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Racial Identity, Family, and Psychological Adjustment in Asian-White Biracial Young Adults

Vanessa Chong

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Racial Identity, Family, and Psychological Adjustment in Asian-White Biracial Young Adults.

by Vanessa Chong

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of Psychology
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

2012

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Racial Identity, Family, and Psychological Adjustment in Asian-White Biracial Young Adults

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the current study was to examine the interrelationships among biracial identity, family, and psychological adjustment variables in biracial young adults. A mixed methods design was used to investigate a large sample (N=356) of Asian-White biracial young adults (aged 18-30) from Canada and the United States. This study was based on the Multiracial Heritage and Personal Affiliation (M-HAPA) Model of biracial identity, which incorporates the integrated, singular, and marginal identity orientations and posits identity fluidity and dominance (Choi-Misailidis, 2004). Additional variables included family relationship quality, two aspects of racial-ethnic socialization (cultural socialization and preparation for bias), and four aspects of psychological adjustment (self-esteem, positive affect, psychological distress, and internalized oppression). Exploratory factor analyses were conducted to test the psychometric properties of measures developed or adapted for the current study. Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were used to identify the biracial identity orientations and family variables that predicted psychological adjustment, as well as test whether family relationship quality moderated racial-ethnic socialization and psychological adjustment. Results demonstrated that: 1) internalized oppression was predicted by marginal identity, singular-majority identity, and minority cultural socialization; 2) psychological distress was predicted by marginal identity and poor family relationship quality; and 3) positive affect was predicted by integrated identity, better family relationship quality, and minority cultural socialization. Family relationship quality was not found to be a significant moderator. Cluster analysis was also used to group participants according to patterns of scores on biracial identity orientation subscales. Three groups were identified: the Integrated Asian-White Dominant group, the Asian Dominant group, and the White

Dominant group. The Integrated Asian-White Dominant group demonstrated better family relationships and less psychological distress than the Asian Dominant and White Dominant groups. The Integrated Asian-White Dominant was also higher on White cultural socialization than the Asian Dominant group. The White Dominant group was higher on internalized oppression than the other groups. Evidence for identity fluidity and dominance was found. Participants were also asked qualitative questions related to biracial identity development, the positive aspects of being biracial, racial-ethnic socialization, and internalized oppression. Thematic analysis was used to identify overall themes.

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INTRODUCTION

Racial identity is an essential component of self-meaning, especially among racial minorities. It encompasses the ways we understand ourselves in relation to society, and it has the potential to significantly influence and be influenced by our self-concepts, our well-being, and our relationships. Against the backdrop of racial stratification, discrimination, and racism, attaining healthy racial identity can be an arduous, lifelong process. This process can be more complicated for biracial individuals, who straddle age-old racial divides and challenge the very meaning of race.

In many ways, biracial individuals have been somewhat invisible until recently. Historically, biracial (primarily Black/White) individuals were categorized according to hypodescent or the “one drop rule” (Daniel, 1996). According to this rule, individuals with any proportion of minority heritage were considered to be full members of that minority group. Moreover, biracial population statistics were not accounted for in the United States Census data until 2000, when the government allowed respondents to endorse more than one race for the first time (Jones & Symens-Smith, 2001). The Canadian Census currently does not include questions about race, but rather ethnicity, which continues to complicate the task of estimating the biracial population. Nevertheless, it has been estimated that North America’s biracial population is continuing to grow at astounding rates. According to Canada’s 2006 census, 2.7% of the total population identified with a minority ethnic group and indicated that their backgrounds were comprised of a combination of a European heritage and at least one non-European heritage (Statistics Canada, 2006). This number increased by 25% since the 2001 Census. Furthermore, the number of multiracial births in the United States has increased by 260% since the 1970s, whereas the number of monoracial

births has only increased by 15% (Root, 1996). In 2000, 2.4% of the population in the United States (6.8 million people) identified themselves as having a mixed-race background (Jones & Symens-Smith, 2003), and this number is estimated to rise to up to 20% by 2050 (Farley, 2001, as cited in Lee & Bean, 2004).

Despite this growing population, research on biracial individuals is still relatively new. In the past, various approaches to conceptualizing biracial identity have been attempted but have been fraught with serious methodological problems. Earlier studies assumed that biracial individuals are doomed to be marginalized and thus inevitably suffer from psychological difficulties (Thornton & Wason, 1995). After the development of Black identity models in the 1970s, researchers attempted to apply these models to biracial individuals, but these models did not account for the unique experiences of biracial people. However, after the “biracial baby boom” of the 1970s, researchers, many of whom were biracial themselves, developed biracial or multiracial models of racial identity (Root, 1992). Much of the research conducted over the past 40 years has involved describing the biracial experience, developing biracial identity models, and investigating the link between biracial identity and adjustment. Issues related to biracial identity development and psychological adjustment have been addressed theoretically, while a relatively small number of empirical studies have been conducted in this area.

Overall, these studies indicate that the experiences of biracial individuals are unique. Although they face many of the same challenges as monoracial minority individuals, such as racism and preserving heritage values and practices, there are also some significant differences between these groups’ experiences. Racial identity development can be a more complex process for biracial people because they are faced with the task of integrating two or

more racial backgrounds (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Throughout this process, they often experience alienation and marginalization, and this may lead to psychological adjustment problems. In addition, case studies and anecdotal evidence suggest that internalized oppression is closely tied with biracial individuals' understanding of and feelings towards their racial identities. However, this aspect of psychological adjustment has received little attention in the biracial identity literature (Fukuyama, 1999; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005). By contrast, some have noted the potential benefits of being multiracial. Preliminary research has hinted that biracial individuals may have greater resilience and intercultural competence than monoracial individuals (Coleman, 2001; Harrison, 1997; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996).

Researchers have also called for studies which move beyond these basic research questions towards more complex, empirically based research investigating potential mediating/moderating variables for the relationship between racial status and adjustment (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Recent models have pointed out the role that environmental context plays in shaping biracial identity. Some of the most powerful potential mediators include family variables. However, relatively little is known about the ways in which family relationships affect racial identity and psychological adjustment in general, let alone among biracial people. Findings in the monoracial identity literature have hinted at the importance of considering variables such as intergenerational relationship quality and racial socialization (Hughes et al., 2008; McGoldrick, 2003; Street, Harris-Britt & Walker-Barnes, 2009; Townsend & Lanphier, 2007). Writings on interracial families have also suggested that parents play a significant role in biracial individuals' racial identity development and

psychological health (e.g., Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005), although only a few of these writings are based on empirical data (e.g., Crawford & Alaggia, 2008).

The interplay among these variables is particularly important to study in the biracial population because their families may face significant challenges which can interfere with healthy racial identity development and well-being. Divorce rates have been found to be higher in interracial families than in monoracial families (Bratter & King, 2008), suggesting that biracial individuals may experience significant family conflicts. Parents of biracial individuals may find it more difficult to racially socialize their children, given that they do not share the same racial heritage as their children (Coleman, 2001). Interracial family members may also experience a great deal of stress related to their encounters with racism and discrimination and other people's discomfort with racial ambiguity (Herman, 2004; Miville, Constantine, Baysden, & So-Lloyd, 2005; Root, 1997). On the other hand, interracial family members have the potential to grow, gain resiliency, and become closer as a result of the challenges they face together.

In the following section the literature on biracial identity, psychological adjustment, internalized oppression, and relevant family variables are reviewed. The proposed study will attempt to address significant gaps in the biracial identity literature, including a general lack of quantitative biracial studies, a lack of an empirical understanding of biracial internalized oppression, and a dearth of biracial research investigating family variables. These gaps will also be outlined in greater detail in the following section.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Racial Identity

Definition

One of the most controversial issues in multicultural theory and research is the definition of race. Although it has now been proven that race does not biologically exist, social scientists generally agree that race continues to be a relevant to society in that it is a social construct (C.P. Jones, 2000; Shih & Sanchez, 2009). For example, the majority of individuals still identify themselves as being Asian, Black, Latino, *et cetera*. In North American society, the White/Caucasian (i.e., majority) racial category is associated with higher status than non-White (i.e., minority) racial categories. Due to the fact that society still functions according to racial hierarchies, race is a “master status”; it is basic to one’s self-meaning (Stryker, 1987). A similar construct, ethnicity, is also considered a master status. However, ethnicity reflects an individual’s cultural background and ancestry (e.g., Chinese, African American, Mexican).

According to Phinney and Kohatsu (1997), “racial identity is based on the perception of a shared racial history and reflects the quality or manner of identification with one’s racial group” (pp. 422-423). Racial identity reflects one’s “reactions to societal dynamics of “racial” oppression (i.e., domination or subjugation based on racial or ethnic physical characteristics commonly *assumed* [emphasis in original] to be racial or genetic in nature)” (Helms, 1996, p. 144). In comparison, ethnic identity involves performing culturally defined roles and behaviours, one’s self-identification as being a member of one’s ethnic group, and one’s emotional attachment to one’s ethnic group (Herman, 2008; Phinney, 1992). Despite some conceptual differences between racial identity and ethnic identity, many researchers

argue that, in reality, there is no way for individuals to clearly separate their ethnic identities, racial identities, and racial ancestry (Herman, 2008). In fact, racial identity and ethnic identity are often used interchangeably in research studies (e.g., Phinney & Alipuria, 1996; Thornton & Gates, 2001). For the sake of parsimony and brevity, the current study will use the terms *racial identity* and *biracial identity* to refer to both the aspects of identity associated with living in a racially stratified society (i.e., racial identity), as well as the aspects of identity associated with one's ethnocultural group membership (i.e., ethnic identity).

Racial identity develops and changes as individuals realize the personal, social, and political consequences of being members of their racial groups (Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997), and racial identity models are concerned with the processes through which individuals develop positive understandings of their racial heritages. Racial identity development can be conceptualized from an interactionist perspective; that is, it has been described as an "interaction between individual and social definition" (Wilson, 1987, p. 21). A biracial individual's racial identity is not only shaped by his or her natural preferences, but also by the ways in which others perceive and treat him or her and the expectations others place on the individual (Newsome, 2001). In addition, research demonstrates that racial identity development begins in early childhood and continues throughout the lifespan (Coleman, 2001; Collins, 2000; Hitlin, Brown, & Elder, 2006; Okun, 1996; Rockquemore, Brunsma, & Delgado, 2009). In general, similar to other types of identity, racial identity conflicts tend to peak in adolescence or young adulthood and individuals tend to feel more positive and secure about their racial identities with age (Fatimilehin, 1999; Harrison, 1997; Okun, 1996). However, despite the fact that older racial identity models proposed one-dimensional, linear,

progressive (stage) models of racial identity, researchers have now suggested that racial identity development is a much more fluid process (Harris & Sim, 2002; Hitlin et al., 2006; Okun, 1996; Sanchez, Shih, & Garcia, 2009; Terry & Winston, 2010). Racial identity can change depending on time and context, and as a result the process differs from individual to individual.

Biracial Identity

Racial identity among biracial individuals is a topic which has recently emerged in the literature. In some ways, biracial individuals have commonalities with monoracial minority individuals, by virtue of the fact that they are sometimes also visible minorities. Both of these groups are marginalized, and group members encounter similar struggles with prejudice, discrimination, and racism (Brandell, 1988; Herman, 2004, 2008). Additionally, similar to immigrants who are attempting to integrate host and heritage beliefs, values, and behaviours into their identities, biracial individuals are also faced with the challenge of identity integration (Herman, 2008). In other ways, biracial individuals' experiences of race and racial identity development are qualitatively different from monoracial individuals' experiences. For instance, biracial individuals have significantly different racial identity experiences from individuals with monoracial majority (i.e., White) backgrounds. White privilege provides monoracial majority (i.e., White) people with the luxury of not having to think about their race, whereas race is much more salient for biracial individuals (Herman, 2007b, as cited in Herman, 2008). Additionally, compared to monoracial (both majority and minority) children, biracial children tend to become aware of race and racial issues at an earlier age, due to the fact that their race is often questioned by others (Brown, 1990). At the same time, younger biracial children (i.e., before 6 or 7) may lack the cognitive ability to

understand multiple group membership (Brown, 1990) and identity conflicts (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999), which can lead to a great deal of identity confusion. Biracial children who are raised by monoracial parents may also feel misunderstood and lack adequate role models, both in their families and communities, who can foster healthy biracial identity development (Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Vivero & Jenkins, 1999).

Biracial people also have a wider array of racial identity options to choose from, by virtue of having parents from different racial backgrounds (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). As they have the opportunity to experiment with a wider range of identities during the racial identity development process, racial identity tends to be more fluid over time. The task of integrating each component race may be particularly important for biracial individuals, in order to avoid implicitly rejecting one parent by rejecting that parent's heritage. However, not all biracial individuals identify with each of their heritages equally, and those who do not choose to identify with both parents' races run the risk of experiencing guilt and shame over their perceived "disloyalty" (Poston, 1990; Vivero & Jenkins, 1999; Winn & Priest, 1993). Some biracial individuals may feel pressured to choose one of their component races to identify with (Coleman & Carter, 2007; Hall, 1992; Miville et al., 2005; Poston, 1990). Frequent encounters with questions such as "What are you?" and "What is your background?" and "forced-choice dilemmas" (e.g., having to indicate a single race on forms, questionnaires) send the message that they should choose a single identity (Herman, 2004; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011; Williams, 1996).

Racial identification among biracial individuals also tends to be more fluid from situation to situation than racial identification among monoracial individuals (Root, 1997). Although monoracial minorities' identification may also depend on context (e.g., an Asian

Canadian immigrant may assume an Asian orientation at home but a Canadian orientation at school), biracial individuals may find it easier or more natural to shift their identity orientations depending on context due to multiple group membership (Herman, 2008). Racial identity fluidity based on context can be conceptualized as the outcome of the negotiation between a biracial individual's public racial identity and private racial identity. Researchers have suggested that biracial individuals may experience tension between their public and private identities, and as a result may compartmentalize them, as a method for coping with societal pressures to identify with one of their heritages (Brown, 1995; Miville et al., 2005; Motomura, 1997; O'Donoghue, 2001; Shih & Sanchez, 2005).

Perceived marginality and social isolation also tend to be common experiences for biracial individuals (Hershel, 1995; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011; Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). From an early age, biracial individuals become acutely aware of their "otherness" or "differentness" (Fukuyama, 1999; Harrison, 1997; Kich, 1992; Root, 1990). For example, many biracial people must deal with "tests" that they are actually members of their heritage groups and "triangle stares" (looking back and forth between the biracial individual and his or her parents in order to understand his or her appearance) (Root, 1997).

Physical appearance seems to play a much larger role in biracial identity development than in monoracial identity development (Ahnallen, Suyemoto, & Carter, 2006; Brunsmas & Rockquemore, 2001; Motomura, 2007; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Root, 1997), and can be a major contributor to one's sense of marginality. For example, those who have ambiguous physical features and cannot be immediately categorized by others may be asked frequent "What are you?" questions (Brown, 1990; Harrison, 1997; Salahuddin & O'Brien,

2011). In addition, a biracial individual may identify more with one race, yet others may assume he or she is a member of another race due to his or her physical appearance (Brown, 1990). If his or her appearance is different from his or her last name or racial identity, he or she may feel self-conscious or frustrated, especially during adolescence (Harrison, 1997; Kerwin & Kich, 1992; Phillips, 2004; Ponteroto, 1995). For example, an Asian-White biracial girl may suffer from low self-esteem related to the fact that her identity is not validated by others; she appears to be Asian but identifies more with her White heritage. A wide range of studies have found that racial identity invalidation is associated with psychological adjustment and racial identity development problems (Coleman & Carter, 2007; Lou, Lalonde, & Wilson, 2010). For example, Lou and colleagues (2010) found that those with an invalidated racial identity were less likely to report a stable self-concept and less likely to believe that their different racial identities were compatible.

Another experience that contributes to marginality and isolation is a phenomenon called “double rejection” (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Biracial individuals often feel rejected and discriminated against by members of both the dominant group and their minority group (Gibbs, 1987; Grove, 1991; Poston, 1990; Root, 1996; Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). Being rejected and discriminated against by one’s extended family members, who may not necessarily approve of their parents’ interracial unions, is a common and particularly painful experience (Hershel, 1995; Kelch-Oliver & Leslie, 2007; Root, 1990; Salahuddin & O’Brien, 2011). This “double rejection” can make the biracial identity development process significantly more confusing. Rockquemore and Laszloffy (2005) summarize this conflict for Black/White biracial individuals nicely:

The challenge facing mixed-race people is that if they embrace their blackness, they are embracing the part of self that is profoundly devalued in society. Conversely, if they embrace their Whiteness, they are embracing a part of themselves that opens them up to rejection from Whites who continue to operate according to the politics of the “one-drop rule,” and rejection from blacks who will interpret their embrace of Whiteness as a de facto rejection of blackness. (p. 85)

Summary

Historically, race and racial identity have been ambiguously defined in the literature. Racial and ethnic identity research is essential, as racial and ethnic identity shape the ways in which we experience ourselves, our relationships, and the world. Over the years researchers have identified several important aspects of racial identity, including individual differences in salience, the importance of social and contextual factors, and the fluidity of racial identity over the lifespan. Although monoracial and biracial individuals have some commonalities in terms of racial identity, biracial individuals also encounter many experiences which their monoracial counterparts do not share.

Given the wide range of unique factors affecting biracial identity development, it is not surprising that biracial individuals tend to experience more confusion and ambivalence about their racial identities than monoracial individuals (Collins, 2000; Jacobs, 1992; J.E. Jones, 2000; Poston, 1990). Compared to monoracial minorities, biracial individuals tend to have less secure racial identities and/ or they may take longer to develop secure racial identities (Bracey, Bamaca, & Umana-Taylor, 2004; J.E. Jones, 2000). Several models have been developed which attempt to capture the unique experiences and challenges biracial

individuals encounter as they explore their racial identities. These models are reviewed in the following section.

Biracial Identity Models

Over the years, researchers have proposed several biracial identity models, which seem to reflect the socio-political climate in which the model was developed. Thornton (1996) proposed that biracial identity models can be categorized into three types of approaches: the problem approach, the equivalent approach, and the variant approach.

The Problem Approach

Biracial identity models have been proposed since the 1930s. Earlier “marginal man” theories (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1937) conceptualized biracial individuals as being on the “outside” of both the minority and majority societies. These theories operated under the assumption that biracial individuals do not develop secure racial identities. These theories suggested that biracial identity is associated with psychological problems (e.g., Stonequist, 1937; Teicher, 1968), and this has been referred to as the *Problem Approach* (Thornton, 1996). Stonequist (1937) proposed the “marginal man” model and posited that individuals with more than one race were marginalized from their heritage races and the dominant society. As a result, they were more likely to experience rejection, isolation, and stigmatization. Most of the earlier research on biracial identity was based on clinical samples, resulting in a skewed representation of biracial identity (Thornton & Wason, 1995).

The Problem Approach reflects the prevailing socio-political climate of the 1930s, but is flawed in that it assumes that biracial individuals always experience negative consequences due to their mixed race status. Thus, the Problem Approach theorizes the marginalizing and pathologizing effects on racially mixed individuals. However, some of the empirical

research conducted over the past 30 years suggests that biracial individuals experience psychological problems at rates comparable to their monoracial peers (Cauce et al., 1992; Johnson, 1992a; Johnson & Nagoshi, 1986; Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Stephan & Stephan, 1991). In addition, biracial individuals may benefit from several advantages due to their mixed race status, including better intercultural competence and greater resiliency (Coleman, 2001; Harrison, 1997; Phinney & Allipuria, 1996; Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011).

The Equivalent Approach

There were significant changes in biracial identity theory starting in the 1970s, coinciding with the elimination of anti-miscegenation laws, changes in the racial climate in North America, and a “biracial baby boom” (Root, 1996). Researchers began developing more comprehensive racial identity models for racial minorities (e.g., Cross, 1971; Helms, 1985, 1996; Morten & Atkinson, 1983), and they were subsequently applied to biracial identity research (e.g., Fatimilhien, 1999; Grove, 1991; Miller & Miller, 1990; Porterfield, 1978). Studies taking the *Equivalent Approach* assume that biracial individuals undergo racial identity development processes similar to those of monoracial minorities (Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Thornton, 1996). Moreover, these studies imply that biracial individuals who follow identity development paths similar to those of monoracial individuals are healthier individuals (Thornton, 1996).

In contrast to the Problem Approach, research and models which take the Equivalent Approach acknowledge the fact that, similar to monoracial identity development, biracial identity development is usually a healthy process resulting in positive psychological outcomes and the achievement of secure racial identity. However, the Equivalent Approach has been criticized for inaccurately portraying biracial identity and identity development

(Gillem, Cohn, & Throne, 2001; Poston, 1990). Poston (1990) identified several reasons why monoracial identity models are problematic when they are applied to biracial individuals. First, biracial individuals have two heritage identities to choose from, and it is therefore possible for them to choose one group over the other during different stages of their lives. Second, the idea that the individual first rejects their minority culture and later rejects the majority culture before accepting both cultures may be too simplistic in the case of biracial identity development. Biracial individuals with parents with minority and majority backgrounds may not follow this pattern of development because they have a personal stake in both cultures. Third, unlike monoracial individuals, biracial individuals have the opportunity to integrate more than one racial identity. Monoracial identity models do not account for this possibility. Finally, monoracial identity models operate under the assumption that the minority group will accept the individual as he or she immerses himself or herself in the minority culture. This is a particularly problematic assumption in the case of biracial identity development because biracial individuals are less likely to be accepted by their minority groups than monoracial individuals (Root, 1997).

The Variant Approach

In response to the growing recognition of the uniqueness of biracial identity, researchers have proposed several models which are specific to this population. Thornton (1996) called this approach to understanding biracial identity the *Variant Approach*. The Variant Approach is based on the idea that biracial identity development is qualitatively distinct from monoracial identity and that racial identity in general is highly subjective. Several stage models have been proposed which attempt to explain the process biracial individuals go through in their racial identity development (Jacobs, 1992; Kerwin &

Ponterotto, 1995; Kich, 1992; Poston, 1990). These models are loosely based on Piaget's cognitive developmental stages (Herman, 2008).

For example, Poston (1990) posited that biracial individuals move through five stages of identity development. The first stage, the *Personal Identity* stage, usually occurs in early childhood and involves becoming aware of the salience of racial identity. During this stage, identity is inconsistent and idiosyncratic. In the next stage, which occurs in late childhood and adolescence, the *Choice of Group Categorization* stage, the biracial individual feels pressured by society to choose a monoracial identity. This is usually motivated by a need for a sense of belonging and the individual most often chooses an identity corresponding to one of his or her parents' heritages. The next stage is labelled the *Enmeshment/Denial* stage, which often involves guilt and confusion related to the fact that biracial individuals are sometimes not accepted by members of the ethnic group they choose. During this stage parent and/or family relationships may be complicated by the fact that biracial individuals feel disloyal for choosing a given identity. According to Poston, issues that emerge during this stage may never be fully resolved. During the *Appreciation* stage, the individual becomes increasingly more accepting of his or her multiple heritages. This stage may involve the exploration of previously ignored heritages. Finally, the *Integration* stage involves the appreciation and integration of the individual's component heritages, resulting in a secure racial identity.

Another example of a biracial identity development stage model was developed through a qualitative study of 15 Japanese/White adults (aged 17 to 60) (Kich, 1992). In Stage 1 (*Awareness of Differentness and Dissonance*), which usually occurs during childhood, biracial individuals become aware of the fact that they are different from others

("differentness") and often negatively evaluate being different ("dissonance"). One's sense of differentness and dissonance develops as a result of self-comparisons and others' questions/comments about the fact that the person is different. Biracial individuals encounter constant reminders of their differentness, particularly when peers start to become a more important reference group. Family has an important impact on whether or not biracial individuals evaluate their differentness negatively. During this stage the biracial individual may be distressed by the fact that their self-perceptions are discrepant from the ways in which others perceive them. It is important that parents encourage open communication about racial and ethnic differences and provide their children with interracial labels during this stage. Stage 2 (*Struggle for Acceptance*) often occurs during adolescence. During this stage, biracial individuals are becoming more aware of others' perceptions of them in school and community contexts. Friendships have an important impact on their desires to be accepted during Stage 2. They may have conflicting feelings regarding being loyal to their parents versus feeling accepted by their peers. As a result, they may separate their identities at home from their identities at school. During this stage, biracial individuals may also feel conflicted over their loyalties to their parents. They may develop an ambivalent relationship with one parent (often the parent who is a member of a minority racial group) and may over-identify with the other parent (often the parent who is a member of a majority racial group). This stage may also be characterized by increased experimentation with and exploration of different reference groups, attempts to "pass" as a member of one of their heritage groups, and active attempts to learn about their racial heritages and biracial people. They may begin to understand their ambivalent feelings about race as being a product of political, social, and community structures. Finally, Stage 3 (*Acceptance and Assertion of Interracial Identity*) is

characterized by self-definition and positive evaluations of one's racial heritages and biracial status. This stage usually emerges after high school. Biracial individuals in this stage value and seek out information related to their heritages, cultures, and traditions. They also tend to be non-defensive when they are asked questions about their ambiguous physical features. Although this stage may involve "passing", the goal of this behaviour is no longer to gain acceptance. Rather, "passing" during this stage can be conceptualized as an ability to choose from a repertoire of languages, skills, behaviours, and values in order to facilitate personal and social interactions.

The variant stage models have certain features in common. Specifically, the models highlight that biracial children become increasingly aware of the ways in which they are different from other (monoracial) children, especially once they enter school. During adolescence, biracial individuals struggle with acceptance and peer influences and feel pressured to choose a monoracial identity. They may engage in various strategies to cope with their perceived marginality, including "passing", identifying with only one heritage, or over-identifying with one parent, but at the same time they may feel conflicted over being disloyal to one of their parents. Finally, the models suggest that biracial individuals move towards integrating both heritages into their identities during late adolescence and young adulthood.

Variant models acknowledge the importance of capturing the uniqueness of biracial identity. Additionally, they highlight some key struggles that many biracial children experience as they mature. However, these models imply that an integrated identity is the only healthy identity option (Rockquemore, & Laszloffy, 2005) and that individuals with other identity orientations (e.g., being more heavily oriented towards one component

heritage) have yet to complete the full racial identity process. Stage models are also inconsistent with the idea that there is a great deal of individual variation in terms of racial identity, and research has actually demonstrated that biracial identity does not develop in a linear fashion (Rockquemore et al., 2009). Variant models do not account for the fact that biracial identity tends to be fluid (i.e., it tends to change depending on time and context) (Hall, 2001; Herman, 2008; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996; Root, 1997; Terry & Winston, 2010; Thornton & Wason, 1995). Based on these observations, alternative models have been postulated that highlight the different identity options available to biracial individuals. More recent models of biracial identity development seem to have moved away from stage models and toward models highlighting identity orientations. Rockquemore et al. (2009) called this approach to understanding biracial identity the *Ecological Approach*.

The Ecological Approach

Models of biracial identity which take an Ecological Approach generally focus on the range of identity orientations available for biracial individuals to choose from, the fluidity of biracial identity, and the important role context plays in determining biracial identity. Conceptualizing biracial identity in this manner is a relatively new approach, and to date only a few ecological models have been proposed.

Root's model. Root (1990, 1997) theorized that biracial individuals experience a great deal of conflict when choosing between their component racial heritages. She stated that biracial children do not have the capacity to resolve their identity conflicts, and as a result “compartmentalize” their component heritages, usually by suppressing the parts of their identities that represent the race that is lower on society's racial stratification system. According to Root, racial identity development involves a process of resolving this identity

conflict by negotiating ways to recognize and accept both racial heritages. This negotiation occurs in the context of social, political, and family environments, all of which exert pressures on the individual.

In contrast to the biracial identity stage models, Root's model does not imply that there is only one way to achieve healthy racial identity. Rather, she highlights four possible strategies for resolving biracial identity conflicts and suggests that each of these strategies is healthy, as long as the biracial individual accepts both racial heritages and does not experience internalized oppression (see Internalized Oppression section for a more detailed explanation of this phenomenon). First, Root describes an orientation in which the biracial individual identifies with the race that society assigns them. Second, Root stated that some individuals may decide to identify with both of their racial groups. Third, some biracial individuals may choose to identify with only one of their heritage racial groups. Finally, some biracial individuals may identify with an entirely new reference group (e.g., the individual may identify as being "biracial", rather than belonging to any particular group).

Root also highlighted the important role context plays in determining biracial identity orientation in her *ecological framework for understanding multiracial identity* (Root, 1998). She posited that contextual factors were similar to lenses, influencing the ways in which different situations and experiences are perceived. According to Root, contextual "macrolenses" include gender, class, and the regional history of race relations. Root also identified several "microlenses", including inherited influences (given names, languages spoken in the home, phenotype, cultural values, sexual orientation), traits (temperament, talents, coping skills), and social environments (home, school, work).

Rockquemore and colleagues' model. Rockquemore (1998, 1999) developed a similar ecological biracial identity model based on interviews with 14 Black/White biracial students (age 18 to 22). Rockquemore proposed four categories describing the ways in which Black/White biracial individuals understand their racial identities. Those who choose a singular identity (e.g., “Black” or “White”) are classified under the *traditional identity* category. Those who endorse a *protean identity* are more flexible in terms of their racial identities, and are able to shift between identities based on the context or social interaction. Those who choose not to categorize themselves in terms of race are said to have a *transcendent identity*. Rockquemore found that this option was only available to those individuals who had a high degree of ambiguity in their physical appearance. Finally, those who endorse the *border identity* conceptualize their racial identities as being on the “border” of their heritage races. For example, instead of categorizing oneself as “Black” or “White”, the individual chooses to understand him or herself as belonging to a third “biracial” category. Although biracial individuals have some degree of choice in terms of their racial identities, Rockquemore and Brunsma (2002a) pointed out that factors such as physical appearance, social networks, social status, and socially mediated experiences of race (e.g., racism and prejudice) shape and limit their racial identity choices.

Rockquemore and Laszloffy (2005) recently updated this model by changing it from a categorical to a continuous unilinear model. They called this model the Continuum of Biracial Identity (COBI) Model. According to this model, singular Black, singular White, and blended identity (previously called border identity) exist on a continuum. That is, they pointed out that there is a great deal of variation among those with a Black/White blended identity; an individual can have a blended identity but identify more with his/her Black side

than his/her White side or he/she could have a blended identity but identify more with his/her White side than his/her Black side. Rather than conceptualizing protean identity as a category, the authors suggested that, to varying degrees, all biracial individuals have flexible racial identities. The authors also discussed transcendent identity, but did not locate this type of identity on the continuum they presented. An important component of this model is the idea that an individual's position along this continuum can change throughout one's lifetime. Additionally, they emphasized that racial identity development is a social process that is shaped by experiences of validation and rejection by others, especially significant others.

Choi-Misailidis' Multiracial-Heritage Awareness and Personal Affiliation (M-HAPA) model. Another ecological multiracial identity model was developed by Choi-Misailidis (2004), as part of her doctoral dissertation. This innovative model makes a significant contribution to the literature in that it is multidimensional and accounts for the fact that biracial individuals can both have fluid racial identities based on context and a primary biracial identity orientation with which they more often identify. Specifically, Choi-Misailidis proposed that racial identification involves both internal aspects (e.g., feelings, attitudes, beliefs, sense of belonging) and external aspects (e.g., behaviours, practices, friend choices, family relationships). She also contended that each person has a dominant identity status which has the most influence over him or her at any given time. Which identity status becomes dominant depends on one's history of reinforcement. For example, an Asian-White individual who has the most positive interactions with his or her parents when he or she is "acting White" may identify primarily with her White heritage, even though she may identify more with her Asian heritage in certain situations (e.g., while dining at a Chinese restaurant or encountering racism). To the author's knowledge, this is the only existing

multidimensional multiracial identity model that has been empirically derived and tested using rigorous quantitative research methods.

Similar to Root (1990, 1997) and Rockquemore (1998, 1999), Choi-Misailidis described several identity *statuses* (i.e. identity orientations). These include integrated status, singular status, and marginal status. Each of these statuses consists of both internal and external dimensions. Each identity status is summarized as follows:

Identity Status	Description	Examples of Internal Indicators	Examples of External Indicators
Integrated	Oriented towards all heritage groups	Feeling comfortable with both heritages Tolerance for racial differences	Multiracial self-labels (e.g., Asian-Caucasian) Participating in cultural practices of all heritage groups
Singular	Oriented towards only one heritage group	Sense of belonging with only one group Identification with one group's position in society	Participating in the cultural practices of only one group Dating partners from only one group
Marginal	Disconnected from all heritages	Alienation Lack of sense of belonging	Avoiding participating in cultural practices Disinterest in learning about heritages

After the initial theory was developed, the construct validity of the M-HAPAS was evaluated (see *Methods* section for a detailed description) and the scale and theory were

modified accordingly. Specifically, integrated status was divided into two sub-statuses: *integrated-combinatory status* and *integrated-universality status*. Integrated-combinatory status involves combining aspects of both parents' heritages, similar to Rockquemore's (1998, 1999) *border identity*. By contrast, integrated-universality status involves identifying with people from many racial groups and an appreciation of racial diversity. This status seems to bear similarities to Rockquemore's *transcendent identity*.

Overall, it can be argued that biracial identity models which take an Ecological Approach more accurately reflect the biracial experience. Each of the ecological models described above proposes that biracial individuals have a choice among several identity orientations, and each of these models proposes orientations that involve an affiliation towards one heritage, both heritages, or neither heritage (Choi-Misailidis, 2004; Rockquemore, 1998, 1999; Root, 1990, 1997). Moreover, to varying degrees, each of these models accounts for racial identity fluidity and attempts to describe the role context plays in identity development and orientation. Choi-Misailidis' M-HAPA model is arguably the most theoretically sound of the ecological models, as it is multidimensional, was empirically derived and tested, and can be measured using a validated quantitative scale.

Summary

Biracial identity models have taken several different approaches, reflecting the significant socio-political changes which have occurred over the past 80 years. Current trends in the literature seem to suggest that these models are moving away from the Problem Approach towards the Ecological Approach, as researchers are acknowledging the importance of accounting for the various identity orientation options that are available to biracial individuals, identity fluidity, and the importance of context.

Family and Racial Identity Development

The interconnections between family and racial identity have been demonstrated in monoracial and monoethnic minority samples. For example, studies have shown that immigrant youth's cultural and racial identity development processes are strongly influenced by their interactions with their parents (e.g., Kwak, 2003; McHale et al., 2006; Sabatier, 2008; Townsend & Lanphier, 2007). In fact, Root's (1998) ecological model of biracial identity highlights the importance of family influences at both the *inherited influences* and the *social environments* levels. Specifically, biracial racial identity development can be influenced by parents' racial identities, extended family members, home values, and family identity (inherited influences). Root also states that racial identity can also be impacted by one's social interactions with family members (social environments). Many authors have written about the important role family plays in racial identity (e.g., Lee, 2004; Poston, 1990; Root, 1990), but few empirical studies have studied these relationships. Generally, existing empirical studies on biracial individuals and their families can be grouped according to two main themes: family relationships and racial-ethnic socialization.

Family Relationships

Some studies indicate that biracial and monoracial youth are equivalent in terms of intergenerational relationship quality (Radina & Cooney, 2000). However, there is other evidence suggesting that biracial youths experience more intergenerational relationship problems than monoracial youths (Radina & Cooney, 2000). In a qualitative study conducted with 20 biracial sibling dyads, participants reported extreme forms of family dysfunction (e.g., parent addiction and abandonment; sexual, physical, and emotional abuse), resulting in racial identity problems and prejudicial attitudes towards people of the abusive

parent's race (Root, 1998). Interracial family problems have often been attributed to the fact that interracial marriage and parenting can be challenging, by virtue of the greater likelihood of differences in beliefs, values, and worldviews between parents (Crippen & Brew, 2007; Edwards, Caballero, & Puthussery, 2009; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005). That is, parents involved in interracial unions are more likely than same-race parents to have different child rearing beliefs due to their different backgrounds, which can lead to marital conflict and ultimately adjustment problems in their children (McDermott & Fukunaga, 1977; Okun, 1996).

Studies also indicate that divorce rates are higher in interracial families (Bratter & King, 2008; Field, 1996; Heaton, 2002; Ho & Johnson, 1990; Okun, 1996). Divorce has been linked with both psychological distress and racial identity in biracial children (Okun, 1996). According to Rockquemore and Laszloffy (2005), “conflicts between parents often become racialized and have profound overt and covert effects on children” (p. 70). For instance, the authors described a case in which two biracial children had close ties with their father’s Black heritage because he was the primary caregiver, while they distanced themselves from their mother’s White heritage because she abandoned them when they were young children. Similarly, in a study involving interviews of biracial women, participants whose parents were separated stated that they felt disconnected from the heritage of their non-resident parent (Crawford & Alaggia, 2008).

Another line of research suggests that biracial individuals who are more closely connected with their families have more secure racial identities and better psychological adjustment, whereas interracial family dysfunction is associated with racial identity problems and poorer adjustment (Harrison, 1997; J.E. Jones, 2000; Miller & Miller, 1990; Okun, 1996;

Root, 1998). For example, J.E. Jones (2000) found that father attachment and mother attachment were the most significant predictors of psychological adjustment (over and above ethnic identity, self-esteem, peer relationships, and extended family relationships) in a sample of 57 biracial adolescents. Better parent attachment was associated with better psychological adjustment. A related area of research focuses on family differentiation. These studies suggest that racial identity and self-esteem are optimal when there is an appropriate balance between intimacy and autonomy (Jourdan, 2004). Gibbs and Moskovitz-Sweet (1991) suggested that some biracial youths' parents may attempt to overprotect their children from social rejection and discrimination, resulting in biracial children who are overly dependent. They noted that these biracial youths may become overly close or attached to their parents, resulting in adjustment problems.

Only a few studies have empirically examined the relationship between family and racial identity among biracial individuals. In a qualitative study of 10 multiracial adults, Miville and colleagues (2005) found that participants tended to adopt the racial self-label of the parent with whom they felt emotionally closer. Another study on interracial families investigated the influence of parent involvement (i.e., closeness, communication, and control) on the racial identification of 706 biracial adolescents (Bratter & Heard, 2009). In this study, participants who reported experiencing more father involvement were more likely to identify with their father's race (i.e., singular identity orientation). By contrast, participants who reported greater mother involvement were less likely to solely identify with their mother's race and were more likely to identify with their father's race or both parents' races (i.e., integrated identity orientation). The authors proposed that these between-parent differences may be reflective of the mothers' roles as "gatekeepers to support or control

father child relationships” (p. 681). That is, mothers who are more involved in their children’s lives may attempt to encourage better father-child relationships by encouraging identification with the father’s race. Similarly, in the wider multicultural literature, research has supported the contention that family relationships may impact racial identity. For example, Hynie, Lalonde, and Lee (2006) investigated a sample of 63 Chinese North American adult child-parent dyads. They found that traditional mate preferences were more consistent between dyads when family connectedness was high.

Other studies have suggested that biracial individuals who perceive their family members as not accepting them or pressuring them to identify as monoracial may have more racial identity and adjustment problems (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Coleman and Carter (2007) found that family pressure to identify as monoracial was relatively low, compared to peer and societal pressure. However, those who reported an invalidated border identity (i.e., they identify as being biracial but others do not acknowledge their biracial status) tended to experience more family pressure. Those in the invalidated border identity group were more depressed and anxious than those in the validated border identity group. In addition, greater family pressure was associated with more social anxiety.

Overall, the research seems to suggest that family variables can significantly affect biracial identity and vice versa. Additionally, family relationships seem to affect psychological adjustment, both directly and indirectly, through the impact they have on biracial identity. However, research on these variables is only beginning to emerge in the literature. More empirical studies are needed to clarify the interconnections among family relationships, biracial identity, and psychological adjustment.

Racial-Ethnic Socialization

Racial socialization has been defined as “specific verbal and non-verbal (e.g., modeling of behavior and exposure to different contexts and objects) messages transmitted to younger generations for the development of values, attitudes, and behaviors, and beliefs regarding the meaning and significance of race and racial stratification, intergroup and intragroup interactions, and personal and group identity” (Lesane-Brown, 2006, p. 403). Ethnic socialization is more focused on passing on messages about heritage history, traditions, and values and promoting cultural pride (Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007). According to Brown and Krishnakumar (2007), racial socialization involves “intergroup protocol” (i.e., messages regarding relations between racial groups) and ethnic socialization involves “intragroup protocol” (i.e., messages regarding relations within an ethnic group) (p. 1073). Nevertheless, some researchers have discussed both types of socialization as a single construct (e.g., Brown, 1990; Hughes, Rivas, Foust, Hagelskamp, Gersick & Way, 2008), reflecting the many inconsistencies and ambiguities in the racial and ethnic socialization literature (Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007; Hughes et al., 2006). According to Hughes et al. (2006), there is no way to clearly separate racial socialization and ethnic socialization. Given the important role parents play providing their children with racial and ethnic socialization as well as the significant impact these variables can have on racial identity and well-being, the current study will incorporate both constructs. For the sake of simplicity, the term *racial-ethnic socialization* will be used in the current study to encompass a combination of these constructs.

Racial-ethnic socialization is particularly relevant to the investigation of the link between family and racial identity because it is a key mechanism by which parents influence racial identity. Hughes and colleagues (2006, 2008) reviewed the literature on racial-ethnic

socialization and identified several types. These included cultural socialization (i.e., transmitting cultural knowledge, history, and traditions), preparation for bias (i.e., discussing stereotyping, racism, and discrimination), egalitarianism (i.e., discussing the importance of diversity and equality), and promotion of mistrust (i.e., communicating the importance of being wary of members of other groups). Studies have suggested that ethnic/cultural socialization and preparation for bias are the two primary components of racial-ethnic socialization (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009; Rodriguez, Umana-Taylor, Smit, & Johnson, 2009).

Previous research has linked racial-ethnic socialization to racial identity and psychological adjustment. The first studies which emerged on this topic were conducted with monoracial, primarily African American, samples. These studies demonstrate that monoracial youths have more secure racial/ethnic identities and/or more positive attitudes towards their racial or ethnic groups if their parents focus on racial and ethnic culture and history as part of their parenting (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Hughes et al., 2009; Lesane-Brown, 2006; O'Connor, Brooks-Gunn & Graber, 2000; Quintana, Castaneda-English & Ybarra, 1999; Quintana & Vera, 1999; Rodriguez et al., 2009; Sanders, 1994; Seaton, Yip, Morgan-Lopez, & Sellers, 2011; Stevenson, 1995; Umana-Taylor & Fine, 2004).

Additionally, a few studies have demonstrated a significant relationship between racial-ethnic socialization and psychological adjustment in monoracial minority samples (Cooper & McLoyd, 2011; Cooper, McLoyd, Wood, & Hardaway, 2008). These studies suggest that discussing racial issues and prejudice is linked with better academic functioning (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007; Hughes et al., 2009; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Rodriguez et al., 2009; Sanders, 1997), fewer behavioural problems (Brown &

Krishnakumar, 2007; Hughes et al., 2009; Stevenson, Herrero-Taylor, Emerson, & Davis, 2002), lower depression (Cooper & McLoyd, 2011; Stevenson, 1997; Stevenson, Reed, Bosison & Bishop, 1997), and higher self-esteem (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Cooper & McLoyd, 2011; Fatimilehin, 1999). In addition, studies demonstrate that preparation for bias can buffer the negative effects of racism and discrimination (Cooper, 2005; Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Neblett, Philip, Cogburn & Sellers, 2006; Rodriguez et al., 2009; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). Rodriguez et al. (2009) suggest that a combination of messages regarding cultural pride and preparation for bias may be a more important determinant of psychological outcomes than either of these forms of socialization alone.

Relatively few empirical studies have been conducted on racial-ethnic socialization in biracial individuals. This may reflect the fact that this process can be significantly more complex for interracial families, making research in this area more complex. For instance, parents are faced with the task of socializing their children to two heritages. Moreover, neither parent has the same racial background as their child, which can contribute to more struggles in terms of racial-ethnic socialization. For example, which parent is responsible for the socialization? If only one parent is primarily responsible for socialization, will the child be missing out on learning about his or her other heritage? How do parents coordinate socializing their children to two heritages? What if the values associated with each heritage culture conflict? Is a White parent able to adequately talk to his or her biracial child about racism and discrimination? Additionally, the content of racial-ethnic socialization messages may be slightly different for biracial individuals. For example, “preparation for bias” messages may necessitate discussing the unique challenges biracial individuals may encounter (e.g., “triangle stares”, feeling pressured by others to “choose a side”) and ways to

cope with these challenges. Unfortunately, monoracial parents may not know what messages to send their children about being biracial and how to send these messages, as they have not had to encounter these struggles themselves (Coleman, 2001; Crawford & Alaggia, 2008; O'Donoghue, 2004). In particular, White parents may struggle with racial-ethnic socialization, as they may never have considered the implications of race on their own and others' lives (Kelch-Oliver & Leslie, 2007; Okun, 1996; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005).

Among the few racial-ethnic socialization studies that have been conducted on biracial individuals and interracial families, some findings suggest that biracial children and their parents often discuss race and racial issues (Byrd & Garwick, 2006; Coleman, 2001; Harrison, 1997; Kelch-Oliver & Leslie, 2007; O'Donoghue, 2004). Harrison (1997) conducted a study involving 53 Black/White biracial women (ages 11-22) and their White mothers. Results showed that the majority (94%) of the women discussed issues of race (including issues related to the topics of "preparation for bias" and "egalitarianism") with their mothers to some extent. Of these participants, 40% reported that they discussed these issues "very often" or "quite often". Similarly, the majority (i.e., seven out of eight) participants in Coleman's (2001) study of biracial adults recalled that they often had discussions about race with their parents while growing up. However, these findings may not be reflective of all interracial families. A study involving interviews of 34 biracial children and young adults revealed that many of the participants did not feel adequately prepared by their parents to face prejudice and racism because they did not discuss these issues with their parents often enough (Winn & Priest, 1993). Just over a third of these participants wished their families would establish more family rituals or celebrations focusing on their family uniqueness.

A limited number of studies have linked racial-ethnic socialization to racial/ethnic identity in biracial individuals. Similar to findings in monoracial studies, research has shown that biracial individuals who are exposed to more cultural experiences (e.g., food, art, crafts, music, dance) and are taught the beliefs, values, and traditions of one of their racial groups or cultures tend to identify more with that race or culture (Motomura, 2007; Stephan, 1992; Stephan & Stephan, 1989). Additionally, biracial individuals seem to have more secure racial/ethnic identities when they discussed racial issues with their parents while they were growing up (Harrison, 1997; Jourdan, 2004; Kelch-Oliver & Leslie, 2007). Harrison (1997) found that discussing racial issues with their White mothers was a significant predictor of racial identity in a sample of Black/White young women; those who discussed race with their mothers less often were more likely to identify as being “biracial” or “biracial but predominantly White”. Biracial participants (N=8) interviewed in Crawford and Alaggia’s (2008) study stated that having contact with or exposure to both their parents’ heritages was important and allowed them to feel free to choose between various racial identity options. Fatimilehin (1999) found that certain forms of racial socialization (i.e., messages about racism and how to cope with it, messages about maintaining African American heritage) were positively associated with certain Black identity development stages (i.e., encounter and immersion) among Black/White biracial adolescents.

Research also indicates that racial-ethnic socialization is an important factor affecting psychological adjustment in multiracial individuals (Csizmadia, 2011; Jourdan, 2004; Nolfo, 2009; Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). Jourdan (2004) examined racial-ethnic socialization in a sample of 100 multiethnic adults using quantitative methods (she used a general measure incorporating most of the aspects of racial-ethnic socialization outlined by Hughes et al.,

2008). She found that higher levels of racial-ethnic socialization were associated with higher self-esteem. In a qualitative study, Nolfo (2009) found that biracial individuals had higher self-efficacy when their parents emphasized family and racial history, traditions, and accomplishments. Additionally, Root (1990) suggested that racial-ethnic socialization can play a crucial role in lessening the intensity of internalized oppression. Openness to discussing racial issues in the family appears to be particularly relevant to psychological adjustment among biracial individuals (Coleman, 2001; Crawford & Alaggia, 2008; Winn & Priest, 1993). For example, in a qualitative study of eight Black/White biracial young adults, Crawford and Alaggia (2008) found that most parents were important sources of support for biracial individuals who were struggling with issues related to race and racism, but those who did not feel supported and validated in this respect reported experiencing a great deal of frustration. Moreover, they found that parents' openness to communication about racial issues was particularly important to the participants; those whose parents did not discuss racial issues in their families reported that they felt less confident about facing racism and standing up for themselves. Along similar lines, Csizmadia (2011) proposed that racial socialization can protect multiracial youths from the potentially damaging impact of negative social situations with peers.

Summary

Similar to research findings on monoracial individuals, emerging research suggests that family variables are significantly related to racial identity. Additionally, family variables may both directly and indirectly related to psychological adjustment through racial identity in biracial individuals, although this indirect relationship has not been empirically tested. A few studies suggest that better intergenerational relationships and greater exposure to racial-

ethnic socialization are related to healthy racial identity and better psychological adjustment in biracial individuals. However, in general, studies which empirically examine biracial individuals and their families have been seriously lacking in the literature. Future research needs to verify proposed theories regarding interracial families and findings from qualitative studies using quantitative methods.

Psychological Adjustment

Biracial individuals challenge rigid assumptions many might hold about race by virtue of being ambiguous in their racial statuses. As a result they may face interpersonal struggles (Brown, 1990; Poston, 1990; Root, 1996), isolation/marginalization (Brown, 1995; Gillem et al., 2001; Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995; Kerwin et al., 1993), and racism/discrimination (Gibbs, 1987; Grove, 1991; Poston, 1990; Root, 1996; Vivero & Jenkins, 1999), all of which may be related to psychological adjustment problems. Moreover, one's racial identity may have a direct impact on one's psychological adjustment, as it is a "master status."

Studies have shown that secure racial/ethnic identity is positively related to better psychological adjustment, both in monoracial (Bracey et al., 2004; Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997) and biracial/multiracial (Bracey et al., 2004; Harrison, 1997; Jourdan, 2004; Sparrold, 2003) samples. Conversely, racial identity problems are associated with poorer psychological adjustment (Salahuddin & O'Brien, 2011). Given the struggles biracial individuals encounter as they attempt to negotiate their racial identities, biracial individuals' psychological adjustment is considered a crucial variable which needs to be examined in the current study.

Comparing Monoracial and Biracial Groups

For many years there has been great debate over whether or not biracial individuals are more susceptible to psychological adjustment problems than their monoracial counterparts. Most of the earlier studies in the area were based on clinical case studies and suggested that biracial individuals tend to have problems with racial identity development and tend to suffer from depression, behavioural problems, school problems, peer relationship problems, and low self-esteem (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). During the early 1990s, qualitative studies based on non-clinical samples began to emerge. Researchers suggested that biracial individuals experience significant struggles with racial identity formation (Brown, 1990; Buckley & Carter, 2004; Collins, 2000; Gibbs & Hines, 1992; Gillem et al., 2001; Hall, 1992; Tashiro, 2004; Thornton & Gates, 2001; Williams & Thornton, 1998). These studies posited that racial identity development problems may lead to adjustment problems such as depression (Henrickson & Trusty, 2004; Storrs, 1999), low self-esteem (Collins, 2000; Gibbs & Hines, 1992; Gillem et al., 2001; Poussaint, 1984), behavioural issues (Gibbs & Hines, 1992), school problems (Gibbs & Hines, 1992; Gillem et al., 2001), and peer problems (Buckley & Carter, 2004; Collins, 2000; Hall, 1992; Henrickson & Trusty, 2004; Kerwin et al., 1993; Poussaint, 1984; Renn, 2000; Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2002a; Tashiro, 2002; Thornton & Gates, 2001; Williams & Thornton, 1998).

More recent quantitative studies have focused on statistically comparing biracial and monoracial groups on psychological adjustment. These studies infer that psychological adjustment differences between these two groups can be explained by differences in racial identity and related variables. Consistent with “marginal man” theories, some of these studies indicate that biracial individuals experience more psychological and behavioural problems than both monoracial majority individuals (Cooney & Radina, 2000; McKelvey &

Webb, 1996; Milan & Keiley, 2000) and monoracial minority individuals (Bracey et al., 2004; Herman, 2007b, as cited in Herman, 2008; McKelvey & Webb, 1996; Milan & Keiley, 2000). For example, McKelvey and Webb (1996) conducted a study in Texas with 140 Vietnamese-White biracial adults, 71 of their non-biracial (Vietnamese) siblings, and 118 unrelated Vietnamese immigrants. The biracial adults scored higher than their monoracial siblings on alcohol use and higher than the Vietnamese immigrants on depression. In another study, Milan and Keiley (2000) analyzed data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent Health (N= 6504 adolescents and 4600 parents). They found that self-identified biracial adolescents were more likely to exhibit behavioural conduct problems, school problems, somatization, and low self-worth than their monoracial minority and monoracial White counterparts.

In contrast, other quantitative biracial-monoracial comparison studies have concluded that biracial individuals' adjustment is equivalent to monoracial individuals' adjustment (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Specifically, some studies demonstrate that, compared to monoracial minorities, biracial individuals are no different in terms of levels of self-esteem, life stress, depression, and overall psychological distress (Beal, Ausiello, & Perrin, 2001; Cauce et al., 1992; Cooney & Radina, 2000; Field, 1996; J.E. Jones, 2000; Sparrold, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 1989, 1991). Likewise, studies have shown that there are no significant differences between biracial and monoracial majority members on the same variables (Bracey et al., 2004; Cooney & Radina, 2000; Field, 1996; Harris & Thomas, 2002; Stephan & Stephan, 1989 & 1991). For example, in her dissertation, Sparrold (2003) studied a sample of 161 multiethnic (N=60), monoethnic majority (N=60), and monoethnic minority

(N=41) college students living in New York and Arizona. She found no significant differences between these groups on self-esteem and psychological distress.

Interestingly, some researchers suggest that biracial individuals may actually be better adjusted than monoracial individuals in certain domains (Edwards & Pedrotti, 2004; Fields, 1996; Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). For instance, some studies have suggested that biracial youths are better adjusted than monoracial youths in terms of peer relations (Fields, 1996), school performance (Harris & Thomas, 2002), and behavioural issues (Cooney & Radina, 2000). Biracial individuals who participated in interviews have identified several positive aspects of being biracial, including having the opportunity to benefit from the best parts of both cultures and heritages and to develop resiliency and skills to cope with adversity (Hall, 1992; Harrison, 1997). Additionally, some studies have shown that biracial individuals may actually have higher self-esteem than their monoracial peers (Bracey et al., 2004; Chang, 1974). For example, in a large-scale study (N= 3282) conducted in a large Southwestern city in the United States on biracial, White, Asian, and Black adolescents, biracial participants scored higher on self-esteem than their monoracial Asian peers (Bracey et al., 2004). However, they also scored significantly lower on self-esteem than those in a Black comparison group.

Park (1928) also contended that biracial individuals exhibit greater bicultural competence and less ethnocentricity. Empirical studies support Park's supposition and suggest that biracial individuals may have an advantage over their monoracial peers in terms of intergroup relations (Hall, 1992; Phinney & Allipuria, 1996; Roberts-Clarke, Roberts, & Morokoff, 2004; Stephan, 1992; Stephan & Stephan, 1991). That is, biracial individuals may accept and empathize with people of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds more readily than

monoracial individuals. In a sample of 890 multiethnic and monoethnic high school students in California, Phinney and Allipuria (1996) found that multiethnic youths endorsed more positive attitudes towards other ethnic groups than their monoethnic peers. Similarly, Stephan and Stephan (1991) recruited study participants from New Mexico and Hawaii and found that mixed heritage participants had more voluntary relations with members of other ethnic groups, whereas single heritage participants were more likely to isolate their interactions to members of their own heritage groups. In addition, mixed heritage participants scored lower on a measure of ethnocentrism than single heritage participants.

The research findings on the association between biracial identity and psychological adjustment appear to be mixed. In an attempt to clarify the seemingly ambiguous findings in the literature, Shih and Sanchez (2005) conducted a comprehensive review of all qualitative and quantitative research studies on biracial identity development and psychological outcomes (i.e., depression, problem behaviours, peer relationships, school performance, and self-esteem) conducted in the United States. A review of the qualitative studies in the area led the authors to conclude that biracial status is sometimes associated with negative outcomes, including identity crises, depression, behavioural problems, social isolation, and low self-esteem. At the same time, these studies suggested that biracial status may also contribute to resiliency and may lead to positive outcomes such as being able to access a wider range of cultural communities. However, Shih and Sanchez noted that the majority of these qualitative studies were based on clinical samples, limiting the generalizability of these results.

Overall, the quantitative studies Shih and Sanchez (2005) reviewed suggested that most biracial individuals do not experience problems with identity development. However, the

authors did acknowledge that the identity development process seemed to be different for biracial individuals, as compared to monoracial individuals. Based on studies which compared psychological adjustment between biracial and monoracial groups, the authors could not identify a clear and consistent pattern of findings. They contended that the inconsistent findings reflected between-study inconsistencies in outcomes, comparison groups, and measures. In addition, inconsistencies in the literature may point towards the importance of considering which racial groups are being compared, as well as contextual factors (e.g., location, regional socio-political history) when interpreting comparison study findings

Recently, there has been a notable shift in the literature away from monoracial-biracial comparison studies. This may reflect the growing acceptance of variant and ecological approaches to understanding biracial identity development, in place of problem or equivalent approaches. Researchers are beginning to acknowledge that it is problematic to assume that biracial identity parallels monoracial identity. That is, they are beginning to realize that comparing biracial individuals with monoracial individuals implicitly perpetuates the myth that biracial people are somehow deficient (Suzuki-Crumly & Hyers, 2004). In doing this, they acknowledge the importance of honouring and investigating the uniqueness of biracial identity. In the area of biracial adjustment, studies have begun to emerge which investigate within-group differences in psychological adjustment.

Comparing Biracial Identity Orientations on Adjustment

More recent studies have focused on exploring the differences among biracial individuals in terms of their racial identity orientations. Preliminary research in this area suggests that biracial individuals who identify primarily with their majority heritage group

tend to have poorer adjustment levels than those who identify with their minority heritage group or both heritage groups (Binning, Unzueta, Huo, & Molina, 2009; Coleman & Carter, 2007; Herman, 2007a & b, as cited in Herman, 2008; Lusk, Taylor, Nanney, & Austin, 2010; Motomura, 2007; Phillips, 2004; Suzuki-Crumly & Hyers, 2004). Studies also suggest that biracial individuals who do not identify with either of their heritage groups are vulnerable to psychological adjustment problems (Choi-Misailidis, 2004; Coleman & Carter, 2007; Lusk et al., 2010; Motomura, 2007; Suzuki-Crumly & Hyers, 2004).

This trend was demonstrated in an unpublished study by Herman (2007a & b, as cited in Herman, 2008). Among Black/White, Asian/White, and Hispanic/White youth, those who self-identified as White were significantly more depressed than those who identified as Black, Asian, or Hispanic. Additionally, White identified Hispanic/White participants reported significantly more somatic symptoms and school misconduct than their Hispanic identified counterparts. In another study, Black/White biracial participants who reported being in later stages of Black identity development (according to Cross' 1971 model) had better self-esteem than those in earlier states of Black identity development (Fatimilehin, 1999).

Coleman and Carter (2007) investigated racial identity and adjustment using the identity model developed by Rockquemore and colleagues (Brunsma & Rockquemore, 2001; Rockquemore, 1999) in a sample of Black/White biracial adults from across the United States (N= 61). They found that those who endorsed protean identity or transcendent identity had the highest depression and anxiety scores. The researchers also compared participants who identified with the validated border identity with those who identified with the invalidated border identity. They found that participants in the latter group had higher

anxiety and depression scores. Lusk and colleagues (2010) also used this biracial identity model in a sample of 74 Black/White adults (aged 18-64). They found that border identity and protean identity were associated with better self-esteem and lower levels of depression, while singular identity and transcendent identity were associated with worse self-esteem and higher levels of depression.

In another recent study of multiracial high school students from California (N= 182), Binning and colleagues (2009) found that those who identified with multiple racial groups reported better psychological well-being and social engagement (i.e., fewer behavioural problems, more participation in citizenship behaviour, and less school alienation). Furthermore, Choi-Misailidis (2004) found that self-esteem was positively correlated with integrated identity status and singular identity status (there was no distinction between singular majority and singular minority statuses) but was negatively correlated with marginal identity status in a large sample of multiracial participants from across the United States (N= 364).

Suzuki-Crumly and Hyers (2004) conducted a study that compared specific biracial groups and identification choices (i.e., majority, minority, or bicultural). They surveyed 66 Asian/White and Black/White adults from across the United States on racial identification (orientation towards their majority heritage, minority heritage, both heritages, or neither heritage), well-being, and intercultural competence. The results indicated that, in general, minority identified participants tended to report the greatest life satisfaction, followed by majority identified participants and non-identified participants. In the Asian/White group, bicultural and minority identified participants tended to be less depressed than non-identified participants. In addition, Asian/White participants who were non-identified tended to rate

their intercultural anxiety as being higher than minority and biculturally identified Asian/White participants. By contrast, Black/White participants who were biculturally identified rated their intercultural anxiety higher than that of minority and non-identified participants.

Summary

Research in the area of biracial identity and psychological adjustment is still in its preliminary stages. More quantitative studies based on non-clinical samples are needed to investigate the relationship between psychological adjustment and racial identity in the biracial population. Studies comparing monoracial and biracial groups suggest that biracial individuals may have equivalent adjustment levels to monoracial minorities but may be at greater risk for psychological adjustment problems than monoracial majority members. However, the evidence for this pattern of findings is weak, as study findings are inconsistent.

Shih and Sanchez (2005) called for more complex research studies that move beyond addressing oversimplified research questions comparing monoracial and biracial groups on psychological adjustment. In response to this gap in the literature, recent research has investigated the link between racial identity orientation and adjustment. These studies have suggested that minority/majority biracial individuals who identify with their minority group or both their minority and majority groups tend to be better adjusted than those who identify with the majority group or neither group. In general, very few studies have been conducted on the interaction between identity orientation and adjustment, and more research is needed in this area.

Internalized Oppression

Internalized oppression occurs when members of an oppressed group believe that they are inferior or believe that they are rightly marginalized. *Internalized racism* is a term that has been used interchangeably with internalized oppression in the literature, but for the purposes of the current study the term *internalized oppression* will be used. Pyke (2010) defined internalized oppression (racism) as “the individual inculcation of the racist stereotypes, values, images, and ideologies perpetuated by the White dominant society about one’s racial group, leading to feelings of self-doubt, disgust, and disrespect for one’s race and/or oneself” (p. 553). Internalized oppression often involves holding “Whiteness” in high regard, while feeling ashamed of one’s minority heritage (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Watts-Jones, 2002). Some common behavioural and psychological indicators of internalized oppression include using hair straighteners and bleaching creams, stratifying individuals based on skin tone within communities of colour, using racial slurs as nicknames, rejecting ancestral culture, and the “White man’s ice is colder” syndrome (i.e., holding the belief that all things White are superior) (C.P. Jones, 2000). Moreover, internalized oppression often involves a phenomenon Pyke and colleagues refer to as “intraethnic othering” (Pyke, 2010; Pyke & Dang, 2003). That is, ethnic minorities may sometimes denigrate members of their own ethnic groups that are “too ethnic” by giving them negative labels (e.g., “fresh off the boat”). Internalized oppression can have serious negative effects on one’s relationships and interpersonal functioning and can result in isolation (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Taylor, 1990).

Theorists in the discipline of sociology have written about internalized oppression as being a subtle and usually unconscious/involuntary social and cultural mechanism by which racism and White privilege are perpetuated by members of oppressed groups (Pyke, 2010).

Rather than blaming the individual for racial self-hatred, sociologists understand internalized oppression as being “an inevitable condition of *all* structures of oppression” (Pyke, 2010, p. 553). Internalized oppression has sometimes been considered a component of racial identity development in stage models (e.g., Cross, 1991; Helms, 1995). These models generally incorporate both personal orientation towards racial groups and psychological adjustment into different identity stages and locate any given biracial individual within a stage. However, other researchers conceptualize internalized racism as being an individual difference/psychological adjustment variable (e.g., David, 2008). For the purposes of the current study, internalized oppression is considered to be a specific psychological experience common among those who are developing ethnic or racial identities in a society characterized by racial inequality and White dominance. It is conceptualized as an indicator of psychological adjustment which is frequently experienced by minority individuals, including immigrants and biracial individuals, and the extent to which these individuals experience internalized oppression varies.

Much of the research on internalized oppression has been conducted on monoracial African American samples. Studies which incorporate internalized oppression into racial identity models implicitly make the assumption that internalized oppression is associated with racial identity. In fact, Helms (1995) described the entire racial identity development process as moving towards overcoming one’s internalized oppression. Additionally, using Cross’s (1991, 1995) revised racial identity model, Cokley (2002) found that African American college students who were at early and middle stages of racial identity development (i.e., those who do not find race to be salient and those who have a negative orientation towards being Black) were more likely to endorse beliefs of mental and genetic

deficiencies in Black people (indicating higher internalized racism). Cokley proposed that different stages of racial identity development may be associated with different levels of internalized “racialism” (i.e., the internalization of both positive and negative stereotypes about a racial group). That is, African Americans may believe more negative Black stereotypes in the initial stages of identity development (e.g., “The Black race is mentally unable to contribute more towards Americans’ progress”) and may come to believe progressively more positive stereotypes in later stages (e.g., “Black people are born with greater rhythm than White people”). Similarly, another group of researchers (Bailey, Chung, Williams, Singh, & Terrell, 2011) found that internalized oppression was correlated with the “pre-encounter” stage of racial identity development.

Researchers have also suggested that internalized oppression can be psychologically damaging (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Speight, 2007). Some studies, also conducted primarily with African American samples, indicate that internalized oppression is associated with other physical, interpersonal, and psychological problems, including obesity, marital dissatisfaction, perceived stress, low self-esteem, anxiety, and depression (Jones, 1992; Pillay, 2005; Taylor, 1990; Taylor, Henderson, & Jackson, 1991; Tull et al., 1999). In one study, African American participants in Cross’s (1991) “pre-encounter” stage of racial identity (of which internalized oppression is a component) were more likely to report psychological distress (Pillay, 2005). Other studies have suggested that internalized oppression can be transmitted intergenerationally through socialization (Parmer, Arnold, Natt, & Janson, 2001).

A limited number of internalized oppression studies have been conducted with other ethnic and racial minorities, including Native Americans, Latino Americans, and Filipino

Americans (David, 2008, 2010; David & Okazaki, 2006a, 2006b; Duran & Duran, 1995; Hipolito-Delgado, 2008, 2010; McBride, 2002; Pyke & Dang, 2003; Rimonte, 1997; Varas-Diaz & Serranco-Garcia, 2003). For example, David and colleagues have established a body of research with Filipino Americans on *colonial mentality*, which is the term for a form of internalized oppression among Filipino and Filipino Americans (David, 2008, 2010; David & Okazaki, 2006a, 2006b). Consistent with the findings from studies in African American samples, these studies demonstrate that Filipino Americans who score higher on colonial mentality tend to have less secure ethnic identities and tend to experience lower personal self-esteem, lower collective self-esteem¹, and more depression (David & Okazaki, 2006b; David, 2008). Moreover, David (2008) used structural equation modelling to develop a model for depression among Filipino Americans and found that colonial mentality has an indirect effect on depression (through collective self-esteem), as well as a direct effect on depression.

Internalized oppression may be an even more complex challenge for minority-majority biracial individuals, as their White backgrounds are associated with the “oppressor”. The construct has occasionally been mentioned in the biracial identity literature, but to date no empirical studies have directly investigated biracial internalized oppression. Nevertheless, researchers have contended that, similar to monoracial individuals, biracial individuals often internalize prejudicial attitudes and beliefs and may experience racial identity development problems as a result (Brown, 1990; Gibbs, 1987; Hershel, 1995; Poston, 1990; Root, 1990). A few researchers have also integrated internalized oppression into developmental models of biracial identity. For instance, Kich (1992) presented a model of biracial identity

¹ David (2008) defined collective self-esteem as “how positively one evaluates the social groups to which one belongs” (p. 119).

development based on interviews conducted with 15 White/Japanese biracial adults. He proposed that biracial individuals go through an initial stage called *Awareness of Differentness and Dissonance* between the ages of 3 and 10, during which internalized oppression can develop. Similarly, Poston (1990) described the Enmeshment/Denial stage of his model as often involving self-hatred and embarrassment about one parent, who is usually the minority parent.

Root (1990) also proposed a model for biracial identity resolution which involves a process of overcoming internalized oppression. Similar to Kich, she indicated that internalized oppression begins around the age of three, due to an increased awareness of being different. Although Root notes that not all biracial individuals experience internalized oppression, she suggested several factors which can lead to its development, including others' reactions to one's appearance, others' reactions to the appearance of their siblings, and exposure to prejudice (e.g., through school, relatives, and the media). According to Root, biracial individuals who experience internalized oppression may over-identify with one of their heritages (especially if one of their parents is White), may attempt to gain approval from the "hierarchically superior group", and may be embarrassed to be seen with one or both of their parents.

Based on interviews and clinical work with biracial individuals, Rockquemore and Laszloffy (2005) proposed healthy pathways and unhealthy pathways ("pathways of denial") of biracial identity for singular identity, blended identity, and transcendent identity. They proposed that indicators of unhealthy singular identity include a history of painful experiences associated with one's mixed heritage (e.g., a negative relationship with the parent of the rejected race), self-hatred, and an oppositional stance (e.g., hostile comments

about the rejected race). According to the authors, unhealthy blended/border identity is often found among those who urgently wish to be a member of one race (most often they wish to be White) and have negative attitudes towards their other race but feel forced to “settle” for a blended identity “by default”, due to factors such as physical appearance (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005, p. 27).

Although no quantitative studies have directly tested biracial internalized oppression, the findings from one study hinted at the existence of internalized oppression among biracial individuals. Harrison (1997) found that darker skin colour was associated with more psychological distress and lower self-worth in a sample of 53 Black/White females. Similar to studies on the relationship between skin colour and psychological adjustment among African Americans, internalized oppression may be the missing link explaining why darker skin colour is associated with poorer adjustment. Additionally, 60% of the sample admitted to having lied in the past about their racial backgrounds, suggesting that they were ashamed of being biracial. Interestingly, answers to the question “Do you ever wish you were not a member of an interracial family?” were significantly associated with racial identity; those who identified as being “biracial but predominantly White” were more likely to report that they sometimes felt conflicted because they wished they were part of a White family. Twenty-six percent of the sample reported that if they could be born again, they would want to be born monoracial (either Black or White).

It should be noted that Asian immigrants are considered a "model minority" group and tend to be perceived more positively than other minority groups (e.g., African Americans) in North America (Berry, 2006; Sue & Sue, 2003). Thus, it could be argued that Asian-White individuals may be less oppressed than Black-White individuals, and therefore may

experience internalized oppression differently. Nevertheless, preliminary research on biracial identity among Asian-White biracial individuals hints at the relevance of racial self-dislike to this population. While an alternative label for this construct may be more suitable or preferred (e.g., "racial self-rejection"), the author of the current study chose to use the term "internalized oppression" to align the current study with the existing literature.

Summary

Internalized oppression is a potentially psychologically damaging experience which has been observed in both minority and biracial individuals. Nevertheless, there are currently few empirical studies on internalized racism among racial minorities. Moreover, to the author's knowledge, there are no empirical studies directly investigating internalized oppression in the biracial population. Researchers have called for more studies which investigate this variable (Pyke, 2010; Speight, 1997) and have identified the need for more quantitative measures of internalized racism (Hammack, 2003). Given that the experience of internalized racism may be different for biracial individuals, as compared to monoracial individuals, it is important that future studies take into account aspects of internalized oppression which may be unique to biracial individuals.

The Present Study

The current study examines the extent to which identity orientation, family relationship quality, and racial-ethnic socialization predict positive and negative psychological adjustment. Also, the study investigates the moderating effects of racial-ethnic socialization on the relationship between family relationship quality and biracial identity orientation. Moreover, the study examines a number of additional exploratory questions related to the relationships among biracial identity, internalized oppression, and racial-ethnic socialization.

Given the above objectives, this study attempts to address several gaps in the existing biracial identity literature. First, the current biracial literature primarily consists of qualitative studies. Qualitative research has provided us with a rich understanding of the biracial experience. However, these studies have been restricted to small sample sizes, limiting the generalizability of their findings. Researchers have theorized about the possible interactions among racial identity, family variables, and psychological adjustment (e.g., Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Root, 1990), with the support of some quantitative studies (e.g., Harrison, 1997; Ono, 2000). Moreover, there is currently growing support for ecological models of biracial identity development which take into account contextual factors (Rockquemore et al., 2008). However, to date no ecological model has been scientifically tested. Thus, one of the current study's contributions to the literature involved testing an ecological model of biracial identity and adjustment using quantitative research methods. Due to the fact that this was a new area of research, empirically validated quantitative measures did not exist for some of the variables being examined in the current study. Therefore, part of the present study involved developing quantitative measures by adapting and modifying existing measures developed for monoracial populations. This required testing the psychometric properties of these measures before conducting the main analyses. Although the quantitative data was the focus of the current study, the inclusion of qualitative data was intended to further enhance our understanding of biracial identity, family variables, and psychological adjustment and provide continuity with past qualitative studies. Thus, a nested mixed-methods design was used for the present investigation (Hanson, Creswell, Clark, Petska, & Creswell, 2005).

Second, there is a significant gap in the biracial literature in terms of family influences. As mentioned above, experts in the field have stressed the importance of taking into account biracial individuals' context and interpersonal relationships when studying biracial identity (Brunsma & Rockquemore, 2001; Root, 1998; Rockquemore et al., 2009). Nevertheless, existing empirical studies have neglected the role family plays in determining biracial identity and adjustment. Evidence from research studies on monoracial samples suggests that studying family variables may indeed contribute to a richer, more complex understanding of biracial identity and adjustment (e.g., Street et al., 2009; Townsend & Lanphier, 2007). Moreover, investigating the mediating and/or moderating effects of family variables is important (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Another aspect of family influences on biracial identity development that has been neglected in the existing literature is racial-ethnic socialization. Monoracial studies have suggested that racial-ethnic socialization plays an important role in determining racial identity development (Hughes et al., 2009). Limited research has also hinted at the importance of racial-ethnic socialization for biracial identity development (Harrison, 1997; Jourdan, 2004; Kelch-Oliver & Leslie, 2007). The current study is one of the first to investigate biracial individuals' experiences with racial-ethnic socialization using a quantitative measure.

Third, although authors have written about internalized oppression among biracial individuals (e.g., Root, 1990), to date no empirical studies have directly investigated this issue. This is surprising, given that internalized oppression is a racial identity variable which has been shown to have a significant negative impact on racial identity and psychological adjustment in monoracial minorities (Cokley, 2002; David & Okazaki, 2006a, 2006b; Jones, 1992; Helms, 1995; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Taylor et al., 1991). Some researchers have

suggested that this is also the case for biracial individuals (Brown, 1990; Gibbs, 1987; Hershel, 1995; Poston, 1990; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Root, 1990), and thus empirical studies are needed to confirm these predictions. The current study addressed this gap in the literature by incorporating internalized oppression into the proposed ecological model of biracial identity development.

Fourth, the generalizability of findings in the biracial identity literature has been limited because most studies have been conducted with Black/White biracial adolescents in the United States. Relatively little is known about the experiences of biracial individuals with other minority-majority heritage combinations. In addition, more studies are needed to focus on the experiences of biracial young adults, as most of the existing biracial identity studies focus on the experiences of adolescents. Research has demonstrated that biracial individuals begin to actively explore and value their racial identities in late adolescence or early adulthood (Coleman, 2001). Researchers have also conceptualized racial identity development as a life-long process (Okun, 1996; Rockquemore et al., 2008), although few studies have empirically examined changes in biracial identity over the lifespan. The present study addressed these gaps in the literature by including both Canadian and American biracial young adults of Asian and Caucasian heritage. Qualitative questions asking participants to reflect on changes they have observed in their racial identities throughout their lives and the factors they believe contributed to these changes were explored in this study.

Finally, the biracial identity literature has been limited in terms of investigating the psychological effects of being biracial. One notable problem with the current biracial identity literature is that psychological outcome studies on biracial individuals usually assume a “deficit” perspective. Although studies have demonstrated that biracial individuals

experience significant struggles due to their biracial statuses and may experience psychological adjustment problems as a result (Shih & Sanchez, 2005), limited research also shows that biracial individuals benefit from many positive aspects of their biracial statuses (Hall, 1992; Harrison, 1997; Shih & Sanchez, 2005). In Shih and Sanchez's (2005) review, they recommended that future studies focus on the benefits of having a multiracial background and the strengths of multiracial individuals. As such, the current study included self-esteem and positive affect as key psychological outcome variables and asked participants to write about their positive experiences with qualitative responses.

In view of the above gaps in the literature, the current study posed the following research questions and hypotheses.

Primary Research Questions

Research Question 1: *Which biracial identity orientations (integrated-combinatory, integrated-universality, singular-minority, singular-majority, marginal) will significantly predict psychological adjustment (positive affect, self-esteem, psychological distress, internalized oppression) in biracial young adults?*

Research investigating biracial identity orientation and adjustment suggests that identifying with both heritages or the minority heritage is associated with positive adjustment in minority-majority biracial individuals, while identifying with only the majority heritage or neither heritages is associated with negative psychological adjustment (e.g., Choi-Misailidis, 2004; Coleman & Carter, 2007). However, in a review of the multiracial adjustment literature, Shih and Sanchez (2005) noted that this was a preliminary trend based on inconsistent findings. In consideration of empirical findings, it is hypothesized that the strength and direction of the relationship between biracial identity orientation and

psychological adjustment will differ depending on the type of orientation and on the type of psychological adjustment.

Hypothesis 1a: *Integrated-combinatory, integrated-universality, and singular-minority identity orientations will predict positive adjustment (self-esteem, positive affect) in a positive direction, while marginal and singular-majority identity orientations will predict positive adjustment in a negative direction.*(See Figure 1)

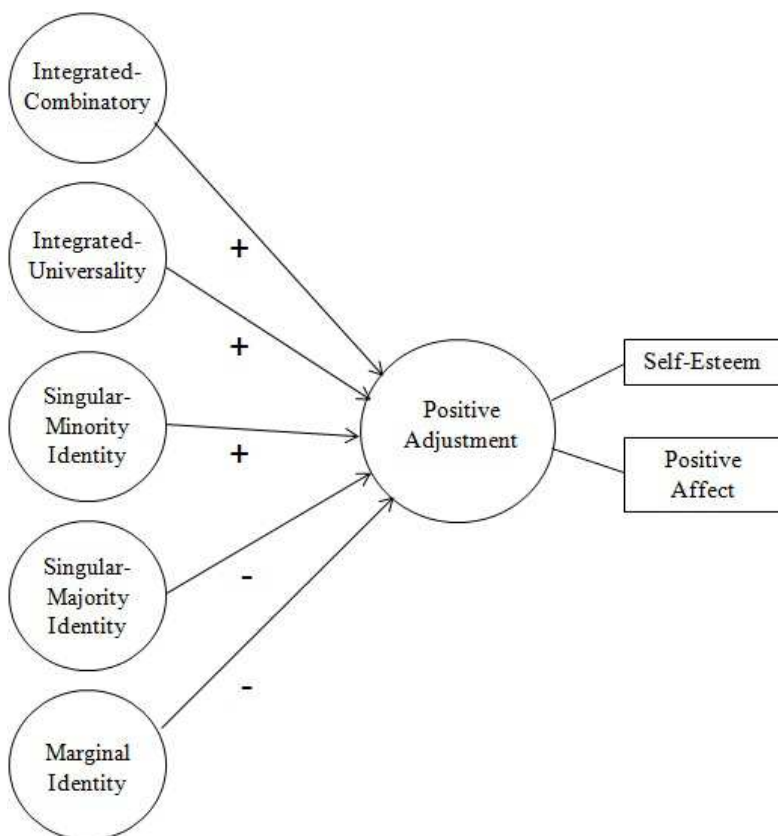


Figure 1. Hypothesis 1a.

- Hypothesis 1b: *Integrated-combinatory, integrated-universality, and singular-minority identity orientations will predict negative adjustment (psychological distress, internalized oppression) in a negative direction, while marginal and singular-majority identity orientations will predict negative adjustment in a positive direction.* (See Figure 2)

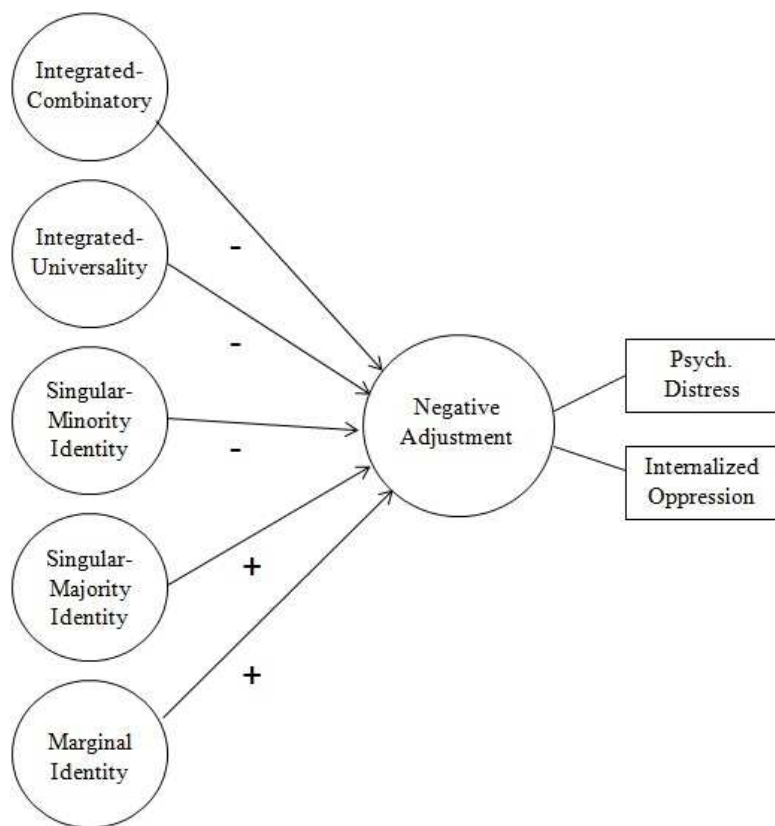


Figure 2. Hypothesis 1b.

Research Question 2: *Which family variables (family relationship quality, minority cultural socialization, majority cultural socialization, preparation for bias) will significantly predict psychological adjustment (psychological distress, internalized oppression, positive affect, self-esteem) in biracial young adults?*

Research on both monoracial and biracial samples suggests that family relationship quality is significantly related to adjustment in a positive direction (J.E. Jones, 2000; Nelson, Hughes, Handal, & Katz, 1993). Likewise, studies have linked greater exposure to racial-ethnic socialization with positive adjustment (Jourdan, 2004; Lesane-Brown 2006).

Therefore, it is hypothesized that both family relationship quality and racial-ethnic socialization will be significant predictors of psychological adjustment. Given that relatively little is known about family influences on the adjustment of biracial individuals, no specific

hypotheses were made with regards to the relative importance of family relationship quality, as compared to racial-ethnic socialization.

- Hypothesis 2a: *Family relationship quality and all three types of racial-ethnic socialization will significantly predict negative adjustment (psychological distress, internalized oppression) in a negative direction.* (See Figure 3)

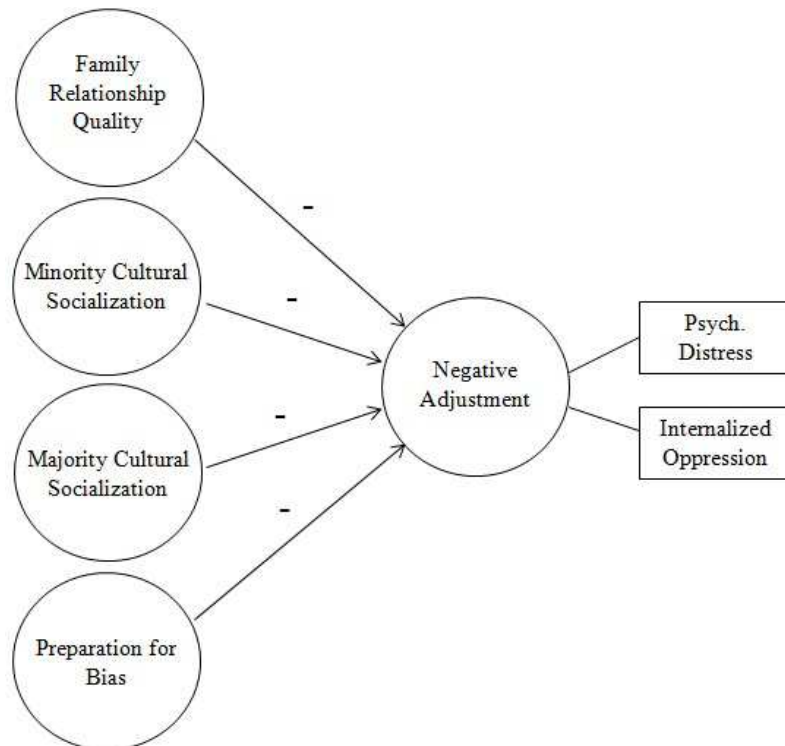


Figure 3. Hypothesis 2a.

- Hypothesis 2b: *Family relationship quality and all three types of racial-ethnic socialization will significantly predict positive adjustment(self-esteem, positive affect) in a positive direction.* (See Figure 4)

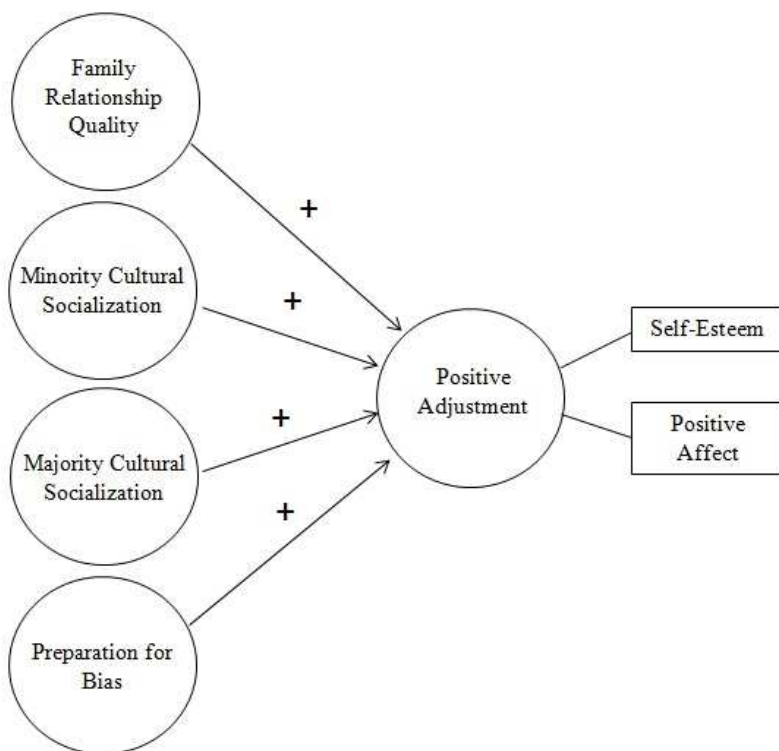


Figure 4. Hypothesis 2b.

Research Question 3: *Does family relationship quality moderate the relationship between racial-ethnic socialization (minority cultural socialization, majority cultural socialization, preparation for bias) and biracial identity orientation (integrated- combinatory, integrated-universality, singular-minority, singular-majority, marginal)?*

Ecological models of biracial identity propose that contextual factors, including one's social interactions with family members, "filter the meaning of daily experiences" (Root, 1998, p. 238) and ultimately affect biracial identity development and choices. Existing studies have hinted at the important impact family relationships have on biracial identity; that is, more positive family relationships may lead to the development of healthier, more secure biracial identities (Harrison, 1997; Okun, 1996; Root, 1998). However, positive family relations alone may be inadequate in accounting for the differences in racial-ethnic identification patterns among biracial individuals. Theoretically, racial-ethnic socialization

represents a family variable which is directly related to biracial identity. In fact, racial-ethnic socialization has been found to be associated with racial identity in both monoracial and biracial studies (Harrison, 1997; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Stephan, 1992). It may be the case that in combination these two family variables, family relationship quality and racial-ethnic socialization, might be more effective in predicting biracial identity than either of these variables alone. Moreover, it may be the case that racial-ethnic socialization is associated with biracial identity, but only under certain conditions in the family environment. To the author's knowledge, no previous studies have investigated the interaction between family relationship quality and racial-ethnic socialization in terms of biracial identity. However, a study by Cooper and McLoyd (2011) did find that the mother-adolescent relationship moderated racial socialization and psychological adjustment in a sample of African American adolescents. In the current study, it was tentatively hypothesized that at least some aspects of racial-ethnic socialization would significantly predict some of the biracial identity orientations. It was anticipated that the direction and the strength of the relationships would vary depending on the identity-socialization combination.

For example, an individual who is exposed to a high degree of minority cultural socialization and has positive family relations is likely to feel more closely connected to his/her minority heritage (i.e., integrated-combinatory and singular-minority identity). Conversely, an individual who receives a high degree of minority cultural socialization but has negative family relations may perceive his or her parents as "forcing" him/her to become involved in his/her heritage traditions. In this situation, it may be more difficult for the individual to "take in" his/her parents' socialization messages; racial-ethnic socialization may no longer be a significant factor influencing biracial identity in a negative family

environment. Moreover, an individual who is exposed to a low degree of minority cultural socialization and has negative family relations is likely to feel more marginalized (i.e., marginal identity), as compared to an individual who is exposed to a low degree of minority cultural socialization but still has positive family relations. Thus, the following hypotheses are proposed:

- Hypothesis 3a: *Family relationship quality will moderate the relationship between minority cultural socialization and the integrated-combinatory, singular-minority, and marginal identity orientations.*
 - *When family relationship quality is high, the association between minority cultural socialization and integrated-combinatory identity will be positive; when family relationship quality is low, the association will be non-significant. (See Figure 5)*
 - *When family relationship quality is high, the association between minority cultural socialization and singular minority identity will be positive; when family relationship quality is low, the association will be non-significant. (See Figure 5)*
 - *When family relationship quality is high, the association between minority cultural socialization and marginal identity will be negative; when family relationship quality is low, the negative association will be even stronger. (See Figure 5)*

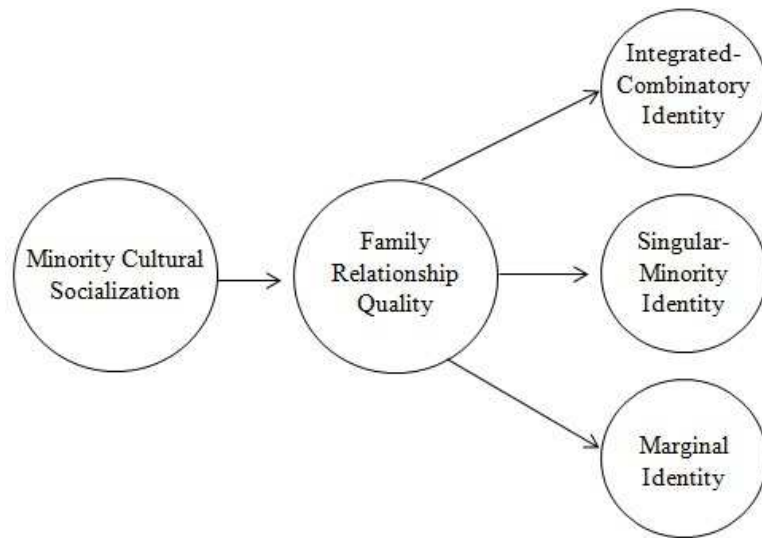


Figure 5. Hypothesis 3a.

Similar patterns were predicted for the relationship between majority cultural socialization, integrated-combinatory identity, singular-majority identity, and marginal identity:

- Hypothesis 3b: *Family relationship quality will moderate the relationship between majority cultural socialization and the integrated-combinatory, singular-majority, and marginal identity orientations.*
 - *When family relationship quality is high, the positive association between majority cultural socialization and integrated-combinatory identity will be stronger; when family relationship quality is low, the positive association will be weaker. (See Figure 6)*
 - *When family relationship quality is high, the positive association between majority cultural socialization and singular majority identity will be stronger; when family relationship quality is low, the positive association will be weaker. (See Figure 6)*

- *When family relationship quality is low, the negative association between majority cultural socialization and marginal identity will be stronger; when family relationship quality is high, the negative association will be weaker.*

(See Figure 6)

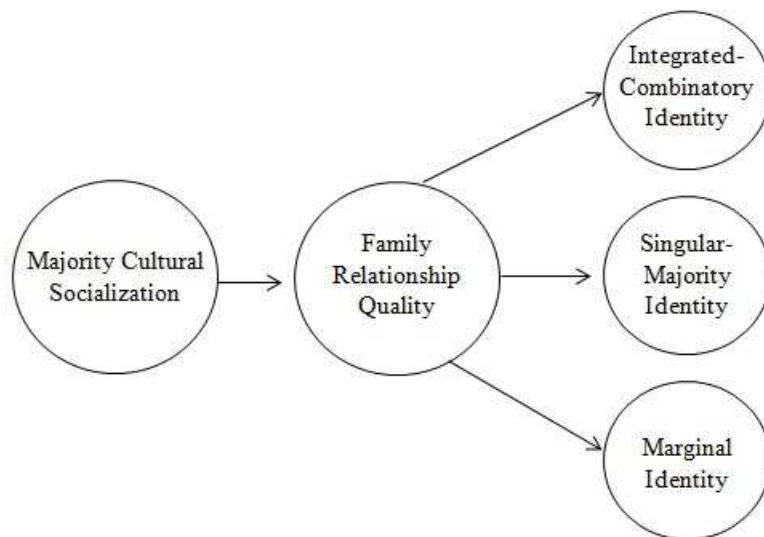


Figure 6. Hypothesis 3b.

Preparation for bias involves parents' discussions with their children about race-related issues, including race relations, stereotyping, racism, discrimination, and how to effectively cope with racism experiences in the home (Hughes et al., 2008). Several biracial identity orientations may be positively associated with having received messages about racial issues as a child. For instance, research suggests that a greater awareness of racial issues may be associated with a greater likelihood of identifying with one's minority heritage (Harrison, 1997; Jourdan, 2004; Kelch-Oliver & Leslie, 2007), suggesting that preparation for bias may predict integrated-combinatory and singular minority identity in the current study. In addition, a greater awareness of racial issues may be associated with a greater likelihood to

identify with people of many different racial backgrounds (i.e., integrated-universality identity). This is supported by research which has shown that racial socialization is linked with cross-cultural interaction/ bicultural competence in monoracial groups (e.g., Bennett, 2006). On the other hand, less exposure to information about racial issues and strategies for coping with racism may be associated with a lower likelihood of identifying with any individuals based on race or cultural (i.e., marginal identity). One's sense of marginalization may be heightened when one has had negative interactions in one's family-of-origin (Okun, 1996; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Root, 1998). Preparation for bias is not hypothesized to be a significant predictor of singular-majority identity, based on evidence that minority-majority biracial individuals who identify more with their White sides are less likely to have discussions about race (i.e., preparation for bias, egalitarianism) with their parents (Crawford & Alaggia, 2008). In other words, preparation for bias messages may be less relevant to the development of singular-majority identity.

- Hypothesis 3c: *Preparation for bias will moderate family relationship quality and the integrated-combinatory, integrated-universality, singular-minority, and marginal identity orientations.*
 - *When family relationship quality is high, the association between preparation for bias and integrated-combinatory identity will be positive; when family relationship quality is low, the association will be non-significant. (See Figure 7)*
 - *When family relationship quality is high, the association between preparation for bias and integrated-universality identity will be positive; when family*

relationship quality is low, the association will be non-significant. (See Figure 7)

- *When family relationship quality is high, the association between preparation for bias and singular minority identity will be positive; when family relationship quality is low, it will be non-significant. (See Figure 7)*
- *When family relationship quality is low, the association between preparation for bias and marginal identity will be positive; when family relationship quality is high, it will be non-significant. (See Figure 7)*

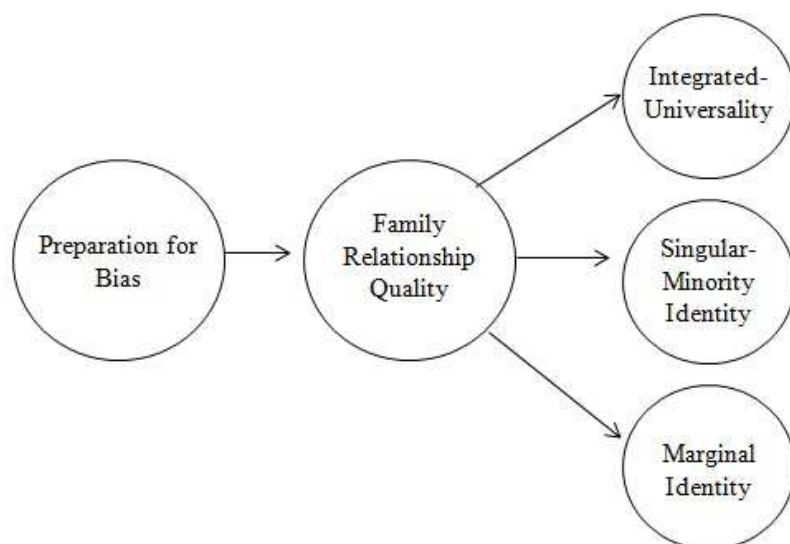


Figure 7. Hypothesis 3c.

Supplementary Research Questions

Given the exploratory nature of the current study, participants were also asked to answer some qualitative questions related to the following supplementary research questions.

Supplementary Research Question 4: *What is the developmental course of biracial identity from adolescence to young adulthood? Do any significant changes occur in terms of identity*

orientation and psychological adjustment? What experiences and/or events contribute to these changes?

Supplementary Research Question 5: *What are some of the positive aspects of being biracial?*

Supplementary Research Question 6: *What are biracial individuals' experiences of internalized oppression? What is the impact of internalized oppression on biracial identity and family relations?*

Supplementary Research Question 7: *How do biracial individuals believe their parents impacted their racial identities? What strategies do biracial individuals' parents use for racial-ethnic socialization? Do Asian parents and White parents play different roles in terms of racial-ethnic socialization?*

METHOD

This chapter focuses on the methodology of the present study. A summary of the study's participants, measures, procedure, and design are presented.

Participants

In order to control for the potential heterogeneity among biracial persons, the current study involved recruitment of only Asian-White biracial individuals. In the interest of maximizing sample size, participants were eligible to take part in the study if their Asian heritages were East Asian (e.g., Chinese, Vietnamese), Southeast Asian (e.g., Filipino, Malaysian), or South Asian (e.g., Indian, Pakistani). This approach was considered appropriate because, despite some differences between Asian groups, a number of researchers have suggested that biracial individuals, particularly minority-majority individuals, have many shared identity experiences, issues, and processes (Grove, 1991; Hall, 1996). The inclusion criteria for the current study were as follows: (1) each participant must have had one White parent and one Asian parent, (2) each participant must have been between the ages of 18 and 30, and (3) each participant must have been a Canadian or American resident.

Recruitment Procedure

As an incentive to participate in the study, participants who completed the study were entered in a draw for one of six \$25 gift certificates for Amazon.com. Participants were recruited from across Canada and the United States, using the following methods:

- (1) Participants were recruited through the University of Windsor Participant Pool in the Department of Psychology. Participants accessed the study's website by clicking a link on the Participant Pool website. Through the Participant Pool, undergraduate

students were given the opportunity to earn bonus credits, which they could apply towards their grades in eligible psychology courses of their choice.

- (2) Participants were recruited through other departments at the University of Windsor. A recruitment e-mail was sent to administrative staff members of each department, asking them to circulate a recruitment e-mail to the students in their departments.
- (3) Facebook was used to post advertisements for the current study. Facebook provides users with the opportunity to join various groups based on group members' commonalities, including racial background. The researcher contacted the administrators of relevant groups (e.g., California Hapas, Biracial Beauties, Half Asian Pride), to gain permission to post recruitment advertisements on the groups' websites.
- (4) The directors of various ethnic community groups and organizations (e.g., multiracial student clubs, multiracial organizations) across Canada and the United States were contacted (e.g., We Are Hapa, Asians of Mixed Race, Harvard Hapa). They were asked to promote the study through the use of websites and newsletter advertisements and e-mailing their members directly.
- (5) Finally, the "snowball" technique was used as an additional method of recruitment. Personal contacts of the researcher who met the study's inclusion criteria were invited to participate in the study. Additionally, all individuals who participated in the study were solicited to send recruitment e-mails to their own personal contacts.

A total of 685 protocols² were submitted to the computer database. Approximately 78% of the protocols were recruited from Facebook or other websites, 14% through the snowball

² A "protocol" is defined as an entry in the computer database. Each time an individual started answering the online questionnaire, a protocol was created. As many participants started the questionnaires and stopped

technique, 3% through community groups or organizations, 1% through the University of Windsor Psychology Department Participant Pool, and 0.1% through other departments at the University of Windsor. Four percent of participants did not answer the survey question about recruitment. Based on demographic data, incomplete protocols were screened out (45%; $n=308$). A protocol was considered to be incomplete when it was missing responses for one or more entire measure. Likely reasons for incomplete submissions include technical problems with the study website, problems with participants' computer/internet connection, and the long length of the web questionnaires, which may have motivated participants to stop filling out the questionnaires and restart them later. Although participants were given the option of saving their answers and creating a password to use to access their partly-complete survey later, some participants may not have taken advantage of this option. Twenty-one participants (3%) were screened out because they did not meet the eligibility criteria; three participants indicated they were adopted and 18 participants indicated they did not have one parent who is White and one parent who is Asian. Due to the nature of the recruitment strategies, a response rate could not be calculated.

Description of the Sample

The final sample was composed of 356 Asian-White biracial young adults (76% female, 23% male, 1% other gender) with the mean age of 23 ($SD= 3.8$). Twenty-four percent of participants lived in Canada, and 73% lived in the United States. Twenty-one percent of participants were born in Canada, 65% were born in the United States, and 14% were born outside of North America. Of the 14% who were born outside of North America, the mean length of residence in Canada and/or the United States was 12.9 years ($SD=7.5$)

participating part-way through or started the questionnaires more than once, the total number of protocols does not correspond to the number of completed protocols.

and the mean age of arrival was 8.4 years old (SD= 7.8). Almost three-quarters of the participants were either Canadian or American citizens (23% and 70% of the total sample, respectively). Most individuals in the sample (71.6%) had fathers who were White and mothers who were Asian. Specifically, individuals with mothers who were East Asian comprised 62.6% of the sample, followed by 3.7% South Asian, and 4.5% other Asian. Individuals whose fathers were Asian comprised 28.4% of the sample (21.9% East Asian, 4.2% South Asian, 2.5% other Asian) (see Table 1 for a summary of the sample's demographic characteristics). In terms of marital status, 53% were single, 34% were in a long-term serious relationship, 11% were married, and 1% were separated or divorced. Forty-one percent of participants lived with their parents. On average, participants rated neighbourhood composition as being 73.6% White (SD= 2.6) and school composition as being 68.8% White (SD= 58.4). Most participants had some post-secondary education (45% had some college or university education, 33% graduated college or university, and 10% had completed a graduate degree or professional degree). In addition, a significant number of the participants were either employed (30% full-time, 42% part-time) or were students (54%). Almost half of the participants (48%) were in the lowest annual income bracket (less than \$10,000).

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics (N= 356)

	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Gender		
Male	83	23.3
Female	269	75.6
Other	4	1.1

Age (Mean=23.1, SD=3.8)

Demographic Characteristics (N= 356)

	<i>N</i>	%
18	39	11.0
19	45	12.6
20	35	9.8
21	28	7.9
22	26	7.3
23	24	6.7
24	32	9.0
25	22	6.2
26	27	7.6
27	20	5.6
28	18	5.1
29	12	3.4
30	27	7.6
Country of birth		
Canada	73	20.5
United States	231	64.9
Other	15	14.0
Country of residence		
Canada	87	24.6
United States	267	75.0
Immigration status		
Canadian citizen	80	22.5
American citizen	248	69.7
International student	7	2.0
Other	9	2.5
Marital status		
Single	190	53.4
Long-term relationship	122	34.3
Married	40	11.2
Separated/ divorced	4	1.1
Education		
Less than high school	1	0.3
Some high school	7	2.0
Graduated high school	36	10.1
Some college/ university	159	44.7
Graduated college/ university	119	33.4
Graduate or professional	34	9.6

Demographic Characteristics (N= 356)

	<i>N</i>	%
degree		
Estimated Annual Income		
Less than \$10, 000	172	48.3
\$10, 000- 19, 999	55	15.4
\$20, 000- 29, 999	37	10.4
\$30, 000- 39, 999	25	7.0
\$40, 000- 49, 999	23	6.5
\$50, 000- 59, 999	19	5.3
\$60, 000- 69, 999	3	0.8
\$70, 000- 79, 999	7	2.0
\$80, 000- 89, 999	1	0.3
\$90, 000- 99, 000	10	2.8
More than \$100,000	0	0.0
Living Situation		
With parents	110	61.5
Not with parents	69	38.5
Mother's racial background		
White	100	28.1
East Asian	223	62.6
South Asian	13	3.7
Other	16	4.5
Father's racial background		
White	253	71.1
East Asian	78	21.9
South Asian	15	4.2
Other	9	2.5
Parents' racial composition		
Mother White, father Asian	101	28.4
Father White, mother Asian	255	71.6

Measures

Each participant was asked to complete a questionnaire package, comprised of the following measures: (1) a demographic and personal information questionnaire (see Appendix A); (2) a modified version of the Multiracial-Heritage Awareness and Personal Affiliation Scale (M-HAPAS; Choi-Misailidis, 2004); (3) the Family-of-Origin Expressive

Atmosphere Scale (FOEAS; Yelsma et al., 2000); (4) a modified version of the Family Ethnic Socialization Measure (FESM; Umaña-Taylor, 2001); (5) the Biracial Preparation for Bias Scale (BPBS; developed for this study); (6) the Brief Symptom Inventory 18 (BSI-18; Derogatis, 2000); (7) the Positive Affect scale of the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988); (8) the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965); (9) the Internalized Oppression Scale for Biracial Individuals (IOSBI, partially adapted from the Colonial Mentality Scale for Filipino Americans, David & Okazaki, 2006b); (10) the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale- Form C (M-C SDS; Reynolds, 1982); and (11) open-ended qualitative questions. Table 2 summarizes the scales used in the present study, as well as brief information on modifications made to some of these scales.

Table 2

Summary of Scales and Scale Modifications

Scale Name	Variable Measured	Subscales	# of Items	Modifications
M-HAPAS (Choi-Misailidis, 2004)	Biracial Identity	Integrated- Combinatory	9	Divided Singular subscale into 2 subscales; Slight wording changes; 1 item removed
		Integrated- Universality	7	
		Singular- Minority	12	
		Singular- Majority	13	
		Marginal	13	
FOEAS (Yelsma et al., 2000)	Family Relationship Quality	None	40	None

Scale Name	Variable Measured	Subscales	# of Items	Modifications
FESM (Umaña-Taylor, 2001)	Cultural Socialization (aspect of Racial-Ethnic Socialization)	White Non-White * Overall score, rather than subscale scores used in RQ1, subscales used in RQ5	12 12	2 versions developed, corresponding to White parent and non-White parent
BPBS (developed for current study)	Preparation for Bias (aspect of Racial-Ethnic Socialization)	None	16	10 new items; 6 items adapted from Hughes & Chen's (1997) Preparation for Bias measure
BSI-18 (Derogatis, 2000)	Psychological Distress	Depression Anxiety Somatization * Overall score, rather than subscale scores used in current study	6 6 6	None
PANAS (Watson et al., 1988)	Affect	Positive Affect Negative Affect * Only PA included in hypotheses and planned analyses	10 10	None
RSES (Rosenberg, 1965)	Self-esteem	None	10	None
IOSBI (adapted for current study)	Internalized Oppression	None	34	25 items from CMSFA re-

Scale Name	Variable Measured	Subscales	# of Items	Modifications
study)				worded or modified
				9 biracial items added
M-C SDS (Reynolds, 1982)	Social Desirability	None	13	None

Demographic and Personal Information Questionnaire

Participants were asked to provide demographic information, including age, gender, education level, major in school, occupation, country of birth, ethnic origin, immigration status, length of residence, ethnic composition in childhood neighbourhood, and ethnic composition in high school. Furthermore, family socioeconomic status was determined based on participants' answers to five questions from the demographic questionnaire: their mother's education level, father's education level, parents' annual income, mother's occupation, and father's occupation. The reported parental education levels and occupations were converted into average annual incomes based on the 2006 Census of Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006). This information was combined to form a Socioeconomic Status (SES) Index by calculating a composite mean score of the five items. Additionally, participants were asked to indicate their parents' racial/ethnic backgrounds and their own racial self-label in an open-ended format. They were also asked several questions about their families, including number of siblings, parental marital status, residence with their parents, and overall closeness in their relationships with each parent during childhood and presently. See *Appendix A* for the Demographic and Personal Information Questionnaire.

Multiracial-Heritage Awareness and Affiliation Scale (M-HAPAS; Choi-Misailidis, 2004)

The original M-HAPAS is a 60-item scale measuring multiracial identity status/orientation. This scale was developed by Choi-Misailidis based on a review of the multiracial identity literature, a focus group (comprised of four psychology doctoral students), and a pilot study conducted with a sample of biracial and multiracial adults (N=50, aged 18-44). Respondents are asked to rate the degree to which they agree with each item on a seven-point Likert scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Each item was designed to measure one of three types of identity status: integrated status, singular status, and marginal status (20 items per subscale). The *integrated identity status* subscale is intended to measure one's tendency to integrate all of one's heritages into one's racial identity while maintaining a connection with these heritages. The *singular identity status* subscale measures a multiracial individual's orientation towards only one of his/her heritage backgrounds. The *marginal identity status* subscale was designed to measure a racial identity orientation characterized by a lack of connection with any heritages. Respondents receive a score on each subscale, with higher scores indicating stronger attitudes and beliefs relating to that identity status. Subscale scores are derived by calculating the average for each subscale.

Choi-Misailidis (2004) assessed the reliability and validity of the original 60-item measure with a sample of 364 biracial and multiracial adults (aged 17-58) at three universities in Hawaii. Choi-Misailidis conducted an exploratory factor analysis, which resulted in a four-factor solution and reduced the scale to 43 items. The first two factors mapped onto the marginal and singular identity statuses. However, the integrated subscale items comprised two factors, resulting in the development of two different integrated

subscales: *integrated-combinatory identity status* and *integrated-universality identity status*. The integrated-combinatory status involves identifying with multiple heritages. By contrast, the integrated-universality status involves identifying with all people of all races. Finally, preliminary evidence of convergent and divergent validity was demonstrated, based on correlations between each subscale and the Multiethnic Identity Measure, the Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status, and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. The final scale consists of 43 items. Internal consistencies for the subscales were reported in the original study as follows: Integrated-Combinatory Identity Status- 10 items ($\alpha = .83$), Integrated-Universality Identity Status- 9 items ($\alpha = .71$), Singular Identity Status- 13 items ($\alpha = .85$), Marginal Identity Status- 13 items ($\alpha = .83$).

Choi-Misailidis (2004) measured singular identity status as a single identity orientation, regardless of the fact that being oriented to one's majority heritage can be significantly different from being oriented to one's minority heritage. However, there is evidence suggesting that minority-identified and majority-identified biracial individuals can be significantly different in terms of racial-ethnic socialization and psychological adjustment (Harrison, 1997; Herman, 2008; Phillips, 2004; Sukuki-Crumly-Hyers, 2004). In the current study, the researcher was interested in differences between those who identify more with their majority group and those who identify more with their minority group, so two separate singular identity status subscales were administered. Thus, the original Singular Identity Status subscale was adapted into a subscale which measured one's orientation to one's minority group (*singular-minority identity*). Likewise, the original Singular Identity Status subscale was adapted into a subscale which measured one's orientation to one's majority group (*singular-majority identity*). As such, slight wording changes were made to the two

resulting Singular Identity Status subscales; references to one's mother's heritage/group, father's heritage/group, and parent heritage/group were removed and replaced with references to one's "White heritage" and "minority heritage", accordingly. "White heritage" and "minority heritage" were defined in the instructions at the top of the measure. Additionally, the wording of some items were modified in order to make items more clear and/or more specific to racial identity in the current study (e.g., "Others remind me frequently that I am different" was changed to "Others remind me frequently that I am racially different") (See *Appendix B* for a summary of the modifications that were made to the M-HAPAS). As a result of these modifications, the version of the M-HAPAS used for this study consisted of 56 items with five hypothesized subscales: (1) Integrated-Combinatory Identity- 10 items, (2) Integrated-Universality Identity- 8 items, (3) Singular-Minority Identity- 13 items, (4) Singular-Majority Identity- 13 items, and (5) Marginal Identity- 13 items³. In order to minimize order effects, items were randomized through the use of a random number generator. See the *Results* section for the psychometric properties of the version of the M-HAPAS used in the current study.

Family-of-Origin Expressive Atmosphere Scale (FOEAS; Yelsma et al., 2000)

The FOEAS is a shortened version of the original Family-of-Origin Scale (FOS) (Hovestadt, Anderson, Piercy, Chochran, & Fine, 1985). The original FOS is a 40-item retrospective questionnaire that was originally intended to measure the perceived quality of relationships in one's family-of-origin. Hovestadt and colleagues developed the items based on the work of Lewis, Beavers, Gossett, and Phillips (1976) to assess family characteristics which are pertinent to the development of healthy, adaptive adults. Respondents rate items

³ In the original study, item 40 (item 56 in the current study's version of the M-HAPAS) loaded on both the integrated-combinatory and integrated-universality factors. Thus, the sum of the number of items in each subscale is not the same as the total number of items.

on the FOS on a Likert-type scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*), and a total score is derived to assess the level of adaptive/ maladaptive functioning in an individual's family-of-origin. Total scores range from 10 to 200, with higher scores indicating better family functioning. The test developers reported that the FOS also measures two interpersonal dimensions, Intimacy and Autonomy. Five family constructs, which were derived from Lewis et al.'s (1976) work, are subsumed under each dimension: a) Intimacy-range of feelings, mood and tone, conflict resolution, empathy, and trust and b) Autonomy-clarity of expression, responsibility, respect for others, openness to others, acceptance of separation and loss.

Hovestadt et al. (1985) reported acceptable internal consistency for the overall scale ($\alpha=.75$), based on a sample of 278 American college students. More recent studies have reported good internal consistency, with Cronbach's alphas ranging from .91 to .96 across the subscales (Felix, 2007; Gavin & Wamboldt, 1992; Ryan et al., 1994; Stewart, Stewart, & Campbell, 2001). The test developers also reported good test-retest reliability ($r_s = .39$ to $.88$ for Autonomy, $r_s = .46$ to $.87$ for Intimacy, and $r = .97$ for Total Score) over a two-week interval.

Several validity studies have been conducted on the FOS which have reported good concurrent validity. These studies suggest that the FOS discriminates between individuals with and without symptoms of psychological problems (Mazer et al., 1990; Searight, Manley, Binder, Krohn, Rogers, & Russo, 1991). Additionally, studies have demonstrated significant correlations between the FOS and other family constructs, including family discord, reports of happy childhood, perceived family closeness, and parent acceptance (Gavin & Wamboldt, 1992; Ryan et al., 1994).

Despite some evidence of the scale's validity, there has been some debate over whether or not the FOS is unidimensional or multidimensional, as some studies suggest that the FOS actually measures a single factor (Gavin & Wamboldt, 1992; Lee, Gordon, & O'Dell, 1989; Mazer, Mangrum, Hovestadt, & Brashear, 1990; Ryan, Kawash, Fine, & Powell, 1995). Nevertheless, researchers contend that the FOS is still a meaningful and useful measure (Gavin & Wamboldt, 1992). It has been described as assessing perceptions of climate or atmosphere in the family (Manley, Searight, Binder, & Russo, 1990; Mazer et al., 1990), perceptions of warmth and acceptance in the family (Ryan et al., 1994) and family expressiveness (Lee et al., 1989; Yelsma, Hovestadt, Anderson, & Nilsson, 2000).

More recently, Yelsma and colleagues (2000) developed a shortened version of the FOS called the Family-of-Origin Expressive Atmosphere Scale (FOEAS), using a sample of 416 college students. The FOEAS is comprised of 22 items and was developed by factor analysing the original 40 FOS items and forcing them into a single factor solution. Only items with factor loadings greater than .65 were included in the FOEAS. According to the authors, the FOEAS measures "individuals' perceived levels of expressive atmosphere within their family of origin" (Yelsma et al., 2001, p. 361). As is the case with the FOS, the FOEAS is rated on a five-point Likert scale; total scores range from 22 to 110. Yelsma et al. reported high internal consistency ($\alpha = .97$) and high split-half reliability ($r = .94$) for the FOEAS. They also found that scores on the FOEAS significantly correlated with several aspects of alexithymia in the predicted directions. This version was chosen for the current study due to the fact that: a) it has excellent psychometric properties and b) it is significantly shorter than the original 40-item version. In the current study sample, internal consistency for the

FOEAS was very good ($\alpha = .97$), and the item-total correlations were in the range of .62 to .86.

Family Ethnic Socialization Measure (FESM; Umaña-Taylor, 2001)

The FESM is a 12-item measure of one's perceptions of family cultural socialization attitudes, beliefs, and practices. Two aspects of cultural socialization are represented in the measure: overt cultural socialization (e.g., intentional lessons about the family's culture) and covert cultural socialization (e.g., decorating the house with cultural objects). Respondents are asked to rate their level of agreement with items on a five-point Likert scale, from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). The item scores are summed, with higher total scores indicating a higher degree of perceived cultural socialization in one's family-of-origin.

The original nine-item version of the FESM was developed on a sample of Mexican American adolescents (Umaña-Taylor, 2001) and demonstrated good internal consistency ($\alpha = .82$) (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). The revised 12-item version of the FESM demonstrated even better internal consistency in an ethnically diverse (both White and non-White) sample of 615 college students (Study 1) and 231 high school students (Study 2) ($\alpha = .92$ to $.94$) (Umaña-Taylor, Yazedjian, & Bámaca-Gómez, 2004). Among both the college and high school participants, ethnic identity exploration and resolution were significantly correlated with the FESM in the positive direction ($r = .89$ -. $.92$), providing evidence of construct validity (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). Additionally, individuals who had a combination of positive attitudes towards their ethnic identities and high ethnic identity achievement indicated that they experienced higher levels of family cultural socialization.

The FESM was designed for use with monoracial youths. For the purposes of the current study, items were changed from the present tense to the past tense, as the early adult participants in the current study were asked to rate their family cultural socialization during their earlier years retrospectively. Additional instructions were added to the beginning of the survey directing participants to reflect on their cultural socialization experiences during childhood. These changes were made with the permission of the author of the measure. Each participant was presented with two versions of the FESM. In the first version, participants were asked to rate their cultural socialization with respect to their Asian culture. In the second version, participants were asked to rate their cultural socialization with respect to their White/European culture.

Internal consistencies were good for both the Asian and White/European versions in the current study, with $\alpha=.93$ and $.89$, respectively. Item-total correlations ranged from $.41$ to $.85$ for the Asian scale and from $.29$ to $.76$ for the White/European scale.

Biracial Preparation for Bias Scale (BPBS)

The BPBS is a 16-item measure of the degree to which biracial individuals' parents discussed racial issues, racism, and discrimination with them while they were growing up. Respondents are asked to retrospectively rate their parents' frequency of engaging in various preparation for bias practices (e.g., conversations about racism) on a 5-point scale, from 1 (*almost never*) to 5 (*very often or frequently*). The item scores are summed, with higher total scores indicating more frequent preparation for bias messages in one's family-of-origin (total scores range from 11 to 55).

The BPBS was developed by the researcher for the current study. It was based on several sources: the Preparation for Bias subscale of a racial-ethnic socialization measure

developed for monoracial youths (six items; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001), qualitative studies of racial socialization in multiracial individuals (seven items; Coleman, 2001; Jourdan, 2004), and recommendations for parents made by leading experts in the area of biracial identity and socialization (three items; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005). See the *Results* section for the psychometric properties of the BPBS in the current study.

Brief Symptom Inventory-18 (BSI-18; Derogatis, 2000)

The BSI-18 is a self-report measure of psychological distress and psychiatric disorders and is a shortened version of the Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI; Derogatis, 1993; Derogatis & Spencer, 1982). Respondents rate the degree to which they have experienced various symptoms over the past week on a five-point Likert scale, from 0 (*not at all*) to 4 (*extremely*). An overall score of psychological distress, the Global Severity Index (GSI), is provided based on all 18 items. The raw GSI score is derived by adding up scores for all items, with a maximum possible score of 72.

Previous studies have shown that the internal consistency for the BSI-18 is acceptable for the GSI ($\alpha = .89$) (Derogatis, 2000). Unfortunately, test-retest reliability was not reported for the BSI-18, but test-retest correlations are available for the original BSI based on a sample of 60 non-patients (Derogatis, 1993). Over an unspecified time interval, test-retest reliability ranged from .68 to .84 on the subscales and was .90 for the GSI. A study of multiracial adolescents ($N = 52$) also demonstrated good internal consistency for the original BSI ($\alpha = .96$) (Sparrold, 2003).

The equivalence of the BSI-18 with the SL-90 and its construct validity were also demonstrated in a community sample. High correlations between the two measures were

reported ($r = .93$ (GSI)) (Derogatis, 2000). Derogatis (2000) also demonstrated preliminary evidence of convergent validity between the BSI-18 and the SL-90-R and related MMPI clinical, content, and Tryon cluster scores. The correlations between the BSI-18 and these other scores ranged from .40 to .72, and were generally in the expected directions. After conducting a principle components analysis, a four- factor solution was derived:

Somatization, Depression, Anxiety, and Panic. Derogatis reasoned that although panic was the fourth factor, the solution was consistent with his hypotheses, since panic is a type of anxiety disorder, according to the DSM-IV. In the current study, the GSI for this scale demonstrated good internal consistency ($\alpha = .91$). Item-total correlations ranged from .33 to .69.

Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988)

The PANAS is a 20-item self-report measure consisting of positive and negative mood descriptors. The authors described high positive affect as involving “high energy, full concentration, and pleasurable engagement”, while low positive affect is characterized by “sadness and lethargy” (Watson et al., 1988, p. 1063). High negative affect is described in terms of “a variety of aversive mood states, including anger, contempt, disgust, fear, and nervousness”, while low negative affect is characterized by “calmness and serenity” (Watson et al., 1988, p. 1063). Watson and colleagues tested the psychometric properties of the PANAS using six large primarily undergraduate samples (sample sizes ranged from 586 to 1002). They reported high internal consistencies, ranging from .86 to .90 for the Positive Affect (PA) scale and .84 to .87 for the Negative Affect (NA) scale. They also found a low correlation between PA and NA ($r = -.12$ to $-.23$), suggesting that the scales are largely independent. Adequate test-retest reliability was demonstrated with a subset of one of the

samples (N= 101), who were re-administered the PANAS after eight weeks ($r = .39$ to $.71$). Watson and colleagues demonstrated similar psychometric properties with a non-student sample (N= 164) and a psychiatric inpatient sample (N= 61).

Watson et al. (1988) also reported that the PANAS scales were significantly correlated with other brief mood scales in the expected directions, indicating good convergent and divergent validity. The NA scale was also highly correlated with the Hopkins Symptom Checklist, Beck Depression Inventory, and the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory- State Anxiety Scale ($r = .51$ to $.74$ for NA), providing evidence of external validity.

In the current study, only the PA scale was used and served as an indicator of positive adjustment. The measure demonstrated good internal consistency ($\alpha = .80$) and item-total correlations ranged from $.29$ to $.47$ in the current study.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965)

The RSES is a widely used measure of self-esteem consisting of 10 items. Respondents are asked to rate various positive and negative self-statements on a four-point scale, from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 4 (*strongly disagree*). Half the items are reverse-scored and item scores are summed to calculate a total score, which can range from 10 to 40. Higher scores indicate higher levels of self-esteem.

Rosenberg (1965) considered ease of administration, time efficiency, unidimensionality, and face validity when developing the RSES. Preliminary reports indicated that the reproducibility of the RSES was $.91$ and the scalability of the measure was $.72$. Rosenberg also demonstrated evidence of construct validity in a study of 50 “normal volunteers”; depression and anxiety were significantly correlated with RSES scores in the predicted directions. Additionally, Rosenberg demonstrated that self-esteem was positively

associated with peer group reputation in a sample of 272 high school students. Studies of multiracial samples have also demonstrated good reliability for the RSES ($\alpha=.89-.92$) (Choi-Misailidis, 2004; Sparrold, 2003). The current study also demonstrated good internal consistency ($\alpha=.97$) and item-total correlations, which ranged from .62 to .86.

Internalized Oppression Scale for Biracial Individuals (IOSBI, developed for this study)

The internalized oppression measure used in the current study consists of 34 items; 25 items were adopted from the Colonial Mentality Scale for Filipino Americans (CMSFA) and nine items were devised by the researcher. The scale was named the Internalized Oppression Scale for Biracial Individuals (IOSBI). Respondents were asked to rate these items on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). For the sake of clarity, “minority group” and “minority heritage” were defined at the top of the measure, under the scale instructions. Additionally, the order of the items was randomized. The scores were summed across all the items, and higher scores indicated higher levels of internalized oppression.

No existing internalized oppression scale has been developed for biracial individuals. In fact, to the author’s knowledge, only two empirically tested quantitative measure of internalized oppression exist, the Racial Oppression Scale for Black Individuals, which was published after the current study's data was collected (Bailey, Chung, Terrell, Williams, & Singh, 2011) and the Colonial Mentality Scale for Filipino Americans (CMSFA; David & Okazaki, 2006). The CMSFA is intended to measure colonial mentality, which refers to internalized oppression among the Filipino population. According to David and Okazaki (2006b), colonial mentality/internalized oppression is “characterized by a perception of ethnic or cultural inferiority” and “an automatic and uncritical rejection of anything Filipino and an automatic and uncritical preference for anything American” (p. 241). Colonial

mentality theory incorporates four dimensions, including *denigration of the Filipino self* (e.g., self hatred; feeling inferior, ashamed, and embarrassed about being Filipino), *denigration of the Filipino culture or body* (e.g., believing that the Filipino culture and language is inferior; believing that White physical characteristics are more attractive), *discriminating against less-Americanized Filipinos* (e.g., distancing oneself from Filipino characteristics; trying to be as American as possible), and *tolerating historical and contemporary oppression of Filipinos and Filipino Americans* (e.g., believing that the dominant group's prejudicial behaviours are well-intentioned) (David & Okazaki, 2006a, 2006b).

The initial scale was tested on two separate samples of Filipino American adults (N= 603 and 311). Items for the initial CMSFA were developed based on the four above mentioned manifestations of colonial mentality (53 items), and item rating was based on a 6-point scale (David & Okazaki, 2006b). However, an exploratory factor analysis resulted in a 36-item measure with a five-factor solution, including *Within-Group Discrimination*, *Physical Characteristics*, *Colonial Debt*, *Cultural Shame and Embarrassment*, and *Internalized Cultural Debt/Inferiority*. The subscale intercorrelations were found to be at a low to moderate level ($r = .19 - .49$), suggesting that each scale measured a unique aspect of colonial mentality. Split-half reliability was acceptable ($r = .67$ and $.78$). Item-total correlations were moderate ($r = .24$ to $.66$) and Cronbach's alphas for each scale were high ($\alpha = .71$ to $.89$). The authors pointed to evidence of concurrent and discriminant validity. Most of the subscale scores on the initial CMSFA were significantly correlated with the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, the Collective Self-Esteem Scale, the Center for

Epidemiological Studies- Depression Scale, and the Vancouver Index of Acculturation in the predicted directions.

Only a subset of the items on the CMSFA applies to biracial individuals and was relevant to the present study. Items on the *Colonial Debt* subscale, which is related to “the tendency to feel fortunate for being colonized and to feel indebted towards one’s past colonizers” (p. 244), is more specific to those of Filipino heritage and does not apply to most biracial individuals. Thus, these items were not included in the currently adopted IOSBI. Most of the items on the other four subscales were modified for use in the current study. For the *Within-Group Discrimination* Scale, items references to “FOBs (fresh-off-the-boat/newly arrived immigrants)” (e.g., “In general, I do not associate with newly-arrived (FOBs) Filipino Americans”) were changed to references to one’s minority group (e.g., “In general, I do not associate with members of my minority group”). The word “Americanized” was also changed to “Canadianized/Americanized” in this subscale. One item (“I tend to divide Filipinos in America into two types: the FOBs (fresh-off-the-boat/newly arrived immigrants) and the Filipino Americans”) was not included in the current study because it seemed to be less applicable to biracial individuals. Additionally, two items involving language and accents were excluded because they did not apply to all biracial individuals. Some of the items on the *Physical Characteristics* subscale are specifically worded in terms of Filipino facial features (e.g., “I do not want my children to have Filipino (flat) noses”). These items were also modified for the current study to reflect dissatisfaction with one’s appearance in people with a wider range of phenotypes (e.g., “I do not want my children to have the facial features of members of my minority group”). Items on the *Cultural Shame and Embarrassment* subscale were also re-worded; references to the Filipino culture were

changed to references to one's minority heritage. Finally, the words "ethnic/cultural background" were changed to "minority heritage background" in the *Internalized Cultural/Ethnic Inferiority* subscale. One item, "In general I feel that being a person of my ethnic/cultural heritage is not as good as being White/European American", was removed because it was not applicable to biracial individuals. Overall, 25 of 36 items were adapted from the CMSFA. See Appendix B for the original CMSFA items and a summary of the items that were modified.

It was necessary for the present study to incorporate items which uniquely reflect internalized oppression experienced by biracial people. Nine items were developed based on previous biracial identity research (Brunsma & Rockquemore, 2001; Motomura, 2007; Root, 1997), theoretical writings (Poston, 1990; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Root, 1990), case studies (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005), and the researcher's personal experiences as a biracial individual. For example, four items regarding physical appearance were developed (e.g., "I wish I looked more like my White parent") based on research suggesting that physical appearance is particularly salient to biracial individuals' racial identity development (Brunsma & Rockquemore, 2001; Kelch-Oliver & Leslie, 2007; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Root, 1997). Additionally, two items (e.g., "Sometimes I am ashamed to be seen with my non-White parent") were based on the premise that minority-majority biracial individuals are sometimes ashamed of their parents because of their races, particularly their non-White parents (Poston, 1990; Root, 1990). Three items were added that assess the possibility that some biracial individuals may take "unhealthy racial identity pathways", characterized by the rejection of the non-White parts of themselves (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005). See the Results section for the psychometric properties of the IOSBI in the current study.

Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (M-C SDS- Form C; Reynolds, 1982)

In the current study, a brief version of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (M-C SDS- Form C; Reynolds, 1982) was used to screen for participants who might have the tendency towards impression management and underreporting psychological problems. It was particularly important to measure social desirability in the current study, given that there were questions asking participants about internalized oppression, which often evokes personal shame. Moreover, Choi-Misailidis (2004) found that the integrated-universality subscale on the M-HAPAS was significantly associated with items on the M-C SDS. Due to the potential confounding influence social desirability may have on the measurement of self-reported psychological adjustment and biracial identity orientation, it was necessary to account for participants' potential social desirability tendency in the present investigation.

Marlowe and Crowne (1960) developed the original Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale, which was comprised of 50 items. After pilot testing, the original M-C SDS was reduced to 33 items and demonstrated good internal consistency ($\alpha = .88$) and test-retest reliability ($r = .89$). Three abbreviated versions of the M-C SDS (Form A, Form B, and Form C) were tested on 608 undergraduate students by Reynolds in 1982. The M-C SDS-Form C (Reynolds, 1982) consists of 13 "True or False" statements that describe undesirable attitudes or traits that are true of almost everyone (e.g., "I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way"). A score of one is assigned to each socially desirable answer in the keyed direction, with a maximum score of 13.

Reynolds found that Form C had the best statistical properties; he reported an internal consistency of .76 and item-total correlations ranging from .32 to .47. Form C was also significantly correlated with the original M-C SDS ($r = .93$) and the Edwards Social

Desirability scale ($r = .41$). In the current study, internal consistency was acceptable ($\alpha = .69$). Item-total correlations ranged from .24 to .42.

Qualitative Questions

Research Questions 4 to 7 are exploratory in nature and are related to the developmental trajectory of biracial identity, positive aspects of being biracial, the subjective experience of internalized oppression, and parental influences on biracial identity. In the web-survey, participants were provided with a space in which to type their responses to these questions (see Table 17 in Qualitative Results section for a list of these questions).

Procedure

First, a focus group of three psychology doctoral students who were familiar with multicultural research were recruited to assess the face validity of the measures used in the current study and to identify any potential problems with the questionnaire. As a result of the feedback provided in the focus group, slight changes were made to the questionnaires, such as changes to item wording and ordering. Participants were asked to fill out a web-survey and were given access to the website through a link and a password provided. Participants were asked to read an online informed consent page explaining the voluntary nature of their participation and outlining the potential risks of taking part in the study. They were then asked to click a button indicating that they understood the consent page and agreed with the terms specified. The measures and qualitative questions were presented in the following order: Demographic and Personal Information Questionnaire, M-HAPAS, qualitative biracial identity questions, FOEAS, FESM-non-White, FESM-White, qualitative cultural

socialization questions, BPBS, qualitative preparation for bias questions, BSI-18, PANAS, M-C SDS, RSES, IOSBI, qualitative internalized oppression questions (see Table 17 in Qualitative Results section for a list of qualitative questions). Each measure was presented on a page and the participants were asked to click a “submit” button in order to move onto the next measure. Participants had the option of taking a break from filling out the questionnaire and saving their completed answers so they could complete the remainder of the survey at a later time. In this case, participants were asked to generate a password that they could use to resume participation at a later point.

At the end of the study, participants were prompted to a debriefing page and thanked for their participation. They were advised to print or save a copy of the debriefing form. They were also informed that they could contact the primary researcher, should they have any questions about the study. Participants were then prompted to a page where they could enter their e-mail addresses, in order to enter a draw for one of six gift cards to Amazon.com, each valued at \$25.00. They were informed that their e-mail addresses would be kept in a separate database from their confidential questionnaire answers.

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Missing Data

Missing data for the study's 356 participant sample were dealt with through the use of iterative regression imputation. For the final 46-item version of the M-HAPAS used in the current study, 76 missing data points were replaced (.68% of the total number of M-HAPAS data points across the entire sample). Fifty-three missing data points were replaced for the FOEAS (.28%), 34 for the FESM-NW (.79%), 18 for the FESM-W (.42%), 48 for the BPBS (1.2%), 40 for the BSI-18 (0.016%), 50 for the PANAS (.70%), and 20 for the RSES (.28%). For the final 32-item version of the IOSBI used in the current study, 92 missing data points were imputed (.0088%). Out of all the data points for all quantitative measures across the entire sample, 431 data points were imputed (.66%). The missing data that needed to be imputed in the current study's sample were very low.

Psychometric Analyses

In the current study three measures were adapted from previous measures or were developed for the current study, including the Multiracial Heritage and Personal Affiliation Scale, the Biracial Preparation for Bias Scale, and the Internalized Oppression Scale for Biracial Individuals. Thus, before conducting planned statistical analyses, it was necessary to evaluate the factor structure of each measure for the sample in the current study, as well as to examine scale reliability.

Multiracial Heritage and Personal Affiliation Scale (M-HAPAS). Due to the fact that the M-HAPAS has not been further validated with additional samples beyond the original study and the items were modified for the current study, a confirmatory factor

analysis (CFA) was conducted using structural equation modelling (SEM) to further test the psychometrics of the measure. The aim of this analysis was to examine whether or not the hypothesized five-factor solution significantly accounted for the variance in the current study's sample with the modified 56-item version of the M-HAPAS. Goodness-of-fit indicators used for the CFA included Chi Square, RMSEA, and CFI, with the latter being most robust to non-normality (Lei & Lomax, 1999). It has been suggested that acceptable model fit requires Chi Square values exceeding .05, RMSEA values exceeding .08, and CFI values exceeding .90 (Byrne, 2010; Lei & Lomax, 1999). On this basis, criteria were not met for the hypothesized five-factor solution in the current sample (RMSEA= .070; CFI= .807). This suggests that the hypothesized Integrated-Combinatory, Integrated-Universality, Singular-Minority, Singular-Majority, and Marginal subscales did not fit the data.

Next, an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted using the Common Factor Analysis technique to explore the factor structure for the modified 56-item version of the M-HAPAS. Factors were extracted using the principle axis factoring technique. Bartlett's test of sphericity indicated that the variables were significantly correlated with each other, $\chi^2(1540) = 11089.939, p < .001$. When the Kaiser criterion was applied, 11 eigenvalues were greater than one, and these 11 factors accounted for 63.11% of the variance in the measurement variables. However, Field (2002) stated that the Kaiser criterion "is accurate when there are less than 30 variables and communalities after extraction are greater than 0.7 or when sample size exceeds 250 and the average communality is greater than 0.6" (p. 662). In the present study, the sample size did indeed exceed 250 and the average communality was .543 for the sample. Field suggested that "with 200 or more participants, the scree plot

can be used” to determine the number of factors to be extracted (p. 664). Visual inspection of the scree plot suggested a four-factor solution.

In order to determine the degree to which the items load onto the factors, the four-factor model was rotated using the direct oblimin rotation technique. Together, the four factors accounted for 49.02% of the variance. Items with factor loadings greater than 0.40 in the pattern matrix were retained (Stevens, 2002). Factor loadings for 10 items fell below 0.40 and were removed (see Table 3 for factor loadings of items). This resulted in the retention of 46 items for the modified M-HAPAS.

Table 3

*Factor Loadings for the Multiracial Heritage Affiliation and Personal Awareness Scale
(N=356)*

Items	Loadings
<u>Factor 1: Integrated Identity (13 items)</u>	
33. Both aspects of my racial heritage are an important part of who I am.	-.83
13. Both my mother’s and my father’s racial heritages are parts of what makes me a whole individual.	-.80
4. Being of mixed race, I appreciate both my mother’s and father’s heritages.	-.80
37. I enjoy both my mother’s and father’s racial heritages.	-.78
22. I identify with both my mother’s and father’s racial heritages.	-.78
2. My mother’s and father’s racial heritages both contribute to make me who I am.	-.73
12. I am proud of my mixed race heritage.	-.65
51. I am comfortable with both my mother’s and father’s racial heritages.	-.61
14. I am open to being a member of many groups.	-.59
46. I participate in the cultural practices of all groups of my racial heritage.	-.55
3. I do not mind when others ask me to help them understand what it means to be a multiracial person.	-.48
10. I am not interested in affiliating with any of my parents’ racial heritages.	.45
31. I feel connected to many racial groups.	-.40
<u>Factor 2: Singular-Majority Identity (11 items)</u>	
48. I feel closer to my White parent’s race.	.86
45. I feel that I am closer to my White heritage than my minority heritage.	.81

*Factor Loadings for the Multiracial Heritage Affiliation and Personal Awareness Scale
(N=356)*

Items	Loadings
52. I feel more loyalty to my White racial heritage.	.80
27. I prefer to have more contact with my White heritage group than my minority heritage group.	.75
23. I feel like I am more like my White parent than my minority parent because of my White parent's race.	.72
36. I am more comfortable with members of my White heritage group.	.71
42. I would like to "pass" for a member of my White heritage group.	.57
47. I solely participate in my White heritage group's cultural practices.	.57
41. I wish to be identified solely as a member of my White racial group.	.50
11. I only share cultural beliefs with my White heritage group.	.46
40. I am not like my minority parent because of his or her race.	.42
 <u>Factor 3: Marginal Identity (10 items)</u>	
44. Other people do not accept me because I am racially different.	.88
50. I feel that I am not accepted by others because of my mixed race background.	.88
34. I do not fit in with others because of my mixed race.	.86
6. Other people exclude me because I am racially different from them.	.78
24. No one knows how I feel because I am racially different.	.61
7. Others remind me frequently that I am racially different.	.60
39. In terms of race, people see me differently than I see myself.	.54
15. I feel disconnected from all racial groups.	.44
26. I feel like I am the only one I can rely on to mediate racial conflict.	.43
18. My parents do not understand me because of my mixed race background.	.43
 <u>Factor 4: Singular-Minority Identity (12 items)</u>	
30. I feel that I am closer to my minority heritage than my White heritage.	.78
43. I feel closer to my minority parent's race.	.75
35. I feel more loyalty to my minority racial heritage.	.73
32. I prefer to have more contact with my minority heritage group than my White heritage group.	.70
49. I would like to "pass" for a member of my minority heritage group.	.65
29. I only share cultural beliefs with my minority heritage group.	.64
25. I am more comfortable with members of my minority heritage group	.61
19. I wish to be identified solely as a member of my minority racial group	.55
53. I have tried to "pass" as a member of my minority heritage group.	.52
38. I solely participate in my minority heritage group's cultural practices.	.50
8. I feel like I am more like my minority parent than my White parent because of his/her race.	.49
21. I want to be accepted by my minority heritage group.	.41

The retained items were inspected and interpreted for each factor. Factor 1 (eigenvalue 9.43) was named *integrated identity*, as items were related to identifying with both one's Asian and White heritages. This factor consisted of 13 items and accounted for 19.24% of the total variance. Factor loadings ranged from -.40 to -.83. Factor 2 (eigenvalue 7.26) was named *singular-majority identity*, as these items were related to identifying with one's White heritage. This factor consisted of 11 items and accounted for 14.82% of the total variance. Factor loadings ranged from .42 to .86. Factor 3 (eigenvalue 4.55) was named *marginal identity*, as these items were related to being alienated from both Asian and White heritages. The factor consisted of 10 items and accounted for 9.29% of the total variance. Finally, Factor 4 was named *singular-minority identity*, as these items were related to identifying with one's Asian heritage. This factor consisted of 12 items and accounted for 5.67% of the total variance.

In summary, the final version of the M-HAPAS used in this study was comprised of 46 items and four subscales: Integrated Identity (13 items), Singular-Majority Identity (11 items), Marginal Identity (10 items), and Singular-Minority Identity (12 items). Internal consistencies for these subscales were high ($\alpha = .90, .90, .86, \text{ and } .90$, respectively). These subscales were consistent with the original M-HAPAS theory, but were not consistent with Choi-Misailidis' (2004) modified five-subscale version of the M-HAPAS (which included subscales representing two types of integrated identity: integrated-combinatory identity and integrated-universality identity).

Biracial Preparation for Bias Scale (BPBS). Given that the BPBS is a new scale, an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted using the principle axis factoring technique with direct oblimin rotation. Bartlett's Test of Sphericity indicated that the items were

adequately correlated with one another, $\chi^2(120) = 4143.76, p < .001$. Upon closer inspection of the scree plot, a two-factor solution was identified. All 16 items were retained, with factor loadings ranging from .42 to .87. These met the .40 criterion suggested by Stevens (2002). The items under Factor 1 reflected parents' warnings about barriers to success and messages that their children should be cautious or mistrustful around members of other racial groups. This factor was labelled *Warnings about Bias*. By contrast, Factor 2 items seemed to reflect parents' efforts to teach their children specific lessons and coping skills for dealing with racism and prejudice. Thus, Factor 2 was labelled *Lessons about Coping* in the current study. Overall, the two-factor solution accounted for 58.57% of the total variance. Factor 1 accounted for 45% of the variance (eigenvalue= 7.20) and Factor 2 accounted for 13.57% of the variance (eigenvalue= 2.17) (Table 4).

Table 4

Factor Loadings for the Biracial Preparation for Bias Scale (N=356)

Items	Loadings
<u>Factor 1: Warnings about Bias (8 items)</u>	
1b. My parents talked to me about the fact that others may try to limit me because of my biracial status.	.80
2b. My parents told me that I must be better and work harder to get the same rewards because of my biracial status.	.79
1a. My parents talked to me about the fact that others may try to limit me because of my minority background.	.78
2a. My parents told me that I must be better and work harder to get the same rewards because of my minority background.	.75
4a. My parents talked to me about the possibility that people would treat me differently because of my minority background.	.74
4b. My parents talked to me about the possibility that people would treat me differently because of my biracial status.	.71
7. My parents talked to me about the possibility that members of both of my heritages (White and non-White) may reject me because of my biracial status.	.52
8. My parents prepared me for the possibility that others may not accept my	.42

Factor Loadings for the Biracial Preparation for Bias Scale (N=356)

Items	Loadings
parents' interracial union/ relationship/ marriage.	
<u>Factor 2: Lessons about Coping (8 items)</u>	
5b. My parents were open to discussing difficult encounters I had with my biracial status.	.87
5a. My parents were open to discussing difficult encounters I had with my minority background.	.85
10. My parents taught me strategies for dealing with other people's questions about my racial/ethnic/cultural background (e.g., "What are you?").	.65
11. My parents taught me specific strategies for coping with racism, prejudice, and/or discrimination.	.62
3b. My parents taught me that it is important to stand up for my biracial status.	.58
9. My parents taught me about the existence of racism, prejudice, and discrimination in North America.	.56
3a. My parents taught me that it is important to stand up for my minority background.	.55
6. My parents talked to me about negative depictions of members of my minority race/ethnicity/culture in the media (e.g., TV shows, movies, TV commercials).	.48

Reliability for each of these subscales was excellent. Internal consistency alpha values were .90 and .87 for the Warnings about Bias and Lessons about Coping subscales, respectively. Item-total correlations ranged from .60 to .79 for the Warnings about Bias subscale and .55 to .68 for the Lessons about Coping subscale. Although results revealed a two-factor solution, they were combined for subsequent analyses because of the following reasons. First, the author was concerned that using the subscales as separate variables in subsequent analyses would increase the risk of Type I error due to additional comparisons and complicate the interpretation of the results. Second, raising awareness about the existence of racism and discrimination (i.e., warnings about bias) and teaching specific coping strategies (i.e., lessons about coping) have been found in the literature as two important components subsumed under the broader construct of preparation for bias (e.g.,

Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006). This is supported by the fact that the correlation between the Warnings about Bias items and Lessons about Coping items was also good ($r=.61, p<.001$), as were item-total correlations for the entire scale (.51-.69). Thus, an overall score comprised of both the Warnings about Bias and Lessons about Coping items was used in the analyses of the current study.

Internalized Oppression Scale for Biracial Individuals (IOSBI). Due to the fact that most of the CMSFA items were modified and nine new items were added to comprise the IOSBI, an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted using the principle axis factoring extraction technique with direct oblimin rotation. Items were adequately correlated with one another, according to Barlett's test of sphericity, $\chi^2(528)=7096.29, p<.001$. The scree plot indicated a single factor solution. Based on Stevens' (2002) recommendations, only items with factor loadings greater than .40 were retained. Only one item was removed based on this criterion. The remaining 32 items comprised a single factor and accounted for 41.36% of the variance (eigenvalue 13.23). Factor loadings of the items ranged from .44 to .82 (Table 5). The internal consistency of the scale was very good ($\alpha=.95$), and item-total correlations ranged from .40 to .81. Thus, the IOSBI was judged to be measuring a single factor, internalized oppression, in the current study.

Table 5

Factor Loadings for the Internalized Oppression Scale for Biracial Individuals (IOSBI)
($N=356$)

Items	Loadings
1. There are moments when I wish I was a full-blooded White person.	.58
2. I generally do not like members of my minority group who hold stronger minority group values.	.52
3. I would like to have children with lighter skin-tone than members of my minority group.	.73

Factor Loadings for the Internalized Oppression Scale for Biracial Individuals (IOSBI)
(N=356)

Items	Loadings
4. I believe that more Canadianized/Americanized members of my minority group are superior, more admirable, and more civilized than less Canadianized members of my minority group.	.56
5. In general, I make fun of, tease, or badmouth members of my minority group who are not very Canadianized/Americanized in their behaviours.	.49
6. Sometimes I feel grateful that I am not a full-blooded member of my minority group.	.54
7. I think members of my minority group who hold stronger minority group values should become Canadianized/Americanized as quickly as possible.	.51
8. I wish I looked less like my non-White parent.	.55
10. In general, I feel that having a part-minority background is a curse.	.42
11. In general, I am embarrassed of my minority culture and traditions.	.64
12. I tend to pay more attention to the opinions of members of my minority group who are very Canadianized/Americanized than to the opinions of less Canadianized/Americanized members of my minority group.	.58
13. I think members of my minority group who hold stronger minority group values are backwards, have accents, or act weird.	.62
14. I do not want my children to be as dark-skinned as members of my minority group.	.75
15. There are situations where I feel that it is more advantageous or necessary to deny my minority heritage.	.54
16. In general, I am more proud of my White heritage than my minority heritage.	.74
17. There are situations where I feel ashamed of my minority heritage background.	.67
18. I feel that there are very few things about my minority culture that I can be proud of.	.44
19. In general, I do not associate with members of my minority group who hold stronger minority group values.	.57
20. There are situations where I feel inferior because of my minority heritage background.	.61
21. Sometimes I wish both my parents were White.	.70
22. I find White people to be more attractive than members of my minority group.	.61
23. I would rather be mistaken for a full-blooded White person than a full-blooded member of my minority group.	.82
24. I do not want my children to have the facial features of members of my	.75

Factor Loadings for the Internalized Oppression Scale for Biracial Individuals (IOSBI)
(*N*=356)

Items	Loadings
minority group.	
25. I would like it if my facial features were more White than a member of my minority group.	.81
26. In general, I am ashamed of members of my minority group who hold stronger minority group values because of the way they dress and act.	.66
27. I wish I looked more like my White parent.	.81
28. I would like to have a skin-tone that is lighter than the skin-tone I have.	.61
29. In general, I feel ashamed of my minority culture and traditions.	.55
30. I find persons with lighter skin-tones to be more attractive than persons with dark skin-tones.	.61
31. Sometimes I think about ways to make myself appear more White (e.g., lightening or straightening my hair, wearing coloured contacts, wearing make-up to look more White).	.66
32. If I had to choose between being a full-blooded White person and a full-blooded member of my minority group, I would choose to be a full-blooded White person.	.73
33. Sometimes I am ashamed to be seen with my non-White parent.	.47

Means and Correlational Analyses

As a preliminary step, the means for continuous demographic variables and all the key study variables were examined, and are presented in Table 6.

Table 6

Means and Standard Deviations for Key Study Variables (N= 356)

Variable	<i>N</i> ^a	Mean	SD
Age	355	23.07	3.78
Years of Residence in North America ^b	50	13.10	7.48
Neighbourhood Composition	351	73.64	27.00
School Composition	354	68.80	58.42
Number of Siblings	351	1.46	1.08
Integrated Identity	356	5.92	.86
Singular Majority Identity	356	2.51	1.10
Singular Minority Identity	356	3.51	1.20
Marginal Identity	356	3.19	1.27

Means and Standard Deviations for Key Study Variables (N= 356)

Variable	<i>N</i> ^a	Mean	SD
Childhood Rel. w/ Mother ^c	356	4.41	5.13
Adolescent Rel. w/ Mother ^c	356	3.56	5.25
Current Rel. w/ Mother ^c	356	3.75	1.32
Childhood Rel. w/ Father ^c	356	3.60	1.31
Adolescent Rel. w/ Father ^c	356	3.28	5.28
Current Rel. w/ Father ^c	356	3.28	1.48
Family Relationship Quality	356	77.41	19.87
Minority Cultural Socialization	356	40.92	11.15
Majority Cultural Socialization	356	41.27	9.54
Preparation for Bias	356	22.62	9.16
Psychological Distress	356	12.46	10.61
Positive Affect	356	53.05	9.17
Self-Esteem	356	15.31	1.70
Internalized Oppression	356	60.81	24.97
Social Desirability	344	5.89	2.88

Note. Maximum scores for scales/subscales are as follows: biracial identity subscales (M-HAPAS)= 7, family relationship quality (FOEAS)= 110, cultural socialization subscales (FESM)=60, preparation for bias (BPBS)=80, psychological distress (BSI-18)=72, positive affect (PANAS)=100, self-esteem (RSES)=40, internalized oppression (IOSBI)=192, social desirability (M-C SDS)=13.

^a Some questions were not completed by all study participants.

^b This question only applied to participants who were first generation immigrants.

^c As part of the Demographics and Personal Information Questionnaire, participants were asked to rate their childhood, adolescent, and current relationships with each parent on a scale of 1 (not close at all) to 5 (very close).

As the sample was somewhat disproportionate in terms of gender (23% male, 76% female), country of residence (25% Canada, 75% United States), and parent racial background (72% White father/Asian mother, 28% Asian father/White mother), it was important to statistically test whether or not these groups differed significantly on demographic and key study variables. Thus, a series of t-tests were performed. As multiple comparisons were conducted, the Bonferroni correction was used to correct for inflation of Type I error. Thus, a significance level of $p=.002$ was used. No significant differences were found between males and females on key variables (Table 7). The only two variables for

which residents of Canada versus residents of the United States differed were singular minority identity ($F(1,353)=19.11, p<.001$) and marginal identity ($F(1,353)=9.88, p=.002$). Residents of the United States had significantly higher scores on the singular minority and marginal identity subscales of the M-HAPAS than residents of Canada (Table 8). Participants with an Asian father differed significantly from participants with an Asian mother on minority cultural socialization ($F(1,355)=9.94, p=.002$) and self-esteem ($F(1,355)=12.27, p=.001$). Those with Asian fathers reported less minority cultural socialization than those with Asian mothers. However, those with Asian fathers reported better self-esteem than those with Asian mothers (Table 9).

Table 7

Means and Standard Deviations of Demographic and Key Variables by Gender

	Male (<i>n</i> =83)		Female (<i>n</i> =269)		<i>F</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Age	23.05	3.88	23.07	3.73	.002
Years of Residence in North America ^a	11.70	7.72	13.54	7.55	.47
Neighbourhood Composition	73.05	28.76	73.98	26.25	.076
School Composition	62.38	26.85	71.12	65.30	1.41
Number of Siblings	1.61	1.07	1.41	1.09	2.11
Integrated Identity	5.92	.64	5.93	.92	.019
Singular Majority Identity	2.63	1.10	2.47	1.10	1.33
Singular Minority Identity	3.68	1.09	3.46	1.24	2.06
Marginal Identity	3.16	1.21	3.19	1.29	.050
Childhood Rel. w/ Mother ^b	4.37	.81	4.42	5.89	.006
Adolescent Rel. w/ Mother ^b	4.81	10.53	3.16	1.40	6.24
Current Rel. w/ Mother ^b	3.78	1.18	3.78	1.35	.016
Childhood Rel. w/ Father ^b	3.66	1.26	3.58	1.34	.25
Adolescent Rel. w/ Father ^b	3.08	1.47	3.35	6.02	.15
Current Rel. w/ Father ^b	3.23	1.39	3.33	1.49	.29
Family Relationship Quality	79.90	18.54	76.92	20.19	1.25

	Male (<i>n</i> =83)		Female (<i>n</i> =269)		<i>F</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Minority Cultural Socialization	38.87	10.91	41.50	11.19	3.53
Majority Cultural Socialization	40.85	8.93	41.42	9.75	.22
Preparation for Bias	21.98	8.33	22.87	9.46	.59
Psychological Distress	10.13	9.01	13.17	10.95	5.10
Positive Affect	54.08	9.18	52.72	9.21	1.38
Self-Esteem	15.46	1.71	15.28	1.71	.69
Internalized Oppression	66.87	25.47	58.70	24.12	7.10
Social Desirability	5.65	2.92	6.00	2.85	.88

Note. The 3 participants who indicated “other gender” were not included in this analysis.

^aThis question only applied to participants who were first generation immigrants.

^bAs part of the Demographics and Personal Information Questionnaire, participants were asked to rate their childhood, adolescent, and current relationships with each parent on a scale of 1 (not close at all) to 5 (very close).

Table 8

Means and Standard Deviations of Demographic and Key Variables by Country

	Canada (<i>n</i> =87)		United States (<i>n</i> =267)		<i>F</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Age	22.63	3.83	23.22	3.76	1.58
Years of Residence in North America ^a	12.10	6.66	13.35	7.73	.22
Neighbourhood Composition	77.90	25.06	72.24	27.57	2.81
School Composition	68.48	26.02	68.78	65.68	.002
Number of Siblings	1.68	1.39	1.39	.96	4.79
Integrated Identity	5.91	.83	5.94	.87	.088
Singular Majority Identity	2.74	1.24	2.44	1.05	4.98
Singular Minority Identity	3.04	1.09	3.67	1.99	19.11*
Marginal Identity	2.82	1.19	3.31	1.27	9.88*
Childhood Rel. w/ Mother ^b	4.34	.85	4.44	5.91	.022
Adolescent Rel. w/ Mother ^b	4.46	10.33	3.26	1.40	3.42
Current Rel. w/ Mother ^b	3.74	1.40	3.75	1.30	.007
Childhood Rel. w/ Father ^b	3.66	1.18	3.57	1.35	.26
Adolescent Rel. w/ Father ^b	4.14	10.38	3.00	1.46	3.04
Current Rel. w/ Father ^b	3.33	1.55	3.26	1.46	.15

	Canada (<i>n</i> =87)		United States (<i>n</i> =267)		<i>F</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Family Relationship Quality	80.82	16.80	76.28	20.75	
Minority Cultural Socialization	39.88	10.20	41.29	11.48	3.42
Majority Cultural Socialization	41.31	8.61	41.31	9.84	1.04
Preparation for Bias	22.36	8.21	22.65	9.48	.067
Psychological Distress	11.49	8.87	9.81	11.14	1.02
Positive Affect	51.40	8.03	53.69	9.41	4.20
Self-Esteem	15.48	1.93	15.26	1.63	1.13
Internalized Oppression	65.87	29.13	59.25	23.36	4.63
Social Desirability	5.90	2.81	5.90	2.90	.000

^a This question only applied to participants who were first generation immigrants.

^b As part of the Demographics and Personal Information Questionnaire, participants were asked to rate their childhood, adolescent, and current relationships with each parent on a scale of 1 (not close at all) to 5 (very close).

* Significant at $p < .002$

Table 9

Means and Standard Deviations of Demographic and Key Variables by Parent Race

	Father Asian/ Mother White (<i>n</i> =101)		Mother Asian/ Father White (<i>n</i> =255)		<i>F</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Age	23.08	3.77	23.07	3.78	.001
Years of Residence in North America ^a	10.27	7.43	13.90	7.39	2.06
Neighbourhood Composition	74.09	27.45	73.46	26.87	.039
School Composition	64.47	25.95	70.66	67.10	.89
Number of Siblings	1.59	1.00	1.40	1.11	2.22
Integrated Identity	5.77	.98	5.99	.80	5.00
Singular Majority Identity	2.56	1.22	2.50	1.05	.036
Singular Minority Identity	3.32	1.18	3.59	1.21	3.65
Marginal Identity	3.06	1.23	3.25	1.28	1.59
Childhood Rel. w/ Mother ^b	4.35	.82	4.44	6.04	.024
Adolescent Rel. w/ Mother ^b	4.43	9.59	3.21	1.40	3.90

	Father Asian/ Mother White (<i>n</i> =101)		Mother Asian/ Father White (<i>n</i> =255)		<i>F</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Current Rel. w/ Mother ^b	3.86	1.31	3.71	1.33	1.00
Childhood Rel. w/ Father ^b	3.50	1.38	3.64	1.28	.83
Adolescent Rel. w/ Father ^b	3.86	9.66	3.05	1.43	1.71
Current Rel. w/ Father ^b	3.27	1.52	3.29	1.46	.017
Family Relationship Quality	80.67	17.63	76.11	20.58	3.84
Minority Cultural Socialization	38.00	11.10	42.08	10.98	9.94*
Majority Cultural Socialization	41.32	8.56	41.25	9.92	.004
Preparation for Bias	22.68	9.13	22.59	9.19	.006
Psychological Distress	11.49	9.03	12.85	11.16	1.19
Positive Affect	53.47	8.55	52.88	9.42	.30
Self-Esteem	15.81	1.64	15.12	1.69	12.27*
Internalized Oppression	61.73	27.69	60.44	23.86	.19
Social Desirability	6.04	2.73	5.83	2.94	.38

^a This question only applied to participants who were first generation immigrants.

^b As part of the Demographics and Personal Information Questionnaire, participants were asked to rate their childhood, adolescent, and current relationships with each parent on a scale of 1 (not close at all) to 5 (very close).

* Significant at $p < .002$

Next, Pearson product moment correlations were conducted among key variables used in the study (see Table 10). All four biracial identity orientations were significantly correlated with one another. Integrated identity was negatively associated with singular-majority ($r = -.18, p < .001$), singular-minority ($r = -.25, p < .001$), and marginal identity ($r = -.25, p < .001$). Singular-majority and singular-minority identity were negatively correlated ($r = -.25, p < .001$). Marginal identity was positively correlated with both singular-majority ($r = .15, p < .001$) and singular-minority identity ($r = .36, p < .001$).

Biracial identity orientations were also significantly correlated with key family variables.

Integrated identity was positively associated with family relationship quality ($r = .26, p < .001$),

minority cultural socialization ($r=.37, p<.001$), and majority cultural socialization ($r=.35, p<.001$). However, integrated identity was not significantly correlated with preparation for bias ($r=.085, p=.111$). By contrast, singular-majority identity was not significantly correlated with family relationship quality ($r=-.061, p=.251$), but was negatively correlated with minority cultural socialization ($r=-.27, p<.001$) and preparation for bias ($r=-.12, p<.05$) and positively correlated with majority cultural socialization ($r=.14, p<.001$). Singular-minority identity was negatively correlated with family relationship quality ($r=-.11, p<.05$) and majority cultural socialization ($r=-.18, p<.001$), while it was positively correlated with minority cultural socialization ($r=.15, p<.01$) and preparation for bias ($r=.14, p<.001$). Marginal identity was negatively correlated with family relationship quality ($r=-.31, p<.001$). It was not correlated with any of the racial-ethnic socialization variables.

Additionally, correlations between psychological adjustment variables and biracial identity and family variables were inspected. Psychological distress was positively correlated with marginal identity ($r=.24, p<.001$) and singular-minority identity ($r=.19, p<.001$) and negatively correlated with family relationship quality ($r=-.28, p<.001$). Positive affect was positively correlated with integrated identity ($r=.23, p<.001$), singular-minority identity ($r=.13, p<.05$),

Minority cultural socialization ($r=.18, p<.001$), majority cultural socialization ($r=.12, p<.05$), and preparation for bias ($r=.14, p<.001$). By contrast, positive affect and singular-majority identity were negatively associated ($r=-.14, p<.05$). Self-esteem was positively associated with family relationship quality ($r=.22, p<.001$), majority cultural socialization ($r=.12, p<.05$), and preparation for bias ($r=.15, p<.001$), but was negatively associated with singular- minority identity ($r=-.11, p<.05$). Finally, internalized oppression was positively

Table 10

Summary Correlation Table for Biracial Identity, Family Variables, Psychological Adjustment, and Social Desirability (N= 356)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 Integrated	-											
2 Singular-Majority	-.18**	-										
3 Marginal	-.25**	.15**	-									
4 Singular-Minority	-.245**	-.25**	.36**	-								
5 Family Rel. Quality	.26**	-.061	-.31**	-.11*	-							
6 Cul. Soc.- Minority	.37**	-.27**	-.053	.15**	.16**	-						
7 Cul. Soc.- Majority	.35**	.14**	-.089	-.18**	.16**	.22**	-					
8 Prep. for Bias	.085	-.12*	-.091	.14**	.30**	.24**	.16**	-				
9 Psyc. Distress	-.058	.0010	.24**	.19**	-.28**	.075	-.078	-.054	-			
10 Pos. Affect	.23**	-.14*	.053	.13*	-.018	.18**	.12*	.14**	.35**	-		
11 Self-Esteem	.052	-.089	-.12	-.11*	.22**	.011	.12*	.15**	-.21**	.034	-	
12 Intern. Oppression	-.21**	.61**	.27**	-.093	-.14**	-.15**	-.0040	-.070	.094	-.0040	-.15**	-

Note. Integrated corresponds to Integrated Identity (M-HAPAS subscale), Singular-Majority to Singular-Majority Identity (M-HAPAS subscale), Marginal to Marginal Identity (M-HAPAS subscale), Singular-Minority to Singular-Minority Identity (M-HAPAS subscale), Family Rel. Quality to family relationship quality (FOEAS), Cul. Soc.- Minority to Asian cultural socialization (FESM-NW), Cul. Soc.- Majority to White cultural socialization (FESM-W), Prep.for Bias to preparation for bias (BPBS), Psyc. Distress to psychological distress (BSI-18), Pos. Affect to positive affect (PANAS), Self-Esteem to self-esteem (RSES), and Intern. Oppression to internalized oppression (IOSBI).

*p <.05. **p <.01

correlated with singular-majority identity ($r=.61, p<.001$) and marginal identity ($r=.27, p<.001$) and was negatively correlated with integrated identity ($r=-.205, p<.001$), family relationship quality ($r=-.14, p<.001$), and minority cultural socialization ($r=-.15, p<.001$).

Finally, correlations between psychological adjustment variables were conducted. Surprisingly, psychological distress was positively correlated with positive affect ($r=.35, p<.001$). Psychological distress was also negatively correlated with self-esteem ($r=-.21, p<.001$), but was not significantly associated with internalized oppression ($r=.094, p<.077$). Internalized oppression was, however, significantly negatively correlated with self-esteem ($r=-.15, p<.001$).

Planned Analyses

Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted, in order to address the study's three main research questions.

Research Question 1: *Which biracial identity orientations (integrated, singular-minority, singular-majority, marginal) will significantly predict psychological adjustment (positive affect, self-esteem, psychological distress, internalized oppression) in biracial early adults?*¹

A separate hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted for each of the psychological adjustment predictors, resulting in a total of four regression analyses. Given that multiple tests of a single hypothesis were conducted, the Bonferroni correction was used to control the experimentwise error rate and reduce the likelihood of Type I errors (Stevens, 2002). Thus, a statistical significance criterion of $p=.013$ was used. Demographic variables which were found to be significantly correlated with each outcome variable and the total score on the social desirability measure were entered in the first block of each hierarchical

¹ The research questions and hypotheses that were tested are slightly different from the original research questions and hypotheses. They were slightly modified to reflect the changes to the M-HAPAS subscales as a result of factor analysis.

regression to be controlled statistically (Table 11). Biracial identity orientation scores were entered in the second block of each of the regression analyses.

Hypothesis 1a: *Integrated and singular-minority identity orientations will predict negative adjustment (psychological distress, internalized oppression) in a negative direction, while marginal and singular-majority identity orientations will predict negative adjustment in a positive direction.*

The first model, which examined biracial identity and psychological distress, was significant, $F(7, 335) = 9.22, p < .001$. Overall, the control variables (age, SES, and social desirability) and biracial identity accounted for 16.4% of the variance in psychological distress, with social desirability being the only significant control variable ($p < .001$; see Table 8). Together, biracial identity orientations accounted for 7% of the variance in distress, $F_{change}(4,328) = 6.77, p < .001$. However, upon examination of standardized beta weights for each biracial identity orientation, only marginal identity was found to be a significant positive predictor of distress ($p < .001$).

The second model examined biracial identity and internalized oppression, and was also significant, $F(7, 335) = 37.02, p < .001$. Together, the control variables (age, SES, and social desirability) and biracial identity accounted for 44.1% of the variance in internalized oppression (see Table 11). Once again, social desirability was the only significant control variable in predicting internalized oppression ($p < .001$). The biracial identity orientations accounted for 39.3% of the variance in internalized oppression ($F_{change}(4,328) = 57.64, p < .001$), with marginal and singular-majority identity being two significant positive predictors ($p < .001$).

Overall, Hypothesis 1a was partially supported. While marginal identity did indeed predict both negative adjustment variables (psychological distress and internalized oppression) and singular-majority identity predicted one negative adjustment variable (internalized oppression), integrated and singular-minority identity did not predict positive adjustment.

Table 11

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Negative Psychological Adjustment from Biracial Identity (N=336)

Predictor	Psychological Distress		Internalized Oppression	
	ΔR^2	B	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.10*		.05*	
Age		-.04		-.01
SES		-.15		-.04
Social Des.		-.24*		-.21*
Step 2	.07*		.39*	
Integrated		.05		-.05
Singular-Majority		-.007		.56*
Singular-Minority		.10		-.03
Marginal		.23*		.17*
Total R^2	.16*		.44*	

*p < .013

Hypothesis 1b: *Integrated and singular-minority identity orientations will predict positive adjustment (self-esteem, positive affect) in a positive direction, while marginal and singular-majority identity orientations will predict positive adjustment in a negative direction.*

The third model addressed biracial identity and self-esteem. The overall model (including control variables and biracial identity orientations) accounted for 10.9% of the variance in self-esteem, which was significant, $F(7, 335) = 5.73, p < .001$ (see Table 12). Both social desirability and SES significantly predicted self-esteem in the positive direction ($p < .001$). Biracial identity accounted for 2.6% of the variance ($F_{change}(4,328) = 2.43, p = .048$), which was not significant based on the adjusted .013 significance criterion.

The fourth model investigated biracial identity and positive affect. Together, the control variables and biracial identity orientation variables accounted for 11.6% of the variance in positive affect, $F(7, 335) = 6.16, p < .001$ (see Table 8). None of the control variables predicted positive affect. A significant amount of variance (10.5%) was accounted for by biracial identity orientation, $F_{change}(4,328) = 9.76, p < .001$. Specifically, integrated identity predicted positive affect in a positive direction ($p < .001$). Singular-minority identity was not a significant predictor, but its standardized beta weight approached significance ($p = .026$).

Hypothesis 1b was partially supported. Most of the biracial identity variables did not predict positive adjustment (self-esteem and positive affect). However, integrated identity did predict positive affect in a positive direction and singular-minority identity was positively related to positive affect at a level approaching statistical significance.

Table 12

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Positive Psychological Adjustment from Biracial Identity (N=336)

Predictor	Self-Esteem		Positive Affect	
	ΔR^2	<i>B</i>	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.08*		.01	
Age		-.10		-.08
SES		.25*		.11
Social Des.		.20*		-.08
Step 2	.03		.11*	
Integrated		-.004		.30*
Singular-Majority		-.07		-.07
Singular-Minority		-.09		.14
Marginal		-.09		.10
Total R^2	.11*		.12*	

* $p < .013$

Research Question 2: *Which family variables (family relationship quality, minority cultural socialization, majority cultural socialization, preparation for bias) predict psychological adjustment (psychological distress, internalized oppression, positive affect, self-esteem) in biracial early adults?*

Four separate hierarchical regression analyses corresponding to each of the psychological adjustment variables were conducted to address Research Question 2. The Bonferroni correction was used, resulting in a statistical significance criterion of $p = .013$. Age, SES, generation, neighbourhood composition, number of siblings, and social desirability were statistically controlled in the first block. Family relationship quality and the

two racial-ethnic socialization variables (cultural socialization and preparation for bias) were entered in the second block.

Hypothesis 2a: *Family relationship quality and all three types of racial-ethnic socialization will significantly predict negative adjustment (psychological distress, internalized oppression) in a negative direction.*

The overall model for psychological distress accounted for 19.9% of the variance, $F(10, 326) = 7.86, p < .001$ (see Table 13). Social desirability was the only significant control variable in Block 1 ($p < .001$). Family variables accounted for a significant amount of variance (9.2%), over and above the control variables, $F_{change}(4,316) = 9.12, p < .001$. An inspection of the standardized beta weights revealed that only family relationship quality was a significant negative predictor of psychological distress ($p < .001$).

The model for internalized oppression also accounted for a significant amount of variance (9.4%), $F(10, 326) = 3.29, p < .001$. Social desirability was the only significant control variable predicting internalized oppression ($p < .001$). Together, family variables accounted for only 2.8% of the variance in internalized oppression, which was not significant, $F_{change}(4,316) = 2.48, p = .044$. However, an inspection of standardized beta weights revealed that minority cultural socialization was a significant negative predictor of internalized oppression ($p = .012$).

Hypothesis 2a was partially supported. While majority cultural socialization and preparation for bias were not significant predictors of negative adjustment, family relationship quality did predict psychological distress in a negative direction, as hypothesized. Additionally, Asian cultural socialization negatively predicted internalized oppression, as hypothesized.

Table 13

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Negative Psychological Adjustment from Family Variables (N=327)

Predictor	Psychological Distress		Internalized Oppression	
	ΔR^2	<i>B</i>	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.11*		.07*	
Age		-.02		-.02
SES		-.15		-.04
Generation		-.05		-.09
Neigh. Comp.		-.06		.09
# Siblings		.002		.05
Social Desirability		-.25*		-.23*
Step 2	.09*		.03	
FRQ		-.31*		-.09
CS-Minority		.10		-.15
CS-Majority		-.05		.05
PB		.10		.03
Total R^2	.20*		.09*	

Note. FRQ corresponds to family relationship quality (FOEAS), CS-Minority to minority cultural socialization, CS-Majority to majority cultural socialization, and PB to preparation for bias

* $p < .013$

Hypothesis 2b: *Family relationship quality and all three types of racial-ethnic socialization will significantly predict positive adjustment (self-esteem, positive affect) in a positive direction.*

Overall, the model for self-esteem accounted for a significant amount of variance (15.2%), $F(10, 326) = 5.65, p < .001$ (see Table 14). Among the control variables, SES and social desirability were significant predictors of self-esteem ($p < .01$ and $p < .001$, respectively). Five percent of the variance in self-esteem was accounted for by family variables, after the variables in Block 1 were controlled, $F_{change}(4, 316) = 4.63, p = .001$. Only family relationship quality significantly predicted self-esteem in Block 2 in a positive direction ($p = .002$).

The overall model for positive affect was also significant ($F(10, 326) = 2.33, p = .012$), and accounted for 6.9% of the variance. None of the control variables was a significant predictor of positive affect. Taken together, family variables accounted for a significant amount of variance in positive affect (5.3%), $F_{change}(4, 316) = 4.63, p = .002$. Minority cultural socialization was the only significant predictor of positive affect in Block 2, in a positive direction ($p = .009$).

Similar to the results for Hypothesis 2a, the results for Hypothesis 2b indicate that family relationship quality and minority cultural socialization are predictors of positive affect, while majority cultural socialization and preparation for bias are not. Thus, Hypothesis 2b was partially supported.

Table 14

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Positive Adjustment from Family Variables (N=327)

Predictor	Self-Esteem		Positive Affect	
	ΔR^2	B	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.10*		.02	
Age		-.12		-.08
SES		.26*		.12
Generation		.11		.02
Neigh. Comp.		.03		-.07
# Siblings		.02		.009
Social Desirability		.21*		-.08
Step 2	.05*		.05*	
FRQ		.18*		-.09
CS-Minority		-.02		.16*
CS-Majority		.07		.09
PB		.07		.11
Total R^2	.15*		.07	

Note. FRQ corresponds to family relationship quality (FOEAS), CS-Minority to minority cultural socialization, CS-Majority to majority cultural socialization, and PB to preparation for bias

* $p < .013$

Research Question 3: *Does family relationship quality moderate the relationship between racial-ethnic socialization (minority cultural socialization, majority cultural socialization, preparation for bias) and biracial identity orientation (integrated, singular-minority, singular-majority, marginal)?*

Moderation was tested through the use of 12 separate hierarchical multiple regressions, and the Bonferroni correction was used to control the experimentwise error rate ($p=.0042$). The main effects of family relationship quality and racial-ethnic socialization were entered in Block 1. Next, three interaction terms, family relationship quality x minority cultural socialization, family relationship quality x majority cultural socialization, family relationship quality x preparation for bias, were entered in Block 2. Each biracial identity orientation serves as the criterion variable in each analysis. Based on recommendations by Cohen, Cohen, West, and Aiken (2002), criterion variables were centered².

Hypothesis 3a: *Family relationship quality will moderate the relationship between minority cultural socialization and the integrated, singular-minority, and marginal identity orientations.*

The overall models for family relationship quality and minority cultural socialization were significant [integrated: $F(3, 355)= 25.89, p<.001$; singular-minority: $F(3, 355)= 9.75, p<.001$; singular-majority: $F(3, 355)= 5.59, p=.001$; marginal identity: $F(3, 355)= 13.11, p<.001$]. These models accounted for 18% (integrated identity), 8% (singular-minority identity), 9% (singular-majority identity), and 10% (marginal identity) of the variance (see Table 15). Together, family relationship quality and minority cultural socialization accounted for a significant amount of variance in each biracial identity orientation

² Centering involves subtracting the mean score on each criterion variable from each data point. This procedure is designed to maximize the interpretability of interactions and minimize problems with multicollinearity.

(integrated: $F(2, 355)= 37.98, p<.001$; singular-minority: $F(2, 355)= 13.57, p<.001$; singular-majority: $F(2, 355)= 7.38, p=.001$; marginal: $F(2, 355)= 19.30, p<.001$).

In Block 1, minority cultural socialization was shown to be a positive predictor of integrated identity and singular minority identity ($p<.001$ & $p=.001$, respectively). Minority cultural socialization was a negative predictor of singular majority identity ($p<.001$). Family relationship quality was a positive predictor of integrated identity and a negative predictor of marginal identity ($ps<.001$). The negative relationship between minority cultural socialization and singular minority identity approached significance ($p=.012$). No significant relationships were found between minority cultural socialization and marginal identity or family relationship quality and singular majority identity.

In Block 2, the interaction term (family relationship quality x minority cultural socialization) did not account for a significant amount of variance in any of the biracial identity orientations, over and above the main effects for the variables. Thus, Hypothesis 3a was not supported.

Table 15

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Biracial Identity Orientation from Interactions Between Family Relationship Quality and Minority Cultural Socialization (N=356)

Predictor	Biracial Identity Orientation							
	Integrated		Singular-Majority		Singular-Minority		Marginal	
	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.18*		.07*		.04*		.10*	
FRQ		.21*		-.02		-.13		-.31*

Predictor	Biracial Identity Orientation							
	Integrated		Singular-Majority		Singular-Minority		Marginal	
	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β
CS-Minority		.33*		-.26*		.17*		-.002
Step 2	.004		.005		.005		.002	
FRQ x CS-Minority		-.06		-.08		.08		.05
Total R^2	.18*		.08*		.09*		.10*	

Note. FRQ corresponds to family relationship quality (FOEAS), CS-Minority to minority cultural socialization, * $p < .0042$

Hypothesis 3b: *Family relationship quality will moderate the relationship between majority cultural socialization and the integrated, singular-majority, and marginal identity orientations.*

The models for family relationship quality and majority cultural socialization accounted for a significant amount of variance in integrated identity [17%; $F(3, 355) = 25.89$, $p < .001$), singular-minority identity (4%; $F(3, 355) = 5.30$, $p = .001$], and marginal identity (10%; $F(3, 355) = 13.14$, $p < .001$). The model for singular-majority identity approached the $p < .0042$ adjusted significance level (3% of the variance; $F(3, 355) = 3.16$, $p = .025$) (see Table 16).

The results from Block 1 demonstrated that majority cultural socialization predicted integrated identity and singular majority identity in a positive direction ($p < .001$ & $p = .005$, respectively). Majority cultural socialization also predicted singular minority identity in a negative direction ($p = .001$). Family relationship quality predicted integrated identity in a

positive direction, while it predicted marginal identity in a negative direction ($p < .001$). The relationships between family relationship quality and the other two identity orientations (singular majority and singular minority identity) were not significant. The relationship between majority cultural socialization and marginal identity was also not significant.

Again, the interaction between family relationship quality and majority cultural socialization did not account for a significant amount of variance in any of the biracial identity orientation scores, over and above the main effects. Hypothesis 3b was not supported.

Table 16

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Biracial Identity Orientation from Interactions Between Family Relationship Quality and Majority Cultural Socialization (N=356)

Predictor	Biracial Identity Orientation							
	Integrated		Singular-Majority		Singular-Minority		Marginal	
	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.17*		.03		.04*		.10*	
FRQ		.21*		-.09		-.08		-.31*
CS-Majority		.31*		.15		-.17*		-.04
Step 2	.000		.000		.004		.001	
FRQ x CS-Majority		.003		.02		.06		.03
Total R^2	.17*		.03		.04*		.10*	

Note. FRQ corresponds to family relationship quality (FOEAS), CS-Majority to majority cultural socialization

* $p < .0042$

Hypothesis 3c: *Preparation for bias will moderate family relationship quality and the integrated, singular-minority, and marginal identity orientations.*

Finally, the models involving family relationship quality and preparation for bias accounted for a significant amount of variance in integrated identity (9%; $F(3, 355)= 10.86$, $p<.001$), singular-minority identity (4%; $F(3, 355)= 5.21$, $p=.002$), and marginal identity (12%; $F(3, 355)=16.04$, $p<.001$). The model did not account for a significant amount of variance in singular-majority identity, but approached significance (3% of the variance; $F(3, 355)= 3.89$, $p=.009$) (see Table 17).

In Block 1, the positive relationships between preparation for bias and singular minority identity and marginal identity approached significance ($ps=.013$, and $.015$, respectively). The negative relationship between preparation for bias and singular majority identity also approached significance ($p=.025$), while the relationship between preparation for bias and integrated identity did not. Family relationship quality was a significant predictor of integrated identity in a positive direction ($p<.001$) and of singular minority identity and marginal identity in a negative direction ($p=.004$ & $p<.001$, respectively).

The interaction between family relationship quality and preparation for bias was not found to be a significant predictor of any of the biracial identity orientation scores in Block 2.

Thus, Hypothesis 3c was not supported.

Table 17

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Biracial Identity Orientation from Interactions Between Family Relationship Quality and Preparation for Bias (N=356)

Predictor	Biracial Identity Orientation							
	Integrated		Singular-Majority		Singular-Minority		Marginal	
	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β

Step 1	.08*		.02		.03		.11*	
FRQ		.22*		-.002		-.17*		-.38*
PB		.10		-.13		.15		.14
Step 2	.007		.01		.014		.007	
FRQ x		.09		.12		-.12		.08
PB								
Total R^2	.09*		.03		.04*		.12*	

Note. FRQ corresponds to family relationship quality (FOEAS), PB to preparation for bias
* $p < .0042$

Overall, hypotheses relating to the association between biracial identity orientation and psychological adjustment and family variables and psychological adjustment were partially supported. By contrast, hypotheses predicting that family relationship quality would moderate racial-ethnic socialization and biracial identity orientation were not supported. The current study's research questions, hypotheses, and findings are summarized in Table 18.

Table 18

Summary of Quantitative Research Questions, Hypotheses, and Support for Hypotheses

Research Questions	Hypotheses	Support for Hypotheses
1. Which biracial identity orientations (integrated, singular-minority, singular-majority, marginal) predict psychological adjustment (positive affect, self-esteem, psychological distress, internalized oppression) in biracial early adults?	1a: Integrated and singular-minority identity orientations will predict negative adjustment (psychological distress, internalized oppression) in a negative direction, while marginal and singular-majority identity orientations will predict negative adjustment in a positive direction.	Partial
	1b: Integrated and singular-minority identity orientations will predict positive adjustment (self-esteem, positive affect) in a positive	Partial

Research Questions	Hypotheses	Support for Hypotheses
	direction, while marginal and singular-majority identity orientations will predict positive adjustment in a negative direction.	
2. Which family variables (family relationship quality, minority cultural socialization, majority cultural socialization, preparation for bias) predict psychological adjustment (psychological distress, internalized oppression, positive affect, self-esteem) in biracial early adults?	2a: Family relationship quality and all three types of racial-ethnic socialization will significantly predict negative adjustment (psychological distress, internalized oppression) in a negative direction.	Partial
	2b: Family relationship quality and all three types of racial-ethnic socialization will significantly predict positive adjustment (self-esteem, positive affect) in a positive direction.	Partial
3. Does family relationship quality moderate the relationship between racial-ethnic socialization (minority cultural socialization, majority cultural socialization, preparation for bias) and biracial identity orientation (integrated, singular-minority, singular-majority, marginal)?	3a: Family relationship quality will moderate the relationship between minority cultural socialization and the integrated, singular-minority, and marginal identity orientations.	Not Supported
	3b: Family relationship quality will moderate the relationship between majority cultural socialization and the integrated, singular-majority, and marginal identity orientations.	Not Supported
	3c: Preparation for bias will moderate family relationship quality and the integrated, singular-minority, and marginal identity orientations.	Not Supported

Supplementary Analyses

According to the Multi-Heritage Awareness and Personal Affiliation (M-HAPA) model (Choi-Misailidis, 2004), biracial individuals are often affiliated with more than one biracial identity orientation in a fluid manner, although they tend to have a dominant identity orientation which influences their daily experiences more strongly. The researcher was

interested in testing this theory by examining the extent to which participants could be grouped based on their patterns of identification with each type of biracial identity orientation: integrated identity, singular-minority identity, singular-majority identity, and marginal identity.

Cluster analysis is an exploratory statistical method involving grouping cases in a manner that maximizes within-group similarities and minimizes between-group similarities (Henry, Tolan, & Gorman-Smith, 2005). A two-step cluster analysis using the SPSS computer program was conducted. This procedure involves an algorithm that automatically selects the number of clusters within a dataset. The algorithm forms “pre-clusters” as a first step and performs a hierarchical clustering method on these pre-clusters as a second step (Nourisis, 2010). Each of the four biracial identity orientation variables was entered into this two-step cluster analysis using log-likelihood distances and the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC). Due to the fact that different sequences in the order in which the cases are entered in the dataset can result in different outcomes, case order was randomized (Nourisis, 2010).

The final solution resulted in three clusters. A one-way between subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted for each biracial identity orientation (integrated, singular-majority, singular-minority, marginal) for each cluster group (cluster 1, cluster 2, cluster 3). Subsequently, post-hoc Games-Howell tests were conducted to aid in the interpretation of the clusters (see Table 19). The Games-Howell test was chosen because it is robust to violations of the assumptions of unequal between-group variance and sample size (Toothaker, 1993).

Table 19

Means and Standard Deviations of Biracial Identity Orientations by Cluster

	Cluster 1 ^a (n=188)		Cluster 2 ^b (n=105)		Cluster 3 ^c (n=63)			
Biracial ID								
Orientation	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i>	η^2
Integrated	6.27	.52	5.66	.94	5.37	1.06	150.13*	.46
Singular-Majority	2.24	.89	3.46	1.07	1.73	.54	40.37*	.19
Singular-Minority	3.11	.91	3.20	.91	5.27	.78	90.46*	.34
Marginal	2.30	.70	4.17	.95	4.24	1.04	221.20*	.56

^a Integrated Asian-White Dominant. ^b White Dominant. ^c Asian Dominant.

* Significant at $p < .001$.

Cluster 1 ($n=188$) was labelled *Integrated Asian-White Dominant*, Cluster 2 ($n=105$) was labelled *White Dominant*, and Cluster 3 ($n=63$) was labelled *Asian Dominant* (Table 20). Individuals in Cluster 1 tended to have higher integrated identity scores than those in Clusters 2 and 3 ($ps < .001$). Additionally, they had lower singular-majority scores than those in Cluster 2 but higher singular-majority scores than those in Cluster 3 ($ps < .001$). Marginal identity scores were lower among those in Cluster 1 than individuals in Clusters 2 and 3 ($ps < .001$). Moreover, singular-minority identity scores were lower among Cluster 1 individuals, compared to those in Cluster 3 ($p < .001$), but were not significantly different from those in Cluster 2 ($p = .70$).

Cluster 2 (*White Dominant*) was characterized by higher singular-majority identity scores than those in Clusters 1 and 3 and lower integrated identity scores than those in Cluster 1 ($ps < .001$). Individuals grouped into this cluster also had singular-minority identity scores similar to individuals grouped in Cluster 1 ($p = .70$), but were lower than those in Cluster 3 ($p < .001$). Additionally, they tended to have marginal identity scores that were

higher than those in Cluster 1 ($p<.001$), but not significantly different from those in Cluster 3 ($p=.87$).

Finally, Cluster 3 (*Asian Dominant*) was characterized by higher singular-minority identity scores than the other two clusters ($ps<.001$). Moreover, those in Cluster 3 had lower singular-majority identity scores than those in Cluster 2 and 3 ($ps<.001$). They also had lower integrated identity scores and higher marginal identity scores than those in Cluster 1 ($p<.001$), but did not differ significantly on the integrated identity scores from those in Cluster 2 ($p=.17$ & $.83$, respectively) (see Figure 8).

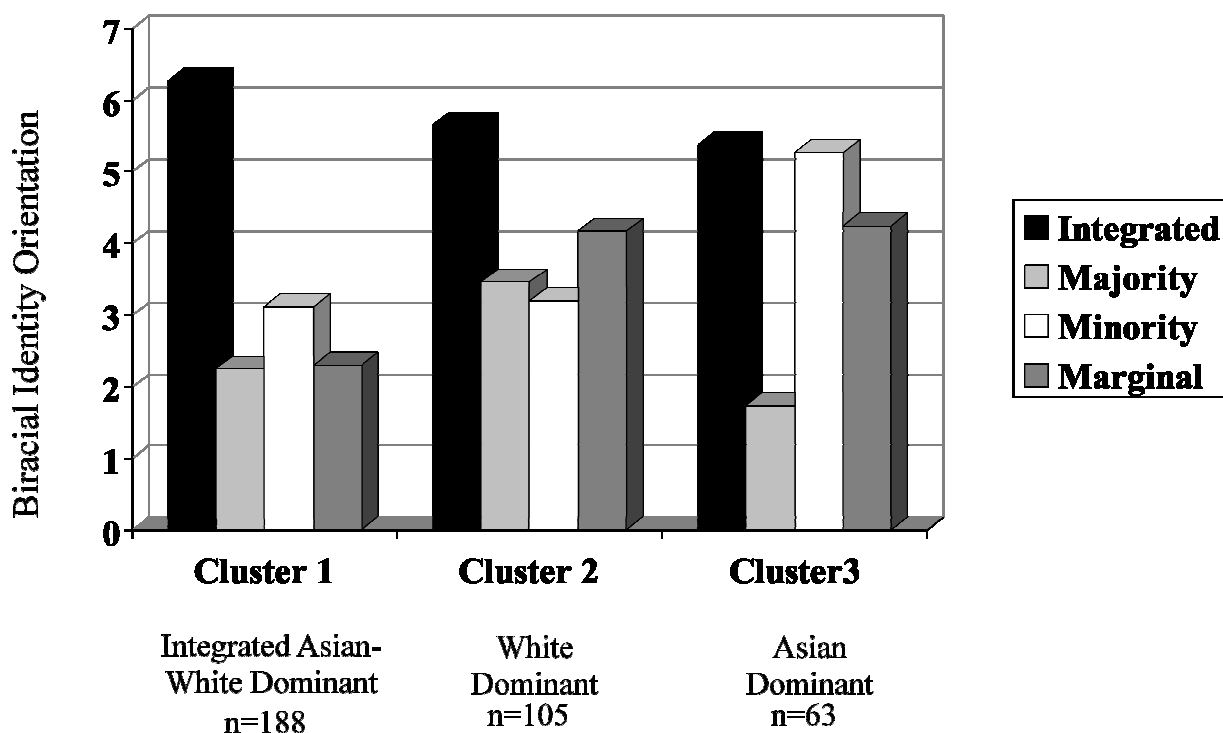


Figure 8. Between-cluster differences on biracial identity orientation.

The researcher was interested in investigating the between-cluster differences in family and psychological adjustment variables. Since the researcher was only interested in interpreting mean differences in these independent variables by cluster, rather than mean

differences on linear combinations of the dependent variables, a series of 11 separate analyses of variance (ANOVAs) was conducted instead of a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) (Grice & Iwasaki, 2007). A Bonferroni corrected significance criterion of $p=.0045$ was used to correct for inflation of Type I error.

Results showed significant between-cluster differences for relationship quality with Asian and White parents, overall family relationship quality, majority cultural socialization, psychological distress, and internalized oppression among the three cluster groups (Table 20). Post-hoc Games-Howell tests indicated that individuals in the Integrated Asian-White Dominant cluster tended to report better relationships with their White parents than individuals in the Asian Dominant cluster ($p<.001$) and better relationship with their Asian parents than individuals in the White Dominant cluster ($p=.002$) (Figure 9). Additionally, those in the Integrated Asian-White Dominant cluster reported better overall family relationship quality than those in the other two clusters ($p<.001$) (Figure 10). Those in the Asian Dominant cluster had significantly lower majority cultural socialization scores than those in the Integrated Asian-White Dominant cluster ($p<.001$). Those in the Asian Dominant cluster also had lower majority cultural socialization scores than those in the White Dominant cluster, but this difference only approached significance ($p=.008$) (Figure 11).

Table 20

Means & Standard Deviations of Family & Psychological Adjustment Variables by Cluster

	Cluster 1 ^a (<i>n</i> =188)		Cluster 2 ^b (<i>n</i> =105)		Cluster 3 ^c (<i>n</i> =63)			
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i>	η^2
<i>Family</i>								
White par.rel.	11.70	3.53	10.71	3.92	9.48	3.74	8.89*	.048

	Cluster 1 ^a (n=188)		Cluster 2 ^b (n=105)		Cluster 3 ^c (n=63)			
Asian par.rel.	12.71	7.61	10.40	3.65	11.06	3.64	5.35*	.029
FRQ	82.95	17.21	71.86	20.27	70.11	21.89	17.05*	.088
CS-Minority	14.04	9.63	38.31	12.32	41.96	12.71	4.16	.023
CS-Majority	42.58	8.81	41.65	9.31	36.70	10.65	9.53*	.051
Prep. for Bias	2.36	.92	2.19	.99	2.42	.99	1.47	.008
<i>Psyc.</i>								
<i>Adjustment</i>								
Psyc.	10.10	8.62	14.31	11.10	16.41	13.21	11.23*	.060
<i>Distress</i>								
Pos. Affect	53.24	7.69	51.35	9.94	55.30	11.28	3.80	.021
Self-esteem	15.47	1.74	15.14	1.59	15.13	1.59	1.74	.010
Intern. Opp.	53.88	19.18	76.57	30.01	55.19	18.74	35.53*	.168

^a Integrated Asian-White Dominant. ^b White Dominant. ^c Asian Dominant.

* Significant at $p < .001$.

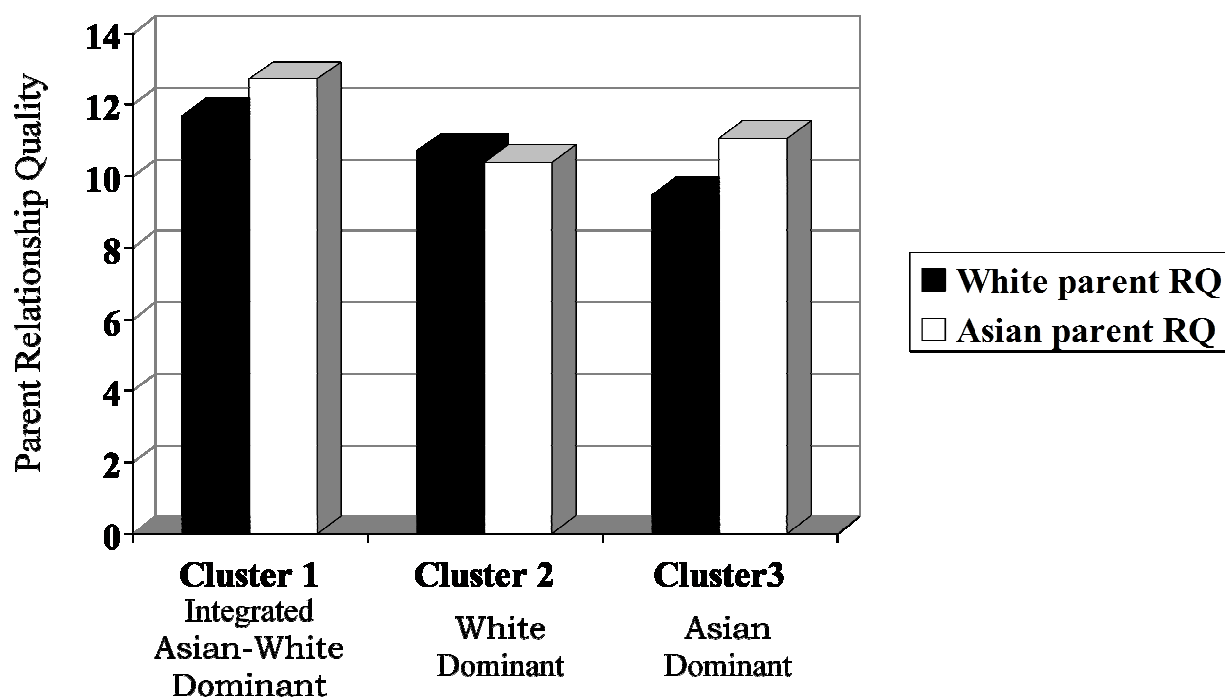


Figure 9. Between-cluster differences on White and Asian parent relationship quality.

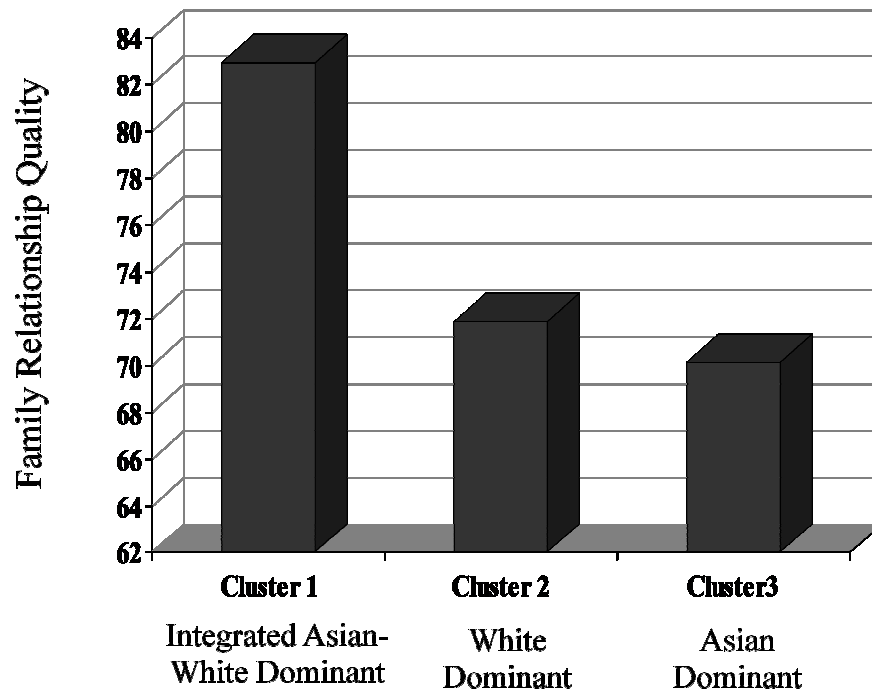


Figure 10. Between-cluster differences on family relationship quality.

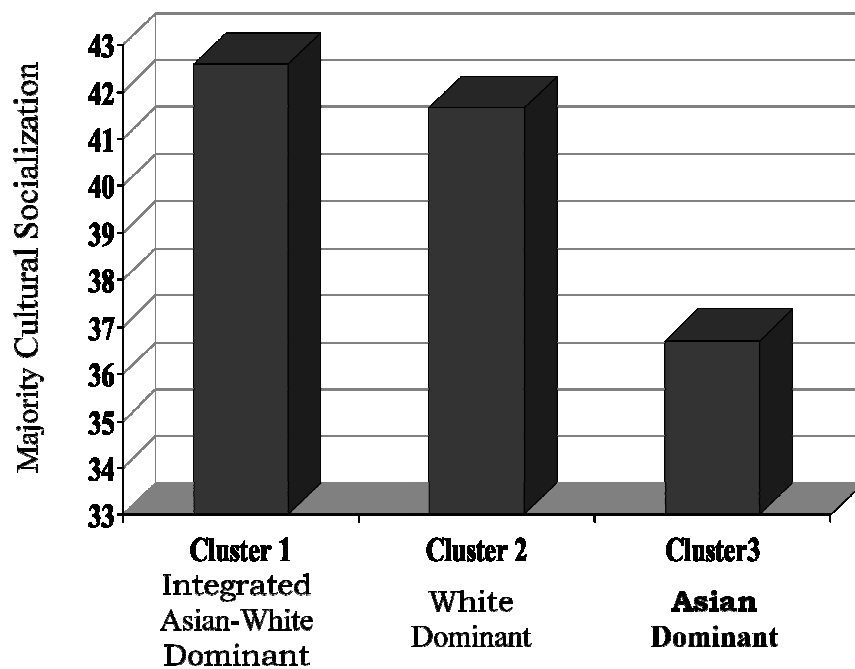


Figure 11. Between-cluster differences on majority cultural socialization.

Between-cluster differences on psychological adjustment were also found (Table 20). These differences were found with negative adjustment indicators (i.e., psychological distress and internalized oppression) but not with positive adjustment indicators (i.e., self-esteem and positive affect). Games-Howell tests indicated that individuals in the Integrated Asian-White Dominant cluster were significantly less distressed than those in the Asian Dominant and White Dominant clusters ($p=.002$ & $.003$, respectively) (Figure 12). Moreover, those in the White Dominant cluster had significantly higher internalized oppression scores than those in the other two clusters ($ps<.001$) (Figure 13).

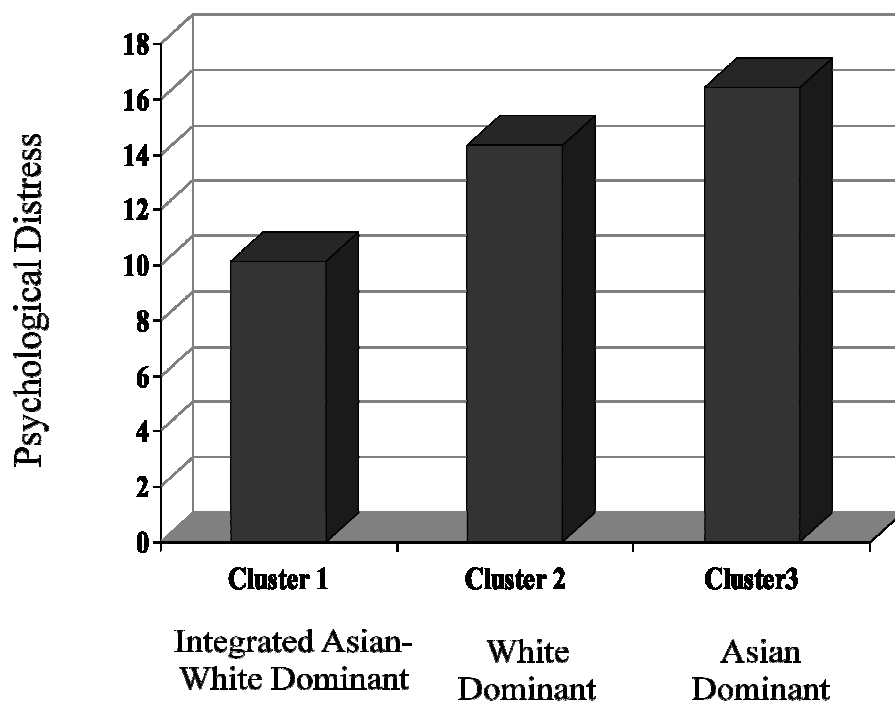


Figure 12. Between-cluster differences on psychological distress.

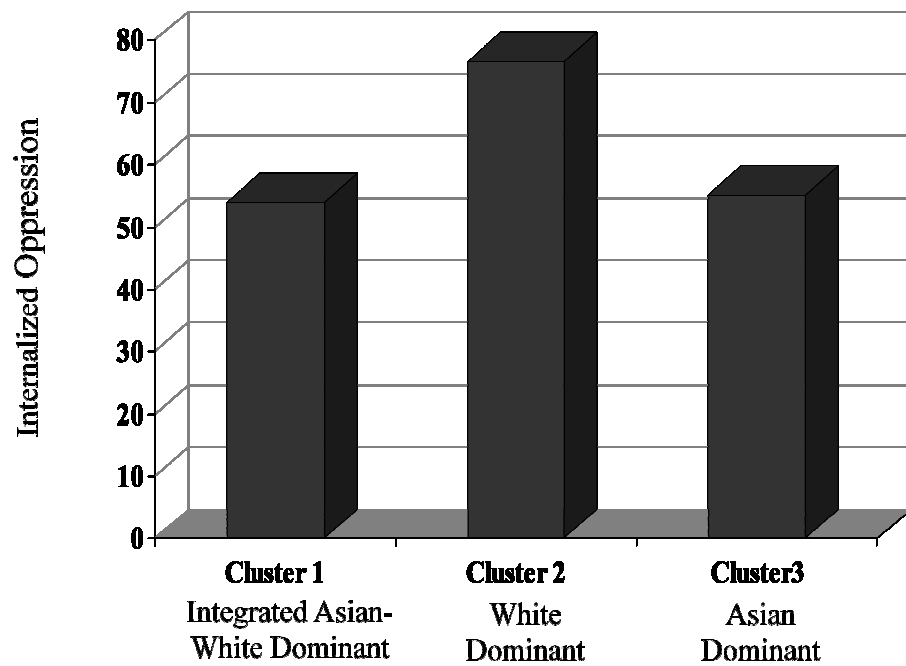


Figure 13. Between-cluster differences on internalized oppression.

QUALITATIVE RESULTS

Thematic Analysis

Qualitative questions were incorporated into the current study in order to facilitate interpretation of the quantitative results and add to the richness of our understanding of the racial identity development process and experience among Asian-White biracial young adults (Table 21). Responses to open-ended qualitative questions were coded using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a technique involving organizing qualitative data according to patterns, or themes, and describing this information in detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the current study, a combination of inductive and theoretical approaches was used to identify principal themes. That is, themes were determined based on the data (inductive), but were also informed by biracial identity, racial-ethnic socialization, and internalized oppression literature (theoretical/conceptual).

Braun and Clarke (2006) outlined the steps involved in thematic analysis, and this method was followed in the current study. First, the researcher read over the responses for a given open-ended question and devised preliminary codes. Operational definitions were developed for each code. Next, a second, more detailed reading of the responses was conducted, and data were coded according to preliminary codes using a qualitative data analysis software program (NVivo). Necessary adjustments were made to the labelling, descriptions, and organization of preliminary codes.

Next, the original responses coded were adjusted to make them more consistent with the new coding structure. In addition, notes on interesting aspects of the data were recorded and illustrative examples of codes were noted by the researcher. In the third phase, codes were combined to form themes for each qualitative question. Thematic maps or networks

were used as tools to assist in theme development (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Themes were developed based on whether each captured an important piece of information relative to the research questions, rather than how often they appeared in the participants' written responses. Subsequently, themes were reviewed and refined.

In order to examine the reliability of the codes, a second coder who has experience in qualitative analysis procedures and is familiar with the biracial identity literature read and coded 30 randomly selected responses for each of the qualitative questions using the coding system. Inter-coder reliability was assessed based the percentage agreement calculation method recommended by Boyatzis (1998). Coding discrepancies were discussed and codes for corresponding responses were adjusted accordingly. Overall, inter-coder reliability was 88% agreement.

Next, qualitative data were quantized³, in order to compare response frequency. For each open-ended qualitative question, coding and theme percentages were calculated by dividing the number of participants who received a given code by the total number of participants who responded to the question. It should be noted that many participants gave several responses to each question, and thus were assigned multiple codes for each question. This is why the sums of the response percentages for each question, as reported in the Tables 22 to 33 in Appendix C, exceed 100%.

A relatively large proportion of participants did not complete the open-ended questions on internalized oppression (Internalized Oppression Questions 1a, 1b, 2a, and 2b- the final four questions of the web-survey). Most participants (335 participants out of a total sample size of 356) answered Racial Socialization Question 1, but only 257 participants responded to

³ Quantizing involves transforming codes into numbers (Hesse-Bieber & Leavy, 2006).

Internalized Oppression Question 1a (i.e., 99 participants ended their participation at this point in the web-survey). The 99 participants who did not answer Internalized Oppression Question 1a were not screened out of the study. To verify whether there were any systematic differences between the participants who did and who did not answer these questions and the possibility of skewing the qualitative results related to internalized oppression, additional analyses were conducted. Between-group differences on age, education level, key family variables (minority cultural socialization, minority cultural socialization, preparation for bias, family relationship quality), key psychological adjustment variables (positive affect, self-esteem, psychological distress, internalized oppression) were examined using a series of 1-way ANOVAs. In addition, between group differences on social desirability was analyzed using a 1-way ANOVA. None of these comparisons yielded significant results, suggesting that no significant response bias was present to impact the interpretation of the qualitative results.

Table 21

Summary of Supplementary Research Questions and Qualitative Survey Questions.

Supplementary Research Question	Survey Question
<p>4. What is the developmental course of biracial identity from adolescence to young adulthood?</p> <p>Do any significant changes occur in terms of identity orientation and psychological adjustment?</p> <p>What experiences and/or events contribute to these changes?</p>	<p><i>Biracial Identity Question 1:</i> Has your identification with your heritage groups changed from childhood to adolescence to adulthood? If so, in what ways?</p> <p><i>Biracial Identity Question 2:</i> What relationships, experiences, and/or events contributed to these changes? How so?</p>

Supplementary Research Question	Survey Question
5. What are some of the positive aspects of being biracial?	<i>Biracial Identity Question 3, Part 1:</i> What do you see as being some of the positive aspects of having a mixed racial/cultural heritage?
6. What are biracial individuals' experiences of internalized oppression?	<i>Biracial Identity Question 3, Part 2:</i> How did your parents contribute to any positive attitudes you have about your mixed racial/cultural heritage?
What is the impact of internalized oppression on biracial identity and family relations?	<i>Internalized Oppression Question 1a:</i> Sometimes mixed heritage people have the experience of disliking one or both of their heritage groups and backgrounds. Did you ever dislike your minority (e.g., Asian) background? [Yes, No] Please explain.
	<i>Internalized Oppression Question 1b:</i> Did you ever wish that you were only White? [Yes, No]. Please explain.
	<i>Internalized Oppression Question 2a:</i> If you did experience a dislike of one or both backgrounds: How do you think your family members influenced these attitudes? Please explain.
	<i>Internalized Oppression Question 2b:</i> If you did experience a dislike of one or both backgrounds: How do you think these attitudes influence the quality of your relationships with your family members?
7. How do biracial individuals believe their parents impacted their racial identities?	<i>Cultural Socialization Question 1:</i> While you were growing up, how did your biological parents teach you about your <u>minority</u> parent's cultural background? Was one of your biological parents more responsible for this than the other parent? Please explain.
What strategies do biracial individuals' parents use for racial-ethnic socialization?	<i>Cultural Socialization Question 2:</i> While you were growing up, how did your biological parents teach you about your <u>White</u> parent's cultural background? Was one of your biological parents more responsible for this than the other parent? Please explain.
Do Asian parents and White parents play different roles in terms of racial-ethnic socialization?	

Supplementary Research Question	Survey Question
	<p><i>Racial Socialization Question 1:</i> While you were growing up, how did your biological parents teach you about racial/ethnic/cultural diversity, racism, and discrimination? Was one of your biological parents more responsible for this than the other parent? Please explain.</p>

Qualitative Themes

The above questions allowed participants to comment on a wide range of aspects of the Asian-White biracial experience. General trends in the qualitative data are reported in the following section, and participant quotes are used to provide a richer picture of important themes. In addition, a comprehensive summary of theme percentages is presented in Tables 22 through 33 in Appendix C.

Racial Identification

Racial self-label. The most common response to the racial self-label question, “In your own words, how would you describe your race/ethnicity?”, involved some kind of combination of participants’ Asian and White backgrounds (Table 22 in Appendix C). There were a few different ways in which participants combined their heritages. While the majority indicated that they were both Asian and White in a more integrated way (*All Ethnicities*- i.e., they consider themselves “all Asian and all White” at the same time), others stated that they were half Asian and half White (*Split*). Another popular response involved identifying with other biracial individuals in general (*Mixed or Biracial*) or other Asian-White biracial individuals (*Hapa or Other New Asian-White Group*). A small number of participants labelled themselves as both Asian and White, but identified more strongly with either their Asian side or their White side (*Stronger Asian* and *Stronger White*). Few participants labelled

themselves as only Asian (*Singular Asian*) and no participants stated that they were only White. However, a few participants labelled themselves as being citizens of Canada or the U.S. (*Canadian or American*). A very small number of participants indicated that they did not label themselves because they were unique or felt marginalized (*Unique*), and or could not decide on an answer because they were confused about their identities (*Identity Confusion*).

Generally, results suggested that the majority of participants had a sense of how to racially label themselves. However, while some participants chose one racial self-label, many participants listed multiple racial self-labels. For example, one participant answered this question by stating that she was “biracial, hapa, mixed, halfie, or half n' half (Japanese-White)” (P265). Some hinted at the experience of racial identity fluidity in their racial self-labels; that is, they indicated that they labelled themselves differently, depending on context. For example, one participant indicated that she changes her racial self-label, depending on who she is with:

My father is from Newfoundland, so sometimes I call myself ‘Newfanese’. But since I look more White, I accentuate that I am Japanese to acquaintances. (P162)

This young woman could refer to herself as “Newfanese” when she is around family members from her father’s side, in order to gain a sense of connection with them. By contrast, she might refer to herself as “Japanese” around those she does not know well, in order to clarify to them that she is not White, despite her appearance. Thus, results suggest that biracial individuals may sometimes use their flexible racial self-labels as tools for communicating information about their heritages, identification, and racial pride.

Racial identity fluidity over time. Participants were also asked Biracial Identity Question 1, “Has your identification with your heritage groups changed from childhood to

adolescence to adulthood? If so, in what ways?”. Although about a fifth of the participants indicated that there was no change in their identification from childhood to adulthood, the majority of participants indicated a change in racial identification as they matured (see Table 23 in Appendix C). The most common changes were: 1) a stronger identification with one’s Asian side as one matured and 2) moving from Asian identification to a greater integration of both their Asian and White heritages. In addition, just under a quarter of responses related to having an increased awareness of being “different” between childhood and adulthood.

When I was younger, I never really thought about my mom being Thai and my dad being White. I just saw it as normal. It wasn't until adolescence when I began getting questions from others about my parents and my ethnicity. At that point, I realized I was different, and at that point I started to feel somewhat excluded. Not in a sense that I didn't have friends, but more so, that I didn't fit in completely within my Asian friends. It was easier for me to be friends with people of all races, but within the Asian community, I feel like they don't know what to make of me, and just consider me white with a limited Asian cultural background. (P571)

About a third of responses suggested that racial identity-related psychological adjustment changed from childhood to young adulthood. These changes included feeling ashamed of their heritage backgrounds in childhood and becoming increasingly proud as they matured, developing a new appreciation for their biracial statuses, and becoming increasingly secure in their racial identities:

Through childhood and adolescence, I was ashamed of my Chinese heritage. I preferred to associate myself with the attitudes and cultural practices of my White heritage. I consistently distanced myself from anything 'Chinese-like', including food, habits, cultural values, and adornments. However, since my early twenties, I have been learning to embrace and appreciate my mixed-race heritage. It was only through gaining a more mature understanding of my own personal identity that I felt comfortable enough to accept and show interest in my Chinese heritage. (P1)

Overall, these findings suggested that identity development started with a growing awareness of “differentness” leading to shame in childhood and adolescence. However, participants tended to move towards identity integration and racial pride in adulthood.

The factors leading to changes in identification were examined in Biracial Identity Question 2: “What relationships, experiences, and/or events contributed to these changes? How so?” (Table 24 in Appendix C). Important reasons for these changes included relationships with immediate and extended family members (*Family*). For instance, some participants experienced a change in the quality of their relationships with one of their parents, resulting in a change in identification with that parents' heritage.

When I was a child I identified with my Korean side more because I lived with my mother and grandparents and was mostly in a Korean environment, surrounded by Korean and was usually speaking Korean. But as I got older, moved to New Jersey and went to school where there were mostly White children, I started identifying myself more as White, even though everyone else identified me as Asian. I also began to have a bad relationship with my mother and spent more time with my father when I could. (P735)

Even more participants indicated that changes in their relationships with friends, peers, and community members contributed to changes in their racial identification (*Peers & Community*). In particular, racially-based friendship groups seemed to become common in adolescence, resulting in a heightened awareness of racial differences and lack of belonging. With increasing maturity, many participants were able to find a group in which they felt a sense of belonging.

I didn't see myself as different when I was younger. I understood that my parents were different than other parents, but I had a few other Hapa friends so it wasn't a big deal. When I hit junior high, I noticed it for the first time. In junior high it was all too common for people to stick to their own culture/racial groups (at that school you were either White, Korean, Armenia, or Other) during lunch time, and when a friend tried to explain it to me I asked her "and what the hell am I supposed to do?" (P645)

I think being out of the school environment, where cliques are amplified, has softened the feeling of being displaced. I am free to have a variety of types of friendships and not always enclosed in dense environments that are very obviously all White or all Asian. I've also developed more mature friendships that [have helped me] resolve conflict in a healthy way... I found a home in a pretty mixed environment at church. I went from knowing very few Hapas...to a church that has a lot of intermarrying and

mixing. I think somehow it's taken the issue off the table, because it's normal. We are just ourselves—us. (P131)

Life experiences that contributed to racial identity changes included informal and formal education (*Education & Learning*) and facing *Racism or Discrimination* and “*What are you?*” *Experiences*. These experiences seemed to raise participants' awareness about race and prompt exploration of their racial identities.

I would say that I've tended to pass for whatever social group I associated in the past. When I reached college and took English 134MR Multiracial Literature, I really embraced my unique multiethnic background rather than trying to pass for the predominant ethnicity of the group that I was interacting with. (P692)

As I started getting older I realized that people saw me as a "non-White" person, and would often try to classify me as a variety of racial identities. This realization that I was being classified in such a manner made me think more about my own identity and become more involved and aware of them myself. (P139)

Experiences with living in or visiting other countries were also occasionally mentioned as reasons for racial identity change (*Living Abroad/Travel*). For instance, physically moving between cities with differing ethnic compositions resulted in changes in identification:

I grew up in Hawaii where everyone is of mixed-race and there aren't really any minorities, so I didn't really think much of it. But when I went to the mainland for college, I suddenly was pegged as a "minority" student for the first time in my life... [This] was odd at first, but I came to appreciate my background and be even more proud of it. (P59)

Physical Appearance also seemed to affect racial identity development. For some participants, looking "more Asian" or "more White" resulted in stronger identification with either that heritage or stronger identification with the opposite heritage:

As I have gotten older, I have started to acknowledge that I look more Korean than I do Irish. Because of this, I have started to identify with being Korean more so than being Irish. (P843)

Because my physical appearance does not resemble my minority race, I've had to try harder to become a part of my minority. (P301)

Other participants noted that others people's reactions to their physical appearance influenced racial identity development:

I identified more with my Japanese side as my peers, mostly being white, saw me as being Asian. (P207)

Overall, qualitative data supported the theory that biracial identity is fluid over time. Changes in identification between childhood and young adulthood were fostered by a range of factors, the most important of which seemed to involve peer relationships. Most of the identity changes described seemed to be positive. That is, participants spoke about increased awareness, understanding, and acceptance of their heritages, as well as a greater sense of belonging.

Advantages of Biracial Status

In response to Biracial Identity Question 3 (part 1), “What do you see as being some of the positive aspects of having a mixed racial/cultural heritage?”, participants could identify many benefits of being biracial (Table 25 in Appendix C). A wide range of *Practical Advantages* were highlighted, including being more physically attractive and having the opportunity to learn multiple languages. A large proportion of responses discussed the advantage of having richer, more interesting *Opportunities and Experiences*, including exposure to different cultures, traditions, and values:

It's really cool to understand and be part of two cultures. There are different life perspectives and ways of living associated with both and it's awesome to get to claim not just one culture, but two to be mine. I feel like I get two different kinds of cakes instead of just one big cake of the same flavour... My parents share both their cultures with not only my brother and I, but also with each other. Both cook each other's food, and know and speak fondly of the little quirks each race has. I've really enjoyed and felt privileged to get to call myself a member of two amazing groups. (P125)

Some responses suggested an advantage in terms of racial-ethnic *Identity Benefits*. That is, participants indicated that having a biracial background was something that made them

unique or special and allowed for greater identity fluidity and belongingness in multiple groups. For example, many participants appreciated the fact that they could find a sense of belonging in multiple groups, resulting in greater identity freedom and a broader social circle:

The positives of having a mixed race heritage is that I feel that I can be more like a chameleon, being able to fit in almost anywhere since I am not locked into one ethnic heritage (P222).

I feel like being of mixed race allows me to move with ease between different social circles. I feel like I can socialize in groups of people that are all Asian or all white with ease. I am able to relate to everyone. (P372)

Other responses indicated that being biracial resulted in better *Relationship Skills*.

Specifically, they indicated that their biracial status allowed them to develop better empathy/perspective taking skills and foster friendships with people from many heritages.

Moreover, almost half of responses related to biracial individuals being *Cultural Ambassadors*. Many responses identified that being open-minded and accepting of different cultures was beneficial. Some responses also related to the idea that biracial individuals challenge racial intolerance, by virtue of having parents with different racial-ethnic backgrounds.

[My parents] taught me to be proud of who I was as a mixed heritage person. They told me that I was the product of progress in America. They taught me that not so long before they got married, their type of union was looked down upon, and me being born shows the progress that prejudice and racism is taking in America. Both parents did a good job teaching me about cultural diversity and I believe it has made me a very understanding person! (P383)

Although only a very small number of participants (3.64%) indicated there are *No Advantages* of being biracial, this finding was still important, given how negative these responses were. These participants spoke about the disadvantages of being biracial, including alienation and lack of clear racial identity.

If there are any positives, I haven't experienced them... I can't imagine anyone ever would if they were constantly being ostracized by the racial groups with which they [are forced to] identify (P109).

In a follow-up question (Biracial Identity Question 3 part 2), participants were asked, “How did your parents contribute to any positive attitudes you have about your mixed racial/cultural heritage?” (Table 26 in Appendix C). The most common responses involved racial-ethnic socialization. About a third of participants indicated that their parents engendered positive attitudes towards being biracial by teaching them about their cultural customs, traditions, values, foods, religions, and languages (*Cultural Socialization*). Other responses related to learning about racism and racial/cultural acceptance (*Racial Socialization*), but were less common than cultural socialization responses. Approximately a third of responses suggested that parents’ positive messages about being biracial contributed to positive attitudes in adulthood (*Positive Messages*). These positive messages included parents explicitly telling their children they were proud and accepting of their biracial backgrounds, emphasizing that it was normal or “not a big deal” to be biracial, and pointing out specific positive attributes that their children had as a result of being biracial (e.g., being physically attractive). Some noted the importance of their parents giving them the freedom to choose how they identified, racially and ethnically (*Identity Freedom*).

Both my parents challenged their cultures in their early adulthood and as a result ended up with each other. My mother doesn't really associate with her heritage and my father always tried to hide his heritage because the 1970s in Canada, racism was a damaging aspect of life. Because of their history, they encouraged us to explore our heritages and showed us that there was so much to love from both spheres. We had the freedom to choose bits and pieces of the cultures that eventually became part of us. (P29)

Surprisingly, a small minority of participants did not believe that their parents instilled in them positive attitudes towards being biracial (*No Contributions*). In fact, some parents

actually promoted *negative* attitudes towards being biracial, rather than positive ones

(*Negative Contributions*).

I was not allowed to talk about my minority background and spoke only English at home. We did not have ethnic foods or go to events. The only real contact I had was with my mom's friends, who were all Japanese. Their homes were full of Japanese things and smells but mine wasn't. My mom tried to explain things to me, but my father's family hates non-whites and didn't want me "growing up gook." (P378)

Overall, participants were able to identify many benefits for being biracial. In fact, the average participant chose to list more than one advantage in his/her response. Parents seemed to play an important role in fostering positive attitudes towards participants' racial heritages by providing racial-ethnic socialization, modelling positive attitudes, and being open to having their children follow their own paths for racial identity exploration.

Racial-Ethnic Socialization

Cultural socialization. Two parallel questions were posed regarding cultural socialization to the participants' Asian and White heritage backgrounds (Cultural Socialization Questions 1 and 2): "While you were growing up, how did your biological parents teach you about your [minority/White] parent's cultural background? Was one of your biological parents more responsible for this than the other parent? Please explain." (Tables 27 and 28 in Appendix C). For both socialization to one's Asian heritage and White heritage, the following themes were identified: 1) *Cultural Experiences*, 2) *Lessons/Teaching*, and 3) *No Socialization*.

Cultural experiences accounted for a higher proportion of responses to the Asian cultural socialization question, compared to the White cultural socialization question. The most common cultural experiences included becoming involved in cultural traditions and events (*Traditions & Events*), learning how to cook traditional foods (*Food*), and interacting

with one's extended family or cultural community (*Extended Family & Community*). Other cultural experiences that helped participants learn about their Asian and White cultures included becoming involved in culturally-based arts activities (*Art*), becoming involved in religious holidays and events (*Religion*), travelling to one's parents' country-of-origin or living abroad (*Travel or Living Abroad*), and being exposed to culturally-based entertainment and media (*Entertainment & Media*).

[My mother] enrolled us in a Japanese American cultural summer school throughout all of elementary school, took us to the local Jodo Shinshu (Buddhist temple) every week and volunteered at the National Japanese American Historical Society. We attended large cultural events such as the Cherry Blossom festival in San Francisco and she would come to our classes to teach the other students things like origami or basic Japanese writing. We went to my grandma's house every year for Japanese New Year and saw our mother's family fairly often. (P331)

One additional code that was observed for Asian cultural socialization but not for White cultural socialization was *Sports and Recreation*, which involved playing on sports or recreation teams with exclusively Asian team members.

Furthermore, the same codes were identified for both Asian and White cultural socialization under the theme *Lessons/Teaching*. These included learning the language of their parents' country-of-origin (*Language*), having explicit discussions with their parents about their cultures (*Discussions about Culture*), attending an extracurricular cultural school (*Cultural School*), and hearing stories about their family/cultural history or reading culturally-based storybooks (*Stories*). The *Lessons/Teaching* theme was more common for Asian cultural socialization, compared to White cultural socialization.

Some participants in the current study indicated a struggle to understand the meaning of "White cultural socialization", as they had never experienced it.

I kind of grew up not relating myself to any specific background, I still don't...[M]y dad is White, but from English descent generations upon generations back...so we didn't really have a "White cultural background" to go with. So I'm not sure if by

"White cultural background" this survey means that—like German, Swiss traditions... or the standard American things: Disney World, McDonalds, baseball, etc. If it means the standard American things, then that's the way I grew up and I honestly don't know anything else. (P104)

Participants identified several sources of cultural socialization, both within and outside the immediate family. The most common source of Asian cultural socialization was the *Asian Parent*, followed by *Both Parents*, *Extended Family Members*, and the *White Parent*. A few participants indicated that they learned about their Asian cultures on their own. By contrast, the most common source of White cultural socialization was the White parent, followed by extended family members, both parents, and the Asian parent. It was surprisingly common for participants to report that they learned more about their cultures from their extended family members, rather than their parents:

Growing up, my White side of the family would tell us stories about our relatives and heritage and stories about past generations. My mother was not really responsible for this, but more her parents were. I don't think teaching cultural background was very important to either of my parents. (P594)

Moreover, although relatively uncommon, it was interesting that some parents "crossed over" and taught their children about their co-parents' culture. This was often the case when the co-parent was not available, when parents were divorced, or when the co-parent was not very connected with his/her heritage.

My mom (who is White) probably taught me more about my Japanese cultural background than my dad did when I was really little, mostly because she was a stay-at-home mom for the first 5 or so years of my life, and she led classes at home for young children to learn Japanese songs, rhymes and games... Growing up after that, they both talked about my Japanese ancestors, and encouraged me to take Japanese language lessons starting in 7th grade... As a family, we all celebrated New Year's Eve and Day with traditional Japanese food, but it was probably still my mom who knew more about my Japanese ancestry than my dad, which is funny! My mom knows more Japanese language than my dad too. He's 4th generation Japanese-American, so he didn't grow up speaking it at all. (P59)

Some participants learned about their White cultures on their own or in school. In addition, almost a quarter of participants reported that they learned about their White backgrounds passively or by default, as a result of living in North America or “typical White neighbourhoods”.

We live in America. Just living here in this society creates more of the American culture, which I consider to be the white culture, in me. Even my mother, the [parent with the] non-white heritage, is very Americanized. I view her as not having her full heritage. (P413)

Several participants reported that their parents did not incorporate cultural socialization into their upbringing (*No Socialization*). More responses indicated a general lack of socialization to participants’ White heritages versus Asian heritages. This seemed to result in frustration, the potential for family conflict, and racial identity confusion:

[My parents] did not [teach me about my minority parent’s background]. My mother told me for the majority of my childhood that I was white because my father was white. This did not make much sense to me at the time since we went to a Korean church and had a lot of family friends who also had Korean mothers and white fathers. My mother did not express understanding in my being biracial until it became more important to me at the onset of adolescence. (P797)

I strongly believe that my parents did not know how to raise me as a mixed-race child, nor did they appreciate the complexities and nuances that came along with such children.... [B]ecause of the novelty of the situation for both, and because of the lack of education on mixed-race child rearing, they simply did what they thought was best, which was to emphasize my Whiteness... I felt ostracized by those who were non-Koreans. It was a very perplexing experience, as my parents identified me as White (e.g., on school test sheets) and yet I was continually mocked by White children for my Korean features, e.g., the shape of my eyes especially. (P157)

A wide range of strategies were used to teach participants about their heritages.

Although similar forms of cultural socialization were generally found for both the Asian and White heritages, responses to the Asian cultural socialization question tended to be richer and more detailed. By contrast, White cultural socialization responses were more vague, and some participants commented on struggling to understand what White cultural socialization

even is. Both parents and extended family members seemed to be important sources of cultural socialization. However, some participants were not taught about their heritages. White cultural socialization responses differed from Asian cultural socialization responses, in that they often described learning by default, as a result of living in North America.

Preparation for bias/racial socialization. Questions regarding preparation for bias were also posed. First, participants were asked, “While you were growing up, how did your biological parents teach you about racial/ethnic/cultural diversity, racism, and discrimination? Was one of your biological parents more responsible for this than the other parent? Please explain.” (Racial Socialization Question 1; see Table 29 in Appendix C). Responses were coded into three broad themes: *Lessons/Teaching*, *Messages about Coping*, and *Lack of Racial Socialization*.

Experiences with lessons and teaching involved learning about diversity, racism, and discrimination through stories of family members’ experiences (*Stories*), explicit discussions about racism/discrimination (*Discussions about Racism*), and discussions promoting openness towards, acceptance of, and pride in diversity (*Promoting Positive Attitudes*).

My mom especially talked about when her family lived in Washington D.C. and how scary it was to live there especially as an Asian minority in a sea of Blacks and Hispanics at the time. She always stressed that she was proud of having so many Black and Hispanic friends in life and encouraged me to have diverse friends. My dad was always very vocal about his pride in having a diverse group of friends and in having biracial children.(P125)

My father and his siblings grew up in an internment camp in the interior of BC. Growing up with that knowledge I knew at a young age that I could potentially be discriminated against because I'm Japanese. My mother also reminded us that as small children tourists would stop and take pictures of my brother and I because they had never seen mixed babies. (P292)

A small proportion of responses also indicated that parents’ warnings about racism/discrimination (*Warning*), exposure to books and media (*Books & Media*), and anti-

racist educational experiences (*Educational Experiences*) contributed to learning about diversity, racism, and discrimination.

A surprisingly small proportion of participants received messages about how to cope with racism/discrimination. Of those whose parents did talk to them about coping with racism/discrimination, suggested strategies included ignoring or avoiding it (*Ignore/Avoid*), dismissing the perpetrators of the racism/discrimination as being flawed (*Dismiss*), confronting or protecting oneself or one's family members (*Confront/Protect*), and attempting to "blend in" (*Blend In*).

My dad said to fight if anybody makes any snarky remarks about him and me. My mom said to ignore it. But mainly I taught myself to stand up against racism and discrimination because I just get tired of hearing it. (P56)

Participants whose parents did talk to them about coping with racism were not necessarily better equipped to deal with these encounters.

My mother sometimes said that I should not reveal to people that I am Indonesian because it would make them think worse of me. (P619)

The most popular source of racial socialization was "both parents", followed by the Asian parent and the White parent. This is in contrast to cultural socialization, in which parents were more likely to divide responsibilities along racial-ethnic lines. Some participants indicated they learned about racism/discrimination on their own, in school, or from extended family members, rather than from their parents.

Almost half of the participants indicated that racial socialization was not part of their upbringing. Some who indicated a lack of racial socialization explained that there was no need for it, as they had never experienced racism, discrimination, or prejudice. Many of these participants' parents seemed to believe that their Asian-White biracial children were less likely to encounter racism and discrimination because they were part-White.

[My parents] didn't really talk about [racism]. I think they thought I looked White enough so I probably wouldn't have any problems, which was not the case. (P428)

My Scottish dad wasn't really aware of discrimination at all. He didn't even believe it happened. My Chinese mom thought we would be fine because we were born in Canada and spoke English well. (P449)

While most participants did not seem dissatisfied with their lack of preparation for bias during childhood and adolescence, some participants indicated that there were negative consequences:

Growing up, diversity, racism and discrimination were almost never discussed in my home, as if the problem didn't exist. As I look back now, I don't know why [my parents] never talked to me about it. Especially since I suffered so much from it growing up. Addressing it when I was younger may have prepared me for what I was going to have to go through, and it would have let me know that somebody understood. (P405)

Moreover, some participants who did not experience preparation for bias indicated that their parents actually modelled racist attitudes, rather than promoting acceptance of diversity.

My parents were the bad examples for teaching me about racism. My mother and father would both downplay other minorities like Mexicans, Blacks, other Asians. They would even mention stereotypes about the other's background when they were not around. (P272)

Given the degree to which participants spoke about their struggles with racism, discrimination, and race-based bullying in response to earlier qualitative questions, it is surprising that only about half reported experiencing preparation for bias. While some did not experience negative consequences as a result of lack of racial socialization, others reflected on how lack of racial socialization may have negatively impacted their racial identity development process. On the other hand, those whose parents did engage in racial socialization seemed to benefit from racial self-pride and cross-cultural acceptance.

Internalized Oppression

In response to Internalized Oppression Question 1a, “Sometimes mixed heritage people have the experience of disliking one or both of their heritage groups and backgrounds. Did you ever dislike your minority (e.g., Asian) background? Please explain.”, about 60% of participants stated that they never disliked their Asian sides (*Did Not Dislike Asian Side*) (see Table 30 in Appendix C). However, just over 40% indicated that they did dislike their Asian backgrounds, either in the past or currently (*Disliked Asian Side*). Generally, these responses seemed to be consistent with internalized oppression theory, in that participants coped with feeling marginalized by identifying with the dominant culture, even if that meant rejecting an important part of themselves:

As a child growing up in a primarily White neighbourhood, I felt that I was the odd one out. Since I was half-White, I tried to "pass" as being White in the hopes that I could be better integrated into my school's culture. This, regretfully, made me shun my Asian heritage and try to act as though it was a burden, or something grotesque that I should hide and avoid talking about. Only during my senior year of high school did I finally come to terms with my identity. (P174)

For the most part, qualitative data suggested that a gradual shedding of internalized oppression and a gradual adoption of racial pride are part of the natural maturation process for biracial individuals. However, some described current negative beliefs and attitudes about their Asian group:

I strongly dislike Asian people, especially women, in general. However, in all Asian countries it's better or preferred to have lighter/Whiter skin and look more Western. I feel because I am half European and I have European skin and hair that I am targeted by jealous Asian women. They think of these half-breeds as like them, but better. I don't like to be around Asian women because I feel they are rude to me in many ways, especially Southeast Asians with darker skin. They want to claim that we are the same but we are not because I look completely different, I do not share their culture at all... and I am mixed, not full Asian, which changes everything. (P657)

Reasons participants reported disliking one's Asian heritage, either in the past or present, varied. Many participants indicated that they did not like their Asian heritage

because of a belief that it led to a lack of belonging (*Desire to Belong*) and bullying or discrimination (*Bullying/Teasing/Discrimination*).

I often feel that things would be so much easier if I were White... because of the way that people treat me because of my background. It gets me down a lot... I honestly feel that no one understands me. Even the few other Half-Japanese, Half-White people I have met don't seem to be as passionate as I do about these matters. Many seem indifferent to their biracial identity. They embrace the stereotypical manga-reading, nerdy "azn" culture without question. It baffles me that they are so incredibly complacent with such a shallow (and sometimes false) depiction of their identity and their background. I often feel as if I am stuck between two worlds, and never fit in anywhere. In the United States, I am seen as being Japanese or Asian... In Japan, I am seen as being an American. No matter where I go, I am an outsider. (P278)

Less common responses related to specific aspects about their Asian backgrounds that they did not like included their Asian appearance (*Appearance*), negative stereotypes about Asians (*Stereotypes about Asians*), Asian values and cultural practices (*Disagreement with Values & Practices*), and the history of their Asian heritage countries (e.g., experiencing shame for their Japanese heritage related to Pearl Harbour; *Shame about History*). A small number of participants did not like their Asian background due to its association with problematic family relationships or friendships (*Relationship Problems*). Additionally, a few participants reported that they disliked their Asian heritages due to a lack of fit with their racial-ethnic identification (*Invalidated Identity*).

Participants were also asked the follow-up question, "Did you ever wish that you were only White? Please explain." (Internalized Oppression Scale 1b). Two-thirds (64%) of participants indicated that they never wished they were White (see Table 31 in Appendix C). However, the remainder of participants indicated that they had wished they were White at some point in their lives. Reasons given for wishing they were White varied, and included perceptions that being White would help them belong (*Desire to Belong*) and be more physically attractive (*Appearance*). In addition, participants recalled thinking that being

White would help them avoid bullying or discrimination (*Avoidance of Bullying/Teasing/Prejudice*) and would result in an easier life (e.g., career success and avoidance of daily hassles related to being biracial; *Easier Life*).

Yes [I sometimes wish I was White]. If only for the fact that I look mostly White and it would be so much easier than having to always explain to everyone that the Asian woman next to me is, in fact, my mother. Or just to relieve myself the burden of feeling the need to explain myself in any situation having to do with my Asian side. (P17)

Only a few participants reported thinking that being White would improve their family relationships (*Better Family Relationships*). Similar to the previous question, a few participants stated that they wanted to be White because then their appearance would be more congruent with their racial identity (*Validate Identity*).

Interestingly, even though questions were not specifically asked about disliking their White side, a few participants spontaneously volunteered this information. In fact, about 6% of participants stated that they actually wished they were fully Asian, rather than wishing they were fully White. This is likely an underestimate, as participants were not directly asked about disliking their White side. These participants tended to believe that White people are ignorant and felt ashamed that White people historically oppressed minorities in North America:

On the contrary, I often wish I were only Filipino. There is nothing to be proud of for being White. Unless you're some sick pervert who gets a kick out of glorifying centuries of genocide. (P109)

Participants were also asked to reflect on the impact of family on internalized oppression: "If you did experience a dislike of one or both backgrounds, how do you think your family members influenced these attitudes? Please explain." (Internalized Oppression Question 2a). Of those who reported disliking one or both backgrounds, about a quarter of participants indicated their families did not significantly influence these attitudes (*Did Not*

Influence) (see Table 32 in Appendix C). For participants who did report a significant impact of family on internalized oppression, codes were categorized into three themes: *Family Members' Beliefs, Values, and Identification*; *Racial-Ethnic Socialization*; and *Family Problems*.

The *Family Members' Beliefs, Values, and Identification* theme was most common. This theme involved family members' struggles with their own racial identity issues (*Family Members' Identity Issues*), and hearing family members from one heritage say discriminatory things about the other heritage (e.g., White parent speaking negatively about Asian people) (*Family Members' Racism & Discrimination*). Personal experiences with racial rejection by family members played an important role in propelling participants towards valuing their “White-ness” and denigrating their “Asian-ness”:

My mom sometimes calls Asian people uncivilized, dark-skinned. Overall, Japanese is not included in these stereotypes. She is very fond of Japanese people and their culture—citing them as very intelligent and sophisticated. But overall, she feels that Asian countries take the backseat to America in terms of being "civilized". I have adopted her views, also. I prefer Western/American culture to all others. (P657)

Disagreement with or embarrassment about family members' values and practices also impacted internalized oppression for some participants (e.g., disagreement with strict parenting; *Disagreement with Cultural Values and Practices*).

Responses coded under the *Racial-Ethnic Socialization* theme suggested that not being taught about their cultural backgrounds, diversity, racism, or discrimination resulted in racial self-hatred (*Lack of Socialization*). Other codes suggested that parents who pushed their children too hard to identify with one of their heritages contributed to internalized oppression (*Pushing Identification*).

[My family members] pretty much only discussed my White background. It was probably an implicit message not to rock the boat and [to] be very White. (P33)

Family problems also contributed to internalized oppression. An important aspect of this theme involved being rejected by one's extended family, often due to their negative views on interracial marriage (*Extended Family Rejection*).

My dad's [Asian] siblings could be very hurtful to me and my brother. They would sometimes ridicule us and our White family for things that we'd do that they found funny, stereotypically White, or beneath them in general...When I was younger and didn't know any better and all I wanted was to be accepted by my own family, I would feel angry towards my mom for not being less clumsy, less "White".(P888)

For a small number of individuals, conflict in the immediate family (*Family Conflict*) and conflict between parents (*Parental Conflict or Divorce*) were also noted as contributing to internalized oppression. Interestingly, some responses suggested that the relationship between family problems and internalized oppression may be reciprocal. That is, family problems may result in internalized oppression and internalized oppression may, in turn, cause family problems.

Finally, those who indicated a history of internalized oppression were asked: "If you did experience a dislike of one or both backgrounds, how do you think these attitudes influence the quality of your relationships with your family members?" (Internalized Oppression Question 2b). About a third of responses to this question indicated that internalized oppression did not influence family relationship quality (*No Influence*) (see Table 33 in Appendix C). Many of these participants identified alternative, more impactful influences, such as peer relationships and school.

Another third of responses suggested racial self-hatred did negatively impact family relationships (*Relationship Worsened*). Relationships with parents were most strongly negatively impacted, although some also noted the impact on siblings, extended family members, and family in general. For example, one participant stated:

I hate to say it, but I've sometimes felt embarrassed of my Japanese mom when I'm in the US in public. I've felt upset when she can't effectively communicate with waiters in restaurants, cashiers at the store, etc... Whereas most of her Japanese friends want to blend into American culture as much as they can, my mom is very insistent on letting the world know that she is Japanese... This bothers me sometimes, and has definitely put a strain on our relationship, especially during my adolescence, when I was still trying to find my identity and was not yet comfortable with who I was. (P278)

Surprisingly, a few participants reported that internalized oppression had a positive impact on family relationships (*Relationship Improved*). Some participants explained that they became closer to the parent of the background they disliked (e.g., dislike of their Asian background brought them closer to their Asian parent), while others stated that they became closer to their other parent (e.g., dislike of their Asian background brought them closer to their White parent). A few participants also reported becoming closer to their siblings or to their family members in general.

Overall, results suggested that internalized oppression was closely linked to participants' racial identity development process. That is, internalized oppression seemed to be rooted in a growing awareness of difference and a desire to belong. Consistent with the responses to the question about racial identity fluidity over time, many participants could relate to having experienced internalized oppression during childhood and adolescence, but had moved towards racial pride by young adulthood. Furthermore, being exposed to family members' racist attitudes seemed to be particularly hurtful and damaging.

DISCUSSION

The current study represents one of the first large-scale mixed-methods investigations of the complex interplay between racial identity, family relationships, racial-ethnic socialization, and positive and negative psychological adjustment in biracial young adults. In this chapter, qualitative and quantitative results are interpreted in an integrated manner. As such, results are discussed and organized according to common themes in the qualitative and quantitative findings overall, rather than according to research questions and hypotheses. These themes include the psychological implications of biracial identity, biracial identity theory, internalized oppression, and family influences.

The Psychological Implications of Racial Identity

The present study examined the extent to which biracial identity scores predicted positive and negative psychological adjustment among Asian-White biracial individuals (Research Question 1). It was hypothesized that integrated and singular minority identity would predict better adjustment (i.e., higher levels of positive adjustment and lower levels of negative adjustment), whereas marginal identity and singular majority identity would predict poorer adjustment (i.e., lower levels of positive adjustment and higher levels of positive adjustment) (Hypotheses 1a & 1b). The results partially supported these hypotheses in the current study. Consistent with the hypotheses, high integrated identity orientation predicted positive affect, while marginalized identity orientation predicted psychological distress. Singular majority and marginal identity also predicted internalized oppression⁴. In the supplementary analyses, clusters were formed based on biracial identity orientation patterns (i.e., Asian Dominant, White Dominant, and Integrated Asian-White Dominant), and

⁴ Although internalized oppression was considered a negative psychological adjustment variable in the current study, the interpretation of findings for internalized oppression are discussed in detail in another section of this chapter.

between-group differences on psychological adjustment were examined. Individuals in the group characterized by an integration of both heritages equally (i.e., Integrated Asian-White Dominant) reported lower distress levels than individuals in the groups characterized by identifying with one heritage more than the other (i.e., Asian Dominant and White Dominant). These findings partially supported the prediction that identifying with one's majority heritage would be associated with poorer adjustment. However, the prediction that identifying with one's minority heritage would be associated with better adjustment was not supported.

Overall, the results of both the planned and supplementary analyses are consistent with research suggesting that integrated biracial identity is associated with better psychological adjustment, as compared to marginal identity (Binning et al., 2009; Choi-Misailidis, 2004; Coleman & Carter, 2007; Lusk et al., 2010; Suzuki-Crumly & Hyers, 2004). However, previous studies have shown mixed results with regard to the psychological implications of identifying with one group. The current study's findings are consistent with research suggesting that identification with one group is associated with poorer psychological adjustment among multiracial individuals (Choi-Misailidis, 2004; Lusk et al., 2010). However, the results do not support previous studies which have found that singular minority identity is associated with better psychological adjustment (Binning et al., 2009; Suzuki-Crumly & Hyers, 2004).

There are several possible explanations for these findings. One possibility is that factors leading to identifying primarily with either one's Asian or White side could also lead to the development of negative adjustment. For instance, it is plausible that family tension and conflict, both within the immediate and extended family, could lead a biracial person to both

1) identify more strongly with one heritage than the other and 2) experience negative psychological adjustment. Consistent with this explanation, the current study revealed that better relationships with Asian parents were reported by Integrated Asian-White Dominant individuals, compared to those in the White Dominant group. Likewise, better relationships with White parents were reported by Integrated Asian-White Dominant individuals, compared to those in the Asian Dominant Group. Participants in the Integrated Asian-White Dominant group also had better overall family relationship quality than those in the other two groups. Additional factors which may have influenced both racial identification and psychological adjustment include neighbourhood composition and experiences with prejudice, racism, and discrimination. For example, if a young woman grows up in a primarily White neighbourhood in which she is frequently discriminated against, she may eventually reject her Asian side and develop psychological adjustment problems, such as having a low self-esteem.

Secondly, biracial individuals who identify with both heritages may have better psychological adjustment because they tend to be more resilient than those with a singular racial identity. According to Resilience Theory (Masten, 2001), resilience occurs when individuals achieve positive outcomes in the face of “serious threats to adaptation or development” (p. 228). As a result of developing resilience, individuals are better equipped to cope with adversity in the future. Some participants identified resilience as an advantage of being biracial:

I love being multi-cultural. This to me means that I have two sets of families that have so many wonderful and different cultures, traditions and beliefs that I am able to participate in. While some of these differences have caused a lot of confusion and difficulties, it has also provided me opportunities to overcome adversity and become comfortable and confident with who I am. (P654)

According to the literature, a variety of interacting variables may lead to the development of resilience, including personality characteristics, competence/intelligence, “turning point” life events, and effective parenting (Masten, 2001). In the current study, those in the Integrated Asian-White Dominant group did report higher scores on cultural socialization, an important aspect of effective parenting (see Family Influences section below for a more detailed discussion of cultural socialization). Being socialized to multiple cultures may provide a wider range of values, lessons, and sources of social support to draw on when faced with life stressors (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). More cultural socialization also results in greater exposure to a wider range of cultural practices and traditions, resulting in a better sense of community and belongingness. In the current study, participants who primarily identified with both heritages may have developed resilience earlier in life, thus buffering the effects of life stressors in young adulthood. By contrast, those primarily identifying with one heritage may have been more likely to respond to adversity by hiding or rejecting part of themselves, resulting in lower resilience and greater vulnerability to psychological problems in the future.

Finally, better psychological adjustment among those who primarily identify with both heritages, as compared to those who identify primarily with one heritage, may be related to perceptions of being multiracial. Cheng and Lee (2009) found that greater perceived “racial distance” (i.e., beliefs that racial heritages are separate) and “racial conflict” (i.e., feeling tension between racial heritages) were associated with less multiracial pride. Sanchez and colleagues (2009) investigated a similar construct called “unstable multiracial regard”, which is characterized by ambivalent attitudes towards their multiracial status (i.e., feeling positive about being multiracial at one point in time and negative about being multiracial at another

point in time). They found that identity instability mediated the relationship between “malleable racial identification” (i.e., fluid racial identity across situations) and psychological adjustment. Those participants with highly malleable racial identification had poorer psychological adjustment, but only when identity instability was high. So far, no studies have directly tested the relationship between integrated racial identity, racial distance, racial conflict, and unstable multiracial regard. However, it is conceivable that participants in the Integrated Asian-White Dominant group were more likely than those in the Asian Dominant and White Dominant groups to see their component identities as compatible and feel less ambivalent about being biracial. Thus, they may have been more likely to report overall well-being. Future research should explore the interactions between these variables.

Interestingly, the current study’s findings suggest that the marginalized identity scale based on the version of the M-HAPAS used in the current investigation may not reflect an identity orientation. The Integrated Asian-White Dominant, Asian Dominant, and White Dominant clusters were characterized by high scores on the integrated, singular-minority, and singular-majority identity scales, respectively, whereas no fourth cluster was found that was characterized by high scores on the marginal identity scale. Inspection of the items used to measure “marginalized identity” in the M-HAPAS seem to focus on a combination of perceived external oppression (e.g., “I feel that I am not accepted because of my mixed race background”) and internalized oppression (e.g., “I would like to “pass” for a member of my White heritage group”). Thus, “marginal identity” as measured in this study may be better conceptualized as a contextual or psychological outcome variable, rather than an identity orientation variable. Alternatively, these results may suggest that the current sample did not include many individuals who were high on marginal identity. It is possible that those high

on marginal identity would be less likely to participate in a study of biracial identity when they do not feel connected to either heritage. The absence of a cluster characterized primarily by identity marginalization may also reflect the relatively low prevalence of marginal identity in the Asian-White population in North America. Future research is needed to examine marginal identity among Asian-White biracial individuals.

Contrary to the current study's original hypotheses, none of the identity orientations and clusters predicted self-esteem. Although this seems counterintuitive, this finding is consistent with several studies which did not find a significant relationship between self-esteem and racial/ethnic identity among multiracial individuals (Binning et al., 2009; Hall, 1992; Jones, 2000; Phinney & Allipuria, 1996; Sparrold, 2003). These results may be explained by the concept of identity salience (Oyserman, Kimmelmeier, Fryberg, Brosh, & Hart-Johnson, 2003; Stryker, 1968; Stryker & Serpe, 1994). Indeed, according to Stryker's theory of identity, more salient roles or identities⁵ are more likely to be related to general self-esteem (Stryker, 1968; Stryker & Serpe, 1994). Research studies have explored racial salience in diverse populations. For example, in their study of African American high school and college students, Rowley and colleagues (1998) found that "racial centrality" (i.e., one's tendency to define one's identity based on race) was not directly related to personal self-esteem, but was instead a significant moderator between "private racial regard" (i.e., one's positive or negative attitudes towards one's race) and personal self-esteem. In other words, attitudes towards one's race were only associated with personal self-esteem when race was highly salient to one's self-concept. In the current study, it may have been the case that racial identity was closely connected to self-esteem among participants with high racial identity

⁵ Stryker and Serpe (1994) defined a salient identity as the degree to which one is "ready to act out identity" in a given situation or set of situations.

salience. By contrast, for participants who had lower racial identity salience, their racial identity would probably not relate to self-esteem. Even though identity salience was not measured in the current study, some participants' qualitative responses did hint at the issue of racial identity salience:

Honestly, I don't want to sound like a revolutionary or anything but I am very much my own individual self. Neither my White mother's culture nor my Chinese father's culture has had a significant effect on my life. (P48)

In future research, it would be interesting to test the hypothesis that racial identity salience moderates the relationship between racial identity and self-esteem in a biracial sample. Moreover, future studies could explore the factors that influence racial identity salience among biracial individuals, such as generation, family characteristics, personality, and school and neighbourhood racial composition.

Biracial Identity Theory

Another purpose of the current study was to enhance our understanding of racial identity and the racial identity development process (Supplementary Research Questions 4 and 5). Historically, studies investigating biracial identity have attempted to categorize individuals based on identity orientation, without considering identity fluidity (Hitlin et al., 2006; Thornton & Wason, 1995). The findings of the current study suggest that conventional, monoracial identity models do not accurately reflect the biracial identity experience and provide evidence in favour of ecological approaches to biracial identity theory (Rockquemore et al., 2009). Specifically, the current study provides supporting evidence for the Multiracial Heritage Awareness and Personal Affiliation (MHAPA) theory, which attempts to account for both racial identity fluidity and dominance among multiracial young adults.

Identity Fluidity

According to the Multiracial Heritage Awareness and Personal Affiliation (M-HAPA) model (Choi-Misailidis, 2004), as well as other related biracial identity models (Rockquemore, 1999; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Root, 1990 & 1997), biracial identity is fluid. Studies have demonstrated that racial self-labels tend to change over time and change from situation to situation (Harris & Sim, 2002; Hitlin et al., 2006; Sanchez et al., 2009; Terry & Winston, 2010). In the current study, qualitative results highlighted the fluid nature of biracial identity. First, the majority of participants described a change in racial identification from childhood to adulthood (Supplementary Research Question 4). Qualitative themes also reflected a general trend of moving from identity confusion, rejection, and shame towards identity security, integration, and pride. Thus, these results are consistent with “variant stage models” of biracial identity, which contend that biracial individuals move through a series of predictable stages of identification, characterized by marginalization and internalized oppression in earlier stages and integration and self-acceptance in later stages (Jacobs, 1992; Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995; Kich, 1992; Poston, 1990; Thornton & Wason, 1995). Second, when asked to identify a racial self-label, many participants listed more than one answer. This is consistent with a study by Miville et al., who suggested that multiracial individuals may privately identify with a multiracial label and publicly identify with a monoracial label in order to connect with members of that group, to cope with racism, or to establish a sense of community. Thus, multiple racial self-labels may be indicative of situationally based identity fluidity. Future research should directly examine specific situations that might trigger shifts in racial identification among biracial individuals.

Interestingly, qualitative results showed mixed reactions to racial identity fluidity. Whereas some participants appreciated the sense of freedom and belonging that resulted from identifying with more than one racial group, other participants felt alienated as a result of floating from group to group. These findings mirror previous research, which have shown mixed results in terms of the psychological outcome of racial identity fluidity (Coleman & Carter, 2007; Hitlin et al., 2006; Lusk et al., 2010; Sanchez et al., 2009). It may be the case that identity fluidity is either a blessing or a curse for biracial individuals, depending on their life experiences. Moderating variables such as friendship, neighbourhood, or school characteristics should be explored in future research.

Dominant Identity Orientation

In addition to incorporating identity fluidity, the M-HAPA theory (Choi-Misailidis, 2004) proposes that biracial individuals tend to have a dominant identity orientation that has more influence over them *across* situations. The results of the current study supported this contention. When participants were grouped according to patterns of scoring on biracial identity orientation scales, three main groups emerged, labelled the Integrated Asian-White Dominant, Asian Dominant, and White Dominant groups. Those in the *Integrated Asian-White Dominant* group tended to identify more strongly with both of their parents' heritages in a blended, integrated way, as opposed to identifying with either the Asian side or the White side. Their low scores on the marginal identity scale suggested an overall sense of belonging. Those in the *Asian Dominant* group were more likely to identify with their Asian parent's heritage than those in the other two groups. Their higher marginal identity scores suggested that they tended to feel marginalized. By contrast, those in the *White Dominant*

group seemed more likely to identify with their White parent's heritage than those in the other two groups. Those in the White Dominant group also tended to feel marginalized.

Results revealed that those in the White Dominant and Asian Dominant groups scored higher on the marginalized identity scale than those in the Integrated Asian-White Dominant group. This is consistent with other studies which found a positive relationship between singular racial identity and alienation among multiracial individuals (Binning et al., 2009). An individual who is surrounded by family, peers, neighbourhoods, and institutions that have a more negative attitude towards mixed race individuals and diversity may be more likely to internalize these attitudes (i.e., internalized oppression). This is in line with Root's (1998) framework of multiracial identity; she stressed the impact of factors such as regional history of race relations and home, school, and work environments on racial identity development.

Although those in the Integrated Asian-White Dominant group had significantly higher integrated identity scores than those in the Asian Dominant and White Dominant groups, those in the latter two groups still had relatively high scores on the integrated identity scale. In fact, the majority of participants chose a racial self-label which represented a blend of multiple heritages. This suggests that a certain degree of identity integration exists amongst most Asian-White biracial young adults in North America. In addition, this finding highlights the possibility that racial identification may be better conceptualized on a continuum, with Asian identification on one end, White identification on the other end, and integration in the middle. This is consistent with Rockquemore and Lazloff's (2005) proposed Continuum of Biracial Identity (COBI) model for Black-White biracial individuals. They suggest that Black-White biracial individuals can locate themselves anywhere on a continuum from "exclusively black identity" to "exclusively White identity", with "blended identity with

Black emphasis”, “blended biracial identity”, and “blended identity with White emphasis” in between. If the COBI model were to be applied to the current study, most of the participants in the Asian Dominant and White Dominant groups would be located on the “blended identity with Asian emphasis” and “blended identity with White emphasis” points on the continuum, respectively. Those in the Integrated Asian-White Dominant group would likely be located on the “blended biracial identity” area of the continuum. It is likely the case that only a small number of participants would fall at either extreme end of the continuum. More research is needed to empirically test this hypothesis.

Internalized Oppression in Asian-White Biracial Young Adults

One of the current study’s key contributions to the literature is the examination of internalized oppression among Asian-White biracial individuals. Very little research currently exists on internalized oppression in general, let alone in relation to the biracial population (Pyke, 2010). This variable can be defined as people’s dislike, shame, or hatred of their racial-ethnic background, particularly among those who are members of marginalized or oppressed groups (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2005; Watts-Jones, 2002). Internalized oppression theory posits that individuals begin to believe and accept the “negative messages about their own abilities and intrinsic worth” by virtue of living in a society that promotes racist attitudes (C.P. Jones, 2000, p. 1213). In the current study, participants’ rejection of their minority (i.e., Asian) background was examined, as minority groups tend to be oppressed/marginalized in North America.

The current study examined the relationship between internalized oppression and racial identification among Asian-White biracial individuals (Research Question 1). This study’s findings suggest that marginal and singular-White identity are positively associated with

internalized oppression, which partially supports Hypothesis 1b. However, the prediction that integrated and singular minority identity would be negatively associated with internalized oppression was not supported. Nevertheless, results of supplementary quantitative analyses show that those in the White Dominant identity group reported significantly higher scores on internalized oppression than those in the Asian Dominant and Integrated Asian-White Dominant groups. This makes logical sense, as one would expect a person with internalized oppression to identify more with the ethnicity/race they value (the dominant White heritage) and to identify less with the ethnicity/race they devalue (the minority Asian heritage). These results parallel findings from studies of the African American population, in which stages of racial identity development involving low race salience and a strong identification with being American (i.e. *pre-encounter stage*) were associated with higher levels of internalized oppression (Bailey et al, 2011; Cokley, 2002).

Supplementary Research Question 6 focused on the process through which Asian-White biracial individuals' internalized oppression develops. In this study, a significant number of participants (38%) described some degree of internalized oppression at some point in their lives. Consistent with previous studies conducted with monoracial samples (e.g., David, 2008; David & Okazaki, 2006a, 2006b), key characteristics of internalized oppression reported by the participants of this study included prejudicial beliefs about one's Asian group, a disagreement with one's Asian cultural values, shame about one's Asian background and history, and a dislike of one's Asian physical appearance. Moreover, most of these participants recalled that they experienced some shame or dislike of their Asian heritage when they were younger, as part of the racial identity development process. Many participants reflected that internalized oppression emerged from a lack of sense of belonging,

which seemed to be painful and marginalizing, particularly during their childhood and adolescent years.

By adulthood, many participants reported that they had moved from experiencing shame about their heritages towards pride. These findings support developmental stage models of racial identity development, which describe internalized oppression as one step on the road to self-acceptance (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1995; Kich, 1992; Root, 1990). Previous biracial identity theories suggesting that biracial individuals are extremely marginalized and at increased risk for serious mental health problems (e.g., Park, 1928). Contrary to these propositions, the current study lends support to the notion that biracial individuals are generally well-adjusted, can overcome adversity, and often successfully resolve racial identity conflicts by young adulthood, at least among Asian-White biracials.

Nevertheless, some participants indicated that racial self-hatred is something they continue to struggle with in young adulthood. This seemed to be the exception, rather than the rule. However, given the potential negative impact of internalized oppression on psychological well-being, this observation has important implications for our understanding of mental health issues in the biracial young adult population (Jones, 1992; Pillay, 2005; Taylor, 1990; Taylor et al., 1991; Tull et al., 1999). The current study provided further evidence for the negative impact of internalized oppression. That is, scores on the Internalized Oppression Scale for Biracial Individuals (IOSBI) were found to be negatively correlated with self-esteem.

The relationship between family relationship quality and internalized oppression was also investigated in the current study (Research Question 2). It was hypothesized that family relationship quality would negatively predict internalized oppression (Hypothesis 2a).

However, this hypothesis was not supported in the current study. In addition, Supplementary Research Question 6 was related to the connection between family relationships and internalized oppression. In response to Internalized Oppression Question 2a (“Sometimes mixed heritage people have the experience of disliking one or both of their heritage groups and backgrounds. Did you ever dislike your minority (e.g., Asian) background? [Yes, No] Please explain.”), only a few participants spontaneously spoke about relationship problems as contributing to internalized oppression. To the author’s knowledge, no studies have investigated the relationship between family relationship quality and internalized oppression specifically. However, these findings are inconsistent with previous research suggesting that poorer family relationship quality is associated with negative psychological adjustment in general (J.E. Jones, 2000; Nelson et al., 1993). The current study’s findings suggest that family relationships may not be the only, or even the most important, factor determining internalized oppression.

The literature has demonstrated a link between internalized racism and experiences of racism (Hipolito-Delgado, 2010), and these seemed to be more closely related than internalized racism and family relationship problems in the current study. Qualitative findings in the current study suggested that sociocultural context (e.g., friends, neighbourhood, and schools) and experiences with racism and discrimination have a significant impact on internalized oppression. These findings are consistent with Pyke’s (2010) concept of “intraethnic otherness”, in which denigrating and differentiating oneself from one’s ethnic group represents a perhaps unconscious attempt to establish positive identity in the context of a White dominant society.

Despite the fact that quantitative results did not show a significant relationship between family relationship quality and internalized oppression, some of the qualitative questions corresponding to Supplementary Research Question 6 did suggest that these two variables are related. Participants were directly asked about the relationship between family and internalized oppression in Internalized Oppression Question 2a: “If you did experience a dislike of one or both backgrounds: How do you think your family members influenced these attitudes? Please explain.” Almost 38% of participants who did report internalized oppression at some point in their lives indicated that their family members’ beliefs, values, and identities impacted their own identification. Just over 17% reported that family conflict, parent divorce, and rejection by family contributed to internalized oppression. Additionally, some indicated that their family members did not directly reject them, *per se*, but generally held racist attitudes and beliefs. This reveals how racism and internalized oppression can be transmitted intergenerationally (Parmer et al., 2004). Furthermore, 36% of responses to Internalized Oppression Question 2b (“If you did experience a dislike of one or both backgrounds: How do you think these attitudes influence the quality of your relationships with your family members?”) indicated that internalized oppression sometimes led to family relationship problems. Therefore the current study provides evidence that the relationship between family relationship quality and internalized oppression may be reciprocal.

A small number of participants actually described a dislike of their White side (2% and 6% in two separate qualitative questions), even though they were not directly asked about this phenomenon⁶. These findings challenge some of the basic assumptions of internalized oppression theory. Researchers have premised that internalized oppression occurs when

⁶ As participants were not directly asked about disliking their White side, these numbers might be underestimated.

individuals from groups oppressed by the larger society (e.g., minorities in North America) internalize prejudiced beliefs against their own (minority) groups (Pyke, 2010). However, some of the current study's participants reported prejudiced beliefs about their own White (majority) group, despite the fact that this group is not oppressed in the larger society. It may be the case that social context at the macro level (i.e., North American society) is not as impactful as social context at a micro level (i.e., neighbourhoods and communities). For example, an Asian-White individual who grew up in a neighbourhood comprised of primarily Asian families may internalize messages of resentment towards White people. This biracial individual may perceive White people to be ignorant and/or racist.

It must be emphasized that many (62%) participants denied experiencing internalized oppression. In fact, a few participants were shocked and/or offended that they were asked questions about disliking their Asian side. Almost all of the participants responding to the open-ended qualitative questions (94%) could identify a wide range of positive aspects of being biracial (Supplementary Research Question 5). These findings suggest that, on the whole, participants were proud of their heritages. This is in line with other studies demonstrating biracial individuals' recognition of the advantages of their biracial status and self-pride (Coleman, 2001; Grove, 1991; Harrison, 1997; Stephan, 1992). The fact that participants in the current study recognized the benefits of being biracial is encouraging and significant, given that many psychological adjustment studies involving biracial samples focus exclusively on negative adjustment (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). This study points towards the need for researchers to study biracial populations by focusing on both maladjustment and strengths/psychological growth. Given the general trend towards acceptance of diversity and

the increased popularity of interracial marriages, racial-ethnic pride among biracial individuals may develop earlier and become more widespread in future generations.

Family Influences

Family influences are particularly important to explore among biracial individuals. Interracial families have challenges and experiences that are different from those of monoracial families. As such, family relationship quality and two aspects of racial-ethnic socialization, cultural socialization (i.e., learning about one's heritage customs, traditions, values) and preparation for bias/racial socialization (i.e., learning about racism, prejudice, and discrimination), were examined in the current study (Research Questions 2 & 3; Supplementary Research Questions 4,6, & 7).

Family Relationships and Psychological Adjustment

In the current study, it was hypothesized that better family relationship quality would negatively predict negative adjustment and positively predict positive adjustment (Hypotheses 2a & 2b). In support of these hypotheses, family relationship quality was found to be a significant predictor of psychological distress, self-esteem, and positive affect, in the expected directions. This is consistent with the previous research, which has shown that family relationship quality indicators and psychological adjustment are closely connected (e.g., Harrison, 1997; J.E. Jones, 2000; Okun, 1996; Street, Harris-Britt, & Walker-Barnes, 2009). The current study's findings, as well as previous research on family relationships and psychological adjustment, can be explained through Attachment Theory. According to Attachment Theory, relationships established early in life (i.e., with one's parents) serve as "internal working models" that shape one's self-concept and thoughts, feelings, and

behaviours related to relationships in adulthood (Pietromonaco & Barrett, 2000). Positive relationships, in turn, contribute to good psychological adjustment.

Family relationship quality may also serve as a buffer against the negative impact of encountering adversities such as bullying, teasing, racism, and social exclusion. Although many biracial individuals reported negative experiences with peers and in school, only a subset of them seemed to internalize these forms of oppression. Positive family relationships may have made biracial individuals more resilient to these negative experiences. For example, those who grew up in more supportive family environments with closer relationships with both of their parents may have felt more confident to defend themselves or to ignore peers' derogatory comments and behaviours. Research has shown that good family relationships can indeed serve as a buffer against the effects of peer problems (Bowes, Maughan, Caspi, Moffitt, & Arseneault, 2010). By contrast, problems in family relationships have been shown to leave biracial youths more vulnerable to the impact of negative peer experiences (Van Hoof, Raaijmakers, Van Beek, Hale, & Aleva, 2008).

Family Relationships and Biracial Identity

The findings of the current study also suggested that relationship quality between biracial individuals and their family members is closely linked to racial identification. Supplementary quantitative analyses revealed that biracial identity cluster groups (i.e., Integrated Asian-White Dominant, Asian Dominant, White Dominant) differed in their reporting of family and parent relationship quality. Those in the Integrated Asian-White Dominant group reported better family relationship quality than those in the Asian Dominant and White Dominant groups. In addition, those in the Integrated Asian-White Dominant group reported better relationships with their Asian parents than those in the White Dominant

group. The Integrated Asian-White Dominant group also reported better relationships with their White parents than those in the Asian Dominant group. These results are consistent with studies suggesting a connection between better family relationships and racial identity security (Harrison, 1997; J.E. Jones, 2000; Jourdan, 2006; Miller & Miller, 1990; Okun, 1996; Root, 1998). Moreover, research has suggested that greater parent involvement may influence racial identification among biracial children (Bratter & Heard, 2009). In addition, the acculturation literature suggests that there is a negative relationship between parent-child acculturation gaps and family relationship quality among Asian Canadian immigrant families (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Tardif & Geva, 2006). Similarly, the current study suggests that biracial children whose racial identification is more similar to one or both of their parents may have better relationships with those parents.

The current study did not directly investigate the direction of the link between the parent-child relationship and biracial identification. However, given the principle of circular causality in the family literature (Dell, 1986), it is conceivable that the relationship between these variables is reciprocal or bidirectional. First, it may be the case that the parent-child relationship affects racial identification for biracial individuals. For example, biracial individuals may be more motivated to learn about the culture of a parent with whom they have a good relationship.

In addition, parents who are close to their children may be more likely to talk to their children about their own cultures (McHale et al., 2006). By contrast, a more distant parent-child relationship may involve fewer discussions about the parent's culture, resulting in less identification with that heritage. Distant parent-child relationships may also be characterized by racial identity invalidation (i.e., discounting the child's identification). Invalidated racial

identity has been shown to be linked to poorer identity security among biracial individuals (Coleman & Carter, 2007; Crawford & Alaggia, 2008; Jourdan, 2006; Lou et al., 2011). This invalidating parent-child interaction is somewhat unique to interracial families, and has the potential to profoundly impact the racial identification of biracial individuals.

Second, the biracial child's racial identification may also impact the quality of the parent-child relationship. For example, a biracial child who does not identify with his/her Asian heritage may be indifferent to or actively reject his/her Asian heritage, resulting in a more strained relationship with this parent. By contrast, a biracial child who shows an interest in his/her Asian heritage may ask his/her Asian parent about this heritage more often, resulting in increased connectedness. Research has suggested that biracial individuals may be concerned about implicitly rejecting a parent by rejecting his/her culture (Gillem et al., 2001). It stands to reason that some biracial children may intentionally show interest in their heritages in order to strengthen their relationship with their parents.

Cultural Socialization and Biracial Identity

Another purpose of the current study was to investigate the relationship between cultural socialization and psychological adjustment among Asian-White biracial young adults (Research Question 3). As expected, minority cultural socialization was associated with higher scores on the integrated and singular minority identity subscales and with lower scores on the singular majority subscale (Hypothesis 3a). A parallel finding was shown for majority cultural socialization- it was associated with higher scores on the integrated and singular majority identity subscales and with lower scores on the singular minority subscale (Hypothesis 3b). This suggests that cultural socialization does indeed influence biracial individuals' identification with their cultural heritages. After participants were grouped into

identity orientation clusters in supplementary quantitative analyses, the results showed that the Integrated Asian-White Dominant group had more experiences with socialization to their White cultural heritages than the Asian Dominant group. Moreover, participants in the Integrated Asian-White Dominant and White Dominant groups reported similar levels of majority cultural socialization. These findings are consistent with previous research investigating monoracial samples (Hughes et al., 2009; Lesane-Brown, 2006; McHale et al., 2006; Umana-Taylor & Fine, 2004), which have also found a significant relationship between cultural socialization and racial identification. However, surprisingly, no other between-cluster differences were found on minority cultural socialization. That is, participants in the Integrated Asian-White Dominant, Asian Dominant, and White Dominant groups reported similar levels of minority cultural socialization. It may be the case that, despite similar levels of minority cultural socialization, for some reason socialization among those in the Asian Dominant and Integrated Asian-White Dominant groups was more effective. For example, studies have shown that factors such as parental warmth can moderate cultural socialization and racial identity (McHale et al., 2006). Parents of those in the Asian Dominant and Integrated Asian-White Dominant groups may use more influential socialization strategies than those in the White Dominant Group. For example, parents who are more connected to the Asian culture may be more likely to involve their child in Asian social groups early in life. This may impact the degree to which the child has Asian friends during adolescence. Qualitative results in the current study suggested that peers play a significant role in racial identity development.

Supplementary Research Question 7 further explored the specific strategies and parenting roles involved in cultural socialization. Responses to Cultural Socialization

Questions 1 and 2 (While you were growing up, how did your biological parents teach you about your minority/White parent's cultural background? Was one of your biological parents more responsible for this than the other parent? Please explain.") revealed that parental flexibility and openness led to the development of racial identity security and racial-ethnic pride. Specifically, some participants found their parents' encouragement for them to explore and choose how they identified to be helpful. Previous research has suggested that feeling forced to choose a racial identity is associated with higher levels of depression in biracial individuals (Sanchez, 2010). In addition, previous research has demonstrated the positive impact of a flexible parenting style on identity development and family relationship quality, as well as the negative impact of controlling parenting styles on children's identity development (Luyckx, Soenens, Vansteenkiske, Goossens, & Berzonsky, 2007; Smits, Soenens, Luyckx, Duriez, Berzonsky, & Goossens, 2008). Studies have also suggested that communication about the freedom to select one's identity is an important aspect of good parenting in multiracial families (Jourdan, 2006; Kich, 1992). By contrast, parents who place demands on how their children should identify may cause more problems for their children when it comes to their racial identity development. Research has shown that biracial youths who perceive that their parents are pressuring them to identify as monoracial tend to have racial identity and adjustment problems (Coleman & Carter, 2007; Nolfo, 2009; Shih & Sanchez, 2005).

The hypotheses that family relationship quality would moderate racial-ethnic socialization and biracial identity were not supported in the current study (Hypotheses 3a, 3b, & 3c). These results suggest that family relationship quality may not be as critical a factor in determining the effectiveness of racial-ethnic socialization among Asian-White young adults

as was hypothesized. There may be other more important moderating variables affecting the relationship between cultural socialization and racial identification that were not accounted for in the current study. For instance, individual differences in the need for group belongingness may be an important moderator between cultural socialization and racial identification. This could be examined in future research.

Minority and Majority Cultural Socialization

According to the qualitative results, parents used a wide variety of strategies to educate their biracial children about their heritages (Supplementary Research Question 7). They were essentially parallel for both minority and majority cultural socialization, and included efforts to expose children to cultural experiences, such as traditional events and foods, and teaching children language and culture through lessons, discussions, and stories. These parenting practices seemed to have a positive impact on their children, as many participants spoke fondly of their cultural experiences and believed that they made their childhoods richer and more interesting. Not surprisingly, in this study Asian parents tended to be responsible for minority cultural socialization, while White parents tended to be responsible for majority cultural socialization. At the same time, some participants indicated that parents jointly provided minority and/or majority cultural socialization.

Quantitative analyses showed that minority cultural socialization was predictive of better psychological adjustment. Minority cultural socialization was found to be associated with less internalized oppression and more positive affect. The positive impact of minority cultural socialization is likely linked to the racial self-pride that it instills, thus protecting participants from the potential negative impact of race-related stressors. These findings are consistent with multiracial studies suggesting that cultural socialization is linked to better

self-esteem, greater self-efficacy, and lower internalized oppression (Jourdan, 2004; Nolfo, 2009; Root, 1990). By contrast, majority cultural socialization was not predictive of psychological adjustment in the current sample. It is possible that biracial individuals are less likely to experience racism and discrimination related to their White heritage in North America. Thus, majority cultural socialization and pride in one's White heritage may have little impact on one's overall well-being.

Participant responses to qualitative questions suggested that majority cultural socialization is not experienced as often as minority cultural socialization. Additionally, some participants struggled to understand the meaning of majority cultural socialization. Previous studies have not compared majority and minority cultural socialization among biracial individuals. However, this finding mirrors research by Lesane-Brown and colleagues (2010), who found higher levels of cultural socialization among American Indian, Asian, Hispanic, Black, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and multiracial children, compared to White children. Additionally, research has suggested that racial-ethnic identity seems to be less salient or important for White youths, compared to minority youths (Phinney & Allipuria, 1996). Participants' confusion about how to respond to the questions about majority cultural socialization may reflect the overwhelming options with regard to cultural orientation that biracial individuals can be confronted with, particularly in North America. For example, a biracial individual with Vietnamese and English parents living in Canada can identify with his/her Vietnamese heritage, English heritage, the Canadian culture, or any combination of the above. This becomes even more complicated if either parent has more than one European or Asian heritage, or if the White parent identifies more with the White North American culture, rather than their European roots (e.g., a "typical Canadian" parent

who has ancestors who have lived in Canada for many generations). This poses a challenge for biracial individuals, as well as researchers hoping to examine cultural socialization in biracial populations. The distinction between the cultural socialization to different component heritages should be carefully considered in future research.

In the current study, there seemed to be two types of responses to questions about majority cultural socialization: 1) those referring to learning about their European heritage cultures and 2) those referring to learning about the Canadian or American culture. Interestingly, socialization to participants' European heritages seemed to be more similar to socialization to participants' Asian heritages, compared to socialization to the Canadian/American culture. For instance, both minority (Asian) cultural socialization and European cultural socialization seemed to be a planned and intentional aspect of parenting, involving active forms of socialization, such as cooking ethnic meals and attending ethnic events. By contrast, many participants indicated that they learned about their Canadian/American heritage unintentionally, passively, or "by default", by virtue of growing up in North America. It is likely that participants who spoke about European cultural socialization have White parents who were more connected to their own cultural roots (e.g., first or second generation immigrants from European countries). By contrast, participants who spoke about Canadian/American cultural socialization may have had parents who were more disconnected from their European roots. Recently immigrated parents from both Asian and non-Asian countries may be more motivated to teach their children about their cultures in an effort to "push back" against societal pressures from the dominant host culture to assimilate. Studies have demonstrated that parents with more secure racial identities or higher racial identity centrality are more likely to engage in racial-ethnic socialization

(Hughes, 2003; Hughes et al., 2006; O'Donoghue, 2005). In addition, studies have shown that newly immigrated parents are more likely to engage in cultural socialization than parents who have been living in North America longer, and that parents from later generations are less likely to engage in cultural socialization than parents from earlier generations (Hughes et al., 2006). This highlights the importance of examining the interaction between parent racial identity/acculturation and cultural socialization, in order to fully understand the dynamics of intergenerational cultural transmission.

Other Sources of Cultural Socialization

The influence of extended family members was an important theme that emerged from the qualitative data (Supplementary Research Question 7). In fact, some participants indicated that extended family members had a bigger impact on racial identity than their immediate family members. Studies have demonstrated the positive effects of good relationships with extended family members on well-being and racial identity (Harrison, 1997; Kana'aipuni & Liebler, 2005; Root, 1990; Stephan, 1992). Grandparents have been shown to play an important role in cultural transmission, particularly among ethnic minority families (Wiscott & Kopera-Frye, 2000). Other authors have pointed out the negative impact of extended family rejection and disconnection (Crawford & Alaggia, 2008; Hershel, 1995; J.E. Jones, 2000; Kelch-Oliver & Leslie, 2007; Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007; Stephan, 1992).

Although not tested quantitatively, qualitative data from the current study also pointed to the power of sociocultural context on racial identity development and cultural socialization. Peer relationships, school, and community were the most commonly described reasons for biracial identity change between childhood and young adulthood in the current study. Consistent with these results, the literature has demonstrated that peers, community,

school experiences, and encounters with racism and prejudice can have a profound impact on biracial identity, particularly during the adolescent years and onwards (Collins, 2000; Herman, 2004; Phinney et al., 2001; Renn, 2000; Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2002a; Rockquemore et al., 2009; Shih & Sanchez, 2005). In the current study, these findings appear to support an ecological model of biracial identity, which considers sociocultural influences to be key components of racial identity development (Rockquemore, 1998, 1999; Root, 1990, 1997). The relative impact of family influences versus other sociocultural influences on biracial identity development was not formally tested in the current study, and should be explored in the future.

Preparation for Bias/Racial Socialization⁷

Another purpose of the current study was to explore preparation for bias (Research Questions 2 & 3, Supplementary Research Question 7). Compared to cultural socialization, preparation for bias was less frequently reported by participants in response to Racial Socialization Question 1 (“While you were growing up, how did your biological parents teach you about racial/ethnic/cultural diversity, racism, and discrimination? Was one of your biological parents more responsible for this than the other parent? Please explain.”). Approximately 28% of participants indicated that preparation for bias was not a significant component of their upbringing. An additional 21% indicated that there was no need for racial socialization because they were able to “pass” as White or had never encountered racism. Only about 8% of participants spontaneously reported that they learned strategies for coping with racial bias⁸. At the same time, encounters with racism, discrimination, and others questioning their race were frequently mentioned by participants. It is possible that parents

⁷ Note: The terms “racial socialization” and “preparation for bias” are used interchangeably in this study.

⁸ It should be noted that participants were not specifically asked about learning strategies for coping with racial bias.

of biracial individuals underestimate the importance of incorporating preparation for bias into their parenting because of their own racial identity issues. White parents in the current study may have been incapable of teaching their children about racial bias because they may not have acknowledged its existence in the first place. White racial identity models revolve around the dissonance, conflict, and guilt that White individuals experience when they realize they hold racist beliefs and benefit from White privilege (Sue & Sue, 2003). Earlier stages involve a lack of awareness about racial bias. Additionally, Asian parents who have not resolved their own issues related to racism or are struggling with their own internalized oppression may be reticent to engage their children in preparation for bias. Studies have shown that Scottham and Smalls (2009) found that African American parents who are less connected with their cultural roots and are lower on racial identity salience tend to be less likely to engage in racial socialization (Lalonde, Jones, & Stroink, 2008; Scottham & Smalls, 2009).

Previous research investigating preparation for bias in the multiracial population has focused on biracial Black-White samples (Coleman, 2001; Crawford & Alaggia, 2008; Harrison, 1997). Preparation for bias seems to be more common in these studies, compared to the current study. Thus, the current study's results hint that parenting practices in Asian-White families may be different from parenting practices in other families. Research on monoracial samples suggests that preparation for bias practices tend to be more common in African American families, compared to families of other ethnicities, including Asian groups (Biafora et al., 1993; Hughes, 2003; Hughes et al., 2009; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Hughes and colleagues (2009) proposed that racial-ethnic socialization may be a more common practice among African American parents because they may be more likely to perceive or be

targeted as victims of racism and discrimination. Moreover, they suggest that African American parents may be more comfortable with discussing racial bias with their children than Asian parents, due to differing cultural values related to coping with adversity. For instance, traditional Asian values, such as emotion suppression and maintaining harmony, as well as the belief that one can overcome oppression through hard work, may have contributed to Asian parents' reluctance to prepare their children for potential experiences of racial discrimination (Nagata, 1990). Interestingly, about 12% of participants in the present study spontaneously reported that they learned about racism and discrimination at school or through their own exploration, despite the fact that Racial Socialization Question 1 asked specifically about parents. It is possible that some participants' parents believed preparation for bias was the responsibility of the school system, as opposed to being a component of their parenting responsibilities.

Regardless of the high percentage of individuals reporting a lack of racial socialization, 51% of the participants did describe preparation for bias in response to Racial Socialization Question 1. The majority of individuals who reported preparation for bias indicated that both parents contributed to teaching them about racism and discrimination. In fact, it was more common for parents to be jointly involved in preparation for bias, as compared to minority and majority cultural socialization, for which each respective parent tended to take separate responsibility. Greater joint responsibility for preparation for bias may reflect high likelihood that both parents experienced racism and discrimination as a result of their interracial relationship (McFadden, 2001). Research on monoracial populations has shown that parents who have experiences of race-related stress are more likely to engage in preparation for bias practices with their children (Benner & Kim, 2009; Thomas, Speight, & Witherspoon, 2010).

This observation also explains why the next most common source of preparation for bias among the participants was the Asian parent, followed by the White parent.

Quantitative analyses explored the interrelationships among preparation for bias and biracial identity, family relationship quality, and psychological adjustment. Contrary to hypotheses, preparation for bias was not found to be a significant predictor of psychological adjustment (Hypotheses 2a & 2b). Moreover, no significant differences were found between identity clusters on preparation for bias in supplementary quantitative analyses. In addition, family relationship quality was not found to be a significant moderator for preparation for bias and biracial identity orientation (Hypothesis 3c). This is contrary to findings in the literature, which suggest that preparation for bias is positively associated with secure racial identity, positive family relationships, and readiness to cope with racism and discrimination (Coleman, 2001; Crawford & Alaggia, 2008; Harrison, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006; Jourdan, 2004). Nevertheless, qualitative results revealed that many participants described preparation for bias as being an important and positive aspect of their upbringing, as it resulted in psychological well-being and pride. Moreover, some participants identified that preparation for bias contributed to their ability to embrace diversity and confront racial bias on behalf of others.

Limitations of the Present Study

The current study contributes to the biracial identity literature by offering many new findings. However, several limitations of the study are identified here. A significant gap in the current biracial identity literature is that quantitative and mixed methods research on the topic is scarce. The current study attempted to fill this gap by incorporating both quantitative measures and open-ended qualitative questions. However, given the lack of quantitative

research in the area, this researcher needed to adapt several scales based on measures developed for monoracial groups, including the Family Ethnic Socialization Measure (FESM), Biracial Preparation for Bias Scale (BPBS), and the Internalized Oppression Scale for Biracial Individuals (IOSBI). Although internal consistencies were favourable and item-total correlations ranged from satisfactory to good, the validity of these measures has not been empirically tested with other biracial samples. Thus, the quantitative results concerning cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and internalized oppression need to be interpreted with caution. Moreover, in order to facilitate a more straightforward analysis and interpretation, a single score on the BPBS was used. This is despite the fact that an exploratory factor analysis yielded a two-factor solution. This may have resulted in reliability problems which ultimately may have distorted results involving the preparation for bias variable. For future studies, it might be helpful to treat *Warnings about Bias* and *Lessons about Coping* as two separate variables in statistical analyses.

Although the Multiracial Heritage and Personal Affiliation Scale (M-HAPAS) has been previously validated in one large-scale study (Choi-Misailidis, 2004), this scale was also modified for the current study. Namely, the wording of some questions was changed to include Canadian respondents. Also, two separate, parallel subscales were created that corresponded to singular minority and singular majority identity orientation. Moreover, the final items of the M-HAPAS used in the current study did not include items that were eliminated due to low factor loadings for the current sample. In short, the final biracial identity measure adapted for the current study is different from the original M-HAPAS. Although correlations with other key variables were significant in the expected directions (e.g., psychological adjustment, internalized oppression, family relationship quality),

construct validity was not formally evaluated in this investigation, as this was beyond the scope of the present study.

Furthermore, there were some problems related to sampling in the current study. This study's sample included more females than males. The sample was also overrepresented by individuals with at least some post-secondary education. Therefore, the results may not generalize to all of the Asian-White biracial young adult population in North America. In addition, the present study included participants from both Canada and the United States to increase the overall sample size. However, despite many similarities, these countries are demographically, culturally, and politically different, most notably in their approaches to multiculturalism (i.e., the Canadian "cultural mosaic" versus the American "melting pot" model). Given the important role that sociocultural context plays in shaping biracial identity, grouping Canadian and American participants together may have implications for the results of the current study⁹. Additionally, it should be noted that the sample of the current study was somewhat heterogeneous in terms of participants' Asian heritage. Participants with East Asian, Southeast Asian, and South Asian heritages were combined in the analyses. These groups may have different values, immigration histories, and experiences with racism and discrimination in North America. Although the results were likely not affected in any significant way due to the low percentage of participants with Southeast and South Asian backgrounds (7% in total), future research should examine biracial individuals with different Asian heritages separately.

⁹ No statistically significant differences were found on key variables based on gender (see *Preliminary Analyses* in the Quantitative Results section). The only statistically significant differences based on country of residence were singular minority identity and marginal identity. Those living in Canada had lower scores on both of these scales than those living in the United States.

Moreover, given that the two primary recruitment methods used in this study included internet recruitment via social networking websites and the snowballing technique (i.e., passing along recruitment e-mails to friends), the sampling methods were not random. As a result, the respondents were more likely to have similar demographic characteristics (e.g., socioeconomic status, education level, generation). The recruitment methods may have also resulted in response bias, as those who were motivated to participate in the questionnaire may have had stronger feelings, opinions, or academic/professional interests related to biracial identity. That is, the recruitment methods may have yielded more polarized responses than would be found in the general biracial population.

Although the use of the web-based survey yielded a large number of respondents, it also may have compromised the study's recruitment and sample. The web-based survey was also lengthy, which may have contributed to drop-out due to fatigue. Technical problems with the study website may have resulted in participants prematurely dropping out of the study or having to re-start the survey one or more times. Unfortunately, it was impossible to differentiate between those who had to restart the questionnaires from the beginning due to technical problems and those who decided to drop out of the study on the website's log. Thus, the response and attrition rates could not be accurately calculated for the present study. Respondents who started the survey more than once were identified by comparing key demographic variables in the study's electronic database. These respondents usually partially completed the survey the first time and fully completed the survey the second time. This may have been due to technical problems with the survey website or the respondent's computer. The initial, incomplete entry in the database was deleted in order to avoid duplicate

participants. However, these participants may have answered the questions slightly differently during their second round of responding, compared to their initial responses.

Finally, the researcher attempted to maximize coding reliability by using a second coder. However, in order to maximize statistical power for quantitative analyses, a large sample was used. The large sample size represented a major obstacle in qualitative data analysis. For instance, the sheer volume of qualitative data made it unfeasible for the second coder to review every qualitative response. Thus, the degree of coding reliability is uncertain. In addition, the large amount of data made it unfeasible for the researcher to conduct many rounds of recursive coding.

Clinical Implications

The results of the current study have several implications for clinical practice. First, the present study clearly demonstrated the degree to which racial identity, psychological adjustment, and experiences of belonging to family, peer, and social groups are closely intertwined. Thus, it is important for mental health professionals who work with biracial/multiracial clients to inquire about their racial heritages and their “relationships” with their heritages. Clinicians should be particularly vigilant for signs of internalized oppression. Some biracial clients with internalized oppression may experience internal conflict, pain, and marginalization, both from others and from themselves. For example, body image issues may be reflective of racial identity and family relationship problems among multiracial clients. It is important that therapists have a thorough understanding of multiracial clients’ racial identity as part of the assessment process. Interventions could involve normalizing internalized oppression in order to decrease shame, exploring the roots of racial self-hatred, and framing it as an internalization of the subtle forces of racial bias

inherent in the larger society. Exploring ways to “fight back” against the “internal oppressor” have the potential to empower the client and significantly enhance self-esteem. This draws on feminist therapy, which frames client problems in socio-political and cultural context (Finfgeld, 2001). At the same time, the current study suggests that biracial individuals are quite resilient, and can see many positive aspects of being biracial. Strength-based interventions focused on helping biracial clients become aware of these positives could also be helpful.

Second, consistent with the growing body of biracial identity literature, the current study suggested that identification with both of the biracial individual’s heritages is predictive of psychological well-being. Thus, it may be helpful in therapy to encourage biracial/multiracial clients to explore ways to connect to their cultural heritages. The current study demonstrated that cultural socialization starts in the family during childhood and adolescence for biracial individuals and forms the basis for their biracial identity. Moreover, family members’ well-being and family relationship quality were intertwined with the racial identities of every individual family member, and of the family as a whole. Systems-based therapy that pays particular attention to racial identity issues may be helpful, particularly in working with biracial child and youth clients. As extended family members were shown to be important sources of socialization for biracial individuals, involving these family members in the therapy process may be necessary. In working with multiracial adults, the therapist could help the client to embark on a journey of cultural “re-socialization” by encouraging them to learn about their heritages and perhaps discussing ways to pass along cultural traditions, customs, and values to their children.

Third, the current study's results also provide insights that can be applied to the education and parenting of biracial/multiracial children. This study revealed that identifying with both their Asian and White heritages was important for positive psychological and family adjustment among biracial individuals. The participants who reported positive adjustment in this study tended to describe their parents as acknowledging biracial identity flexibility and promoting identity freedom, rather than attempting to force identification onto their children. In addition, their parents tended to be proud of their own respective heritages and had positive attitudes towards their co-parents' heritage. In the most optimal cases, both parents were jointly involved in racial-ethnic socialization. Surprisingly, it was rare that parents “crossed over” and socialized their children to their co-parents’ heritage, despite the potential positive impact. For example, one parent's openness to another parent's culture models cross-cultural curiosity and acceptance for their children (i.e., cross-cultural competence), and could lead to better family relationships and cultural self-esteem as a result. Consistent with this idea, Soliz and colleagues (2009) found that family relationship satisfaction and shared family identity were higher when parents communicated to their children their recognition, appreciation, and affirmation of their own racial group, their co-parents’ racial group, and their children’s multiracial background. Encouraging parents to “cross-over” in their cultural socialization practices may be beneficial for interracial families.

The current study also highlights the potential negative impact of negative race-related experiences, such as racism, discrimination, and bullying. Many participants in this study alluded to such incidents, either currently or earlier in childhood, but only about half reported having explicit discussions with their parents about racial bias and diversity issues. Parents of biracial individuals could help develop resilience in their children by incorporating

preparation for bias into their parenting practices early and proactively. In addition, internalized oppression during childhood seemed to be, to some extent, a normal yet painful aspect of biracial identity development. As shame is a key component of internalized oppression, biracial children and adolescents are not likely to speak about it with their parents. Parents should consider opening the door to discussing these issues with their children because talking about internalized oppression and fostering self-pride are likely to prevent internalized oppression in adulthood.

Finally, compared to monoracial families, parents in interracial families do not share the same racial backgrounds as their children, meaning that there is more potential between the child and his/her parents for disparate experiences of the world. It is important that these parents are open to learning from their children about the biracial experience, and that they are flexible enough to tailor their parenting to their children's needs.

Recommendations for Future Research

Exploring biracial experiences is still a relatively new area of investigation in multicultural studies. Thus, there are many exciting avenues for future research. For instance, the current study was one of the first to explore racial-ethnic socialization and internalized oppression and their associations to biracial identity using quantitative methods. To date, the majority of research on multiracial identity has been based on anecdotal reports or qualitative research with smaller sample sizes. Future research should refine and/or validate the measures adapted in the current study, as well as develop and test new quantitative measures for use in multiracial research. Measures should ideally assess each heritage culture of the multiracial individual separately. Without doing so, important information about the complexity of racial identification would be lost. This was one of the limitations of the

original M-HAPAS (Choi-Misailidis, 2004), which assessed singular identity orientation by using more general wording (e.g., “I have tried to “pass” as a member of one of my parents’ races”). In the current study, this question was modified to refer to each heritage separately (e.g., “I have tried to “pass” as a member of my White heritage group” and “I have tried to “pass” as a member of my minority heritage group”), resulting in more accurate information about identification. Although it is very difficult to design measures that will apply to all biracial and multiracial populations, quantitative measures need to be flexible enough to accurately reflect the population being studied. Quantitative research is even more challenging with multiracial individuals who have biracial/multiracial parents and several heritages. Future studies need to explore creative solutions to this problem. For instance, rather than referring to specific heritage groups (e.g., “Asian” and “White”), measures could ask participants to identify each of their parents’ heritages and then rate questions based on each parents’ heritage (e.g., “mother’s heritage” and “father’s heritage”). Similar approaches have been used with empirically validated acculturation measures (e.g., the Vancouver Index of Acculturation; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000).

The current study also supported Choi-Misailidis’ (2004) contention that while biracial identity is fluid, biracial individuals do possess a more dominant identity orientation. Future research could examine how the phenomena of identity fluidity and dominance are experienced by biracial individuals. For example, research could involve comparing specific contexts, relationships, or domains on racial identification. Racial identity dominance could be determined by examining the degree to which racial identification is consistent across domains. Research examining general personal identity has demonstrated that identity status varies by domain, and quantitative measures of identity have been developed based on this

framework (Berzonsky, 1999). For example, the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (OM-EIS) asks respondents to rate identity status based on eight content domains, including occupation, religion, politics, philosophic lifestyle, dating, friendship, sex roles, and recreation and leisure (Adams, 1999; Grotevant & Adams, 1984). Similar measures could be designed to explore context-dependent racial identity among biracial individuals.

Additional research on the developmental trajectory of biracial identity is also warranted. The current study supported previous research suggesting that the general pathway of racial identity development among biracial individuals tends to move from awareness of “different-ness” to appreciation of uniqueness, and from shame to pride. However, this is a broad generalization that does not necessarily apply to all individuals. Rockquemore and Laszloffy (2005) proposed that there is an important distinction between “acceptance pathways” (i.e., being open about and not ashamed of one’s mixed race background) and “denial pathways” (i.e., internalized oppression, or discomfort or embarrassment about one’s mixed race background, resulting in hiding this information from others). Consistent with their proposal, a body of research in the general personal identity literature suggests that identity processes are critical to our understanding of identity development (Berzonsky, 1999). Berzonsky (1988 & 1990, as cited in Berzonsky, 1999) suggested that individuals undergoing the process of identity development may have one of three identity styles: informational (i.e., actively seeking out and evaluating self-relevant information), normative (i.e., complying with significant others’ perceived expectations), and diffuse/avoidant (i.e., procrastinating or avoiding constructing identity and instead behaving in reaction to situational demands). It would be interesting to examine the degree to which Berzonsky’s identity styles are relevant to biracial identity development, as well as the extent

to which they map onto biracial identity orientation (i.e., integrated, singular, and marginal), internalized oppression, the effectiveness of racial-ethnic socialization, and the quality of family relationships. Moreover, it would be important to understand how biracial children can be steered towards “acceptance pathways”, rather than “denial pathways.” Longitudinal and cross-sectional studies are also needed to better capture the biracial identity development process. Given that interracial marriages are increasingly common and accepted, it would also be important to examine whether there are cohort effects in the racial identity development process.

Qualitative data from the current study pointed towards the reciprocal nature of the relationship between racial identity and family variables, including family relationship quality and cultural socialization. Along similar lines, research has pointed towards the bidirectional nature of socialization. That is, studies have suggested that parents influence their children through their parenting practices, but children can also influence their parents’ parenting through their behaviours (Bell, 1979; Dunn, 1997; O’Connor, Heatherington, & Clingempeel, 1997). The current study also suggested that biracial identity may impact racial-ethnic socialization and the quality of family relationships, which can, in turn, influence one’s biracial identity. This is consistent with the central tenet of family systems theory known as *circular causality* (Dell, 1986). It was not possible to statistically test the direction of the relationships between family variables and racial identity in the current study, as correlational analyses were used. Future research should examine the direction of these relationships using more advanced statistical techniques, such as structural equation modeling.

In addition, it may be interesting to examine variables that moderate the bidirectional relationships between racial identity and family variables. In her review of the literature, Dunn (1997) concluded that there were several factors that influenced the strength of bidirectional effects between parenting and child behaviour. Specifically, she found that bidirectional effects depended on the relationship (e.g., the father-child versus mother-child relationship), parenting domains (e.g., discipline versus parent-child play), context (e.g., non-divorced versus step-families), and age of the child. It is possible that the degree to which biracial identity influences racial-ethnic socialization and family relationship quality, and vice versa, depends on similar moderating variables. In particular, the current study compared racial-ethnic socialization between Asian and White parents, rather than comparing mothers and fathers. However, studies have demonstrated that mothers tend to play a more significant role in cultural transmission than fathers (Edwards, Caballero, & Putussery, 2009). An examination of the interaction between parent race and parent gender on racial-ethnic socialization is also warranted.

It may also be interesting to examine other dimensions of family relationships in future research. The scale used to measure family relationship quality in the current study, the Family-of-Origin and Expressive Atmosphere Scale (Yelsma et al., 2000), is comprised of items related to emotional expression, freedom to express opinions, and assertive conflict resolution among family members. This may reflect a more Western perspective on healthy family relationships. By contrast, Asian cultural values focus on interdependence and maintaining family harmony. Although Asian-White interracial families may ascribe to a Western understanding of family relationships, Asian family values may also be important. Future studies should take this into consideration when selecting measures of family

relationship quality. Furthermore, future studies could examine the ways in which interracial couples negotiate different beliefs about what constitutes healthy family relationships.

Moreover, Shih and Sanchez (2005) identified the need to study moderators and mediators in the biracial identity and psychological adjustment literature. Previous studies have hinted at the importance of considering racial identity salience, belongingness, dialecticism, and physical appearance (Ahnallen et al., 2006; Rowley et al., 1998; Shih & Sanchez, 2009). Additional moderators that could be explored in future research include openness, flexibility, and world view (i.e., collectivism versus individualism). The latter variable would be particularly interesting to examine with Asian-White biracial individuals because Asian cultures promote more collectivistic values, and the Canadian and American cultures promote more individualistic values. Moderators of racial-ethnic socialization and racial identity could also be examined in future research. These may include personality traits, such as need for belongingness and openness to experience. It is possible that Asian Dominant individuals are motivated to belong to a distinct group and were exposed to their Asian cultures through socialization. By contrast, those in the Integrated Asian-White Dominant group may have personality traits which make them more open to racial identity fluidity and were socialized to both heritages. Those in the White Dominant group who identify with their White culture may have a high need for belonging and were socialized to their White culture, whereas those in the White Dominant group who identify with the Canadian/American culture may have a high need for belongingness but were not socialized to either of their cultures.

The influence of extra-familial relationships on the development of racial identity and internalized oppression also warrants further exploration. Although this was not a key focus

of the current study, the participants spontaneously reported the important role peers and school context played in shaping their connection to their heritages. Both strongly negative experiences (e.g., racism and bullying), as well as strongly positive experiences (e.g., finally belonging to a peer group after a period of feeling excluded), seemed to be especially powerful factors for biracial participants. Given the recent anti-bullying rhetoric, research on the implications of bullying experiences for racial identity and psychological adjustment would be timely. The relative importance of family versus peer influences at various points in the racial identity development process should be explored. Moreover, the interaction between family and peer influences could be examined. For instance, it may be the case that some biracial individuals receive different messages from family members and peers regarding how they should identify. This experience may lead them to more identity confusion, as compared to biracial individuals who receive more consistent messages.

Finally, very little research currently exists on internalized oppression among biracial individuals. However, the current study found that internalized oppression is very common and can be emotionally painful for biracial individuals. More research is needed to help us understand the differences between those who experience internalized oppression as a normal phase of healthy racial identity development and those who continue to be affected by internalized oppression in adulthood. Special attention should also be paid to related positive outcome variables, such as racial pride and resilience. Moreover, qualitative analyses in the current study revealed the new and interesting phenomenon of “White internalized racism”. This concept requires further exploration in future research. The observation of “White internalized racism” suggests that broad systems of oppression (i.e., devaluing non-White people in North America) may not necessarily be as important or as immediate as

community-level sources of internalized oppression (i.e., neighbourhood racial composition, attitudes towards ingroup and outgroup members in a community). The impact of neighbourhood and community characteristics on internalized oppression among biracial individuals should be assessed in future research.

Conclusion

The biracial population in North America is expected to grow at exponential rates in the future. Multicultural research needs to respond to these population changes by fostering an understanding of how the individual, the family, and society interact, and how these interactions help and hinder the well-being of biracial individuals and their families. For biracial individuals, the navigation of the racial identity development process can be highly complex and challenging. However, biracial individuals are also characterized by great resilience and strength. In overcoming these challenges, they have the opportunity to develop acceptance and empathy for others, and to enjoy enriched, meaningful lives. The pathway that biracial individuals take towards racial pride mirrors the recent changes in our society. It moves towards embracing diversity as a positive and essential aspect of life, as opposed to seeing it as an obstacle to overcome. In this way, biracial people really do represent our future.

The most positive thing about being multiracial is knowing that we are the future of the world. More and more people are marrying outside their race and having multiracial children. It is helping to blur racial lines, hopefully making others aware of their own feelings on race and ethnicity. (P900)

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APPENDIX A

Screener and Demographic Questions

Screener Questions

1. Are you biracial (i.e., are your biological parents of different races)?

Yes

No

2. Is one of your biological parents White?

Yes

No

3. Is your other biological parent Asian (e.g., Chinese, Vietnamese, Japanese, etc.)?

Yes

No

4. Are you between the ages of 18 and 30?

Yes

No

5. Do you currently live in Canada or the United States?

Yes

No

6. How did you find out about this study?

University of Windsor Participant Pool

Through a club or cultural organization

Facebook or another website

A friend told me or e-mailed me about the study

A researcher directly contacted me

Other

If other, please specify: _____

Demographic and Personal Information Questionnaire

1. How old are you?: _____
2. What is your gender? (please circle): male female other gender
3. Which Canadian province/territory or US state do you currently live in?

4. Please indicate your employment status:

___ Employed (full-time)

___ Employed (part-time)

___ Student

___ Unemployed
5. What is your current occupation? _____
6. What is your estimated annual income?

___ less than \$10 000 ___ \$60 000-69 999
___ \$10 000-19 999 ___ \$70 000-79 999
___ \$20 000-29 999 ___ \$80 000-89 999

___ \$30 000-39 999 ___ \$90 000-99 999
___ \$40 000-49 999 ___ \$100 000 and over
___ \$50 000-59 999
6. What is the **highest** level of education you have completed?

___ Less than high school

___ Some high school

___ Graduated high school

Some college/university

Graduated from
college/university

Completed graduate degree
or other professional
certification

Other

If other, please specify: _____

7. If you are a student or completed post-secondary education, what is (or was) your area of studies? (please choose one)

Arts & Social Sciences

Science

Education

Engineering

Law

Nursing

Human Kinetics

Other

If other, please specify: _____

8. What is your current marital status?

single

long-term serious
relationship

married

separated/divorced

9. When you were growing up, what was your father's occupation?: _____

10. When you were growing up, what was your mother's occupation?: _____

11. What is the highest level of education completed by your father? (please check one):

Less than high school

Some high school

Graduated high school

Some college/university

Graduated from
college/university

Completed graduate degree
or other professional
certification

Other

12. What is the highest level of education completed by your mother? (please check one):

Less than high school

Some high school

Graduated high school

Some college/university

Graduated from
college/university

Completed graduate degree
or other professional
certification

Other

13. What was your family's estimated annual income when you were growing up (i.e.,
mother and father's joint income)?:

less than \$10 000

\$60 000-69 999

\$10 000-19 999

\$70 000-79 999

\$20 000-29 999

\$80 000-89 999

\$30 000-39 999

\$90 000-99 999

\$40 000-49 999

\$100 000 and over

\$50 000-59 999

14. What is your country of birth?: _____

If you were not born in Canada/the US, please answer the following two questions:

How long have you been living in the Canada/the US?: _____ years
 _____ months

How old were you when you first arrived in Canada/the US?: _____ years
 old

What was your/ your family's reason for immigrating? _____

15. What is your current immigration status?

refugee
 citizen
 American citizen

landed immigrant
 international student/sojourner

Canadian
 other

If other, please specify: _____

16. What is your mother's country of birth?: _____

17. What is your mother's racial/ethnic background?

White/Caucasian
 Black/ African Canadian
 East Asian (e.g.,
 Chinese, Japanese)

South Asian (e.g.,
 Indian, Pakistani)
 Aboriginal/ Native
 Canadian
 Hispanic/ Latino

Arab/ Middle Eastern
 Other

If other, please specify: _____

18. What is your father's country of birth? _____

19. What is your father's racial/ethnic background?

White/Caucasian
 Black/ African Canadian

South Asian (e.g.,
 Indian, Pakistani)
 Aboriginal/ Native
 Canadian

Arab/ Middle Eastern
 Other

East Asian (e.g., Chinese, Japanese) Hispanic/ Latino

If other, please specify: _____

20. In your own words, how would you describe your race/ethnicity?:

21. Approximately what percentage of the people living in the neighbourhood you grew up in was White? _____%

22. Approximately what percentage of the student population in the high school you attended was White? _____%

23. How many siblings do you have? _____ sister(s) _____ brother(s)

24. What is your parents' current marital status?

married divorced

separated never married

25. Were you adopted?

Yes No

26. Do you currently live with either of your parents? (please circle one):

Yes No

27. For how many months out of the past 12 months have you lived with your parent(s)?

28. Reflecting back on **childhood**, how close was your overall relationship with your **mother**?

N/A	1	2	3	4	5
Not Applicable	Not at all close	A little bit close	Somewhat close	Close	Very Close

If not applicable, please briefly explain why: _____

29. Overall, how close is your **current** relationship with your **mother**?

N/A	1	2	3	4	5
Not Applicable	Not at all close	A little bit close	Somewhat close	Close	Very Close

If not applicable, please briefly explain why: _____

30. Reflecting back on **childhood**, how close was your overall relationship with your **father**?

N/A	1	2	3	4	5
Not Applicable	Not at all close	A little bit close	Somewhat close	Close	Very Close

If not applicable, please briefly explain why: _____

31. How close is your **current** relationship with your **father**?

N/A	1	2	3	4	5
Not Applicable	Not at all close	A little bit close	Somewhat close	Close	Very Close

If not applicable, please briefly explain why: _____

APPENDIX B

Item Modification

Original M-HAPAS Items (46)	Modified M-HAPAS Items (57)
2. I am more comfortable with members of my mother's (or father's) race.	I am more comfortable with members of my minority heritage group. I am more comfortable with members of my White heritage group.
3. I do not mind when others ask me to help them understand what it means to be a multiracial person.	<i>Item kept the same.</i>
5. I am open to being a member of many groups.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
7. I identify with both my mother's and father's racial heritages.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
8. Other people exclude me because I am racially different from them.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
9. I feel connected to many racial groups.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
10. I feel more loyalty to my mother's heritage.	I feel more loyalty to my White racial heritage. I feel more loyalty to my minority racial heritage.
11. I feel that I am not accepted by others.	I feel that I am not accepted by others because of my mixed race background.
12. I would like to "pass" for a member of my mother's (or father's) racial group.	I would like to "pass" for a member of my White heritage group. I would like to "pass" for a member of my minority heritage group.
14. I am proud of my mixed race heritage.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
15. I wish to be identified solely as a member of one of my parent's races.	I wish to be identified solely as a member of my White racial group. I wish to be identified solely as a member or my minority racial group.
17. It doesn't offend me when people ask me about my racial heritage.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
20. I enjoy both my mother's and father's	<i>Item kept the same</i>

Original M-HAPAS Items (46)	Modified M-HAPAS Items (57)
racial heritages.	
21. I want to be accepted by a particular group.	I want to be accepted by a particular racial group.
22. Being of mixed race, I appreciate both my mother's and father's heritages.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
24. Others remind me frequently that I am different.	Others remind me frequently that I am racially different.
25. I do not like when people ask me about my racial heritage.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
26. I have things in common with people of all races.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
27. I feel that I am closer to my mother's race than my father's, or I feel closer to my father's race than my mother's.	I feel that I am closer to my White heritage than my minority heritage. I feel that I am closer to my minority heritage than my White heritage.
28. I date individuals from a variety of racial groups.	I would date individuals from a variety of racial groups.
30. I share the cultural beliefs of only one racial group.	I share cultural beliefs with members of my White heritage group. I share cultural beliefs with members of my minority heritage group.
31. Both my mother's and my father's racial heritages are parts of what makes me a whole individual	<i>Item kept the same</i>
32. I feel closer to the race of one parent.	I feel closer to my White parent's race. I feel closer to my minority parent's race.
33. No one knows how I feel because I am racially different.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
34. I solely participate in the cultural practices of one racial group.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
35. I have tried to "pass" as a member of one of my parents' races.	I have tried to "pass" as a member of my White heritage group.

Original M-HAPAS Items (46)	Modified M-HAPAS Items (57)
	I have tried to “pass” as a member of my minority heritage group.
36. I participate in the cultural practices of all groups of my racial heritage.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
38. I feel disconnected from all racial groups.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
40. When people question me about my heritage, I explain my complete racial lineages.	<i>Item not included- only moderate factor loadings on two separate subscales.</i>
42. I am not interested in affiliating with any of my parents’ racial heritages.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
43. I have friends from diverse backgrounds.	I have friends from diverse racial backgrounds.
44. I am comfortable with both my mother’s and father’s racial heritages.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
47. People see me differently than I see myself.	In terms of race, people see me differently than I see myself.
49. Both aspects of my racial heritage are an important part of who I am.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
50. I feel like I am the only one I can rely on to mediate racial conflict.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
51. My parents do not understand me.	My parents do not understand me because of my mixed race background.
52. My mother’s and father’s racial heritages both contribute to make me who I am.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
53. I prefer to have more contact with one parent’s racial group than the other.	I prefer to have more contact with my White heritage group than my minority heritage group. I prefer to have more contact with my minority heritage group than my White heritage group.
54. Other people do not accept me because I am racially different.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
56. I feel like I am more like one parent than the other because of their race.	I feel like I am more like my White parent than my minority parent because of his/her race. I feel like I am more like my minority parent than my White parent because of his/her race.

Original M-HAPAS Items (46)	Modified M-HAPAS Items (57)
57. I believe that claiming membership to any racial group is not desirable.	<i>Item kept the same</i>
58. I am not like my father because of his race.	I am not like my minority parent because of his or her race. I am not like my White parent because of his or her race.
59. I do not fit in with others.	I do not fit in with others because of my race.

CMSFA Item	Adapted Item for IOSBI
<i>Within-Group Discrimination (11 items)</i>	
7. I tend to divide Filipinos in America into two types: the FOBs (fresh-off-the-boat/newly arrived immigrants) and the Filipino Americans.	<i>Item not included.</i>
8. In general, I do not associate with newly-arrived (FOBs) Filipino immigrants.	In general, I do not associate with members of my minority group.
9. I generally do not like newly-arrived (FOBs) Filipino immigrants.	I generally do not like members of my minority group.
10. I think newly-arrived immigrant Filipinos (FOBs) are backwards, have accents, and act weird.	I think members of my minority group are backwards, have accents, or act weird.
11. I think newly arrived immigrants (FOBs) should become as Americanized as quickly as possible.	I think members of my minority group should become Canadianized as quickly as possible.
14. In general, I make fun of, tease, or badmouth Filipinos who are not very Americanized in their behaviors.	In general, I make fun of, tease, or badmouth members of my minority group who are not very Canadianized in their behaviors.
15. I make fun of, tease, or badmouth Filipinos who speak English with strong accents.	<i>Item not included.</i>
32. I believe that Filipino Americans are superior, more admirable, and more civilized than Filipinos in the Philippines.	I believe that more Canadianized members of my minority group are superior, more admirable, and more civilized than less Canadianized members of my minority group.
39. I tend to pay more attention to the opinions of Filipinos who are very Americanized than to the opinions of FOBs/newly-arrived immigrants.	I tend to pay more attention to the opinions of members of my minority group who are very Canadianized than to the opinions of less Canadianized members of my minority group.
46. In general, I am ashamed of newly-arrived Filipino immigrants because of their inability	<i>Item not included.</i>

CMSFA Item	Adapted Item for IOSBI
to speak fluent, accent-free English.	
47. In general, I am ashamed of newly arrived Filipino immigrants because of the way they dress and act.	In general, I am ashamed of members of my minority group because of the way they dress and act.
<i>Physical Characteristics (8 items)</i>	
21. I find persons who have bridged noses (like Whites) as more attractive than persons with Filipino (flat) noses.	I find White people to be more attractive than members of my minority group.
22. I would like to have a nose that is more bridged (like Whites) than the nose I have	I would rather have the facial features of a White person than a member of my minority group.
23. I do not want my children to have Filipino (flat) noses.	I do not want my children to have the facial features of members of my minority group.
24. I find persons with lighter skin-tones to be more attractive than persons with dark skin-tones.	<i>Item kept the same.</i>
25. I would like to have a skin-tone that is lighter than the skin-tone I have.	<i>Item kept the same.</i>
26. I would like to have children with light skin-tones.	<i>Item kept the same.</i>
27. I do not want my children to be dark-skinned.	<i>Item kept the same.</i>
30. I generally think that a person that is part White and part Filipino is more attractive than a full-blooded Filipino.	I generally think that a biracial part-White part-minority person is more attractive than a full-blooded minority person.
<i>Cultural Shame and Embarrassment (5 items)</i>	
33. In general, I am embarrassed of the Filipino culture and traditions.	In general, I am embarrassed of my minority culture and traditions.
34. In general, I feel ashamed of the Filipino culture and traditions.	In general, I feel ashamed of my minority culture and traditions.

CMSFA Item	Adapted Item for IOSBI
36. I feel that there are very few things about the Filipino culture that I can be proud of.	I feel that there are very few things about my minority culture that I can be proud of.
41. There are moments when I wish I was a member of a cultural group that is different from my own.	There are moments when I wish I was a full-blooded White person.
48. In general, I feel that being a Filipino/a is a curse.	In general, I feel that having a part-minority background is a curse.
<i>Internalized Cultural/Ethnic Inferiority (5 items)</i>	
1. There are situations where I feel that it is more advantageous or necessary to deny my ethnic/cultural heritage.	There are situations where I feel that it is more advantageous or necessary to deny my minority heritage.
2. There are situations where I feel inferior because of my ethnic/cultural background.	There are situations where I feel inferior because of my minority heritage background.
3. There are situations where I feel ashamed of my ethnic/cultural background.	There are situations where I feel ashamed of my minority heritage background.
4. In general, I feel that being a person of my ethnic/cultural background is not as good as being White.	In general, I am more proud of my White heritage than my minority heritage.
6. In general, I feel that being a person of my ethnic/cultural heritage is not as good as being White/European American	<i>Item not included.</i>

Additional Internalized Oppression Items

Appearance

I have tried to make myself appear more White (e.g., using hair lightening or straightening, coloured contacts, wearing pale make-up, using skin Whiteners).

I wish I looked more like my White parent.

I wish I looked less like my non-White parent.

I would rather be mistaken for a full-blooded White person than a full-blooded member of my minority group.

Shame of Parents

Sometimes I am ashamed to be seen with my non-White parent.

Sometimes I wish both my parents were White.

Rejection of Non-White Part

Sometimes I wish I was a full-blooded White person.

Sometimes I feel grateful that I am not a full-blooded member of my minority group.

If I had to choose between being a full-blooded White person and a full-blooded member of my minority group, I would choose to be a full-blooded

APPENDIX C

Content Analysis Tables

Table 22

Content Analysis of Racial Responses to the Question “In your own words, how would you describe your race/ethnicity?”, Number of Responses, and Response Percentages (N=356)

Themes	Codes	# Responses	%	Description
Blended			104.49	
	Split	147	41.29	Identified as being half Asian and half White.
	All Ethnicities	48	13.48	Identified with all component ethnicities (e.g., Asian and White). Differs from "split" because does not identify as being segmented into parts.
	Stronger Asian	8	2.25	Identified with White side, but stronger connection to Asian side.
	Stronger White	1	.28	Identified with Asian side, but stronger connection to White side.
	Mixed or Biracial	101	28.37	Identified with other people who are biracial, multiracial, mixed, multiethnic, etc.
	“Hapa” or other new Asian-White group	67	18.82	Combination of Asian side and White side to create a new identity or group. Differs from "Split", in which individuals identify them selves as being half Asian and half White. Differs from "Mixed or Biracial", in which individuals identify with all mixed, biracial, multiracial, multiethnic, etc. people.

Themes	Codes	# Responses	%	Description
Singular			12.36	
	Canadian or American	9	2.53	Identified as being a citizen of the country in which they live.
	Singular Asian	35	9.83	Identified with Asian side, not White side.
Neither			3.01	
	Unique	5	1.40	Did not identify with a group; feels unique, different, or marginalized.
	Identity Confusion	6	1.69	Confused and not sure how to identify.

Note: Some participants gave multiple responses

Table 23

Content Analysis of Responses to Biracial Identity Question 1 (“Has your identification with your heritage groups changed from childhood to adolescence to adulthood? If so, in what ways?”), number of responses, and response percentages (N=346)

Themes	Codes	# Responses	%	Description
Change in Identification			55.49	
	Asian to Integrated	33	9.54	Identified more strongly with Asian side earlier in life, but later began to appreciate both sides.
	Asian to White	10	2.89	Identified more strongly with Asian side earlier in life, but later began to identify more strongly with White side.
	White to Integrated	19	5.49	Identified more strongly with White side earlier in life, but later began to appreciate both sides.
	White to Asian	11	3.18	Identified more strongly with White side earlier in life, but later began to identify more strongly with Asian side.
	Integrated to Asian	4	1.16	Identified with both sides earlier in life, but later began to identify more strongly with Asian side.
	Integrated to White	3	.87	Identified with both sides earlier in life, but later began to identify more strongly with White side.
	Loss of Asian	12	3.47	Loss of connection with Asian side.
	Loss of White	6	1.73	Loss of connection with White side.
Stronger Asian	54	15.61	Identification with Asian side became stronger.	

Themes	Codes	# Responses	%	Description
	Stronger White	7	2.02	Identification with White side became stronger.
	Alienation	11	3.18	Increasingly alienated from both their Asian and White groups as they grew older.
	3-Step	22	6.36	Went through a 3-step process of identity development (e.g., identified as Asian, then White, then integrated).
Change in Psychological Adjustment			32.67	
	Better Coping	8	2.31	Developed strategies for dealing with racism, prejudice, and/or being different as they grew older.
	Identity Security	25	7.23	Now more secure in their racial-ethnic identities (i.e., less confusion, more "at peace" with their racial-ethnic identification).
	Shame to Pride	46	13.29	Used to feel ashamed of their biracial background and now feel proud.
	New Appreciation	34	9.83	New appreciation for being biracial, without mentioning having felt ashamed in the past.
Awareness of differentness		81	23.41	Became increasingly aware of racial/ethnic differentness.
No Change		76	21.97	Identification did not change.

Note: Some participants gave multiple responses

Table 24

Content Analysis of Responses to Biracial Identity Question 2 (“What relationships, experiences, and/or events contributed to these changes? How so?”), Number of Responses, and Response Percentages (N=325)

Themes	Codes	# Responses	%	Description
Family Relationships			49.23	
	Death in Family	2	.62	Changes in racial identity due to a death in the family.
	Extended Family Closeness	33	10.15	Changes in racial identity due to increased closeness with extended family members.
	Extended Family Distance	23	7.08	Changes in racial identity due to more distant relationships with extended family members (e.g., gradually becoming more distant, conflict, racism/rejection)
	Parent Closeness	5	1.54	Changes in racial identity due to increased closeness with parents.
	Parent Distance	14	4.31	Changes in racial identity due to increased distance from parent(s) (e.g., growing apart, conflicts, parent moving away after divorce).
	Parent Divorce	6	1.85	Changes in racial identity related to parent conflict or divorce.
	Parent Internalized Oppression or Racism	8	2.46	Changes in racial identity were related to parent internalized oppression or racism.
	Family in General	69	21.23	Changes in racial identity due to general family interactions or relationships (did not specify distance or closeness).

Themes	Codes	# Responses	%	Description
Peers & Community			54.77	
	Community	79	24.31	Changes in racial identity related to exposure to a racially/ethnically diverse environment.
	Friends & Peers	81	24.92	Changes in racial identity due to relationships with friends and/or peers.
Others' Treatment	Romantic Partners	18	5.54	Changes in racial identity due to romantic relationships.
			2.46	
	Others' Interest	4	1.23	Changes in racial identity due to strangers' interest in their racial or cultural backgrounds
Education & Learning	Societal Changes	4	1.23	Changes in racial identity due to changes in others' treatment, both on individual and sociopolitical levels (i.e., changes in laws and societal attitudes about mixed race marriages and biracial individuals).
			22.46	
	Cultural Exploration	13	4.00	Changes in racial identity due to active attempts on their part to explore their racial/cultural heritages
	Education	43	13.23	Changes in racial identity due to education or educational experiences.
	Extra-Curricular	14	4.31	Becoming involved in culturally-based extra-curricular activities

Themes	Codes	# Responses	%	Description
				contributed to changes in racial identity.
	Media	3	.92	Changes in racial identity due to exposure to diversity and/or racial hierarchies through the media.
Living Abroad or Travelling			15.38	
	Immigrating to NA	11	3.38	Changes in racial identity as a result of immigrating from another country to North America.
	Living Abroad	16	4.92	Changes in racial identity as a result of living abroad (i.e., outside of North America).
	Travel	23	7.08	Changes in racial identity due to travel to heritage countries.
Racism & Discrimination		33	10.15	Changes in racial identity due to experiences with racism and/or discrimination.
What Are You		26	7.69	Changes in racial identity due to other people's questions about their racial backgrounds (i.e., "what are you" questions) or non-inclusive demographic questions on surveys/exams.
Socialization		32	9.85	Changes in racial identity due to racial-ethnic socialization
Maturation		32	9.85	Changes in racial identity due to a natural maturation process.
Physical Appearance		31	9.54	Changes in racial identity due to changes in physical appearance.

Note: Some participants gave multiple responses

Table 25

Content Analysis of Responses to Biracial Identity Question 3 part 1 (“What do you see as being some of the positive aspects of having a mixed racial/cultural heritage?”), Number of Responses, and Response Percentages (N=330)

Themes	Codes	# Responses	%	Description
Practical Advantages			26.30	
	Career & Educational Benefits	6	1.81	Greater access to career and educational benefits, such as “affirmative action” job positions and scholarships.
	Language	24	7.25	Learning or being exposed to more than one language.
	Physical Appearance	37	11.18	Having an attractive, exotic, or unique physical appearance.
	Genes	8	2.42	Having better genes (e.g., more resilient to disease due to greater genetic variation).
	Less Racism	3	.91	Less often the victim of racism or discrimination.
	Resilience	9	2.73	Better able to cope with life stressors in general, due to having coped with struggles due to being biracial.
Opportunities & Experiences			40.30	
	Cultural Richness	125	37.89	Having exposure to many different customs, traditions, foods, cultural values, etc.
	Interesting Life	8	2.42	Making life richer, more fun, more interesting.
Identity Benefits			26.97	

Themes	Codes	# Responses	%	Description
	Uniqueness	39	11.82	Having a unique identity, being special, being different from others; others noticing or being interested in them because of their mixed race background.
	Multiple Group Membership	50	15.15	Being a member of more than one cultural group; identity fluidity; being “on the inside yet on the outside”; feeling a sense of belonging in more than 1 group.
Relationship Skills			13.39	
	Empathy & Perspective Taking	24	7.27	More flexible in taking another person’s perspective or having compassion, acceptance, and/or empathy for others.
	Friendships & Connectedness	22	6.67	Having more skills and opportunities for connecting with friends from many different backgrounds.
Cultural Ambassadors			45.45	
	Cultural Open-Mindedness	137	41.52	Being open-minded or culturally sensitive to people of many different cultures.
	Challenging Society	13	3.94	Challenging race, racism, and racial intolerance by being biracial; representing “the future” of racial tolerance in the world.
No Positives		12	3.64	Indicated that there were more negatives than positives or did not see any benefits to being biracial.

Note: Some participants gave multiple responses; 4.85% of responses did not answer the question and were not coded.

Table 26

Content Analysis of Responses to Biracial Identity Question 3 part 2 (“How did your parents contribute to any positive attitudes you have about your mixed racial/cultural heritage?”), Number of Responses, and Response Percentages (N=331)

Themes	# Responses	%	Description
Socialization		47.27	
Cultural Socialization	109	33.03	Parents taught children language, customs, traditions, religion, values, cooked traditional food, etc.
Racial Socialization	25	7.58	Parents taught children about racism and the importance of accepting people of all cultures and races.
Relationships		10.61	
Extended Family	19	5.76	Parents encouraged children to develop relationships with extended family members, which in turn contributed to positive attitudes.
Parents’ Relationship	16	4.85	Parents had a positive marital relationship and modelled openness to each others’ cultures.
Positive Messages		28.79	
Pride & Acceptance	49	14.85	Parents communicated that they were proud and/or accepting of their interracial marriage and/or biracial children.
Normalizing	15	4.55	Parents communicated that it was normal/“not a big deal” to be biracial.

Themes	# Responses	%	Description
Positive Attributes	14	4.24	Parents told their children they were more physically attractive, genetically superior, etc. because of being biracial
Identity Freedom	17	5.15	Parents communicated or encouraged their children to make their own choices re. how they identified
No Contributions	35	10.60	Parents did not contribute to positive attitudes.
Negative Contributions	12	3.63	Parents actually contributed to <i>negative</i> attitudes.

Note: Some participants gave multiple responses.

Table 27

Content Analysis of Responses to Cultural Socialization Question 1 (“While you were growing up, how did your biological parents teach you about your minority parent’s cultural background? Was one of your biological parents more responsible for this than the other parent? Please explain.”), Number of Responses, and Response Percentages (N=331)

Themes	Codes	# Responses	%	Description
Cultural Experiences			99.70	
	Food	77	23.26	Cooking and/or teaching child how to cook cultural foods.
	Arts	20	6.04	Involving child in cultural arts activities (e.g., dance, music, arts and crafts)
	Traditions & Events	82	24.77	Involving child in cultural celebrations, festivals, holidays, rituals, events, etc.
	Religion	21	6.34	Involving child in religious holidays and practices (e.g., attending church).
	Sports & Recreation	4	1.21	Encouraging child to become involved in sports teams with members of their cultural group.
	Travel or Living Abroad	51	15.41	Taking child to their Asian country or lived in Asian country for a period of time.
	Extended Family & Community	54	16.31	Encouraging child to become close with extended family members, Asian friends, and/or Asian community.
	Entertainment & Media	21	6.34	Exposing child to Asian entertainment and media.
Lessons/			65.26	

Themes	Codes	# Responses	%	Description
Teaching	Language	75	22.66	Teaching child their language.
	Discussions About Culture	28	8.46	Having explicit discussions and/or giving child lessons about cultural values, traditions, etc.
	Cultural School	43	12.99	Encouraging child to attend cultural classes (e.g., Chinese school).
	Stories	70	21.15	Told stories about their experiences growing up, culture, family history, etc. or more formal stories (e.g., fables, tales, storybooks).
No Socialization		46	13.90	Parents did not teach their child about their Asian culture.
Person Responsible	Asian Parent	153	46.22	Asian parent more responsible for socialization.
	White Parent	15	4.53	White parent more responsible for socialization.
	Both Parents	55	16.62	Both parents responsible for socialization.
	Self	12	3.63	Learned about Asian culture on their own.
	Extended Family Members	42	12.69	Extended family members responsible for socialization.

Note: Some participants gave multiple responses.

Table 28

Content Analysis of Responses to Cultural Socialization Question 2 (“While you were growing up, how did your biological parents teach you about your White parent’s cultural background? Was one of your biological parents more responsible for this than the other parent? Please explain.”), Number of Responses, and Response Percentages (N=330)

Themes	Codes	# Responses	%	Description
Cultural Experiences			57.86	
	Food	24	7.27	Cooking and/or teaching child how to cook cultural foods.
	Arts	9	2.65	Involving child in cultural arts activities (e.g., dance, music, arts and crafts)
	Traditions & Events	66	19.41	Involving child in cultural celebrations, festivals, holidays, rituals, events, etc.
	Religion	19	5.59	Involving child in religious holidays and practices (e.g., attending church).
	Travel or Living Abroad	20	5.88	Taking them to their country-of-origin or lived in country-of-origin
	Extended Family & Community	45	13.24	Encouraging child to become close with extended family members, friends from their cultural group, and/or their cultural community.
	Entertainment & Media	13	3.82	Exposing child to entertainment and media of their cultural group.
Lessons/ Teaching			33.53	

Themes	Codes	# Responses	%	Description
	Language	18	5.29	Teaching child their language.
	Discussions About Culture	20	5.88	Having explicit discussions and/or giving child lessons about cultural values, traditions, etc.
	Cultural School	7	2.06	Encouraging child to attend cultural classes (e.g., Polish school).
	Stories	69	20.29	Told stories about their experiences growing up, culture, family history, etc. or more formal stories (e.g., fables, tales, story books).
No Socialization		68	20.00	Parents did not teach their child about their White background.
Person Responsible				
	Asian Parent	9	2.65	Asian parent more responsible for socialization.
	White Parent	92	27.06	White parent more responsible for socialization.
	Both Parents	26	7.65	Both parents responsible for socialization.
	Self	5	1.47	Learned about their White background on their own.
	Extended Family Members	39	11.47	Extended family members responsible for socialization.
	School	30	8.82	Learned about White background in school.
	White Social Context	79	23.24	Learned about White background passively/ by default, as a

Themes	Codes	# Responses	%	Description
				result of living in North America or in “typical” White neighbourhoods.

Note: Some participants gave multiple responses.

Table 29

Content Analysis of Responses to Racial Socialization Question 1 (“While you were growing up, how did your biological parents teach you about racial/ethnic/cultural diversity, racism, and discrimination? Was one of your biological parents more responsible for this than the other parent? Please explain.”), Number of Responses, and Response Percentages (N=335)

Themes	Codes	# Responses	%	Description
Lessons/ Teaching			61.19	
	Stories	55	16.42	Told stories of their own or family members’ encounters with racism and discrimination.
	Discussions About Racism	65	19.40	Explicit discussions about racism, discrimination, the history of racism, etc.
	Promoting Positive Attitudes	53	15.82	Promoted openness to and acceptance of cultural diversity and pride regarding their cultural backgrounds.
	Warning	13	3.88	Warning child that they may be discriminated against due to Asian or biracial background or their parents’ interracial marriage.
	Educational Experiences	4	1.19	Encouraging child to become involve in anti-racist educational experiences (e.g., groups or clubs in school, visits to historical landmarks).
Messages About Coping	Books & Media	15	4.48	Exposing child to books, news, TV shows, etc. about racism.
	Confront/Protect	6	1.79	Discussions or modelling indicating that racism should be dealt with through confrontation or protecting oneself and

Themes	Codes	# Responses	%	Description
				family members.
	Ignore/Avoid	10	2.99	Discussions or modelling indicating that racism should be dealt with by ignoring or avoiding perpetrators.
	Dismiss	10	2.99	Discussions or modelling indicating that racism should be dealt with by dismissing racist people as being ignorant, afraid, closed-minded, or otherwise flawed.
	Blend In	2	.60	Discussions or modelling indicating that racism should be dealt with by trying to blend-in or try to become more similar to “everyone else.”
Lack of Racial Socialization			49.55	
	No Socialization	95	28.36	Parents did not discuss or teach about racial issues
	No Need	71	21.19	Parents did not discuss or teach about racial issues and participant believes there was no need for racial socialization, as they never encountered racism or discrimination.
Parents Racist		21	6.27	Parents actually modelled racist attitudes towards others.
Person Responsible				
	Asian Parent	50	14.93	Asian parent more responsible for socialization.
	White Parent	31	9.25	White parent more responsible for socialization.

Themes	Codes	# Responses	%	Description
	Both Parents	85	25.37	Both parents responsible for socialization.
	Self	15	4.48	Learned about racism and discrimination on their own.
	Extended Family Members	3	.90	Extended family members responsible for socialization.
	School	27	8.06	Learned about racism and discrimination in school.

Note: Some participants gave multiple responses.

Table 30

Content Analysis of Responses to Internalized Oppression Question 1a (“Sometimes mixed heritage people have the experience of disliking one or both of their heritage groups and backgrounds. Did you ever dislike your minority (e.g., Asian) background? [Yes, No] Please explain.”), Number of Responses, and Response Percentages (N=257)

Themes	# Responses	%	Description
Did Not Dislike Asian side	159	61.87	Did not dislike their minority (Asian) background.
Disliked Asian Side		40.47	
No Explanation	7	2.72	Did dislike Asian background, but did not explain why.
Appearance	10	3.89	Thought White people were more attractive than Asian people; wished he/she looked more White; disliked looking Asian.
Desire to Belong	30	11.67	Disliked Asian background because it made them feel less accepted and/or contributed to a sense that they were different/ did not belong.
Bullying/Teasing/Prejudice	26	10.12	Disliked Asian background due to experiences of being bullied, teased, or discriminated against.
Stereotypes about Asians	16	6.23	Disliked Asian background due to their own or others’ stereotypes about Asians.
Disagreement with Values & Practices	6	2.33	Disliked Asian background because did not agree with values and practices associated with their Asian culture.

Themes	# Responses	%	Description
Shame about History	7	2.72	Ashamed of historical events from Asian country (e.g., Pearl Harbour).
Invalidated Identity	2	.78	Disliked Asian background because others assumed they were fully Asian or did not accept them as belonging to the Asian group, which invalidated his/her racial identity.
Relationship Problems	10	3.89	Disliked Asian background due to relationship problems/issues (e.g., conflicts with Asian parent or friends).
Disliked White Side	6	2.33	Rather than disliking Asian side, actually disliked White side.

Note: Some participants gave multiple responses

Table 31

Content Analysis of Responses to Internalized Oppression Question 1b (“Did you ever wish that you were only White? [Yes, No]. Please explain.”), Number of Responses, and Response Percentages (N=262)

Themes	# Responses	%	Description
No		70.22	
Never wished they were only White	168	64.12	Never wished they were only White.
Wished they were only Asian	16	6.11	Actually wished they were only Asian.
Yes		37.02	
No explanation	11	4.20	Did wish they were White, but did not explain.
Appearance	16	6.11	Wished they were White due to perceptions that this would improve physical appearance or attractiveness.
Desire to Belong	30	11.45	Wished they were White in order to fit in with friends and/or peers.
Avoidance of Bullying/ Teasing/ Prejudice	12	4.58	Wished they were White in order to experiences of being bullied, teased, or discriminated against
Easier Life	18	6.87	Wished they were White in order to make life easier (i.e., not having to deal with the daily hassles of being biracial); wished to benefit from White privilege.
Validate Identity	4	1.53	Wished they were White so that their physical appearance was more consistent with their racial identity.

Themes	# Responses	%	Description
Better Family Relationships	6	2.29	Wished they were White due to beliefs that this would have improved family relationships.

Note: Some participants gave multiple responses

Table 32

Content Analysis of Responses to Internalized Oppression Question 2a (“If you did experience a dislike of one or both backgrounds: How do you think your family members influenced these attitudes? Please explain.”), Number of Responses, and Response Percentages (N=151)

Themes	# Responses	%	Description
Did Not Influence	39	25.83	Family members did not influence a dislike of either side; other factors influenced attitudes (e.g., peers, the media).
Racial-Ethnic Socialization		11.26	
Lack of socialization	10	6.62	Parents did not provide enough racial or ethnic socialization while the participant was growing up.
Pushing identification	7	4.64	Family members pushed participant to identify with one side <u>too much</u> , which either resulted in rejecting that side (in rebellion) or accepting that side (to the exclusion of the other side).
Family Members’ Beliefs, Values, & Identification		37.78	
Disagreement with Cultural Values & Practices	20	13.25	Family members demonstrated cultural values and practices that the participant did not agree with or was embarrassed about (e.g., strict parenting practices, “rudeness”, by Western standards).
Family Members’ Racism & Discrimination	16	10.60	Family members spoke or behaved in racist or discriminatory ways about the other race (e.g., White

Themes	# Responses	%	Description
			parent discriminating against Asian people).
Family Members' Identity Issues	21	13.91	Family members struggled with their own racial identity issues/ internalized oppression (e.g., Asian parent discriminating against Asian people).
Family Problems		17.22	
Extended Family Rejection	15	9.93	Extended family either rejected the participant due to his/her mixed race status or rejected the parent of the other race (e.g., White extended family rejecting Asian parent).
Parental Conflict or Divorce	2	1.32	Parents influenced dislike of background due to parental conflict and/or divorce.
Family Conflict	9	5.96	Immediate family members influenced dislike of background through their negative relationships, conflicts, and/or lack of closeness with the participant.

Note: Some participants gave multiple responses.

Table 33

Content Analysis of Responses to Internalized Oppression Question 2b (“If you did experience a dislike of one or both backgrounds: How do you think these attitudes influence the quality of your relationships with your family members?”), Number of Responses, and Response Percentages (N=129)

Themes	# Responses	%	Description
No Influence	38	29.46	Dislike of backgrounds did not influence family relationships.
Relationship Worsened		35.66	
Distance from parents	31	17.42	Contributed to problems in relationships with one or both parents.
Distance from siblings	1	.56	Contributed to problems in relationships with their siblings.
Distance from extended family	9	5.06	Contributed to problems in relationships with their extended family members.
Distance from family in general	5	2.81	Contributed to problems in family in general (did not specify family members).
Relationship Improved		9.30	
Closer to same parent	3	1.69	Brought them closer to the parent of the heritage background they liked better (e.g., dislike of their Asian background brought them closer to their White parent).
Closer to other parent	4	2.25	Brought them closer to the parent of the heritage background they disliked (e.g., dislike of their Asian background brought them closer

			to their Asian parent)
Closer to siblings	2	1.12	Brought them closer to their sibling(s).
Closer to family in general	3	1.69	Brought them closer to their family in general (immediate and/or extended family).

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