

Love Isn't Colorblind: Internalized Racism, Resistance and Empowerment Against Racism, and Asian American Men's Racialized Dating Preferences

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Past studies indicate that sociocultural factors may affect who Asian American adults wish to date. To expand upon this burgeoning field of research, the present study examined how internalized racism and resistance and empowerment against racism are associated with Asian American men's preferences to date four different racial groups of women: Asian women, Black women, Latina women, and White women. The study included a sample of 244 Asian American men living in the United States who completed a cross-sectional online survey. Results showed that internalized racism was negatively associated with a dating preference toward Asian and Black women, whereas greater resistance and empowerment against racism was positively associated with a dating preference toward Asian, Black, Latina, and White women. Paired-samples *t* tests also revealed that participants were more likely to prefer dating Asian women compared to Black, Latina, and White women; more likely to prefer dating White women compared to Black and Latina women; and more likely to prefer dating Latina women compared to Black women. The present study's results emphasize the importance of taking into account how sociocultural factors such as internalized racism and resistance and empowerment against racism are associated with Asian American men's racial dating preferences. Implications for interventionists and practitioners working with Asian American men are discussed.

Public Significance Statement

The results of this study highlight how Asian American men's racial dating preferences may be affected by broader systems of power and privilege pertaining to race. Practitioners and interventionists may consider working with this population to prevent and reduce internalized racism and to promote resistance and empowerment against racism.

Keywords: Asian American men, dating preferences, romance, attraction

Although race is a social construct, the repercussions of race and racism are undeniable. Racism can affect the way people of color are treated directly in relation to their perceived attractiveness and relational desirability. One growing area of research aims to understand how manifestations of racism (e.g., internalized racism) affect racial dating preferences. Although there is current literature on racial dating preferences, most literature focuses on the aggregate experiences of Asian American people, with findings differing based on intersectional identities (Tsunokai et al., 2014). Heterosexual Asian men, for example, are less likely than heterosexual Asian

women and gay Asian men to prefer dating a White person (Tsunokai et al., 2014) and are more willing than Asian women to date a romantic partner of the same race (Hwang, 2013). Another study revealed that Asian American men are interested in dating Asian women, moderately interested in dating White and Latina women, and uninterested in dating Black women (Lin & Lundquist, 2013). Finally, though not within the realm of peer-reviewed research, feminist writers have commented on how Asian American men in popular media (e.g., comedians) often make comments that elevate White women as beautiful compared to darker skinned women (Agrawal, 2017), perhaps as a way to offset the discrimination they themselves as Asian American men face in the realm of dating (Keum, Ahn, et al., 2023). While this research and attention in popular culture provides a promising start to understanding Asian American men's dating patterns, little research has examined the underlying psychological mechanisms that may contribute specifically to the racial dating patterns of Asian American men. Thus, in the present study, we examined two possible factors: internalized racism and resistance and empowerment against racism as possible predictors of racialized dating preferences among Asian American men.

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Understanding the racial dating preferences of Asian American men is important because of the unique marginalization that they face within the context of racial and gendered oppression in the United States. [Keum, Ahn, et al. \(2023\)](#) have found that the gendered racial socialization of Asian American men includes experiences of gendered racism and internalized oppression, such as stereotypes of gendered racist emasculation of Asian men relating to unattractiveness and undesirability, media portrayal of Asian American men, and internalization of these messages of gendered racism. The implications of emasculated stereotypes and the undesirable portrayal of Asian American men vary, including effects on Asian American men's levels of self-esteem. Furthermore, within the context of Asian American masculinity, the Intersectional Fusion paradigm ([T. Liu & Wong, 2018](#)) highlights that, for Asian American men, experiences of racism may motivate them to engage in more traditionally masculine behaviors to reclaim or regain a positive sense of self. While past research has highlighted the racism that Asian American men face in dating contexts ([Galinsky et al., 2013](#)), fewer studies to our knowledge have examined how Asian American men themselves may reify or reject White supremacist beauty standards in their own dating choices. The present study thus advances the research base on Asian American masculinity by investigating Asian American men's dating preferences—recognizing Asian American men as agentic beings and not only viewing them as their experiences of gendered racism—and the psychological factors that influence these preferences.

The intersectional prototypicality model provides a glimpse into how race and gender stereotypes intersect for Asian American men ([Wong & McCullough, 2021](#)). In their analysis of the current literature, [Wong and McCullough \(2021\)](#) argued that Asian American men's experiences of racism within the dating sphere may be due to how they are hypo-prototypical within this social context (i.e., in heteronormative and heterosexual relationships, women may prefer to date a masculine man, and because Asian American men are stereotyped as effeminate, they may thus be perceived as undesirable). For example, in a study of online dating profiles, only 9% of heterosexual women preferred to date Asian American men whereas 61% of heterosexual men expressed a preference to date Asian American women ([Robnett & Feliciano, 2011](#)). Furthermore, Asian American men, alongside Black women, are least likely to secure follow-up dates ([Fisman et al., 2008](#)). It is thus possible that Asian American men may internalize views of themselves as unattractive and may aspire toward dating White women as a way to compensate for feelings of racial inferiority ([Keum, Ahn, et al., 2023](#)). However, it is important not to assume that Asian American men feel inferior about their racial identities given that this population may vary in their levels of internalized racism and resistance and empowerment against racism. Understanding the racial dating preferences of Asian American men may lend insight as to how internalizing, or resisting these messages, affects this population and how they navigate race within the context of who they choose to date.

Internalized Racism

Internalized racism pertains to the ways in which people of color believe the negative stereotypes that are perpetuated about their racial and ethnic identities ([Speight, 2007](#)). Broadly, internalized racism has been associated with depressive symptoms, lower levels

of self-esteem, distress, and suicidal ideation for marginalized racial groups ([Keum, Wong, & Salim-Eissa, 2023](#); [Roberson & Pieterse, 2021](#); [Willis et al., 2021](#)). Among Asian American adults, internalized racism has been associated with dissociation and dissatisfaction with other Asian people and Asian American identity, as well as experiences of shame and depressive symptoms ([Choi et al., 2017](#); [Trieu, 2019](#)). Among queer Asian American men, internalized racism has been positively associated with disordered eating and a greater preference to date White men and a lesser preference to date Asian men ([Le et al., 2023](#); [Le & Kler, 2024](#)). However, to our knowledge, these are the only two studies that have examined internalized racism and its outcomes among Asian American men, highlighting the overall paucity of research about this construct among this understudied population.

Understanding the influence of internalized racism in the context of racial dating preferences is important because internalized racism affects perceptions of the self and perceptions of others based on race ([Pyke, 2010](#); [Trieu, 2019](#); [Wong-Padoongpatt et al., 2022](#)). Therefore, endorsement of differing levels of internalized racism may influence one's perception of attraction. For example, an individual with high levels of internalized racism will likely hold White folks in higher regard compared to other people of color, and an individual with lower levels of internalized racism may be less likely to hold racialized dating preferences on the basis of race. Current research on queer Asian American men's racial dating preferences show that higher levels of internalized racism are associated with a racial dating preference of White men and less of a preference to date Asian men ([Le & Kler, 2024](#)). However, this article did not examine the extent to which internalized racism may be associated with other racial groups, such as Black individuals or Latinx individuals. Thus, in the present study, we examine whether for Asian American men internalized racism is associated with racialized dating preferences of White, Asian, Black, and Latina women.

Resistance and Empowerment Against Racism

Resistance and empowerment against racism is a framework for people, particularly people of color, to address racism. Specifically, it refers to active strategies used by people of color to challenge the existence and impacts of racism, which can be conceptualized through actions such as confronting racism in interpersonal relationships, participating in organizations and activities that fight racism, practicing awareness of racism and its repercussions, and engaging in leadership that dismantles racism ([Suyemoto et al., 2022](#)). Currently, there is a slowly growing body of research on the impacts of resistance and empowerment against racism for people of color. People of color with higher resistance and empowerment against racism have shown several positive health outcomes, such as greater active coping and emotional support, higher levels of individuals' evaluation of collective membership self-esteem within racial identity groups, and greater body appreciation and acceptance ([Chan et al., 2023](#); [Suyemoto et al., 2022](#)).

In addition to health outcomes, Asian American men's resistance and empowerment against racism may be associated with their racial dating preferences. For example, Asian American men who endorse higher levels of resistance and empowerment against racism may be more critical and aware of stereotypes and other societal messaging that uplifts White and Eurocentric physical features as ideal. Thus, those who are resistant against racism may be more critically aware that

Whiteness is perpetuated as the standard of beauty (Silvestrini, 2020). This, in turn, may lead them to exhibit less of a preference for White individuals and greater willingness to date people of color. For example, among queer Asian American men, those with greater resistance and empowerment against racism reported less of a preference to date White men and more of a preference to go on dates with men of any race (Le & Kler, 2024). However, it is important to emphasize that this study did not examine Asian American men's racial dating preferences toward Black and Latinx individuals, a key gap in the literature given past studies highlighting the complex relationship between Asian, Black, and Latinx communities (Pérez, Vicuña, et al., 2023; Pérez, Vicuña, & Ramos, 2023; Tran et al., 2018).

In the present study, we examined Asian American men's dating preferences toward Asian, Black, Latinx, and White women given the complex relationship between these racial groups within the United States. Asian Americans are often falsely stereotyped as the "model minority" or as a monolithic racial group that is educationally and economically successful and does not experience negative health consequences (Yi & Todd, 2024). Past research highlights that some Asian Americans may indeed strive toward assimilating to Whiteness, such as through attaining markers of success traditionally reserved for White people (e.g., by choosing to spend time primarily or solely with White people, self-endorsing model minority stereotypes as a way to appear appealing and less threatening to those in positions of power) instead of prioritizing solidarity with Black and Latinx communities (Wang & Santos, 2023). Thus, it is possible that Asian American men who prefer to date White women over women of color are reifying racial hierarchies within the United States. These hierarchies suggest that Whiteness (e.g., fair skin, Eurocentric facial features) are the most desirable and that those who deviate from these standards, such as darker skinned Black individuals, are undesirable (Watson et al., 2019). Indeed, research suggests that anti-Black racism is present in the Asian American community, with some Asian Americans perpetuating beliefs that White people and features associated with Whiteness are more desirable than those of communities of color (Le, Iwamoto, & Souliard, 2022; Wang & Santos, 2023).

The Present Study

The present study investigates how internalized racism and resistance and empowerment toward racism are associated with Asian American men's racial dating preferences (i.e., Asian women, Black women, Latina women, and White women). Based on existent literature (Le & Kler, 2024; Silvestrini, 2020), internalized racism and resistance and empowerment toward racism are hypothesized to be directly associated with racial dating preferences. Higher levels of internalized racism are hypothesized to relate to higher dating preference for White women and lower preference for dating Asian, Black, and Latina women. Higher levels of resistance and empowerment toward racism are hypothesized to be positively associated with preference for dating Asian, Black, and Latina women and negatively associated with a preference for dating White women.

Method

Procedure

The study received institutional review board approval from a large mid-Atlantic university. Participants completed several validated

questionnaires, demographic questions, and an informed consent form through Qualtrics. Participants were recruited through the Qualtrics online server. This process entailed participants to join Qualtrics through a double opt-in process, in which they were invited to participate in surveys that they were eligible for based on demographic information that they provided.

In regard to the present study, participants were invited to participate through a generic email with no specifics regarding the topic of the survey. The first author paid Qualtrics a rate of about \$6 per participant. Upon completing the survey, participants were given "Qualtrics points," which could be redeemed for credit for online games, gift cards, sky miles, and so forth. The inclusion criteria for the present study included: (a) age of 18 years or older and (b) identify as an Asian American man. The survey took about 30 min to complete and contained two validity check items (e.g., "Please select 'agree' for this item.")

Participants

The final sample for the present study included 244 Asian American men. In total, 290 participants accessed the survey. Of those 290 participants, 11 did not complete any surveys and 26 did not complete any of the outcome measures, resulting in their exclusion. Eight participants identified as gay and were excluded given that our outcome measures examined dating preferences toward women specifically. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 84 ($M = 36.89$, $SD = 12.5$). The most common ethnicities included 28% Chinese, 17% Indian, 13% Filipino, 10% Korean, 7% Japanese, 7% Vietnamese, 4% Taiwanese, and 3% or less of the following: Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, Singaporean, Cambodian, Thai, Hmong, Bangladeshi, Indonesian, Malaysian, multiracial or multiethnic, and an option not listed above. Most participants identified as heterosexual (89%), 6% identified as bisexual, 2% as uncertain, and 3% as an option not listed above. The majority of participants (99%) identified as cisgender, and three participants identified as transgender (1%).

About half of participants (52%) were born in the United States, and half (48%) of participants were born outside the United States. In terms of income, 25% of participants reported an income between \$10,000 and \$49,999, 39% reported an income between \$50,000 and \$99,999, 32% reported an income between \$100,000 or more, and 4% stated that they were unsure of their income. Participants were predominantly first generation (41%), followed by second generation (37%), third generation (12%), 1.5 generation (9%), and adoptee (.4%). In terms of educational attainment, 11% reported completing a high school diploma, 16% having completed some college, 49% a college degree, and 23% a professional or graduate degree. Due to rounding off, not all percentages may total to 100.

Study Variables

Demographics

Participants completed survey items that assessed age, gender identity, sexual orientation, ethnicity, education, income, nativity status, and generational status.

Internalized Racism

Internalized racism was assessed using the Internalized Racism in Asian Americans Scale (Choi et al., 2017), which contains 14 items that assess the extent to which Asian Americans believe and agree with racist ideas pertaining to their racial group. The scale contains three subscales (i.e., Self-Negativity, Weakness Stereotypes, and Appearance Bias) that we summed to create a composite score. Example items include “Asian men can’t satisfy their sexual partners” and “Asians don’t make good leaders.” Participants responded to items on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Higher scores indicated greater internalized racism. Predictive validity for the scale was established through a significant positive association with depressive symptoms (Choi et al., 2017). The scale has shown adequate reliability (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .87$) in a past sample of Asian American men (Le et al., 2023). Cronbach’s α for the present study was .93.

Resistance and Empowerment Against Racism

Resistance and empowerment against racism was measured using the Resistance and Empowerment Against Racism Scale (Suyemoto et al., 2022). The scale includes 26 items that assess the extent to which participants take tangible action to dismantle racist oppression. The scale contains four subscales (i.e., Awareness and Relational Resistance, Participation in Resistance Activities and Organizations, Interpersonal Confrontation, and Leadership for Resistance) that we summed to create a composite score. Two example items include “I participate in activities or organizations that aim to reduce or resist racial discrimination” and “I point it out to people when they say something that stereotypes or racially discriminates.” Participants rated the items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*rarely*) to 6 (*almost always*). Higher scores indicated greater resistance and empowerment against racism. The scale demonstrated convergent validity through positive associations with racial identity and a negative association with color-blind racial attitudes (Suyemoto et al., 2022). The scale has shown adequate reliability in a past study of Asian American men (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .95$; Le & Kler, 2024). In the present study, Cronbach’s α was .95.

Dating Preferences

Participants’ racialized dating preferences were measured using the following two items for each of the four racial categories: “Everything else being equal, how likely would you be to consider a (Asian/Black/Latino/White) woman as a dating partner?” and “Everything else being equal, how interested would you feel in dating a (Asian/Black/Latino/White) woman?” These items were revised versions of the dating preferences item utilized in J. H. Liu et al., 1995, e.g., the original item “Everything else being equal, how appropriate a dating partner” would you consider someone who is (Asian/Black/Latino/White) was revised to “Everything else being equal, how likely would you consider a (Asian/Black/Latino/White) woman as a dating partner” to reflect changes in colloquial language since the original article’s publication. Both items were scored on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not at all likely*) to 7 (*extremely likely*) for the first question and from 1 (*not at all interested*) to 7 (*extremely interested*) for the second question. Higher scores

indicated greater racialized dating preference. Cronbach’s α in the original study ranged from .87 to .93. Cronbach’s α in the present study for the Asian, Black, Latino, and White dating preferences were .90, .96, .94, and .95, respectively.

Data Analytic Plan

We examined univariate statistics and bivariate correlations between all study variables in SPSS. Given that none of the demographic variables were associated with any of the outcome variables, we did not include any covariates in the structural equation model, as done in past research with Asian American men (Le, Bradshaw, Pease, et al., 2022). Next, we used Mplus (Muthén & Muthén, 2017) to execute latent variable modeling and to examine whether internalized racism and resistance and empowerment against racism were related to racialized dating preferences. There were no missing data among the predictor or outcome variables in the present study. We also used bootstrapping with 5,000 bootstrap samples. We used facet representative parceling techniques for the two predictor variables, internalized racism and resistance and empowerment against racism, to develop latent variables. Specifically, we used the three subscales (Self-Negativity, Weakness Stereotypes, and Appearance Bias) of the Internalized Racism Scale and the four subscales (Awareness and Relational Resistance, Leadership for Resistance, Participation in Resistance Activities and Organizations, and Interpersonal Confrontation) of the Resistance and Empowerment Against Racism scale as the parcels. Given that our outcome variables only included two items per variable, we used observed variables for the four racialized dating preference outcomes. We examined the fit indices to examine the model fit with acceptable fit indices of a comparative fit index (CFI) over .90, root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) of .08 or less, and standardized root-mean-square residual (SRMR) of .08 or less (Kline, 2015). After, we then examined the direct pathways between the endogenous and exogenous variables.

Results

Table 1 includes means, standard deviations, and correlations of all study variables. With this sample, the mean score for Asian dating preference was highest, followed by White, Latina, and Black women. We also ran paired-samples *t* tests to test whether there were significant differences in racial dating preferences. Participants were more likely to report dating preferences for Asian women compared to Black women, $t(244) = 15.51, p < .001$; Asian women compared to Latina women, $t(244) = 9.34, p < .001$; and Asian women compared to White women, $t(244) = 6.40, p < .001$. In addition, participants were more likely to report dating preferences for White women compared to Black women, $t(244) = 11.78, p < .001$; White women compared to Latina women, $t(244) = 5.14, p < .001$; and Latina women compared to Black women, $t(244) = 10.92, p < .001$. In addition, overall, the sample had relatively low internalized racism. In terms of bivariate correlations, internalized racism was negatively correlated with wanting to date Asian or Black women, and resistance and empowerment against racism was positively correlated with wanting to date Asian, Black, and White women.

Table 1
Univariate and Bivariate Correlation Table

Variable name	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Internalized racism	—					
2. REAR	.06	—				
3. Asian dating preference	-.16	.13	—			
4. Black dating preference	-.18**	.18**	.08	—		
5. Latina dating preference	-.09	.23**	.13*	.66**	—	
6. White dating preference	.04	.17**	.10	.39**	.70**	—
<i>M</i>	40.00	64.89	11.80	7.72	9.61	10.36
<i>SD</i>	12.98	22.32	2.50	3.48	3.05	2.79

Note. REAR = resistance and empowerment against racism.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Measurement Model

We first tested a measurement model to examine the fit indices for both the resistance and empowerment against racism and internalized racism variables. Model fit indices demonstrated inadequate fit, CFI = .86, RMSEA = .23, SRMR = .07. Thus, we examined modifications to the model, which suggested correlating error terms of five different pairs of parcels. We then examined pairs that would be theoretically appropriate and thus correlated Parcel 5 (leadership for resistance) with Parcel 6 (participation in resistance activities and organizations) in the Resistance and Empowerment Against Racism scale given that both parcels represented taking action against racism through various activities

or organizations. After correlating the two item parcels, the measurement model indicated adequate fit, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .06, SRMR = .05.

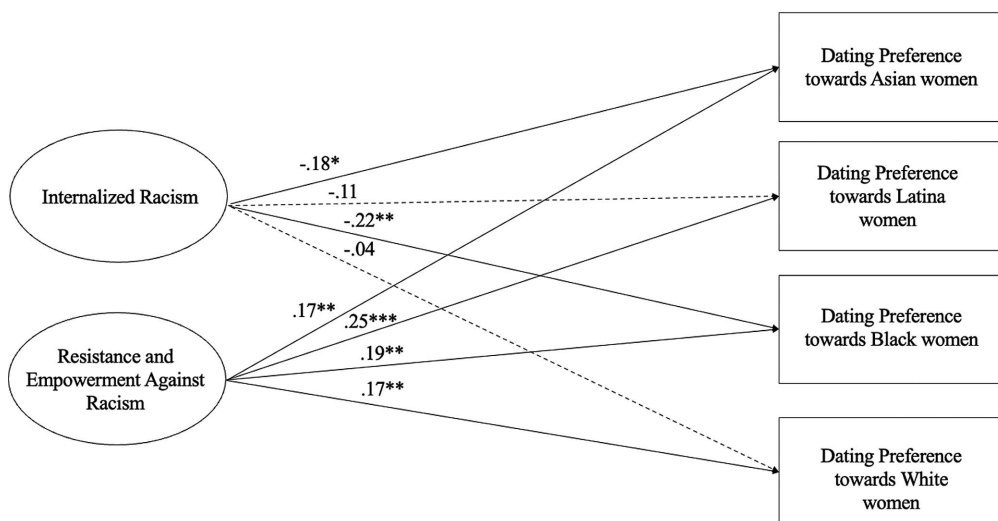
Structural Equation Model

We then tested the structural equation model testing whether internalized racism and resistance and empowerment against racism were significantly associated with racialized dating preferences. The overall model fit was adequate, CFI = .98, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .05. In terms of direct links, we found that internalized racism was negatively related to a preference for dating Black women ($\beta = -.22$, $SE = .07$, $p = .001$) and Asian women ($\beta = -.18$, $SE = .08$, $p = .02$). That is, the more Asian American men reported greater internalized racism, the less likely they were to want to date Black women and Asian women. However, there were no associations between Asian American men's internalized racism and dating preference for Latina woman ($\beta = -.10$, $SE = .06$, $p = .07$) and White women ($\beta = .04$, $SE = .06$, $p = .52$). As hypothesized, participants who reported greater resistance and empowerment against racism were more likely to report dating preferences for Asian women ($\beta = .17$, $SE = .07$, $p = .009$), Black women ($\beta = .19$, $SE = .06$, $p = .001$), and Latina women ($\beta = .25$, $SE = .06$, $p < .001$). Unexpectedly, resistance and empowerment against racism was also positively related to a preference for dating White women ($\beta = 0.17$, $SE = .06$, $p = .008$). Figure 1 displays the results of this analysis.

Discussion

This study investigated how internalized racism and resistance and empowerment against racism are associated with Asian American men's racial dating preferences, building upon past research that

Figure 1
Structural Equation Model of Sociocultural Factors Predicting Racialized Preferences



Note. Significant pathways are portrayed with bolded lines, whereas nonsignificant pathways are portrayed with dotted lines.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

examined these preferences among an exclusively queer sample of Asian American men (Le & Kler, 2024). Internalized racism was negatively associated with a preference for dating Asian and Black women. On the other hand, resistance and empowerment against racism was positively associated with wanting to date Asian, Black, Latina, and White women.

Internalized Racism and Dating Preferences

Our hypotheses related to internalized racism and dating preferences were partially supported by study findings. Specifically, higher levels of internalized racism were negatively correlated with wanting to date Asian and Black women. This negative association between internalized racism and wanting to date an Asian woman converges with past literature as internalized racism among Asian American adults is positively associated with dissatisfaction for other Asian American people (Trieu, 2019). Additionally, current research on internalized racism often points to the individual psychological impacts, including experiences of shame and depressive symptoms (Choi et al., 2017). Our study further highlights how Asian American men with greater internalized racism, who may feel more negatively about their own racial identity, feel less desire to date an Asian woman.

The negative association between internalized racism and wanting to date Black women relates to research on Black women's general experiences of invisibility. Current literature points to the messages of invalidation projected onto Black women that uphold White beauty standards (Awad et al., 2015). Indeed, Black women have been found to have experiences of invisibility through gendered racism in general spaces like college campuses (Newton, 2022). Given Black women's experiences of invisibility and tension with beauty standards, it may be that Asian American men with greater internalized racism also buy into racist views that Black women lack attractiveness and thus find Black women less desirable to date.

No significant associations were found between internalized racism and a preference for dating Latina or White women. It is possible that ambiguity of the term "Latina" may be related to participants' lack of preference in the face of internalized racism given that Latino/a/x has evolved in being a panethnic label that encapsulates multiple racial identities (including White identity; Mora et al., 2022). Past research emphasizes that the Latinx community varies widely in regard to skin tone and that some members of this community may pass as White, whereas others contend with colorism due to their darker skin tones (Adames et al., 2016; Teran et al., 2024). The lack of positive correlation between internalized racism and dating White women may be related to ways that internalized racism and gender play a role in shaping Asian American men's experiences. As reviewed by Hwang (2021), gendered stereotypes of Asian men include invisibility and emasculation. Thus, internalized racism experienced by Asian men may be more related to feelings of invisibility and emasculation compared to other men (including White men), rather than specifically dating White women. This finding contrasts with previous research which showed that for both Asian American women and queer Asian American men, internalized racism was positively associated with a White dating preference in addition to being negatively associated with an Asian dating preference (Le & Ahn, 2024; Le & Kler, 2024). Future

research may seek to examine what factors may underlie differences in dating preferences between Asian American subgroups across facets of identity, such as gender and sexual orientation, as there are Asian American subgroups whose dating preferences have not yet been investigated including low-income Asian Americans.

Resistance and Empowerment Against Racism and Dating Preferences

Asian American men who reported greater resistance and empowerment against racism showed a greater preference for wanting to date Asian, Black, Latina, and White women. Asian American men who take action against structures of racism seem to exhibit more openness to dating women of many racial identities. Suyemoto et al. (2022) conceptualized this resistance as an active form of activism against racism. Indeed, participation in active resistance against racism may warrant individuals to recognize and actively work against existent racial biases. Thus, Asian American men who engage in more of this racial justice work may experience greater acceptance and appreciation of women across racial identities through internally dismantled racist stereotypes and views about Asian, Black, and Latina women's body acceptance and attractiveness (Chan et al., 2023). The findings of the present study build upon both the Intersectional Fusion paradigm (T. Liu & Wong, 2018) and the intersectional prototypicality model (Wong & McCullough, 2021) by showing how Asian American men who engage in resistance and empowerment against racism also exhibit a greater openness to dating women from multiple races. As suggested by both of these models and qualitative research with Asian American men that adopts a strengths-based approach (Keum, Ahn, et al., 2023), Asian American men are not just passive recipients of racism. Rather, they may engage in action to combat racism, which may also influence the types of romantic connections and relationships they form as well.

The positive association between resistance and empowerment against racism and greater preference for dating White women was unexpected. However, it is possible that Asian American men who engage in more racial justice work also feel more confident about themselves and their own attractiveness given activism's correlation to well-being (Klar & Kasser, 2009). This heightened confidence may potentially lend itself to an openness for dating White women in addition to women of other races.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although this study contributes to the current literature on factors affecting Asian men's racialized dating preferences, study limitations still exist. One limitation of the present study is the use of cross-sectional data, which precludes us from making temporal or causal interpretations based on this study's findings. Another major limitation of the study was that participants were predominantly East Asian and cisgender, so future research may examine the more specific racial dating preferences of other ethnicities (e.g., South Asian and Southeast Asian men) and gender identities of Asian men (e.g., trans Asian men). We also did not assess participants' skin tone, which is another factor that may affect their dating preferences. Indeed, research suggests that darker skinned Asian Americans differed from the dating preferences of lighter skinned Asian

American people, with findings suggesting that darker skinned Asian Americans were more willing to date Black and Latinx people and less willing to date other Asian Americans as compared to lighter skin Asian Americans (Tsunokai et al., 2019). Thus, results from the present study are not fully representative or encapsulating of all Asian American men.

Study limitations also include the understanding of participants' dating preferences based on four major racial groups. Preferences were gathered through participants' self-perceived likelihood of dating Asian, Black, Latina, and White women. Race is often more complex than the categories given to participants in the study, and the present study was thus not inclusive of preferences including multiracial or indigenous people. Future directions for research in this area also includes developing a greater understanding of participants' reasoning for their preferences, such as through mixed methods or qualitative work. These approaches may lend further insight as to why participants' preferences exist and how participants' personal experiences may shape these preferences. Another limitation of the present study includes that we did not assess participants' current marital or dating status. Especially for those who identify as monogamous, perhaps participants' dating preferences may differ based on whether they are already in a romantic relationship and based on the race of their current romantic partner if so. Finally, this study utilized Qualtrics for data collection, such that participants must have had access to the internet to complete the study. Future research may seek to diversify their recruitment methods to access participants who may not have access to the internet or to recruit individuals who have not opted into taking surveys as part of the Qualtrics online recruitment platform.

Implications

Understanding the factors that influence Asian American men's racial dating preferences is important given the oppression they face through gendered and racialized stereotypes (Keum, Ahn, et al., 2023). Our study highlights the importance of considering socioculturally focused factors such as internalized racism and resistance and empowerment against racism when understanding this population's racial dating preferences. For example, clinicians working with Asian American men may consider fostering conversation related to the impacts of these factors if Asian American men report distress in regard to dating or romance. This study also highlights the necessity of structural interventions (e.g., diversification of representation in media, programs that prevent interpersonal forms of racism against Asian American men) that may help prevent internalized racism from manifesting within Asian American men in the first place (Appel & Weber, 2021; Boone Blanchard et al., 2021; Simon & Hoyt, 2013).

Last, these findings may be beneficial to Asian American men themselves. Asian American men may cultivate greater self-awareness about the intrapersonal ways in which internalized racism and resistance and empowerment against racism collective racial self-esteem shape their dating preferences and patterns. They may thus benefit from engaging in activities that may enhance their positive feelings about their racial identities, such as racial justice activism or being in community with fellow Asian American people.

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