-structural approaches suggest that education and income are relevant factors. Thus, this paper examines the social and demographic factors that may explain this gender difference.
Historical Explanations:
Cultural Factors and the Role of Education

The previous discussion in this paper on Filipino/a assimilation factors focused on the reasons why assimilation occurs at such high rates among Filipinos. In this section, specific historical factors are discussed in depth, along with specific examples of why assimilation and identifying as “American” are so important to Filipinos today (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997).

Several cultural and educational factors specific to Filipinas’ experiences may explain the gender differences in out-marriage among Filipinos. First, I will focus on cultural factors. A number of studies center on historical explanations for these trends, emphasizing the importance of cultural pluralism and assimilation throughout the history of the Philippines (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995; Jedlicka 1991; Okamura 1998).

In 1902, the United States bought the Philippines from Spain after the Spanish American War. During this time of occupation, American culture began to permeate all aspects of Filipino life, transforming long-held Filipino cultural values (Jedlicka 1991; Okamura 1998). Filipino schools adopted American curriculum by speaking English and teaching American history (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995). Filipinas began to idealize white military troops stationed in the Philippines as the bearers of ideal beauty and as valuable commodities (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Jedlicka 1991; Ordonez 1997). Underprivileged Filipinas began to believe their only way towards upward social status was to marry a white man (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Ordonez 1997). If a Filipina was able to marry a white man it was tradition for the bride’s mother to walk the groom arm in arm through the town streets showing off what her daughter “caught”
(Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997). White men believed that they had found a woman who idealized the virtues of a traditional wife that were lost in the women's liberation movement in America. Filipinas believed that their social status had risen so dramatically that they started believing they were white and not Filipina (Ordonez 1997).

Due to the Philippines' territorial status, Filipinos/as have the advantage of arriving in America as naturalized citizens. Territorial status and arriving in the United States as naturalized citizens caused Filipinos/as to develop an American identity while still living in the Philippines (Villa 1995). Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla (1995) argue that currently, due to the similarities of the two educational systems, Filipinos/as are already assimilated into American culture whether they are living in America or the Philippines. Okamura (1998) explains that Filipinos now practice “symbolic ethnicity.” Symbolic ethnicity is the idea that in the absence of ethnic identity, cultural symbols take their place (Gans 1979). These symbols are more visible than the true culture and are seen by some researchers as the final step before total assimilation or an “ethnicity of last resort” (Gans 1979). Given that Filipino/as feel the need to identify as American, Filipino culture is now mainly related through food and festivals (Okamura 1998).

Another explanation for trends in Filipino/a out-marriage focuses on Filipinas’ education levels. As mentioned above, Asian women with low levels of education are more likely to out-marry (Hwang and Saenz 1997; Okamura 1998). However, Filipinos/as are one of the only ethnic groups where women have a higher average education and income level than their male counterparts (Barringer et al. 1990). The historical explanation for Filipinas’ high education levels is that the United States actively recruited Filipina nurses to come to America and fill the shortage left by
American women (Okamura 1998). The women's liberation movement in America opened new educational and career opportunities. American women began leaving the traditional "women's occupations" for new horizons. This had a huge impact on nursing, as record numbers of white women left the field (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995). Filipinas who could fill these positions in American hospitals were granted immediate American citizenship (Bonus 2000; Okamura 1998).

Indeed, with out-marriage rates ranging from 32 percent to 75 percent, (Barringer et al. 1990; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001) Filipinas, along with Japanese women, have one of the highest out-marriage rates of all Asian ethnic groups and higher education than Filipinos (Hwang and Saenz 1997). This leads to the question, why are Filipinas more likely than Filipinos to out-marry?

Predictors of Filipino Out-Marriage

Past scholarship on Filipino/as has raised questions over what the critical factors are when examining out-marriage patterns (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Bonus 2000; Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Saenz et al. 1994; Okamura 1998; Ordonez 1997; Pido 1986). While previous research on Filipino/a out-marriage has either used methods that isolate one specific aspect of out-marriage or used models designed for other Asian ethnic groups this paper seeks to construct models specifically relevant to Filipino/as (Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Jedlicka 1991; Ordonez 1997; Saenz et al. 1994; Sassler and Schoen 1999).

As mentioned above, some Filipino/a specific empirical data may be woven into the hypotheses to provide support, but the main questions posed in this paper come from the
written works and first hand observations of Filipino/a scholars (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995; Jensen 1995; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Okamura and Agbayani-Siewert 1997, Pido 1986; Villa 1995). By using these works as a foundation and the selected empirical findings as supportive pieces to the theoretical puzzle, the hypotheses of this paper are able to provide broad but accurate predictions that directly relate to Filipino/a out-marriage.

Age

Hwang and colleagues (1994) found that among out-married Asian women, no significant age differences exist between husbands and wives, although significant age differences exist within Asian men with white wives, with wives being significantly younger (Hwang et al. 1994). Ordonez (1997) posits that out-married Filipino/a couples are younger, on average, than in-married Filipino/a couples because of military service and more liberal views. By using the results of Hwang (1994) and Ordonez (1997) I expect that Filipino/as and their spouses who out-marry are younger than their in-married counterparts.

Socioeconomic Status

Socioeconomic status may be the key in explaining the gender differences in Filipino/a out-marriage. Education, occupation, and income are the three main components of socioeconomic status.
Education has always been of great cultural importance to Filipinos beginning with the first Filipino/a immigrants to America in the late 1800's (Barringer et al. 1990; Bonus-2000; Jiobu 1998; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Okamura and Agbayani-Siewert 1997). These first immigrants were the best Filipino/a students or “The Pensionados” who as a result of the Spanish-American War, came into America, attended college, and then returned to the Philippines to work (Okamura 1998).

Beginning with the Pensionados, education has stayed at the forefront of Filipino family values (Okamura 1998). Okamura and Agbayani-Siewert (1997) found that 60 percent of Filipino/a college students reported staying in school because it is “very important” to their family, the highest percentage for any ethnic group in America, including whites. In 1986 Filipino/as were the first non-white ethnic group to be taken off of the University of California’s Affirmative Action list as a special target group because of their academic achievements and high enrollment (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001). These numbers also extend to recent Filipino/a immigrants. Of recent Filipino/a immigrants, 48 percent came to America with a college degree compared to only 16 percent of “white” immigrants (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995). Moreover, 42 percent of Filipinas hold a college degree, the highest for women in any ethnic group in America (Ordenez 1997).

Regardless of racial and ethnic background, education has a positive affect on out-marriage rates (Blau et al. 1982, 1984; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001). It is expected that Filipino/as with high levels of education will out-marry at higher rates.
Income

When examining Filipino/as with baccalaureate degrees, education and income levels are incommensurate (Barringer et al. 1990; Pido 1986). Although 72 percent of Filipinas are employed full time, the highest of any other ethnic group, their increase of income as it relates to education is one of the lowest (Barringer et al. 1990; Ordonez 1997).

Barringer and colleagues (1990) found that while the average household income for Filipino/as was higher than whites, the per capita income was far less than whites ($13,616 per year). Barringer and associates (1990) theorize that this difference is due to Filipino/as recent immigration. Due to large numbers of Filipino/as recently immigrating into America, all family members may live together and have more potential earners in the house than whites (Barringer et al. 1990). While Filipino/as' individual income is low, having four to five potential earners in a household increases the household income above whites' without Filipino/as actually making more money.

However, Filipino/as' income does significantly rise once a postgraduate degree is attained (Barringer et al. 1990). For Filipino/as with 20 or more years of education, income levels are reported as the second highest of any ethnic group, just below that of whites (Barringer et al. 1990). The marginal increase was the highest for any ethnic group at $11,634 (Barringer et al. 1990). Filipino/as with graduate degrees are the highest paid Asian American ethnic group. Filipino/as with baccalaureate degrees are one of the lowest (Barringer et al. 1990). While no empirical evidence exists on to why this increase is so dramatic, it is thought to be because Filipino/as who obtain graduate degrees do so overwhelmingly in the health and hard sciences which provide a steeper
increase in income from baccalaureate degrees than others from the social sciences or liberal arts (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001).

Occpation

Since the 1965 Immigration Act that allowed Filipino/a medical workers to gain instant American citizenship, Filipinas have had high rates of working in the medical field and even higher overall employment rates (Aghayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995; Barringer et al. 1990; Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Pido 1986). Barringer (1990) found that the high number of Filipinas with baccalaureate degrees is directly proportional to the number of Filipina nurses working in American hospitals. Of the 72 percent of Filipinas who are employed full time, 32 percent hold managerial or professional jobs (Barringer et al. 1990). These percentages are relatively low when compared to Filipinas’ college graduation rate of nearly 50 percent (Barringer et al. 1990).

High Filipina employment rates are partially due to the egalitarian Filipino cultural standards (Pido 1986). In traditional Filipino culture, women are expected to work outside the home. Husbands and wives share the family’s responsibilities and women are seen as equals (Pido 1986). With 72 percent of Filipinas working full time jobs outside of the home, marrying a Filipina who holds a full time job is likely. These figures contradict the theories of Filipinas staying at home to raise children and be the traditional housewives that Ordonez (1997) discusses. While Ordonez may be correct in some cases, empirical data shows that overall, Filipinas are highly skilled and employed at high rates.
Birthplace and Citizenship

Previous research on birthplace and citizenship regarding Filipino/a out-marriage has mainly been concerned with marriages occurring abroad (Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Saenz et al. 1994). While there is no research that shows that birthplace and citizenship affect out-marriage, concerns with the validity and reliability of foreign marriage certificates is a problem when studying marriages abroad (Min 1995; Pido 1986). Even the researchers conducting studies of out-marriage abroad admit that controlling for marriages that occur outside the United States is virtually impossible given the data (Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997). Marriage records for other countries are not reliable and the data we do have on out-marriage among U.S. citizens and foreign-born citizens is misleading (Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Saenz et al. 1994).

Min (1995) found that data dealing with marriages occurring abroad between U.S. citizens and Filipinos is problematic. Pido (1986) found that foreign marriage certificates are often vague and misleading. Often times the correct names and birthdays are not given, making it almost impossible to use them in research. Therefore, Pido (1986) and Min (1995) found that of the few studies that had been done about Filipino/a out-marriage, reliability was always in question.

Since the data regarding marriages abroad is not reliable, examining marriages that occurred within the United States are preferable (U.S. Census 2002). At 63 percent, Filipinos have the highest U.S. citizenship rate for any Asian ethnic group (Citrin and Highton 2002). Using the theoretical perspectives outlined above, U.S. citizenship and birthplace are seen as assimilation factors and therefore should positively affect out-
marriage rates. With high citizenship among Filipino/as and the inconsistent data regarding marriages abroad, census data dealing with citizenship and birthplace is the best way to know if these factors relate to out-marriage.

Language and Assimilation

Blau and associates (1982, 1984) found that speaking English is a key indicator of a group’s assimilation rate and therefore increases the likelihood of out-marriage. Hwang and Saenz (1997) suggest that Asian Americans who are more structurally assimilated will out-marry at higher rates because this becomes more acceptable. Kitano and Daniels (1995, 2001) also found that high rates of assimilation among Asian Americans correlate with high rates of out-marriage.

The strong desire for Filipinos to be identified as “American” has been widely studied (Min 1995; Lui et al. 1991; Okamura 1998; Pido 1986). By the third or fourth generation, most Filipino/as living in America speak only English, although 66 percent of Filipino/as living in America today can speak their native tongue (Okamura 1998). Hwang and Saenz (1997) and Blau (1982, 1984) found that language is a strong indicator of whether or not a person out-marries; if a Filipino/a speaks English, they have a higher likelihood of out-marriage with whites than if they do not speak English (Hwang and Saenz 1997; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001).

In a recent study, Filipino/as’ desire to assimilate into American culture was shown in their voter turnout records (Citrin and Highton 2002). When income and education are equal, Asians have a 20 percent lower voter turnout than whites in major national elections (Citrin and Highton 2002). However, when Asians are separated into the six
major ethnic categories, Filipino/as have voter turnout levels that are comparable to whites (Citrin and Highton 2002). The reason Citrin and Highton (2002) give for this is Filipino/as high rate of citizenship and their high assimilation rate (Citrin and Highton 2002).

In Dario Villa’s paper, “I Offended Many Filipinos Because I Was an FOB” he discusses the racism he encountered from American born Filipino/as because he was a recent Filipino immigrant. In high school he was shunned by the Filipino/a-American students because he held Filipino customs and spoke with an accent, “So I had very few Filipino friends in high school, not because I didn’t want to be friends with them, but because they didn’t want to be friends with somebody who was their own but not really theirs” (Villa 1995:173). Villa believes that Filipino/as want to be American more than they want to be Filipino/a. Filipino/as do not assimilate, but lose themselves in American culture by disregarding every part of their culture that is Filipino/a. Becoming an American, not a Westernized Filipino/a is the ultimate goal (Villa 1995).

As noted above, out-marriage rates are good indicators of assimilation into American society (Blau et al. 1982). Immigrants and minorities increased cultural and structural assimilation in the U.S. often leads to widespread out-marriage with more established ethnic groups therefore increasing a group’s acceptability within American culture (Hwang and Saenz 1997). Moreover, as out-marriage with more established ethnic groups becomes more common, it becomes an expectation that culturally and structurally assimilated immigrants and minorities will out-marry more frequently than their less assimilated peers (Hwang and Saenz 1997).
Filipino/as' assimilation rates are higher than those of any other Asian group (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995; Min 1995; Jiobu 1990, 1998; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Okamura 1998; Pido 1986). Colonization of the Philippines, the acceptance of American culture, and the adoption of the American school curriculum all have made Filipino/as identify with and as Americans (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Ordonez 1997; Villa 1995). Since Filipino/as value assimilation into American culture, high rates of speaking English will increase the likelihood of out-marriage for both men and women.

Veteran Status

White U.S. veterans of wars fought in Asian countries have higher rates of out-marriage to Asian men and women (Saenz et al. 1994). Filipino/as are the only non-American citizens in the world that are allowed to enter the American military as officers without any special military exceptions or clearance (Villa 1995). This makes Filipino/as more likely to enter the American military than any other Asian ethnic group outside of the United States, and therefore have a greater opportunity to meet white American servicemen and servicewomen to marry (Villa 1995).

Residence

Past research has found that California, Hawai‘i, New York, Ohio, Texas, and Washington have the highest rates of Filipino/a out-marriages (Barringer et al. 1990; Bonus 2000; Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997). U.S. Census data also shows that these are the six states with the highest populations of Filipino/as. In other research,
Hawai‘i was thought to have such high assimilation and out-marriage rates that it was excluded from the analysis when examining the nation as a whole (Barringer et al. 1990). Recent marriage statistics from the Hawai‘i state government show 44.1 percent of all marriages occurring between residents of the state are out-marriages (State of Hawai‘i 2002). In the present study, Hawai‘i is included in the analysis because most of the out-marriages that occur between Hawaiian citizens are between two people of mixed Asian ancestry, such as Japanese and Hawaiian (State of Hawai‘i 2002). Examining the out-marriage rates of whites and Filipinos/as in Hawai‘i are similar to that of the national average and of the six main states (State of Hawai‘i 2002). Referencing the work of Blau and colleagues (1982, 1984), I posit that living in the six main states positively affects out-marriage because many people from diverse backgrounds are living and working closely together, therefore increasing the chances of out-marriage.

War Brides

Data from the Immigration and Naturalization Service estimates that approximately 51,747 Filipina war brides came into the United States between 1947 and 1975 (Hwang et al. 1994). Hwang and associates (1994) estimates that approximately one-fifth to one-fourth of out-married Asian women are of war bride status. In the study, war bride status is defined as a U.S. born non-Asian husband who has served in the military and is married to a foreign born Asian wife during the time of the man’s military service (Hwang et al. 1994).

Hwang and Saenz (1997) also found that war brides have lower income, labor force experience, and educational attainment rates than U.S. born Asian American women.
Lui, Ong, and Roslenstein (1991) found that since 1970, 5,000 to 11,000 Filipinas immigrate per year as wives of American servicemen. Okamura (1998) found that of the 34,000 Filipino immigrants in 1965, 16,000 of them were Filipina war brides. However, war bride status has also likely declined due to the near complete evacuation of all U.S. military bases in the Philippines (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995). As of 1992, most U.S. Air and Naval bases in the Philippines were closed down (Villa 1995). Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla (1995) believe this has lead to a dramatic decline in the amount of Filipina out-marriage due to immigration throughout the last decade.

Recent literature has concluded that for all Asian women, war bride status does positively affect the rates of out-marriage (Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Saenz et al. 1994). For the purposes of this paper, war bride status is not a direct concern but is addressed in veteran status by selecting veterans of foreign wars fought in Asian countries (Saenz et al. 1994).

Mail Order Brides

Recent research on out-marriage is concerned with mail order brides (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Ordonez 1997). Ordonez (1997) found that because of Filipinas' internalized ideals of the United States and the belief that white American men are the ultimate standard for beauty and status, American men seek Filipina mail order brides more than other Asian ethnicities. Mochizuki's (1987) study supports Ordonez's assumptions. Mochizuki found that 75 percent of Asian mail order brides are Filipina. Due to the insignificant numbers of mail orders brides currently entering the United
States, they are not an important factor to control for when studying Filipino out-marriage (Mochizuki 1987).

Hypotheses

After reviewing the research literature on the factors that predict out-marriage between whites and Filipinos/as I posit several hypotheses:

1. Gender differences among Filipinos/as exist in the proportion of women and men who are out-married. I expect that more Filipinas will be out-married than Filipinos because previous scholarship shows Filipinas out-marry whites at higher rates than Filipinos (Barringer et al. 1990, Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001).

2. Out-married Filipinas and their husbands will be younger with higher socioeconomic status and greater employment in professional occupations. I expect this to be true because Filipinas who are highly assimilated with high levels of socioeconomic status are more accepted by society and come into contact with more whites (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001). Also, out-married husbands are more likely to meet highly assimilated Filipinas with high levels of socioeconomic status. Out-married Filipinas and their husbands will be younger than in-married Filipinas and their husbands because research shows younger people view out-marriage as more acceptable than older people and therefore are more likely to out-marry (Revilla 1989).
3. Out-married Filipinos and their wives will be younger and have higher socioeconomic status and greater employment in professional occupations than those who are in-married. I expect this to be true because they are more likely to come into contact with Filipinos who are highly assimilated with high levels of socioeconomic status (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001). In addition, as stated above, younger people view out-marriage as more acceptable than older people and therefore are more likely to out-marry (Revilla 1989).

4. Controlling for all other factors, I expect that women will be more likely to out-marry than men because previous research shows Filipinas out-marry whites at higher rates than Filipinos.

5. Filipinas and their husbands will be younger with higher socioeconomic status and greater employment in professional occupations. I expect this to be the case because highly assimilated Filipinas who have high levels of socioeconomic status are more accepted by society and come into contact with more whites (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001). These variables will have a positive effect on out-marriage for husbands likelihood because they are more likely to meet highly assimilated Filipinas with high levels of socioeconomic status (Revilla 1989).

6. Filipinos and their wives will be younger with higher socioeconomic status and greater employment in professional occupations. I expect these to have a positive effect on out-marriage because highly assimilated Filipinos who have high levels of socioeconomic status are more accepted by society and come
into contact with more whites (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001). As stated above, these variables will have a positive effect on out-marriage for wives likelihood because they are more likely to meet highly assimilated Filipinos with high levels of socioeconomic status (Revilla 1989).

7. I expect that the effects of education, income, veteran status, and spouses’ veteran status will be significantly different for men and women and have a positive effect on out-marriage for Filipinas because previous research shows these variables to be strong indicators of out-marriage for Asians (Barringer et al 1990; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Okamura 1998; Ordonez 1997).
CHAPTER 3

DATA AND METHODS

The Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) was created by the University of Minnesota in October of 1997 and is a sample of the U.S. Census (University of Minnesota 2002). The IPUMS contains a 5 percent sample of the entire U.S. Census, and more importantly it includes a significant number of Filipino/as. Furthermore, IPUMS includes a variety of demographic variables as well as information on a wide range of population characteristics, including fertility, nuptiality, life-course transitions, immigration, internal migration, labor-force participation, occupational structure, education levels, ethnicity, and household composition (University of Minnesota 2002). Other researchers have also used IPUMS data to study Asians and specifically, Filipino/as (Barringer et al. 1990; Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Schoen 1986). The 1990 IPUMS is microdata presented in aggregated tabular form. It contains information about individual persons as well as households, allowing the researcher to create tabulations tailored to a particular study. Thus, for this study of gender differences in predictors of out-marriage among Filipino/as, the IPUMS is an ideal dataset.
From the IPUMS five percent sample, I sub-sample only in-married Filipino/as or out-married Filipino/as married to whites. Since these are individual level data, I had to match spouses using Census-provided variables in order to determine the race of the respondents' spouses. Once spouses were matched to each other I could determine the spouses' race as well as other important spousal information such as education level, veteran status, and occupation. The structure of the data set was problematic, however, in that there is no way to examine Filipino/as at the individual level simultaneously. Thus, I created two separate samples; one sample of Filipinas who are in and out-married and one sample of Filipinos who are in and out-married. I return to this issue in the analysis plan. The final analytic sample of Filipinas includes 14,495 out-married Filipinas and 1,363 in-married Filipinas. The final analytic sample of Filipinos includes 11,052 out-married Filipinos and 1,363 in-married Filipinos.

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis for this paper is the individual. Filipino/as are examined to find the likelihood of out-marriage with whites. For Filipino/as demographic, assimilation, and occupational variables are examined.

Variables and Coding

*Dependent Variable*

The dependent variable is Filipino/a in-marriage and out-marriage. Out-marriages are coded 1 while in-marriages are coded 0.

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1 For an explanation of the construction of the sample please see Appendix A
Independent Variables

Demographics. I control for several demographic characteristics: respondents’ age, spouses’ age, respondents’ total personal income for the previous year, spouses’ total personal income for the previous year, respondents’ education, spouses’ education, and ethnicity. Age is a continuous variable measured in years. Ethnicity is a dichotomous variable coded 1 for white and 0 for Filipino/a. Education is a dummy variable coded 1 for a college graduate and 0 for all others. Total personal income is measured in dollars and includes all money made by the respondent or spouse from all wages and assets for the previous year.

Assimilation. I control for several variables that capture the respondents’ degree of cultural assimilation and residential status. Veteran status is a dummy variable coded as 1 for a veteran of recent wars within Asian countries (World War II, Korea, and Vietnam). Only these wars were selected due to the greater likelihood of a U.S. serviceperson meeting a Filipino (Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997). U.S. Citizenship is coded as 1 for United States citizens and 0 for non-citizens. Respondents who speak English are coded 1 and coded 0 if they do not speak English. Residence is a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent resides in California, Hawai’i, New York, Ohio, Texas, and Washington (coded 1) or not (coded 0).

Occupation and Employment. The IPUMS includes the census index of occupational codes that others have employed in a variety of studies (Barringer et al. 1990; Hwang et al. 1994; Hwang and Saenz 1997). Using the occupation codes, I created a dummy variable for managerial/professional employment, coded 1, and non-professional employment, coded 0.
Analysis Plan

To examine gender differences in Filipino/a out-marriage, I begin by testing Hypothesis 1 and examining bivariate comparisons among Filipinas and Filipinos who are in-married versus out-married. To test Hypothesis 2, I compare Filipinas and their spouses who are out-married with those who are in-married across all the independent variables in the analysis (Table 1). To test Hypothesis 3, I compare Filipinos and their spouses who are in-married with those who are out-married on all measures (Table 2). In both analyses, I employ Analysis of Variance and Chi-Square tests of statistical significance and report the results in the tables. These analyses are designed to first establish whether or not Filipinas in this sample are more likely than Filipinos to out-marry, which requires an additional chi-square test to assess whether the percentages of women and men who are out-married are significantly different from one another. Second, they are designed to assess differences among women and among men.

The third step of the analysis answers Hypothesis 4 by employing logistic regression to test if there is a significant gender difference in the likelihood of out-marriage while controlling for all factors.

For Hypotheses 5 and 6, I run separate but identical logistic regression equations for women and men and assess the significance of the independent variables for women and for men on their likelihood of out-marriage (Table 3).

Finally, to address Hypothesis 7 concerning gender differences in predictors of Filipino out-marriage, I compare the logistic regression results for women and men and conduct t-tests for the difference in coefficients to identify which independent variables operate differently for women versus men.
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Tables 1 and 2 present bivariate descriptive statistics for Filipino/as. In this sample, 91.4 percent of Filipinas are out-married. This supports previous findings that Filipinas out-marry at high rates (Barringer et al. 1990; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001) however, 91.4 percent is higher than is demonstrated in previous research (Hwang and Saenz 1997; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2000). In comparison, 89 percent of the Filipinos in this sample are out-married, which is also higher than previous research demonstrates (Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001). To test Hypothesis 1 that Filipinas out-marry at higher rates than Filipinos, I perform a chi square test. The chi square test between men and women offers support for Hypothesis 1 and finds a statistically significant, albeit small, difference between Filipinas and Filipinos in rates of out-marriage ($\chi^2=464.88, p<.001$). This finding is consistent with other research that finds a similar gender difference (Barringer et al. 1990; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001).

Bivariate Results

Filipinas

Table 1 addresses Hypothesis 2 and compares out-married Filipinas and their husbands across all independent variables included in the analysis. The results support
Hypothesis 2 by demonstrating that out-married Filipinas and their husbands have higher socioeconomic status and are younger than in-married Filipinas.

In-married women and their husbands are significantly older than out-married women and their husbands. On average, out-married women are 42 years old compared with 46 year old in-married women (t = -10.61, p < .001). Out-married Filipinas also have younger husbands than in-married Filipinas with the average age for in-married husbands being 50 years old and the average age for out-married husbands at 47 (t = -6.25, p < .001).

Out-married Filipinas’ total income for the previous year is significantly higher than that in-married Filipinas’ (t = 9.28, p < .001). Out-married women make about $5000 more than in-married women. Similarly, significantly more out-married women than in-married women have college educations ($\chi^2 = 273.23, p < .001$).

Out-married husbands also have higher levels of income (t = 13.35, p < .001) and education (t = 119.43, p < .001) than in-married husbands. Out-married spouses’ total average income for the previous year is $31,745 compared to in-married spouses’ total income of $18,593.

These findings support Hypothesis 2, and contradict the conclusion of Hwang and Saenz (1997) that less educated “Asians” are more likely to out-marry. Indeed, when I examine Filipinas separately from other Asian ethnic groups, Filipinas who out-marry have higher income and education than in-married Filipinas. These findings support Blau and colleagues’ (1982, 1984) theory of assimilation in relation to out-marriage. Blau and colleagues found that high levels of education and income often mean higher rates of assimilation and result in high numbers of out-marriage (Bläu et al. 1982, 1984). The findings are consistent with previous research noting Filipinas’ high levels of
education (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995; Barringer et al. 1990; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Okamura 1998; Okamura and Agbayani-Siewert 1997; Ordonez 1997). In this study, both in-married and out-married Filipinas' average education levels are higher than their husbands'.

Out-married Filipinas’ citizenship status differs significantly from that of in-married Filipinas’. Of out-married Filipinas, 60.7 percent are U.S citizens whereas 57 percent of in-married Filipinas are U.S. citizens ($\chi^2 = 5.80, p<.001$). Of out-married husbands, 47.1 percent are U.S. citizens while 65.2 percent of in-married husbands are U.S. citizens ($\chi^2 = 95.63, p<.001$). This theory of assimilation is reinforced when I examine the percentage of Filipinas who speak English. Of out-married Filipinas, 99.7 percent speak English while 98.4 percent of in-married Filipinas speak English ($\chi^2 = 47.84, p<.001$). This also supports the findings of Blau (1982; 1984) and Hwang and Saenz (1997) that speaking English increases the likelihood of out-marriage.

Of out-married Filipinas, 10.3 percent were born in the United States while 18.7 percent of in-married Filipinas were born in the United States ($\chi^2 = 88.47, p<.001$). Slightly over 84 percent (84.7) of out-married husbands were born in the United States compared with 19.2 percent of in-married husbands ($\chi^2 = 3228.81, p<.001$). Of out-married Filipinas, .9 percent are U.S. veterans compared to .3 percent of in-married Filipinas who are veterans ($\chi^2 = 5.91, p<.01$). Regarding husbands’ veteran status, 41.1 percent of out-married husbands are veterans while 20 percent of in-married Filipinas are veterans ($\chi^2 = 238.31, p<.001$).

In support of Hypothesis 2, of out-married Filipinas, 69.5 percent reside in the six main states compared to 95.4 percent of in-married Filipinas ($\chi^2 = 410.89, p<.001$). As
predicted in hypothesis 2, of out-married Filipinas, 69.8 percent hold a professional job compared to 57.2 percent of in-married Filipinas who hold a professional position ($\chi^2 = 71.99, p<.001$). Over fifty percent (55.6) of out-married husbands have a professional job compared to 33 percent of in-married husbands who hold the same type of occupation ($\chi^2 = 212.64, p<.001$).

Filipinos

To address Hypothesis 3, which states that out-married Filipinos will have higher socioeconomic status and be younger than in-married Filipinos. I examine the results in table 2.

Indeed, all results of table 2 support Hypothesis 3. Out-married Filipinos and their wives are younger than in-married Filipinos and their wives. Out-married Filipinos' average age is 46.68 years old while in-married Filipinos' average age is 50.5. Moreover, out-married Filipinos' wives are younger. The average age of an out-married wife is 44.64 and the average age of an in-married wife is 45.56.

Out-married Filipinos' total personal income is significantly higher than that of in-married Filipinos' ($t= 9.96, p<.001$). Out-married Filipinos' total personal income for the previous year is $26,264 while in-married Filipinos' is $18,593. Out-married wives' total personal income for the previous year is $13,239 while in-married Filipinas' $12,900.

Results for education also lend support to Hypothesis 3. Of out-married Filipinos, 39.4 percent have a college degree whereas 21.4 percent of in-married Filipinos have a college degree ($t= 353.93, p<.001$). However, white women are less likely to have a
college degree than their husbands. Of out-married wives, 24.6 percent have a college degree while 25.6 percent of in-married wives have a college education ($t = 13.96$, $p < .001$).

The results of table 2 also support Hypothesis 3 in that of out-married Filipinos, 69.7 percent are U.S. citizens compared to 65.2 percent of in-married Filipinos who are citizens ($\chi^2 = 9.31$, $p < .001$). Less than half (40.8 percent) of out-married wives are U.S. citizens whereas 57.0 percent of in-married wives are U.S. citizens ($\chi^2 = 72.76$, $p < .001$). Of out-married Filipinos, 97.8 percent speak English while 98.4 percent of in-married Filipinos speak English ($\chi^2 = 52.73$, $p < .001$).

Of out-married Filipinos, 12.2 percent were born in the U.S. while 19.2 percent of in-married Filipinos were born in the United States ($\chi^2 = 52.73$, $p < .001$). Out-married wives are significantly more likely to be born in the United States ($\chi^2 = 2729.48$, $p < .001$). Of out-married wives, 82.9 percent were born in the U.S. compared to 18.7 percent of in-married wives who were born inside the United States.

Table 2 further supports Hypothesis 3 by showing there is a significant difference in Filipino veteran status and residence. Of out-married Filipinos, 22.4 percent are veterans whereas 20 percent of in-married Filipinos are veterans ($\chi^2 = 3.90$, $p < .01$). Moreover, of out-married wives, 1.7 percent are veterans compared to .3 percent of in-married wives who are veterans ($\chi^2 = 16.15$, $p < .001$). Of out-married Filipinos, 75.3 percent reside in the six main states while 95.7 percent of in-married Filipinos live in the six main states ($\chi^2 = 280.02$, $p < .001$). As hypothesized, out-married men are more likely to be professional workers. Of out-married Filipinos, 55.1 percent have a professional occupation compared to 33 percent of in-married Filipinos ($\chi^2 = 200.02$, $p < .001$). Of out-
married wives, just over seventy five percent (76.5) hold a professional position whereas 57.2 percent of in-married wives have a professional job.

The results from the bivariate section support my Hypotheses and demonstrate that Filipino/as are more alike than research has shown (Barringer et al. 1990; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Ordonez 1997). Out-married Filipino/as and their spouses both have higher levels of socioeconomic status and than in-married Filipino/as and their spouses with out-married Filipino/as also being younger.

Logistic Regression Results

To address Hypothesis 4 (that controlling for all other factors, I expect that women will be more likely to out-marry than men) I use a t-test to see if the difference between the values of the constants in each model of table 3 are significantly different and report the results in table 3. Results fail to support Hypothesis 4. Once all predictors of out-marriage are controlled for, women are not significantly more likely to out-marry than men (t= .140, p>.05). This further supports the previous statement that out-married Filipino/as are more similar than prior research demonstrates (Barringer et al. 1990; Hwang and Saenz 1997; Ordonez 1997). Men and women show no significant difference in their rates of out-marriage once all factors are controlled for.

To measure the overall fit of the model I use a Nagelkerke R-square. The Nagelkerke R-square is a pseudo R-square that measures the power of a logistic regression model. Although not based on the same formulas as the R-square in an OLS regression it also ranges from 1 to 0 with 1 describing a perfect model. The Nagelkerke R-square provides an approximation of the explained variance for a logistic regression model and seems not
to be a “goodness of fit,” but rather a way of evaluating an association in the model and
does not have a significance test although a score of around .30 is viewed as acceptable
(Ershoff, Solomon, and Dolan-Mullen 1999). Thus, the model accounted for about 30-
percent of the variation in the dependent variable for women and about 28 percent for
men.

*Filipinas*

To address Hypothesis 5, column 1 of Table 3 presents logistic regression
coefficients predicting the likelihood of out-marriage among Filipinas. Results of table 3
fail to support Hypothesis 5 since not all demographic, socioeconomic status, and
occupational variables have a positive effect on out-marriage. The effects of citizenship
and residence are negative, while employment is not a significant predictor for women.

Column 1 of table 3 shows that spouses’ age is a significant predictor of Filipina out-
marriage \(1-.987=.013\). Husbands’ age decreases the odds of Filipinas’ being out-
marrried by a factor of .013 or, for every year older the husband is it decreases their
likelihood of being out-married by 1.3 percent.

Respondents’ and spouses’ income are also significant predictors of Filipinas’ out-
marriage and both have a small, but positive effect on the likelihood of out-marriage
among Filipinas \(1-1.000=0\).

Both Filipinas’ college education and their husbands’ college education are
significant predictors of out-marriage. Having a college degree makes Filipinas 35.6
percent more likely than Filipinas without college degrees to be out-married \(1-
1.356=.356\). A Filipina and her husband having a college degree decrease the likelihood
of their husbands being out-married. This makes Filipinas’ husbands who have a college degree 37.5 percent less likely to be out-married (1-1.357=.357).

Having a college degree increases the likelihood of out-marriage for Filipinas. Previous research shows that Filipinas’ extremely high levels of education (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995; Barringer et al. 1990; Okamura 1998; Okamura and Agbayani-Siewert 1997; Ordonez 1997) lead to higher levels of assimilation (Blau et al. 1984) and in turn lead to higher levels of out-marriage.

For Filipinas and their husbands, being a citizen decreases the likelihood of out-marriage. Indeed, Filipinas who are U.S. citizens are 30.7 percent less likely to be out-married than Filipinas who are not U.S. citizens (1-.693=.307). For a white man, being a U.S. citizen decreases the likelihood of him being out-married. Husbands who are U.S. citizens are 68.8 percent less likely than spouses who are not citizens to be out-married (1-.312=.688).

When husbands speak English it significantly decreases the likelihood of out-marriage. Spouses who speak English are 92.4 percent less likely to be out-married than those spouses that do not speak English (1-.076=.924).

Filipinas residing in California, Hawai‘i, Ohio, New York, Texas, or Washington are 79.7 percent less likely to be out-married than Filipinas living in any of the other 44 states (1-.203=.797).

Having a professional occupation increases the likelihood of out-marriage for Filipinas and their husbands. Filipinas who hold managerial or professional jobs increase the likelihood of being out-married. A Filipina who holds a professional job is 90.2 percent more likely than a Filipina without a professional job to be out-married (1-
Husbands’ professional job status also has a significant positive effect on out-marriage. Husbands who have a professional occupation are 55.9 percent more likely than husbands who do not hold professional occupations to be out-married (1-1.559= .559).

Filipinos

Column 2 of table 3 presents logistic regression coefficients to address Hypothesis 6. Results fail to support Hypothesis 6 since socioeconomic status and employment in occupational positions does not have a positive effect on out-marriage.

Both Filipinos’ and their wives’ education have a significant effect on out-marriage. For Filipinos, having a college education increases the likelihood of out-marriage. Filipinos who are college graduates are 45 percent more likely than Filipinos who are not college graduates to be out-married (1-1.45=.450).

Spouses’ education is also a significant predictor of out-marriage, however, wives having a college education decreases the likelihood of out-marriage. The odds of being out-married are 99.4 percent lower for wives who have a college degree than for wives without a college degree (1-.006=.994).

Filipinos who are U.S. citizens are 26.5 percent less likely than Filipinos who are not U.S. citizens to be out-married (1-.735=.265). Wives who are U.S. citizens are 55.9 percent less likely than wives who are not U.S. citizens to be out-married (1-.441=.559).

The results for veteran status are not significant and therefore do not support Hypothesis 7. For Filipino/as and their spouses, there is no significant gender difference in veteran status and the likelihood of out-marriage.
Residing in high Filipino population states decreases the likelihood of being out-married. Filipinos who live in one of the six main states are 74 percent less likely than Filipinas who do not live in the six main states to be out-married (1-.260=.740). This finding supports Kitano and Daniels' (1995, 2001) theory that Filipinos are less likely to out-marry in places with high rates of diversity and more Filipo/as. Kitano and Daniels (1995, 2001) found that homogenous populations promote out-marriage because of a lack of eligible Filipino/a partners for Filipino/as.

Both Filipinos' and their wives' occupational statuses have a significant positive effect on out-marriage. The odds ratio shows that Filipinos who hold professional jobs are 127 percent more likely than Filipinos without professional jobs to be out-married (1-2.270=1.270). Spouses' occupation also has a significant affect on out-marriage. For Filipinos, the likelihood of out-marriage increases by 99 percent when their wives are in professional occupations (1-1.990=.990). For a Filipino to out-marry a white woman he would almost certainly have a professional or managerial type of employment.

Hypothesis 7 posits whether the effects education, income, veteran status, and spouses' veteran status are significantly different for men and women. To test Hypothesis 7 I conduct t-tests for the difference in coefficients for all independent variables across the two models. The results of this paper fail to support Hypothesis 7. Spouses' citizenship (t= -.1.166, p.<.05) and spouses' occupation (t=.444, p.<.05) are the only variables that are significantly different for men and women. Marrying a U.S. citizen increases the likelihood of out-marriage, but the effect is stronger for women than men. In addition, marrying a professional worker decreases the likelihood of out-marriage, but the effect is stronger for women than for men.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study extends previous research by examining Filipinos separately from other Asian ethnic groups. Much of the literature that focuses specifically on Filipinos is based on broad generalizations and lacks real empirical evidence (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995; Bonus 2000; Kitano and Daniels 1995, 2001; Okamura 1998; Ordonez 1997). Although of these previous works provide a valuable foundation for this thesis, more in-depth analysis is required to verify whether the previous findings on the results of Asian out-marriage can be directly applied to Filipino out-marriage.

As hypothesized, at the bivariate level there are significant differences between in-married and out-married Filipino/as. Out-married Filipino/as and their spouses have higher levels of education, income, assimilation factors, and occupational prestige than in-married individuals. Explanations for this difference are examined in the literature, but further inferences from the findings of this paper can be made. By now we know Filipino/as have high levels of education, income, assimilation, and holding professional occupations. Therefore, I surmise that while Filipino/as may out-marry for upward social movement, it is not as dramatic a leap up the social ladder as first thought. While a poverty stricken Filipina waiting for her strong white American to come save her from the paucity of lifestyle she is living may be a strong literary image, it is not reality.
Realistically, Filipino/as are succeeding in American society on their own. Out-marriage may not be the cause of assimilation on all levels, but the result of assimilation on those levels. For a successful Filipino/a in America the last small rung in the ladder of social acceptance may be out-marriage to whites. However, this may not even be a conscious act since due to Filipino/as’ high educational and occupational standing in society they come into contact with more whites, therefore out-marrying at higher rates.

Results showed a difference in the rate of out-marriage between men and women at the bivariate level, but this difference in explained away in the logistic regression. The main reason the difference disappears is because differences in the variables between Filipino/as account for differences in rates of out-marriage. Table 1 and Table 2 demonstrate the rather small bivariate differences in the results. When accounting for all variables, it is difficult for differences that small to have an overall significant effect.

When all variables are included in the analysis there is no gender difference in out-marriage. This could suggest that the values specifically directed towards Filipinas have also affected Filipinos. A significant gender difference could have suggested that Ordonez (1997) is correct in assuming that American culture views Filipinas as more valuable than Filipinos due to their perceived exotic and submissive nature. However, the results of this paper along with the findings of Revilla (1989) and Jensen (1995) suggest that Filipino/as are highly educated and assimilated individuals whose out-marriage rates may not be a result of whites’ conceptualization of them, but their outward desire to marry whites.
Results did not support Hypotheses 5 and 6 because not all demographic, socioeconomic status, and occupation variables positively affect out-marriage. Thus, rather than finding differences in demographic, assimilation, socioeconomic status, and occupational variables between Filipinos/as results instead show that, Filipinos/as are more alike than different. Both have similar levels of education, income, assimilation, and occupational status. These findings show support for previous research demonstrating that Filipinos/as share values and ideals (Jensen 1995; Revilla 1989).

While the overall gender difference was not significant, the impact of spouses’ citizenship and spouses’ occupation are different for men and women. It was surprising to find no overall gender difference in the likelihood of out-marriage. Filipinas are significantly more likely to out-marry men who have professional occupations and who are U.S. citizens. Previous research has found that marrying a white man is the ultimate upward move in society (Bergano and Bergano-Kinney 1997; Ordonez 1997), however these findings suggest that social status and citizenship take precedence in out-marriage.

An explanation for this could be that race is not as important to Filipinos/as moving up the social ladder as first hypothesized. While marrying a white man or woman could be considered an upward social move, marrying a Filipino/a of higher social standing could provide the upward social move as well. For a Filipina who is not a citizen, marrying either a white man or Filipino who is a U.S. citizen provides the same upward social move. Future research on the demographic, educational, and occupational makeup of these specific couples could provide interesting results. If indeed, Filipinos/as who are not citizens marry Filipinos who have a much higher education and income levels than that
of the white men in this group, it could provide evidence that extremely high education and income for Filipino men nullifies the racial imbalance.

Discussion

The findings of this paper bring up important questions about the methods used in examining Asian ethnic groups, the cultural beliefs of Filipino/as, and the differences in Filipino/a out-marriage shown in previous literature. By showing that Filipino/as are fundamentally different from other Asian ethnic groups, we can theorize that all Asian ethnic groups may also have differences. Future research needs to realize that these differences exist and divide Asians into their respective ethnic groups. Only by doing this can researchers begin to understand the differences that really exist between Asian ethnic groups.

This paper also brings up important questions about how gender, culture, and out-marriage interact. I posit three main implications of how this paper relates to gender and out-marriage. First, the results of this paper allow researchers to study Filipino/a out-marriage from different perspectives. Qualitative research may examine the specific personal ideals of Filipino/as and how those ideals relate to and promote out-marriage. Second, future research should concentrate on the specific cultural reasons why, for Filipino/as, white Americans are more idealized than other ethnicities. And third, from a cultural studies perspective, how culture impacts all of us, even when it is gender based and directed towards a certain segment of the population. Knowing how the cultural
standards of Filipinas also become the standards of Filipinos could provide insight on how these values affect personal relationships.

Although this paper examined Filipino/as separately, it is not without limitations. The U.S. Census data used for this study has been shown to under-sample non-citizens. Some sources show as many as one million non-citizens are left out of the U.S. Census data, therefore potentially affecting the data (Agbayani-Siewert and Revilla 1995). In the case of Filipino in-marriage this could be problematic.

This paper is also written from a mostly Filipino/a perspective. While white spouses are accounted for, the cultural backgrounds and beliefs of the white husbands and wives in this paper are never as closely examined as Filipino/as. While it is assumed that a white man and woman who are U.S. citizens will be culturally assimilated into American society, questions about how they view Filipino/as and out-marriage are theorized in the literature but never addressed in the paper. Future research should be conducted from the white husbands’ and wives’ point of view to examine the factors that influence out-marriage on their behalf.

Issues of causality are also a limitation of this paper. This paper uses cross-sectional data therefore there is no way of knowing the casual mechanisms underlying marriage patterns. For example, knowing whether speaking English causes out-marriage or is the result of out-marriage is important to consider and should be examined in future research using longitudinal data.

Other limitations are that cultural ideals are hard to quantify. While previous literature shows Filipino/as to have a cultural ideal of out-marrying whites, it is hard to
quantify cultural ideals. This paper attempted to address these cultural ideals by including variables that are directly related to assimilation, however, the inward beliefs of Filipino/as could differ from their cultural actions. Future research may take a more qualitative approach to this question in determining what are the specific cultural implications and causes of out-marriage.
APPENDIX A:

Couple Matching in IPUMS

Couples are matched by using the men's location number and women's serial numbers and then combining the two into a new variable named "match." Within the data, each line represents the couple rather than an individual respondent. White only couples are then omitted leaving only in-married and out-married Filipinos.

From here men and women are divided into separate data sets. Each Filipino respondent is coded as 1 while each white respondent is coded as 0. Therefore, when the men and women are separated, a marriage equaling 1 is an out-marriage while a marriage equaling 0 is an in-marriage.
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<th>Out-married</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Age (years)</td>
<td>45.56 (15.46)</td>
<td>41.82 (12.13)</td>
<td>-10.61***</td>
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<td>Male age (years)</td>
<td>50.50 (16.97)</td>
<td>47.64 (16.06)</td>
<td>-6.25***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respondent's total personal income</td>
<td>$12,900 ($12,869)</td>
<td>$17,705 ($18,682)</td>
<td>9.28***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spouse's total personal income</td>
<td>$18,593 ($18,606)</td>
<td>$31,745 ($35,912)</td>
<td>13.35***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respondent education (1=college graduate)</td>
<td>25.60</td>
<td>43.00</td>
<td>155.87***</td>
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<tr>
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<td>21.40</td>
<td>29.70</td>
<td>41.65***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Citizenship (1=citizen)</td>
<td>57.00</td>
<td>60.70</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.80***</td>
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<td>Spouse's citizenship (1=citizen)</td>
<td>65.20</td>
<td>47.10</td>
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<td>98.40</td>
<td>99.70</td>
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<td>47.84***</td>
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<td>98.80</td>
<td>1.92</td>
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<td>.90</td>
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<td>41.40</td>
<td>238.31***</td>
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<td>State (1=6 main population states)</td>
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<td>69.50</td>
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<td>Respondent Occupation (1=manager/professional)</td>
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<td>Spouse occupation (1=manager/professional)</td>
<td>57.20</td>
<td>69.80</td>
<td>71.99***</td>
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</table>

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

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### Table 2. Comparison of In and Out-married Filipinos for all Independent Variables in Analysis, Percent, and Means (with Standard Deviations in parentheses) N=(12,415). IPUMS, 1990.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Independent Variables and Coding</th>
<th>In-married</th>
<th>Out-married</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>( \chi^2 )</th>
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<td>Spouse’s Age (years)</td>
<td>45.56</td>
<td>44.64</td>
<td>-2.06**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respondent’s age (years)</td>
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<td>46.68</td>
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<td>$13,239</td>
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<td>Respondent’s total personal income</td>
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<td>$26,264</td>
<td>9.96***</td>
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<td>Spouse’s education (1=college graduate)</td>
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<td>20.40</td>
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<td><strong>Residence and Citizenship</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Citizenship (1=citizen)</td>
<td>65.20</td>
<td>69.70</td>
<td>9.31***</td>
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<td>Spouse’s citizenship (1=citizen)</td>
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<td>40.80</td>
<td>72.76***</td>
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<td>Speaks English (1=speaks English)</td>
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<td>52.73***</td>
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<td>97.80</td>
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<td>Spouse’s birthplace (1=United States)</td>
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<td>2729.48***</td>
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<td>State (1=6 main population states)</td>
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<td>75.30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respondent employed (1=yes)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse employed (1=yes)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respondent occupation (1=manager/professional)</td>
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<td>55.10</td>
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<td>Spouse occupation (1=manager/professional)</td>
<td>57.20</td>
<td>76.50</td>
<td>183.36***</td>
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</table>

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

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Table 3. Logistic Regression Coefficients and odds ratios predicting the likelihood of out-marriage for Filipinas and Filipinos.

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<th>Independent Variables</th>
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<th>odds ratio</th>
<th>Filipinos</th>
<th></th>
<th>b (SE)</th>
<th>odds ratio</th>
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<td>.000</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
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<td>Spouse's Logged Total Personal Income</td>
<td>.000***</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>1.000</td>
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*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001
REFERENCES


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Chairman, UNLV Graduate Community Service Committee
Graduate Student Representative of the Regent Scholar Committee

Thesis Title: Gender Differences in Predictors of Filipino Out-Marriage

Thesis Examination Committee:
Chairperson, Dr. Jennifer Keene
Committee Member, Dr. Ana Prokos
Committee Member, Dr. Matt Wray
Graduate Faculty Representative, Dr. Thomas Lamatsch