



University of Florida

InfoTrac OneFile

Article 1 of 2


 *The Sociological Quarterly*, Summer 2002 v43 i3 p335(23)

Mark



**Socially embedded identities: theories, typologies, and processes of racial identity among black/white biracials.** *Kerry Ann Rockquemore; David L. Brunsma.*

**Author's Abstract:** COPYRIGHT 2002 University of California Press

Current research on racial identity construction among biracial people derives primarily from small convenience samples and assumes that individuals with one black and one white parent have only two options for racial identity: "black" or "biracial." **Rockquemore's** (1999) taxonomy of racial identity options is used as a framework to synthesize existing research and to generate hypotheses that are explored using survey data from a sample of 177 biracial respondents. The findings support a multidimensional view of racial identity by illustrating that biracial people make various identity choices, albeit "choices" that are differentially available due to an individual's structural location.

**Full Text:** COPYRIGHT 2002 University of California Press

The multiracial experience has been depicted in social science research (Root 1996), American literature (Sollors 1997), and popular culture (Jones 1994) as one of "between-ness" and "marginality." Uncertainty, confusion, and tragedy have characterized the lives of biracial people as they straddle the volatile and shifting racial divide in the United States. Multiracial, as compared to multiethnic, individuals perceive the relationship between their mixed parentage and their self-identity differently. White ethnics with multiple backgrounds experience ethnicity as a "symbolic" identity that can shift and change through individual choice with little or no social significance for their life chances (Waters 1990). Multiracial and biracial individuals, in contrast, are considered to have little choice about their racial identity, and their lives are significantly impacted by the apparent absence of that choice (Root 1990). (1) Much of the social psychological research, past and present, depicts the racial identity options available to biracial people as falling into one of two binary categories: black or biracial (Cross 1971; Hall 1980; Morten and Atkinson 1983; Brown 1990; Miller and Miller 1990; Poston 1990; Bowles 1993; Porter and Washington 1993; Herring 1995; Field 1996; Gibbs 1997).

The development of an exclusively black identity has been the traditional and legal expectation for biracial individuals in the United States. This expectation was historically grounded in the cultural norm known as the "one-drop rule." (2) By virtue of a single "drop" of "black blood," a person becomes a member of the "black race." (3) In contrast to this historical norm, most of the contemporary literature on the growing biracial population focuses on the development of an integrated racial identity (Brown 1990; Poston 1990; Bowles 1993; Herring 1995; Daniel 1996; Field 1996; Gibbs 1997). However, even if a synthesized biracial self were achieved, "biracial" is not currently a recognized racial category within the American cultural landscape. Despite this fact, recent empirical studies have suggested that biracials understand their social identities

in multifaceted ways (Root 1998; Storrs 1999; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2001). This research has problematized previous assumptions underlying biracial identity research and has introduced a level of complexity that mirrors the lived experiences of the offspring of interracial unions

The interdisciplinary literature on biracial identity, while theoretically and methodologically diverse, provides several conceptual hypotheses that we examine through the use of survey data from a sample of 177 biracial respondents. We then present analyses of the social and structural characteristics of individuals who hold various self-understandings to investigate the explanatory power of Rockquemore's (1999) multidimensional model of racial identity options and to describe the complexity of racial identity among biracial people. Finally, we conclude with a discussion of how racial identity influences access to power and privilege in the case of biracial people whose racial identity "options" are constrained and differentially experienced based on their structural location within the American stratification system.

#### A MULTIDIMENSIONAL MODEL OF BIRACIAL IDENTITY

Conceptualizing identity as an interactionally validated self-understanding, Rockquemore (1999) argues that biracial individuals construct various understandings of their racial identity. These variations in self-understanding are reflective of the parameters of legitimate racial identities available to social actors in their environment. Specifically, she argues that individuals with one black and one white parent choose between four different racial identity options: a singular identity (exclusively black or exclusively white), a border identity (exclusively biracial), a protean identity (sometimes black, sometimes white, sometimes biracial), and a transcendent identity (no racial identity). This typology synthesizes various aspects of the broad and emerging literature on multiracial identity. The following section delineates the model, summarizing the range of racial identity options that multiracial people use and highlighting links to existing research.

##### The Singular Identity Option: Exclusively Black or Exclusively White

Biracial people may choose to racially self-identify in accordance to, or in alliance with, only one of their birth parents. Racial identity for these individuals is either exclusively black or exclusively white. Rockquemore (1999) does not discuss the latter; however, we can conceptually create this type, and it has been implied throughout the literature on multiracial identity (Root 1990; Bowles 1993; Root 1996). Maria Root's (1990; 1996) discussion of the singular white identity narrows the parameters for this option by asserting geographic and cultural specificity (e.g., this option is not available in the South). Very few discussions of the singular white identity exist in the literature (Twine 1997).

Research supporting the existence of the singular white identity is scarce because biracial people have long been assumed to adopt a black identity. This assumption was historically established during slavery when the rape of black female slaves was common and their biracial children (viewed as property) enhanced the wealth of the slave-master/parent (Davis 1991). Therefore, illegitimate biracial children were considered black. Hypodescent was legally codified after the Civil War when many states adopted laws articulating the one-drop rule (Mangum 1940; Jones 2000). The legal statutes were gradually dropped from state law books, but their legacy remained in the de facto practice of the one-drop rule (Blassingame 1972; Davis 1991). Because of this long-

standing historical pattern, the singular black identity was the only identity "option" for biracial people. So deeply embedded was this cultural norm that it was not even conceptualized as an "option" nor would individuals have considered any other racial identity. (4) Root (1990, pp. 588-589) refers to the singular black option as a biracial individual's "acceptance of the identity society assigns." The singular black identity has been heavily studied and is still assumed to be the primary option for multiracial individuals with black ancestry.

As a cultural norm, the one-drop rule has profoundly informed research on the biracial population. The assumption of a singular black identity as normative is firmly grounded in the empirical and theoretical literature as numerous scholars have used conceptual models of black identity to assess black/white biracials (Cross 1971; Porterfield 1978; Morten and Atkinson 1983; Poussaint 1984; Boykin and Toms 1985; Miller and Miller 1990; Poston 1990; Bowles 1993; Porter and Washington 1993; Herring 1995). These projects assume that the singular black identity is the only healthy response for the bi-racial individual, consigning those who do not follow this developmental trajectory to a life of tragic uncertainty and social malaise.

#### The Border Identity Option: Exclusively Biracial

The border identity is distinct from the singular identity because individuals who choose it conceptualize their racial identity as a separate category that is neither exclusively white nor black but a blending of the two (Hall 1980; Anzaldú'a, a 1987; Brown 1990; Poston 1990; Root 1990; Bowles 1993; Herring 1995; Daniel 1996; Field 1996; Gibbs 1997; **Rockquemore** 1999). Root (1996, p. xxi) characterizes this new identity by the "ability to hold, merge, and respect multiple perspectives simultaneously." G. Reginald Daniel (1996, p. 133) refers to this option as a "blended identity" and describes it as one that "resists both the dichotomization and hierarchical valuation of African American and European American cultural and racial differences."

Individuals who construct a border identity consider "biracial" as an entirely new racial category. This emergent category represents a break with the paradigmatic reliance on the one-drop rule to understand the biracial experience. Theoretical models of racial identity formation among multiracial people have recently emerged where the border identity is considered the psychological ideal (Poston 1990; Jacobs 1992; Kich 1992; LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton 1993; Kerwin and Ponterotto 1995). Illustrative of that paradigmatic shift is Jewelle Taylor Gibbs's (1997, p. 332) description of those who choose the singular black identity as "overidentified with their Black parents." This statement is reflective of recent shifts in biracial identity research, where the border identity is now viewed as the healthy ideal. Researchers have argued that the sociocultural context has changed greatly over the past two decades, and the identity options and racial self-understandings of biracial individuals have expanded accordingly.

#### The Protean Identity Option: Multiple Choices

Some biracial people find that their in-between status results in a protean ability to move between and among multiple racial identities that are interchangeable (Root 1990; Stephan 1992; Root 1996; **Rockquemore** 1999). They may move fluidly between black, white, and/ or biracial identities, calling forth whatever racial identity seems situationally appropriate in any particular interactional setting and cultural community. "Integrative identity" has also been used to

describe the protean option implying that biracial people who choose this identity strategy have the capacity to reference themselves simultaneously in black and white communities (Daniel 1996) while also functioning as an insider within these differing social groups (Rockquemore 1999). Daniel (1996) makes a further distinction of the integrative identity into two subtypes: (1) a synthesized integrative identity where individuals feel equally comfortable in both black and white cultural settings and (2) a functional integrative identity where individuals are able to identify and function in both communities but feel a stronger orientation to, acceptance in, and comfort with either blacks or whites.

### The Transcendent Identity: Beyond Race

One final way that biracial people understand their racial identity is by refusing to have any racial identity. In other words, some claim to have "transcended" racial categorization altogether (Rockquemore 1999), describing themselves as "human." This approach to biracialism is reminiscent of Robert Park's (1928) "marginal man" where, by virtue of their in-between position, individuals discount racial categorizations completely. Failing to fit within the rigidly defined groupings of the existing system, these individuals reject race as a master status altogether. The transcendent understanding of racial identity allows individuals to have a somewhat objective, detached perspective on the subjective, socially constructed phenomena of race (Zack 1993; Daniel 1996; Spencer 1998).

### FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE RACIAL IDENTITY OPTIONS

The multidimensional model (summarized in Table 1) provides a number of ways that racial identity may be understood by the offspring of interracial unions. While various researchers have documented the fact that biracial individuals choose among singular, border, protean, and transcendent identity options, it is important to ask why individuals make such drastically different choices about their racial identity. What social factors influence the way multiracial people come to view their identity as they traverse the American racial landscape? What social psychological processes influence their racial identity construction? We will explore two specific factors with analyses from our survey data: social network composition and appearances.

#### Social Networks

Numerous researchers have theorized that social network composition influences racial identity construction among biracial individuals (Hall 1980; Root 1990; Porter and Washington 1993; Twine 1997; Rockquemore 1999). An individual's pre-adult and adult social networks may include a vast number of potentially significant others such as family members, neighbors, and peers who influence the daily interactional work of shaping and defining one's identity. Racially homogeneous neighborhoods, whether predominately black or white, may provide differential parameters and assessments of the racial identity options available to biracial individuals.

F. James Davis (1991) suggests that the black community has so deeply internalized the one-drop rule that they have paradoxically become its primary defenders (see also Spencer 1997). Therefore, within many predominately black communities, individuals of all phenotypic variations, as well as biracial people, are considered "black." Rockquemore (1999) has suggested that biracial individuals socialized within predominately black social networks will be more

likely to choose the singular black identity. In contrast, those socialized in predominately white networks are more likely to develop a border identity because it is both available and preferable to the singular black identity. Others propose that in either predominately white (Twine 1997; Rockquemore 1999) or integrated social networks (Boykin and Toms 1985; Miller and Miller 1990), individuals may be more likely to develop a border identity.

Because identity is an ongoing interactional process (Stone 1962), the racial composition of significant social networks provides only a broad description for understanding racial identity choices. What occurs within those networks and the type of interactions that individuals have within those settings affects their choice of racial identity. This may be best conceptualized as "push and pull factors" where individuals, located within a particular type of social network, may feel pulled toward one identity option because of positive experiences with one group and/or may feel pushed away from another identity because of negative experiences (Miller and Miller 1990; Rockquemore 2002). Push factors within social networks that influence racial identification may include experiencing negative treatment from blacks (Root 1998). This type of experience may push biracials away from adopting a singular black identity. On the other hand, if biracial individuals have negative interactional experiences with whites, they may be pushed away from a border or singular white identity.

Another important social psychological process that occurs within the parameters of social networks and may influence racial identity development is an individual's feelings of closeness to particular racial groups. Interacting in social networks dominated by one racial group tends to increase familiarity with that group. This closeness and familiarity may, in and of itself, exert pull factors on biracial individuals and thereby influence their identity choice. Lynda D. Field's (1996) findings suggest that those who had more positive feelings about African Americans as a group were more likely to develop a singular black identity.

#### Appearances

Physical appearance is critical to the development of racial identity because our physical bodies are a collection of cultural meanings that supply basic information to others and foster particular interpretations. Race does not refer to a genetically based reality but to the symbolic meanings attached to bodily differences (Omi and Winant 1994). For this reason, bodily characteristics, such as skin color, indicate membership within racial groups and highlight the way in which appearances simultaneously present one's identity while also serving as the source of identity. In other words, they not only communicate identity but also have a reflexive relationship with identity. Because phenotype is at the core of racial identity, it has been proposed as an important conceptual variable in studying the biracial population. Skin color has been most commonly attributed to the development of a singular black racial identity (Field 1996; Hall 1980; Tizard and Phoenix 1995). Researchers have found that the darker the skin of a biracial individual, the more likely he/she will be to adopt a singular black identity (Brown 1990).

Skin color, however, can be conceptualized as both a personal and a social characteristic. Actors perceive their own skin color, but they also interpret their appearance through the "eyes" of others within any given interactional sphere. Typically, but not always, individuals' appearance and racial identity are congruent. Because biracial people exist in an American system of cultural coding that imposes a uniquely dichotomous white/non-white schema of racial

identification, their identity options may be constrained by appearances. Both Root (1990) and Rockquemore (1999) highlight the inherent problem that exists when there is a mismatch between appearance and identity. It would be extremely difficult for a biracial person to develop a singular identity if her physical appearance (and more specifically her socially perceived appearance) did not match her chosen racial identity.

#### Hypotheses: A Summary

Several conceptual hypotheses can be drawn from the previous discussion of the existing research on multiracial identity and the social factors that influence racial identity choices. First and foremost, we wish to see if Rockquemore's (1999) conceptual typology of racial identity choices made by black/white biracials will be salient in a larger and more diverse sample of biracial respondents. Therefore, our first hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 1: Biracial individuals will understand being biracial as either a singular, border, protean, or transcendent identity.

We have discussed three factors, grounded in social networks, that may affect racial identity choice among biracial individuals: racial composition of the network, interactional experiences within the network, and the group affinities developed there. We hypothesize, based on the existing findings in the literature, that the racial composition of one's social network will influence identity choice. Specifically, we propose:

Hypothesis 2: Biracial individuals with predominately black social networks will be more likely to choose the singular black identity than any other identity while those with predominately white social networks will be more likely to choose the border identity than any other identity.

We expect the type of interactions and the group affinities that occur within social networks to mediate the previous relationship. In other words, we expect that the types of experiences that individuals have with members of various racial groups, within their social networks, will exert either push or pull pressures. In terms of push factors, we suggest:

Hypothesis 3: Biracial individuals who report discriminatory experiences with whites will be more likely to choose the singular black identity than any other identity while those who report discriminatory experiences with blacks will be more likely to choose the border identity.

In terms of pull factors, we offer:

Hypothesis 4: Biracial individuals who report feeling close to whites as a group will be more likely to choose the border identity than any other identity while those who report feeling close to blacks as a group will be more likely to choose the singular black identity than any other identity.

Finally, we have argued that physical appearance will play a critical role in the racial identity development process. Concerning appearances, we propose:

Hypothesis 5: Individuals who are perceived by others to be black will be more likely to choose the singular black identity than any other identity whereas those having an ambiguous or white appearance will be more likely to choose the border identity.

## DATA AND METHODS

One of the endemic problems plaguing scholarship on the biracial population is that most existing research generalizes from very small samples (forty respondents or less) collected from unique groups such as biracial campus organizations or clinical patients. Therefore, a survey was undertaken to determine the extent to which this typology of racial identity options is valid in a large and diverse sample of biracial respondents. We intend this analysis to be an exploration into the various hypotheses derived from the literature and into the distribution of each type of self-understanding using one of the largest existing samples of black/white biracial individuals. The results will help us understand the social underpinnings of different racial identity options that are currently being used by multiracial people.

### The Sample

Survey respondents were drawn from a private liberal arts college and a large community college in the metropolitan Detroit area. (5) The Detroit metropolitan area was selected because of the large African American population and the diversity of neighborhoods and social contexts. Both the community college and university draw students from all parts of the metropolitan area, allowing for respondents who live both inside and outside the racially homogeneous city limits. Both institutions have students who differed in socioeconomic status and life experience. We chose to draw our sample from these two different types of educational institutions so that our respondents would be comparable along the dimension of education level (i.e., some college) yet stratified by socioeconomic indicators and the racial composition of their social networks.

We solicited 4,532 students registered as "black or African American," "other," or those who left the race question blank on their college admission forms. (6) From that large pool of potential respondents, 225 individuals fit the selection criteria (having one black self-identifying and one white self-identifying biological parent) and indicated a willingness to complete a 106-item questionnaire. Approximately 2 percent (2.1 percent) of these 225 respondents either did not complete the entire survey or did not meet the selection criteria; therefore, they were eliminated from the sample. (7) After removing these cases, 177 cases remained for our analyses.

### Variables

#### Biracial Identity

The measure we used to determine respondents' understandings of their racial identities was constructed based upon [Rockquemore's](#) (1999) typology. Respondents were asked which of the following seven statements best described their racial identity: (1) I consider myself exclusively black (or African American), (2) I sometimes consider myself black, sometimes my other race, and sometimes biracial depending on the circumstances, (3) I consider myself biracial, but I experience the world as a black person, (4) I consider myself exclusively as biracial (neither black nor white), (5) I consider myself exclusively as my other race (not black or biracial), (6) Race is meaningless, I do not believe in racial identities, or (7) Other (fill in the blank). We coded responses "1" and "5" as representing the singular identity, responses "3" and "4" as representing the border identity, response "2" as the protean identity, and response "6" as the transcendent identity.

### Racial Composition of Social Networks

The survey items measuring the racial composition of respondents' social networks indicate the level of interracial contact over their lifetime. This measure is a modification of the interracial contact variable used by Demo and Hughes (1990). Individuals were asked to assess the racial composition of their (1) grammar and elementary school, (2) closest friends in elementary school, (3) junior high school, (4) high school, (5) closest friends in high school, (6) college, (7) neighborhood while growing up, (8) present neighborhood, (9) closest friends today, (10) church or place of worship usually attended, and (11) present workplace, if employed. The responses were coded in the following way: 0 = most all whites, 1 = mostly whites, 2 = about half black, 3 = mostly blacks, and 4 = all blacks. From these items we constructed two scales of social network composition: (1) a pre-adult scale (items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7) and an adult scale (items 6, 8, 9, 10, and 11). Each scale was computed by summing across the items: pre-adult scale ( $[\alpha] = .93$ ) and adult scale ( $[\alpha] = .78$ ).

### Negative Experiences (Push Factors)

We have discussed the idea of interactional experiences within social networks as exerting either push or pull factors on racial identification. To measure the way that individuals may experience race, we asked respondents whether they had ever experienced personal discrimination or hostility from either whites or blacks. These represent push factors, and we coded this variable as 0 = no and 1 = yes.

### Group Evaluation (Pull Factors)

To discern respondents' affinities toward blacks and whites as groups (i.e., the pull factors) we used two feeling thermometers. These modifications of the Demo and Hughes (1990) closeness scale measured how "close" respondents feel to a set of hypothetical black and white individuals who are poor, middle-class, working-class, religious, young, old, elected officials, professionals, and entertainers using the following item scale: 0 = not close at all, 1 = close, and 2 = very close. Thus, we obtained two scales: closeness to blacks (summation of 11 items,  $[\alpha] = .85$ ) and closeness to whites (summation of 11 items,  $[\alpha] = .88$ ). High values on these scales indicate positive feelings toward the respective groups.

### Appearance

To measure respondents' appearances, we used two separate questions. The first question was a self-reported skin color scale where respondents were asked to circle a number on a twelve-point continuum that best described their skin color. The continuum used the following terms and codings: 12 = black, 10 = dark brown, 8 = medium brown, 6 = light brown, 4 = yellow, 2 = olive, and 0 = white, resulting in an ordinal level phenotype variable. (8) The second question assessed their perceptions of how others in society view them. That question asked respondents to select which of the following statements best described their physical appearance: (1) I look black, most people assume that I am black, (2) My physical features are ambiguous, people assume I am black mixed with something else, (3) My physical features are ambiguous; people do not assume that I am black, or (4) I physically look white; I could "pass."

### Analysis

Our main objective was to test mean differences among the identity types for those variable characteristics measured at the interval level (ANOVA) and to test bivariate associations between the identity variable and those variable characteristics measured at the nominal or ordinal level (chi-square tests of association). Specifically, Table 3 reports the distribution of identity types among this sample of biracial individuals while Tables 4-7 present the relationships among social network composition, negative push factors, positive pull factors, appearance, and choices of racial identities among the respondents in our sample.

## RESULTS

### Descriptive Characteristics of the Sample

Table 2 presents the descriptive statistics for the factors we have hypothesized as influencing racial identity choice. Three important types of variation exist among our sample. First, there is a great deal of variation in the racial composition of both their pre-adult and adult social networks. Second, their contextual experiences of race vary widely. On average, these individuals have experienced fairly high levels of negative treatment from both blacks and whites. Furthermore, there is significant variation in biracial individuals' feelings of closeness toward blacks and whites as groups. Finally, we find significant variation in both the self-perceived skin color index and the socially perceived appearance measure. In addition, our respondents vary on a variety of other important dimensions including age ( $M = 24.96$ ,  $SD = 8.40$ , range = 15-58), gender (60 percent female, 40 percent male), and socioeconomic status. (9)

### Distribution of Racial Identity among Biracial Respondents

One of our most basic exploratory hypotheses (hypothesis 1) was whether or not black and biracial represent the only identity options for biracial individuals or whether the variation presented by Rockquemore (1999) would be supported by a larger and more diverse sample of biracial respondents. Table 3 illustrates the distribution of racial identity types among our sample of biracial respondents and it is clear that the existence of the range of identities in the typology is supported by our data.

The most prevalent choice among the sample was the border identity (61.3 percent). However, there were two separate responses that measured the border identity: "I consider myself exclusively biracial (neither black nor white)" and "I consider myself biracial, but I experience the world as a black person." Both of these responses represent individuals who understand their racial identity as exclusively biracial. They differ, however, because the first response indicates that others in the actor's social network accept and validate the category biracial as an identity option. The second response reveals a more complicated scenario in which the individuals understand themselves as biracial, but that self-understanding is neither validated by significant others nor considered a legitimate racial identity option. While we included both of these responses as representing a choice for the border identity, when we disaggregate the 61.3 percent of respondents choosing these two responses we find that 22.6 percent describe their racial identity as exclusively biracial while 38.7 percent respond, "I consider myself biracial, but I experience the world as black person." We found this distinction salient enough to subcategorize the border group into a "validated border identity" and an "unvalidated border identity" (Table 8). We refer to these two distinct types of border identities throughout the remaining analyses.

In addition to the border identities, three other options were selected by respondents to describe their racial identity. The singular identity was chosen by a total of 16.7 percent of the sample. Just 13.1 percent identified themselves as exclusively black, and 3.6 percent identified themselves as exclusively white. An additional 13.1 percent of respondents indicated that the transcendent identity ("Race is meaningless; I do not believe in racial identities") best described their racial identity. Of the sample, 4.8 percent chose "I sometimes consider myself black, sometimes my other race, and sometimes biracial depending on the circumstances," that is, the protean identity option. We found further support for hypothesis 1 in the fact that only 4.2 percent of our sample felt that none of the existing survey responses represented their racial self-understanding (they chose "other").

What is surprising about these results, when we consider the amount of attention given to the singular black identity, is that only 13.1 percent chose this identity option. Both types of border identities (the unvalidated and validated), combined, constitute the majority of the responses. (10) We believe it is important for researchers interested in the emerging biracial population to distinguish between individuals whose self-understanding as biracial is validated by others around them and those whose self-understanding as biracial is not validated. The small number of respondents who chose "other" seems to indicate that the survey responses articulated the majority of respondents' experiences and self-understandings.

#### SOCIAL NETWORK COMPOSITION

Results for the relationship between the racial composition of respondent's social networks and racial identity (Table 4) support the global hypothesis that the racial composition of social networks influences the racial identity options that biracial people choose (hypothesis 2). The relationship between racial identification and social network composition is strongest for those who choose the singular black and border identities. The means for the different identity types presented in Table 4 illustrate the fact that individuals who choose the singular black identity are more likely than those who choose any other identity option to have come from predominately black social contexts. As children and adolescents, they grew up in social networks with higher than average concentrations of blacks than all the other identity types. As adults, they continue to live in predominately African American contexts. Within predominately black networks, we can assume that biracial individuals have a higher frequency of interactions with blacks than with whites, which may increase the likelihood that they will come to understand their racial identity as African American, as opposed to any of the other identity options.

The racial compositions of the pre-adult and adult social networks of those who chose the validated and unvalidated border identity options are different from each other and different from the racial context of those who chose the singular black identity. Our data suggest that having a validated border identity is correlated with living in predominately white pre-adult social networks, especially when compared to the other identity options. In contrast, those with an unvalidated border identity had many more African Americans in their pre-adult social networks than the validated group. Indeed, unvalidated border biracials also came from families who are lower in socio-economic status than those whose border identity is validated by others (in terms of average parental occupational prestige scores [Table 8]).

Upon reaching adulthood, those with a validated border identity retain the racial

composition of their social networks (i.e., their networks continue to be comprised primarily of whites). However, for those with an unvalidated border identity, their shift from pre-adult to adult social networks is marked by a change in the racial composition of their social networks. Specifically, they move from predominately black pre-adult networks to predominately white adult networks. This racial composition change from pre-adult to adult social networks for unvalidated biracials is greater than that of all other identity groups and may be important in understanding why their racial identity fails to be validated by others. (11)

#### Socialization Experiences: Push and Pull Factors

It is important to differentiate the racial composition of a respondent's social network from the interactional experiences that occur within that network. We hypothesized that positive experiences with others in a particular racial group may serve to pull an individual toward identification with that group (hypothesis 4) whereas negative social experiences may push an individual away from developing a racial identity that is consistent with a particular group (hypothesis 3).

#### Negative Experiences from Blacks and Whites as Push Factors

We examined respondents' self-reported negative experiences with blacks and whites in order to explore the hypotheses that such interactions would push biracials toward a particular racial identity: either away from the singular black identity (if negativity comes from blacks) or away from the border identity (if negativity comes from whites). The results (Table 5) indicate that the degree to which biracial individuals experience negative treatment from blacks significantly differentiates the various racial identity options from one another. This provides support for part of hypothesis 3. However, there is no significant relationship between push factors from whites in influencing biracial identity; therefore, hypothesis 3 is not fully supported. Table 5 illustrates how respondents who chose a singular black identity reported experiencing less negative treatment from blacks than all other respondents. Choosing a singular black identity may be better understood when we consider that these respondents are most likely to live in homogeneously black social contexts in which the experience of both push and pull interactions strongly support the development of this identity. Respondents who choose the singular black identity appear not to be pushed away from the development of a black identity on the bases of negative treatment from blacks.

Respondents who chose the validated and unvalidated border options reported the highest levels of negative interactions with blacks. Again, we must put this in the context of the racial composition of their social networks. The networks of those choosing a validated border identity tend to be predominately white in both their pre-adult and adult lives. Having few African Americans in their social networks and experiencing negative treatment from those few people may serve as a push factor away from the development of a black identity and a pull factor toward the development of an exclusively biracial identity. For the unvalidated group, there is a very different scenario. They have predominately black pre-adult social networks yet report the most negative treatment from blacks (Table 8). This context, while different from the validated border identity, may serve the same function--to push individuals away from the development of a singular black identity and pull them toward a biracial identity. When their networks change to predominately white, the pull may be magnified.

### Group Identification as a Pull Factor

While negative experiences with blacks act as push factors away from the singular black identity, the closeness scales may serve, in our analysis, as confirmatory of the process of pulling biracial individuals toward one of the identification options via processes of group reference. Table 6 presents the results for the pull factors. We find global support for hypothesis 4, in that the degree of closeness to particular racial groups distinguishes among the various racial identity options. Compared to all other groups, those who understand their racial identity as exclusively black have the highest score on the closeness to blacks scale and feel the least close to whites. Again, this may simply confirm the existence of a different push factor (not feeling close to whites) and the pull factors (feeling close to blacks) that create an environment where individuals develop an exclusively black identity.

Once again, the contrast between the singular black identity and both the validated and unvalidated border identity is salient. While respondents who identified themselves as exclusively black reported feeling close to blacks and not close to whites, those who choose the validated border identity reported feeling less close to blacks and more close to whites. The unvalidated border group, in comparison, reported feeling as close to blacks as those respondents who chose the singular black identity, yet closer to whites than this group. Table 8 shows that unvalidated border biracials feel significantly closer to blacks than validated border biracials. The combination of living in predominately black pre-adult social networks, experiencing negative social interactions with blacks, yet feeling closer to blacks than whites, could explain the conflicted nature of the unvalidated border group. They experience negativity from both whites and blacks as they move from blacker contexts to whiter ones throughout their life cycle. This experience of both push and pull factors in opposing directions may explain the inherent tension in their racial identity.

Respondents who chose the protean identity option could be expected to feel close to both blacks and whites because their identity choice is dependent upon feeling acceptance from both groups. This was in fact supported by our data. Proteans had the third highest score on the closeness to blacks scale and the highest score on the closeness to whites scale. The respondents who chose the transcendent identity option scored almost evenly on the closeness to whites and closeness to blacks scale. This indicates that they did not feel particularly close to either blacks or whites, which is consistent with their position of rejecting racial identifiers.

In total, our analysis supports our stated hypotheses concerning the importance of social networks. More importantly, they point to the deep importance of the racial composition of individuals' social contexts in establishing the parameters for available and acceptable identity options and in providing interactions that encourage biracial individuals to develop very different racial identities.

### Appearances

Researchers who study the relationship between appearance and racial identity construction have noted the difficulty in achieving enough variation in physical characteristics to make any substantial conclusions (for a review, see Phinney 1990). Our data are unique in that we consider two aspects of appearance: (1) self-perceived skin color and (2) socially perceived appearance. Our sample has significant variation on both these dimensions (Table 2). For example, when

asked which of the following best describes their physical appearance using responses that have the assumptions that other people make about the respondents, the most common response (56.2 percent) was "My physical features are ambiguous; most people assume that I am black." Yet there is variation here as there is for skin color, with 17.2 percent responding, "I look black and most people assume that I am black," 16.6 percent stating that their features "are ambiguous, people do not assume I am black," and 10.1 percent responding, "I physically look white, I could 'pass'."

Hypothesis 8 receives support from our data. Skin color (phenotype) is not associated with identity (Table 7); however, socially perceived appearance is. This runs contrary to the logic expressed in most of the literature on biracial identity although Root (1992, p. 6) states that those who investigate "multidimensional models of identity will not be perplexed that phenotype ... do [es] not necessarily correlate with or reliably predict identity." The clearest patterns emerge in our data when we examine the relationship between socially perceived appearance and identity. For those who chose the singular black identity, 45.5 percent responded, "I look black, most people assume I am black." In contrast, for those who chose the singular white identity, none reported that others assume they are black. Also, in comparing the unvalidated and validated border biracials (Table 8), we see that the assumption of "blackness" by others is more salient for unvalidated than for validated biracials. Overall, this set of analyses suggests that while skin color is not associated with identity choices, the reflexive, socially perceived self-understandings of appearance are influential in the process of racial identity construction among our sample of biracial respondents.

## DISCUSSION

The 2000 census allowed respondents to check more than one racial category to indicate their racial identity. For the first time in history, the racial backgrounds of those checking more than one box were not simply relegated to the lower status racial group but, rather, these data were retained, thus creating sixty-three possibilities for racial identification. While many thought the option would have little impact, both demographers and politicians were surprised that more blacks than expected identified themselves as more than one race on their census forms. Over 6.8 million (or 2.4 percent of the population) checked two or more races on their census forms. More specifically, nearly 1.8 million people checked black and at least one other race as an indication of their racial identity. The trend toward multiple race identification was most pronounced among young people, with 8 percent of blacks under age seventeen choosing more than one race as compared to only 2 percent of those fifty years and older (Jones and Smith 2001). This new national data indicates a subtle shift in the way that racial identity is understood at the individual level and necessitates a willingness on the part of researchers to approach racial categorization from a more nuanced perspective. The basic essentialist assumptions of racial classification have been seriously challenged by the 2000 census, as well as by findings such as ours. This being the case, researchers must begin to understand racial identity in a multidimensional framework and to investigate the implications of this reality for race and race relations in the United States.

Contrary to much of the literature that constrains biracials' racial self-understandings to black and biracial, we find that biracial individuals understand themselves in at least six ways: (1) as exclusively black, (2) as exclusively white, (3) as exclusively biracial, where their border identity/s validated by others, (4) as exclusively biracial, where their border identity is not validated and they experience the world primarily as a black person, (5) as a

protean who has black, white, and biracial identities, and (6) as a transcendent individual for whom racial classifications are not salient to their self-understanding. These findings give strong empirical evidence in support of Rockquemore's (1999) qualitatively grounded presentation of the range of racial identity options chosen by biracials.

While it is important to continue exploring the multiple ways that biracial people understand their racial identity, it is equally important to continue the process of delineating why individuals develop such different understandings of their racial identity. We have attempted in our analysis to explore the interpretive power of social network structure and appearances on biracial identity construction. Our analyses break with the prevailing trend of exclusively descriptive studies that currently dominates the literature. We believe this break is critical to ensure that biracial studies moves in the necessary direction of rigorous empirical analysis of the social factors influencing the development of racial identity in this growing and understudied population.

We consider our most important finding to be the distinction between unvalidated and validated biracials. For the past decade, both the academic and therapeutic communities have sought to avoid the stereotype of the "confused mulatto" (Sollors 1997). Any discussion that hints at identity confusion among biracial individuals is deemed equivalent to a demonization of the multiracial population in general. Subsequently, the idea of the "confused mulatto" has been buried deep within the discussion of biracial individuals' life experiences. The assumption is that mixed-race individuals are no longer confused because they have the possibility of developing a healthy, integrated biracial identity. However, our data point to a stark reality in which there are people who understand their identity as exclusively biracial yet are categorized by others as black. This disjuncture between an individual's self-defined identity and the way they are understood by others is, by definition, a state of confusion. It does not, however, imply pejorative connotations for the individual as much as it serves as an indictment of the American system of racial categorization. While individuals may have a clear understanding of their racial identity as biracial, enduring conceptions of mutually exclusive racial categories that fail to encompass the profound reality of multiracialism are what should be considered both "confused" and "tragic."

Ultimately, while we have described racial self-understanding in terms of identity "choices," we find in our analysis strong support for the fact that racial identity in America is not a matter of individual choice but that, in fact, the "choices" our respondents make exist within constrained structural parameters. Racial identities are incomparable to white ethnic options (Waters 1990) due to continued stratification of racial groups that results in macro level constraints on individual racial identity (Waters 1990; Lee 1993; Omi and Winant 1994) and the long-standing American myth that race is a biologically determined, as opposed to socially constructed, reality (Spencer 1998; Zuberi 2001). Society's refusal to legitimize the identity of people who wish to be designated as "biracial," or to accept the complex reality of biracialism outlined here, provides further evidence of persistent constraints within the American racial system. The growing presence of multiracial people in the population and the ever expansive ways in which they understand their racial identities challenges the future of our current racial categorization system while highlighting the enduring myth of white purity that necessitates it.

TABLE 1. TYPOLOGY OF RACIAL IDENTITY OPTIONS

Identity Options	Individual Understands His/Her Racial Identity as	Racial Label Used By Respondents
Singular identity	Exclusively black or exclusively white	Black or white
Border identity	Neither black nor white, but a unique category that includes both	Biracial
Protean identity	Sometimes black, sometimes white, and sometimes biracial--depending on the social context	Black, white, and biracial
Transcendent identity	Human--they claim to have no definable racial identity	None used

TABLE 2. DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF VARIABLES USED IN THE ANALYSIS

Variable	M (SD)	Median	Range
<b>Social networks</b>			
Pre-adult racial composition	7.74 (5.91)	7.00	0-24
Adult racial composition	5.50 (3.43)	5.00	0-20
<b>Experiences</b>			
Negative treatment from blacks	0.60 (.49)	--	0-1
Negative treatment from whites	0.74 (.44)	--	0-1
Closeness to blacks	11.60 (4.95)	11.00	0-22
Closeness to whites	6.75 (4.30)	6.00	0-22
<b>Appearance</b>			
Skin color	5.45 (2.31)	6.00	0-12
Socially perceived appearance	2.81 (.84)	3.00	1-4

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF RACIAL IDENTITIES

Identity Options	Individual Understands His/Her Identity as	Distribution in the Sample (N)
Singular identity	Exclusively black or exclusively white	13.1% (22) black 3.6% (6) white
Border identity	Neither black nor white, but a unique category that includes both	22.6% (38) validated border 38.7% (65) unvalidated border
Protean identity	Sometimes black, sometimes white, and sometimes biracial--depending on the social context	4.8% (8)
Transcendent identity	Nothing--they claim to have no definable racial identity	13.1% (22)

TABLE 4. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOCIAL NETWORK CHARACTERISTICS AND RACIAL IDENTIFICATIONS AMONG BLACK/WHITE BIRACIALS

Social Network Characteristics	Singular Black Identity	Validated Biracial ID	Un-validated Biracial ID	Protean Identity
Pre-adult racial composition	10.91	5.32	9.76	6.54
Adult racial composition	7.66	4.02	3.11	3.90
Change (adult--pre-adult)	-3.25	-1.30	-6.65	-2.64
Social Network Characteristics	Trans-cendent Identity	Singular White ID	Other Identity	F Ratio
Pre-adult racial				

composition	5.44	6.96	7.27	4.59 ***
Adult racial composition	4.37	3.64	4.90	5.70 ***
Change (adult--pre-adult)	-1.07	-3.32	-2.37	--

\*\*\* p < .001.

TABLE 5. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NEGATIVE PUSH FACTORS AND RACIAL IDENTIFICATIONS AMONG BLACK/WHITE BIRACIALS

Push Factors	Singular Black Identity	Validated Biracial ID	Un-validated Biracial ID	Protean Identity
Discrimination from blacks	0.33	0.62	0.78	0.38
Discrimination from whites	0.86	0.76	0.77	0.75

  

Push Factors	Trans-cendent Identity	Singular White ID	Other Identity	F Ratio
Discrimination from blacks	0.48	0.41	0.57	3.45 **
Discrimination from whites	0.55	0.67	1.00	1.54

\*\* p < .01.

TABLE 6. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN POSITIVE PULL FACTORS AND RACIAL IDENTIFICATIONS AMONG BLACK/WHITE BIRACIALS

Pull Factors	Singular Black Identity	Validated Biracial ID	Un-validated Biracial ID	Protean Identity
Closeness to blacks scale	13.15	9.85	13.00	12.67
Closeness to whites scale	4.55	7.48	6.26	8.71

  

Pull Factors	Trans-cendent Identity	Singular White ID	Singular Other Identity	F Ratio
Closeness to blacks scale	9.10	7.60	11.53	3.39 **
Closeness to whites scale	8.19	5.80	6.62	2.12 *

\* p < .05, \*\* p < .01.

TABLE 7. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN APPEARANCE FACTORS AND RACIAL IDENTIFICATIONS AMONG BLACK/WHITE BIRACIALS

Appearance Factors	Singular Black Identity	Validated Biracial ID	Un-validated Biracial ID	Protean Identity
Skin color	6.36	5.42	5.05	6.25
Socially perceived appearance (a)	45.5%	5.3%	21.9%	12.5%

  

Appearance Factors	Trans-cendent Identity	Singular White ID	Other Identity	F Ratio/ Chi-Square
Appearance Factors				

Skin color	5.59	5.33	6.57	1.43
Socially perceived appearance (a)	4.5%	0.0%	14.3%	37.49 **

(a) Data reported = % "I look black, most people assume I am black."

\*\* p < .01.

TABLE 8. COMPARISON OF VALIDATED AND UNVALIDATED BORDER BIRACIALS

Variable	Unvalidated Border	Validated Border
Social networks		
Pre-adult racial composition	9.76	5.32 ***
Adult racial composition	6.71	4.02 ***
Experiences		
Negative treatment from blacks	0.78	0.62 (+)
Negative treatment from whites	0.77	0.76
Closeness to blacks	13.00	9.85 **
Closeness to whites	6.26	7.48
Appearance		
Skin color	5.05	5.42
Socially perceived appearance (a,b)	21.90%	5.30% *
Other factors (c)		
Age	26.28	23.16 *
Gender (1 = female)	0.65	0.58
Parents' average occupational prestige	44.10	48.95 *
Parents' average education level	2.43	2.47

Notes: All are compared using t-tests unless otherwise noted using the criteria: (+) .05 < p < .10, \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01, \*\*\* p < .001.

(a) Data reported = % "I look black, most people assume I am black."

(b) Chi-square = 8.51, df = 3, N = 102.

(c) Age is "number of years"; gender is coded (1) female, (0) male; parents' average occupational prestige is the arithmetic average of both parents' occupational prestige scores or the score for one parent if only one; educational level is an ordinal scale ranging from (1) less than high school to (5) Ph.D.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors benefited greatly from comments on earlier drafts of this research by Mitch Berbrier, Khanh Bui, Sandra Carpenter, Bhavani Sitaraman, Lyn Spillman, Andy Weigert, and anonymous TSQ reviewers.

## NOTES

(1.) In the context of this article, "biracial" refers exclusively to individuals with one self-identifying African American biological parent and one self-identifying white biological parent. While a person having one black parent and one white parent is biracial according to this definition, they may self-identify (and be identified by others) in various ways.

(2.) The one-drop rule was legally codified after the Civil War when a multitude of segregation and antimiscegenation laws in most states necessitated a legal definition of who is black. It was at this time in history that the one-drop rule, previously an informal norm, was legally codified (Mangum 1940).

(3.) See Davis (1991) for a thorough historical overview of the one-drop rule in the United States.

(4.) The act of "passing," or crossing the color line to live as white, was a dangerous activity (Davis 1991). The existence of this practice only reifies the constraints placed on racial identity for biracials and light-skinned blacks.

(5.) The age of our respondents is important because several researchers state that it is developmentally impossible for children and young adolescents to choose a biracial identity (Poston 1990; Herring 1995; Gibbs 1997).

(6.) The rationale for this decision was drawn from the sampling strategy used by Rockquemore (1999) where a sample of biracial respondents was drawn by soliciting all African American students (based on admissions data) at a private university. In-depth interview data revealed that even students who strongly identified as biracial (i.e., they were "not black") indicated they had identified as "black or African American" on their college admission forms. This was done for two reasons: (1) the desire for social or organizational inclusion and (2) perceived individual gain. Students stated that they "checked the black box" instead of "other" (and writing in biracial or mixed race) because they did not want to be excluded from activities that were targeted for the black student population (such as solicitations for black student organizations or announcements of special speakers). The second and more salient reason was that students felt that "it couldn't hurt" their opportunities for admission or financial aid that may be designated for African American students. Given this consistent response, soliciting the entire black student population at each institution seemed to be the most efficient way to draw a group of biracial respondents.

(7.) Of the forty-eight respondents who were deleted from the sample: 46.0 percent had two black parents, 22 percent had two parents who were themselves mixed (of a variety of combinations), 8.7 percent of the respondents had two mixed-race parents, while 12.8 percent did not actually fill out the survey. The remaining 10.5 percent did not fit the criteria for this research in that their parents were of a variety of different racial backgrounds (e.g., Asian, Hispanic, etc.).

(8.) Much of the literature on the stratification effects of skin color among blacks has found that skin color effects opportunities and rewards using self-perceived scales of skin color ranging from dichotomous measures to as many as a five-category gradient. Bond and Cash (1992) used a variety of items that led them to measures of actual, self-perceived, and idealized skin color. Hall (1992) and Hunter (1998) used five ordinal categories from lightest to darkest to assess skin color. We used a twelve-category continuum to measure self-perceived skin color and to investigate the relationship between biracial respondents' perceptions of their own skin color and their identity choices.

(9.) Respondents came from families with a median education level of some college and whose parents had average occupational prestige scores ( $M = 45.36$ ,  $SD = 12.02$ , range = 20-86). For education level, we used the arithmetic average of mother's and father's educational attainment where 1 = less than high school completion and 5 = Ph.D. completion. For occupational prestige rankings, we used the 1980 NORC codes, and each occupation was given a score. If there were two parents, the average was taken, if there was only one parent or only one parent working, the score of the working parent was taken.

(10.) It is also important to note the small number of cases in the protean, singular white, and other categories of identity. These small subgroups make comparisons between them and the other more populated groups difficult;

therefore, interpretations are made with caution. ANOVA and chi-square tests were run using two methods in order to see if patterns changed when (1) using all categories of identity or when (2) using the most prevalent categories of identity. The method used made no difference.

(11.) It is worth noting that the respondents who chose the protean identity option can be described as having racially mixed pre-adult and adult social networks. Their experience of race is truly "protean" according to our data, which may explain their self-perceived ability to move freely between cultural borders. Those who chose the transcendent identity option can be described as having the whitest social networks of all respondents and as experiencing the greatest amount of continuity between their pre-adult and adult social networks.

#### REFERENCES

- Anzaldura, Gloria. 1987. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Spinsters/ Aunt Lute Foundation.
- Blassingame, John W. 1972. *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bond, Selena, and Thomas Cash. 1992. "Black Beauty: Skin Color and Body Images among African American College Women." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 22:874-888.
- Bowles, Dorcas. 1993. "Bi-Racial Identity: Children Born to African-American and White Couples." *Clinical Social Work Journal* 21:417-428.
- Boykin, A. Wade, and Forrest D. Toms. 1985. "Black Child Socialization Framework: A Conceptual Framework." Pp. 33-51 in *Black Children: Social Educational and Parental Environments*, edited by H. P. McAdoo and J. L. McAdoo. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Brown, Philip M. 1990. "Biracial Identity and Social Marginality." *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal* 7:319-337.
- Cross, William. 1971. "The Negro-to-Black Conversion Experience: Toward a Psychology of Black Liberation." *Black World* 20:13-27.
- Daniel, G. Reginald. 1996. "Black and White Identity in the New Millennium: Unsevering the Ties that Bind." Pp. 121-139 in *The Multiracial Experience*, edited by M. Root. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage.
- Davis, F. James. 1991. *Who Is Black? One Nation's Definition*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Demo, David, and Michael Hughes. 1990. "Socialization and Racial Identity among Black Americans." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 53:364-374.
- Field, Lynda D. 1996. "Piecing Together the Puzzle: Self-Concept and Group Identity in Biracial Black/White Youth." Pp. 211-226 in *The Multiracial Experience*, edited by M. Root. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage.
- Gibbs, Jewelle Taylor. 1997. "Biracial Adolescents." Pp. 305-332 in *Children of Color: Psychological Interventions with Culturally Diverse Youth*, edited by J. Gibbs and L. Huang. New York: Jossey-Bass.

Hall, Christine. 1980. "The Ethnic Identity of Racially Mixed People: A Study of Black-Japanese." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Hall, Ronald. 1992. "Bias among African Americans Regarding Skin Color: Implications for Social Work Practice." *Research on Social Work Practice* 2:479-486.

Herring, Roger D. 1995. "Developing Biracial Ethnic Identity: A Review of the Increasing Dilemma." *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development* 23:29-38.

Hunter, Margaret L. 1998. "Colorstruck: Skin Color Stratification in the Lives of African-American Women." *Sociological Inquiry* 68:517-535.

Jacobs, James. 1992. "Identity Development in Biracial Children." Pp. 190-206 in *Racially Mixed People in America*, edited by M. Root. Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Jones, Lisa. 1994. *Bullet proof Diva: Tales of Race, Sex, and Hair*. New York: Doubleday.

Jones, Nicholas A., and Amy Symens Smith. 2001. *The Two or More Races Population: 2000*. Census 2000 Brief. U.S. Census Bureau #C2KBR/01-6.

Jones, Trina. 2000. "Shades of Brown: The Law of Skin Color." *Duke Law Journal* 49:1487-1557.

Kerwin, Christine, and Joseph Ponterotto. 1995. "Biracial Identity Development: Theory and Research." Pp. 199-217 in *Handbook of Multicultural Counseling*, edited by Joseph Ponterotto, J. Manuel Casas, Lisa Suzuki, and Charlene Alexander. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kich, George. 1992. "The Developmental Process of Asserting a Biracial, Bicultural Identity." Pp. 304-317 in *Racially Mixed People in America*, edited by M. Root. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

LaFromboise, Teresa, Hardin Coleman, and Jennifer Gerton. 1993. "Psychological Impact of Biculturalism: Evidence and Theory." *Psychological Bulletin* 114:395-412.

Lee, Sharon. 1993. "Racial Classification in the U.S. Census: 1890-1990." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16:75-94.

Mangum, Charles Staples, Jr. 1940. *The Legal Status of the Negro in the United States*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Miller, Robin, and Barbara Miller. 1990. "Mothering the Biracial Child: Bridging the Gaps between African-American and White Parenting Styles." *Women and Therapy* 10:169-180.

Morten, George, and Donald R. Atkinson. 1983. "Minority Identity Development and Preference for Counselor Race." *Journal of Negro Education* 52:156-161.

Omi, Michael, and Harold Winant. 1994. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York: Routledge.

- Park, Robert. 1928. "Human Migration and the Marginal Man." *American Journal of Sociology* 33:881-893.
- Phinney, Jean. 1990. "Ethnic Identity in Adolescents and Adults: Review of Research." *Psychological Bulletin* 108:499-514.
- Porter, Judith, and Robert Washington. 1993. "Minority Identity and Self-Esteem." *Annual Review of Sociology* 19:139-161.
- Porterfield, Ernst. 1978. *Black and White Mixed Marriages: An Ethnographic Study of Black-White Families*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Poston, W. Carlos. 1990. "The Biracial Identity Development Model: A Needed Addition." *Journal of Counseling and Development* 69:152-155.
- Poussaint, Alvin. 1984. "Study of Interracial Children Presents Positive Picture." *Interracial Books for Children* 15:9-10.
- Rockquemore, Kerry Ann. 1999. "Between Black and White: Exploring the Biracial Experience." *Race and Society* 1:197-212.
- . 2002. "Negotiating the Color Line: The Gendered Process of Racial Identity Construction among Black/White Biracial Women." *Gender & Society* 16:485-503.
- Rockquemore, Kerry Ann, and David Brunsma. 2001. *Beyond Black: Biracial Identity in America*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Root, Maria. 1990. "Resolving 'Other' Status: Identity Development of Biracial Individuals." *Women and Therapy* 9:185-205.
- , ed. 1992. *Racially Mixed People in America*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- , ed. 1996. "The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as Significant Frontier in Race Relations." Pp. xiii-xxviii in *The Multiracial Experience*, edited by M. Root. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- . 1998. "Experiences and Processes Affecting Racial Identity Development: Preliminary Results from the Biracial Sibling Project." *Cultural Diversity and Mental Health* 4:237-247.
- Sollors, Werner. 1997. *Neither Black nor White yet Both*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Spencer, Jon Michael. 1997. *The New Colored People: The Mixed-Race Movement in America*. New York: New York University Press.
- Spencer, Rainier. 1998. *Spurious Issue: Race and Multiracial Identity Politics in the United States*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Stephan, Cookie W. 1992. "Mixed-Heritage Individuals: Ethnic Identity and Trait Characteristics." Pp. 50-63 in *Racially Mixed People in America*, edited by M. Root. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Stone, Gregory. 1962. "Appearance and the Self." Pp. 86-118 in *Human Behavior and Social Processes*, edited by A. Rose. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Storrs, Debbie. 1999. "Whiteness as Stigma: Essentialist Identity Work by Mixed-Race Women." *Symbolic Interaction* 22:187-212.

Tizard, Barbara, and Ann Phoenix. 1995. "The Identity of Mixed Parentage Adolescents." *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 36:1399-1410.

Twine, Francis Winddance. 1997. "Brown-Skinned White Girls: Class, Culture and the Construction of white Identity in Suburban Communities." Pp. 214-243 in *Displacing Whiteness: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*, edited by Ruth Frankenberg. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Waters, Mary. 1990. *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Zack, Naomi. 1993. *Race and Mixed Race*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Zuberi, Tukufu. 2001. *Thicker than Blood: When Racial Statistics Lie*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

David L. **Brunsm**a is an assistant professor of sociology at the University of Alabama in Huntsville. He is coauthor of *Beyond Black: Biracial Identity in America* (Sage, 2002). His current research examines geographic differences in racial identity development among multiracial people.

Kerry Ann **Rockquemore** is an assistant professor of sociology at Boston College. She is coauthor of *Beyond Black: Biracial Identity in America* (Sage 2002). Her research focuses on racial socialization and she is currently completing a book entitled *Raising the Biracial Child: From Theory to Practice*.

Article A97298347

---

**View other articles linked to these subjects:**

---

**Identity**

[View](#) 88 Newspaper references

[View](#) 1661 Periodical references

**Identity - Social Aspects**

[View](#) 352 Periodical references

[See also](#) 77 other subdivisions

**Racially Mixed People**

[View](#) 101 Newspaper references

[View](#) 293 Periodical references

**Racially Mixed People - Social Aspects**

[View](#) 85 Periodical references

[See also](#) 53 other subdivisions

**The Sociological Quarterly, Jun 22, 2002**

[View](#) other articles in this issue

---

**Library holdings and other related sources**

---

 [Check the UF Libraries' Catalog](#)

---

**Print, e-mail, and other retrieval options**

---

**Browser Print** — *Full Text* —

Reformat for printing (approximately 24 pages) from your browser. To return to InfoTrac, use the *back* function of your browser.

**Acrobat Reader** — *Full Text* —

Retrieve for viewing and printing from Acrobat™ Reader. Please allow a few minutes for the retrieval operation to complete (approximately 16 pages)

**E-Mail Delivery** — *Full Text* —

We will send a plain text version to the e-mail address you enter (e.g. *bettyg@library.com*).

E-Mail Address:

Subject  
(defaults to title):

— **Article 1 of 2** — 



[Copyright and Terms of Use](#)