

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: THE NATURE OF BI-ETHNIC IDENTITY IN
YOUNG ADULTS OF ASIAN AND
EUROPEAN DESCENT AND THEIR
PERCEPTIONS OF FAMILIAL INFLUENCES
ON ITS DEVELOPMENT

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Development

The purpose of this study was to identify the key constructs of bi-ethnic identity, the key familial influences, and other salient influences on bi-ethnic identity as perceived by young adults of Asian and European descent. The rapidly changing demographics of the United States provide an impetus for research on the developmental processes of bi-ethnic individuals. In this qualitative study, participants were interviewed about their bi-ethnic identities and possible influences on bi-ethnic identity development. Data analysis for this study incorporated techniques from grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and analytic induction (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). Five bi-ethnic identity types emerged from participants' responses to interview questions: majority identity, minority identity, dual identity, integrated identity, and unresolved identity. These identity types are a unique contribution to the literature in that they specify how individuals of Asian and European descent define themselves. Additionally, this study identified four facets of bi-ethnic identity that indicate how bi-ethnic individuals think and feel about their background: centrality, self-label, affirmation, and affect. Six categories of influences on bi-ethnic identity development emerged from responses to interview questions (parental,

extended family, personal, peer, environmental, discrimination), with 18 subcategories.

This study is important because most prior research on bi-ethnic identity has focused on uncovering developmental stages, while we lack understanding of the nature of bi-ethnic identity and influences on its development. This study was important given the dearth of research on bi-ethnic Asians, although future research is needed with other bi-ethnic groups.

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by

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my father, William H. Wagner (1939-2002). While his presence is greatly missed, I know he would have been proud of my efforts and achievements.

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I would like to express my sincere and immense gratitude to all those who supported me along this journey. I would not have pursued this dream nor been able to complete it had it not been for my parents, Bill and Debbie Wagner, who cultivated in me curiosity and a passion for intellectual pursuits. I would like to thank my mom for her unconditional love and encouraging words as I progressed through this dissertation. I would like to gratefully acknowledge the love, encouragement, patience, and understanding of my husband, Michael Hoa, whose support increased exponentially throughout the rigorous and lengthy dissertation process to provide me with boosts in motivation when needed. To my friends who helped me make it through the seemingly endless writing process, I am forever indebted.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This study focused on the development of bi-ethnic identity in individuals of Asian and European descent. For many years identity development has been described as a fundamental process in human development (Erikson, 1963). However, in ethnically heterogeneous societies, ethnic backgrounds are an important part of who we are (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Thus, it is imperative for researchers interested in development in minority individuals to consider ethnic identity an important component of individuals' overall identity. Indeed, it has been argued that successful ethnic identity development is necessary for successful psychological adjustment (Shih & Sanchez, 2005).

There is a growing population in our society and others of individuals with parents from two different ethnic backgrounds. The meaning of successful ethnic identity for individuals with parents from two different ethnic groups is not well known. Bi-ethnic individuals in the U.S. are faced with a unique task of developing an identity in a society characterized by salient racial and ethnic group distinctions where they do not neatly fit into a single racial or ethnic group category. There is a paucity of research characterizing bi-ethnic identity and how it is similar to or different from ethnic identity development in individuals from a single ethnic group. In particular, there is a lack of research on bi-ethnic identity in individuals of Asian and European descent. Additionally, very little is currently known about the factors that influence this vital process of bi-ethnic identity development in these individuals. This study aimed to deepen our understanding of bi-ethnic identity in individuals of Asian and European descent and to provide an initial

examination of perceived familial influences on the development of bi-ethnic identity in this population. In this chapter, the purpose and significance of the study will be explained, followed by definitions relevant to this paper, and ending with the research questions for this study.

Significance

For more than a century, psychologists have been exploring self-representations and theorizing about developmental processes associated with their formation. One particular branch of this field that has developed in the past century is the study of identity. Identity refers broadly to a sense of who one is as a person (Erikson, 1963; see section on Definitions below for further discussion). Identity is argued to be the major personality achievement in adolescence, and its formation is theorized to be crucial for healthy adult functioning (Erikson, 1963, 1968). In a review paper, Schwartz (2002) reported that processes of identity development (self-construction and self-discovery) are associated with feelings of happiness and satisfaction, self-determination, and development of a positive and synthesized sense of self. The absence of a well-formed identity can result in mental health disorders such as Identity Disorder and Borderline Personality Disorder (American Psychiatric Association, 2000).

An important expansion to the study of identity that has occurred over the past few decades is the study of ethnic identity development. This expansion is predicated on the grounds that identity formation may be influenced by the salient and societally important factor of ethnicity. Ethnic identity refers to one's commitment and belonging to one's ethnic group (Phinney, 1996b; see Definitions section below). While identity development is a complex process for all individuals, members of ethnic minority groups

in heterogeneous societies such as the United States face unique challenges such as dealing with stereotypes and discrimination (e.g., Phinney, 1990; M. B. Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Many researchers have argued that ethnic identity is a critical component of identity in members of ethnic minority groups, more so than for individuals of the majority group (e.g., Gonzales & Cauce, 1995; Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy, 1990; M. B. Spencer, 1987; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). This was demonstrated by Phinney and Alipuria (1990), who found that two-thirds of ethnic minority adolescents and young adults rated ethnicity as quite or very important to their identity, whereas only one-fourth of European Americans reported similarly. In another study using interviews, Phinney (1989) found that European American adolescents lacked understanding of the concept of ethnicity, and assumed it referred only to minorities.

Although ethnicity can be important for some European Americans (e.g., individuals who emphasize their Italian heritage), for most, ethnicity is not salient or important and they have the ability to choose if it will play any role in their overall identity (Brunsma & Rockquemore, 2001; Parke & Buriel, 1998; Phinney, 1996b). The impact of ethnicity is greater for members of minority groups in the U.S. because of consequences of co-existing with the dominant group (Parke & Buriel, 1998; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Thus, it is of critical importance for psychologists interested in minority development to study not only identity development, but also ethnic identity development.

A logical extension of this line of study has been emerging as the field recognizes unique developmental experiences of bi-ethnic individuals. As the population of the United States becomes increasingly multiethnic, a better understanding of developmental

processes that may be affected by this ethnic diversity is necessary. Multiethnic births in the U.S. are increasing at a faster rate than monoethnic births, which provides an impetus for research of issues affecting this rapidly growing population (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1992, as cited in Root, 1996). According to the 2000 Census, over 6.8 million Americans reported their heritage included two or more racial groups (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000). Contemporary researchers agree that studies of ethnic identity in monoethnic populations do not accurately describe experiences of bi-ethnic or multiethnic people (e.g., J. F. Collins, 2000; Gillem, Cohn, & Throne, 2001; Root, 1998; Shih & Sanchez, 2005). For example, these monoethnic identity models do not allow for identification with more than one ethnic group, assume acceptance from the minority group, and do not account for exploration of two ethnic groups in one's heritage (Gillem et al., 2000, Poston, 1990). Herring (1995) asserted that developing a bi-ethnic identity is more complex than developing a monoethnic identity because bi-ethnic individuals face the additional decision of choosing which ethnic group to express in a singular ethnic identity, or battling societal forces to be acknowledged and accepted as bi-ethnic individuals.

In the U.S. we operate on a belief system that emphasizes differences between racial/ethnic groups (Williams, 1996). One of the ways we avoid cognitive overload is by categorizing people, things, and experiences. Society has socialized its members to notice race immediately, and race/ethnicity is a critical category individuals use to organize their worlds (Williams, 1996). Because of this socialized need for racial/ethnic categorization, society's members often do not react well to individuals who are not easily categorized into a single ethnic group. This socialization has important implications for individual

development in bi-ethnic people. In the words of a biracial woman, “Being biracial isn’t hard because we’re confused about our racial identity. It’s hard because everyone else is confused” (Gaskins, 1999, p. 15).

Research has found positive relationships between ethnic identity, self-esteem, and healthy psychological functioning, particularly for individuals whose ethnic groups are minorities in a culture or subject to societal denigration (e.g., Deters, 1997; Phinney, 1990; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). As bi-ethnic individuals are minorities within minority groups, the factors leading to a healthy bi-ethnic identity may be important for understanding and fostering bi-ethnic individuals’ self-esteem and psychological functioning.

Although many researchers have called for the study of familial and other influences on ethnic and bi-ethnic identity development (Fisher, Jackson, & Villarruel, 1997; Poston, 1990; Root, 1998; Rotheram & Phinney, 1987; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004), very few studies exist on this topic. Researchers have tended to characterize individuals in stages of ethnic or bi-ethnic identity rather than examining factors that influence development of ethnic and bi-ethnic identity (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). However, it has been argued that understanding the factors that influence identity is critical in understanding development in minority individuals (Fisher et al., 1997). Given the double-minority status of bi-ethnic individuals, studies examining influential factors on bi-ethnic identity development are necessary.

Many factors have been hypothesized as important in ethnic and bi-ethnic identity development, but the family is generally agreed to be the most important (e.g., Fisher et al., 1997; Kich, 1992; Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). There is a vast literature showing that

parents influence children's and adolescents' development (for reviews, see W. A. Collins & Laursen, 2004; Grotevant, 1998; Nurmi, 2004). It has been argued that parenting is the backdrop for identity development (W. A. Collins & Laursen, 2004). In addition to parents, extended family members and siblings are also seen as having an influence on development, although there is less empirical evidence than for parents (W. A. Collins & Steinberg, 2006; Grotevant, 1998). This focus on familial influence has for the most part not extended to the bi-ethnic identity literature, likely because of the newness of the field.

It is important to note that parents and family are not the only major influence on bi-ethnic identity. Root (1998) proposed an ecological model of racial identity development that could be used with multiracial populations. This model includes macrolenses and microlenses that filter the meaning of experiences, ranging from individual traits to regional history of race relations. (See Chapter 2 for a complete description of this model.) Studying all potential influences on bi-ethnic identity development was beyond the scope of this study, and thus the major focus was on familial influences with the recognition that myriad factors influence development.

Importantly, this research did not examine whether perceived influences reported by participants were "accurate." Perceptions can play an important role in thought, feeling, and behavior, even when their accuracy is not verifiable. To note, in various qualitative perspectives (i.e., phenomenological, critical theorist, participatory action), there is no assumption that there is a single reality that all individuals experience a single way (see Schram, 2003). The notion of construction of multiple realities was accepted for the purposes of this research, in which the focus was on the experiences of the individual.

The goal of this study was not to discern an objective truth, but rather to achieve “an empathic understanding of participants’ lived experiences” (Gillem et al., 2001, p. 186).

The importance and the lack of knowledge of bi-ethnic identity and its influences gave rise to the current study. The purpose of this study was to identify constructs that characterize bi-ethnic identity and identify perceived familial influences on bi-ethnic identity development in individuals of Asian and European descent. Two characteristics of this study’s sample increase the significance of its contribution to the field of bi-ethnic identity development: (a) ancestry, and (b) nonclinical origin. Individuals with this particular ancestry were chosen as the population of this study for several reasons. As previously noted, the number of inter-ethnic marriages and bi-ethnic children are rising in the U.S. Marriages between European Americans and Asians/Asian Americans, and their bi-ethnic offspring, make up the largest proportion of these statistics (Johnson, 1992; Root, 1996; Sodowsky, Kwan, & Pannu, 1995). Currently, nearly one million Americans report White and Asian/Pacific Islander ancestry (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000). However, the majority of the literature on bi-ethnic individuals focuses on individuals of African and European descent. Thus a goal of this study was to contribute to the sparse literature on bi-ethnic Asians, who have been less well studied despite their greater numbers.

It is perhaps assumed that individuals of Asian and European descent have less of a task before them in negotiating an identity than do individuals of African and European descent, as Asians and Whites are the “almost-White mixing” (Williams, 1996, p. 197). However, individuals of Asian and European descent can experience double rejection from both the minority Asian and majority communities (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Several

studies have reported that these individuals perceived that Asian communities did not accept them because of their mixed heritage (Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Spickard, 1992; Williams, 1996). Therefore, it is important to understand the unique issues these individuals face in the process of bi-ethnic identity development.

It is unknown at this time whether all bi-ethnic individuals can be characterized in similar ways, or whether different groups of bi-ethnic people should be studied separately (e.g., J. F. Collins, 2000; Johnson, 1992). The current study focused only on individuals of Asian and European descent, as there may be different influencing factors for different ethnic groups in this society. These include different stereotypes and expectations (e.g., for Asians, the “model minority” stereotype), and different parental socialization goals (Ogbu, 1994; Parke & Buriel, 1998). For example, Asian immigrants may stress assimilation into mainstream culture more than other immigrant groups (e.g., Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001). This is not to suggest that there are not commonalities in experience and developmental processes across all bi-ethnic individuals, merely that given our current lack of knowledge we do not know whether and to what degree groups are similar or different. This study therefore focused on one bi-ethnic group instead of all bi-ethnic groups.

This study also makes a contribution to the developmental literature by selecting participants from a nonclinical population. Past research has presented the view that bi-ethnic identity is inherently problematic, which has fed the stereotype that bi-ethnic people will have tragic problems due to their mixed heritage (J. F. Collins, 2000; Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995). The majority of the early studies that contributed to this view were conducted with clinical samples, usually case studies of individuals seeking some form of

mental health treatment. The theoretical and empirical studies from the clinical literature have contributed in important ways to helping individuals who experience difficulties related to their ethnic backgrounds. However, single clinical case studies are unrepresentative and often perpetuated the misinterpretation that any mental health problem was necessarily related to their bi-ethnic background (Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995).

In a review of research on positive and negative implications of multiethnic identity, Shih and Sanchez (2005) reported that whether positive or negative psychological and behavioral indicators were found depended on whether the sample was from a clinical or nonclinical population. In general, they found that outcomes were poor for bi-ethnic individuals from clinical populations on measures of psychological adjustment, peer relations, and self-esteem, but that the outcomes were positive for bi-ethnics from nonclinical populations. Interestingly, despite their presentation of these findings, the article was still riddled with references to the problems bi-ethnic individuals have, and the conflicts and tensions they experience because of their mixed heritage. An aim of this study was to contribute to the growing literature on bi-ethnic individuals from a nonclinical population, in an effort to combat negative stereotypes that exist about bi-ethnic identity development. Studies that draw from nonclinical populations will help the field to move away from myths of marginalization and problematic development. Research on the normative developmental processes of bi-ethnic individuals is needed to combat prejudice as this population continues to grow. Individuals of bi-ethnic heritage do not want to be seen as marginalized individuals, but acknowledged as a distinct category of people who are well adjusted (J. F. Collins, 2000).

Definitions

Researchers studying the self often have not clearly defined the constructs they studied, or defined them ambiguously (see Harter, 2006 for discussion of definitional issues in this area). The construct of identity needs to be distinguished from related but distinct constructs such as self-concept and self-esteem. *Self-concept* refers to one's perception of oneself, made up of beliefs about many different aspects of the self and evaluations of performance in different areas (Harter, 2006; Shavelson, Hubner, & Stanton, 1976; Wigfield & Karpachian, 1991). *Self-esteem* refers to one's judgment of one's worth or value as a person (Harter, 2006; Wigfield & Karpachian, 1991). Identity is a broader construct than other self-system components, inclusive of self-concept and self-esteem (M. B. Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990).

Identity has been defined in several ways. Erikson (1963) used the term *identity* to refer to a sense of one's constancy of self over time that is congruent with others' perceptions. Marcia (1980) disliked calling identity a "sense," and he defined identity as a *self-structure*, "an internal, self-constructed, dynamic organization of drives, abilities, beliefs, and individual history" (p. 159). Note that Marcia's definition lacks the social element that Erikson included. Grotevant (1998) summarized conceptualizations of identity in the field as referring to: (a) the unique combination of personality characteristics and social style that defines an individual to herself and to others, and (b) an individual's perceived sense of continuity and coherence of personality over time. As the central construct of this study was bi-ethnic identity, distinctions among these definitions of identity were extensively considered. Marcia's definition is preferable in that it is slightly more concrete than other definitions. However, since ethnicity is

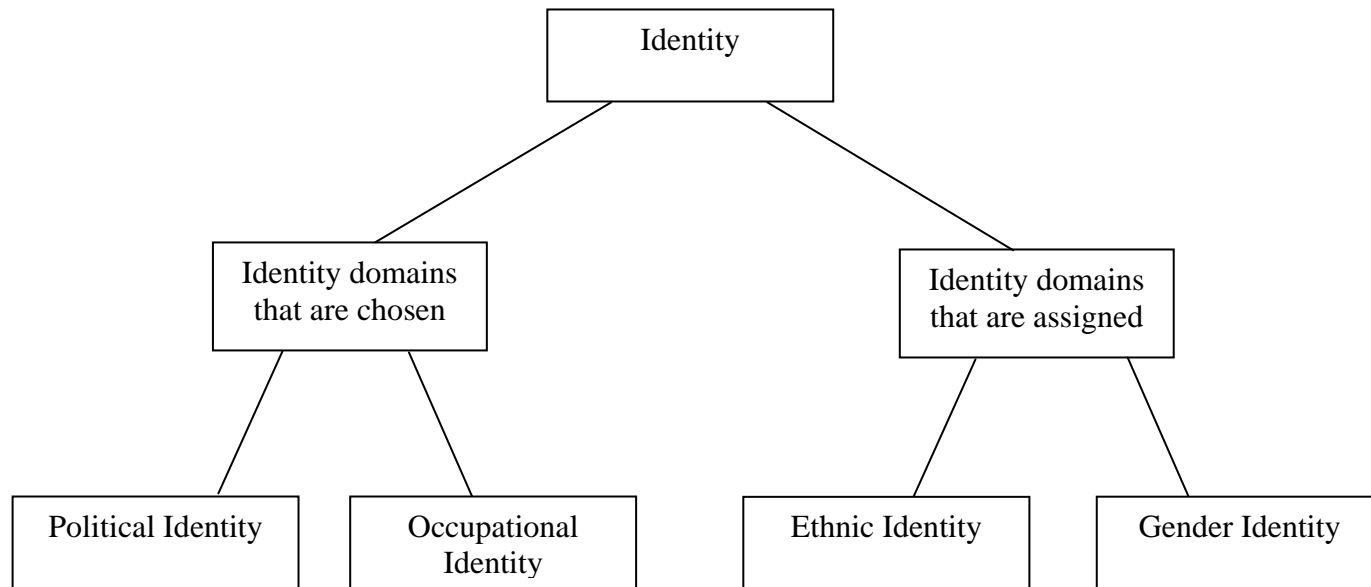
noticeable to other people, Marcia's conception of identity was not the most informative for the current study. Grotevant does mention that identity defines individuals to other people, and as such his definition seemed most appropriate for this study.

Ethnic identity has been defined as a fundamental aspect of the self that is related to one's sense of belonging and commitment to an ethnic group, and the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behavior that is associated with ethnic group membership (Phinney, 1996b; Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). Thus, ethnic identity refers to how connected one is to one's ethnic group, and how one's thoughts and behaviors are related to being a member of that particular ethnic group. It is important to note that ethnic identity is not merely ethnic group membership, but rather, it is the psychological relationship one has with one's ethnic group (Phinney, 1990). It is a multidimensional construct that is complex, dynamic, and enduring (Phinney, 1996a).

Ethnic identity is theoretically and functionally different from one's overall identity (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). Phinney and Alipuria (2006) explain that an examination of ethnic identity is important to the process of overall identity development such that one's self has a sense of continuity that is grounded in the social world. Researchers in this field generally consider identity to include a variety of identity domains that are subsumed under an overall, general identity (Grotevant, 1998). Ethnic identity is a part of one's overall identity. Figure 1 displays a conceptualization of a taxonomy of identity. The major domains delineate identities that are chosen (i.e., occupational, political) versus identities that are assigned at birth (i.e., ethnic, gender) (Grotevant, 1998). It is important to distinguish between these domains, as the meaning of these various identities may differ for individuals if they are freely chosen or if

Figure 1

Taxonomy of Identity



individuals lack control in their assignment, and whether the identity is connected to a social group or not. However, even though ethnicity is assigned and cannot be changed, individuals can choose the extent to and way in which they identify with their ethnic group (J. S. Phinney, personal communication, November 11, 2005). Therefore, there can be variation in ethnic identity within members of the same ethnic group. Some individuals may be strongly connected to their heritage, while for others it is unimportant to their overall identity. This is particularly relevant and also more complex for bi-ethnic individuals. They are assigned to the ethnic groups of their heritage at birth, yet they have more choices to make about the ways they can identify themselves with respect to their ethnicity. They can identify with only one group or both groups, so bi-ethnic individuals can choose which ethnicity or ethnicities to which they identify, but they cannot choose that they were born bi-ethnic and that they have to make those sometimes complicated choices.

Researchers who study bi-ethnic identity have not created a unique definition of bi-ethnic identity. Rather, these researchers most often give the standard definition of ethnic identity (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987) used in the field, even though the focus is on individuals who have two (or more) ethnicities to incorporate into their ethnic identity. It is likely that a synthesized definition has not been put forth in the field because we lack an understanding of what bi-ethnic identity actually is for bi-ethnic individuals. For instance, bi-ethnic identity could be the part of one's self that is related to a sense of belonging and commitment to (a) one of the ethnic groups in one's heritage; (b) both of the ethnic groups in one's heritage, separately; (c) both of the ethnic groups in one's heritage, integrated; (d) neither groups in one's heritage, but rather to bi-ethnics as their

own group, or (e) some combination of the above group affiliations. It is also quite possible that bi-ethnic identity could mean different things at different times or with different groups of people within the same individual. For the purpose of this study, the working definition of bi-ethnic identity was a sense of belonging and commitment to one's ethnicity, recognizing that "one's ethnicity" may mean different things for different bi-ethnic individuals.

Given the complexity of labeling groups of people and the inconsistent use of such labels in the literature and in society, a note about definitions and terms relevant to racial and ethnic groups was warranted. The term "biracial" is more commonly used than "bi-ethnic." In this study, the term ethnicity was used instead of race to refer to groups of individuals, following the theory of race as a social construction (Spickard, 1992). While recognizing that race has some relationship to biology, Spickard argued that race is primarily a social construct used for purposes of creating stratification and maintaining domination by a powerful group over other groups in a society. It may be necessary to note that the terms race and ethnicity have sometimes been used to refer to biological groups of people versus cultural groups of people, respectively. These definitions were not used in this study given that biological and anthropological research does not support such distinctions (see Spickard). For example, Spickard cites that there is greater genetic variability within racial groups than between them. The term race may be used when recounting other research if that label was used in that study (e.g., racial identity model). Labeling of individuals from various groups of people will be as specific as possible (e.g., Japanese American), but in reviewing the literature this will largely be dependent on labels used in the research. Researchers generally recognize that ethnicity is a complex

construct, yet definitions lack consensus and can be ambiguous (Juby & Concepción, 2005). *Ethnicity* has been defined as a term referring to groups of people who share culture of origin (Phinney, 1996b). Ethnicity has also been defined in ways that have equated it with transmission of cultural traditions, which perpetuates an assumption that all members of the group must be equally involved with the culture (Parke & Buriel, 1998). For the purposes of this study, Phinney's definition of ethnicity will be used.

The term *bi-ethnic* was used to refer to a person whose heritage included two different socially designated ethnic groups, for example, an individual with an Asian American father and a European American mother (Deters, 1997; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). To note, a distinction can certainly be made between a bi-ethnic individual and a multiethnic individual. However, the field is not at a place where the developmental processes experienced by individuals incorporating two ethnicities can be distinguished from individuals with backgrounds including more than two ethnicities. As such, in this study no distinction was made, though this is recognized as an area needing further research. The term *monoethnic* was used to refer to a person whose parents were both of the same socially designated ethnic group. For the most part, in the literature individuals who fall into the ethnic majority of the U.S. (e.g., White, Caucasian, European American) are considered monoethnic even though they often are of diverse European descent. As with the literature on ethnic identity, racial terms may be used to reflect the terminology of the study (e.g., biracial, multiracial, monoracial).

Research Questions

The main goals of this study were: (a) to identify the key constructs that characterize bi-ethnic identity as perceived by young adults of Asian and European

descent; (b) to identify the perceived familial influences on bi-ethnic identity development in individuals of Asian and European descent; and (c) to identify other salient influences on bi-ethnic identity development in this group. In addition, two broad goals of this research were (a) to add to the limited descriptions in the literature of non-clinical subjective experiences of bi-ethnic individuals in the U.S., and in particular (b) to add to the literature on bi-ethnic Asians, who have been largely neglected even in the bi-ethnic literature.

This study addressed the following research questions:

1. What are the key constructs of bi-ethnic identity as perceived by young adults of Asian and European descent?
2. What are the key familial influences on bi-ethnic identity as perceived by young adults of Asian and European descent?
3. What are other salient perceived influences on bi-ethnic identity development in young adults of Asian and European descent?

These questions were addressed qualitatively, by interviewing participants about their bi-ethnic identities and familial influences on bi-ethnic identity. Data analysis for this study incorporated techniques from grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and analytic induction (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). The product of the analytic technique was categories of meaning about what bi-ethnic identity is and what the salient influencing factors are on its development. These emergent categories were used to further develop the constructs of bi-ethnic identity and perceived familial influences on bi-ethnic identity development. A more thorough presentation of the study's methodology can be found in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

This chapter covers seminal theories of identity development that have influenced the fields of ethnic identity and bi-ethnic identity, and continues with a review of theories of ethnic identity development that have been influential in the field of bi-ethnic identity. Next, the burgeoning literature on bi-ethnic identity development will be reviewed. The review will then turn to the sparse literature on familial influences on bi-ethnic identity, drawing also from available literature on familial influences on ethnic identity.

Identity Development

The comprehensive and insightful contributions of self theorists over the past century have provided a rich and generative foundation for expansion of this work into the areas of ethnic and multiethnic identity development. This review will focus on the classic conceptualizations of the self that have provided a critical foundation for modern studies of identity, ethnic identity, and multiethnic identity. My goal here is not an exhaustive review of literature related to identity. I do not review a large portion of the research on identity development, particularly the more recent directions in the field, because these are not related to or have not influenced theories of ethnic and multiethnic identity development. (For readers interested in recent developments in the study of identity, see Schwartz, 2002.) Since the main construct of interest to this study was bi-ethnic identity, only those theories with direct or indirect influence on the conceptualization and development of the study of bi-ethnic identity were reviewed.

Early Theoretical Views of Self and Identity

James (1890/1950) posited a distinction between the "I" and the "Me" self, the I being the knower responsible for constructing the Me, in contrast with the Me which consists of things objectively known about the self. For James, the Me-self was the component amenable to psychological study, and he further divided this construct into the material self, social self, and spiritual self. Of particular interest to this review, James theorized a multiplicity of social selves, which could be harmoniously integrated or experienced as discordant or contradictory. In a sense, this work foreshadows theories of a century later when researchers began to study the ways one's ethnicity or ethnicities can be experienced and how this can affect construction of the self.

Many self theorists have focused more extensively on the social aspects of the self than did James. In particular, several influential theorists wholly viewed the self as a social construction. Cooley (1902) used the *looking glass self* as a metaphor for the socially constructed self, in which a social mirror of significant others provides opinions which are incorporated into one's sense of self. He asserted that the self arises from our analysis and internalization of other's real or imagined opinions. Thus individuals' understanding of how others see them is fundamental to the development of self. This has interesting implications for theories of ethnic identity and bi-ethnic identity particularly with respect to the potential impact that evaluations or stereotypes of one's ethnic group could have on one's ethnic or bi-ethnic identity. Additionally, bi-ethnic individuals are often categorized by others into certain a certain ethnic group (e.g., Williams, 1996), which would potentially impact their bi-ethnic identity development according to Cooley's theoretical work on identity.

Mead (1934) expanded upon Cooley's ideas by placing even greater emphasis on the process of social construction. He proposed that an individual adopts the role of the *generalized other*, a composite of attitudes and reactions of significant others. Of interest to research on ethnic identity, Mead specified that the perspectives of the generalized other that we adopt consist of others who share a certain societal perspective. Thus, one could argue that Mead would attribute great importance to ethnic groups on the development of identity. Similar to James' multiplicity of social selves, Mead promoted the existence of as many selves as social roles, which could be extended into selves related to gender, ethnicity, and other salient identities.

Erikson's Psychosocial Theory of Identity Development

The term *identity* was used by Erikson (1963) to refer to a sense of one's constancy of self over time that is congruent with others' perceptions. Integral to identity is a sense of the ability of one's ego to account for the needs of the libido while utilizing internal characteristics and potential along with environmental opportunities to carve out a place in the world. This identity arises from a culmination of experiences, and in adolescence it is particularly influenced by others' perceptions.

In his well-known psychosocial theory, Erikson (1963, 1968) characterized adolescents as having to negotiate a series of developmental tasks in order to form a coherent identity. These developmental tasks included (a) establishing a personal identity; (b) becoming autonomous and independent; (c) relating to members of the same and opposite sex; and (d) choosing and committing to a career. Identity formation is seen as moving in a positive direction when a stable sense of self is developed that can provide meaning and direction in one's life, answering questions such as "Who am I?" and "What

do I want to be?” in coherent ways. This process involves an exploration of opportunities and different roles and a synthesis into a relatively stable sense of self.

Erikson (1963, 1968) theorized that if individuals are unable to develop a coherent identity, they may fall into role confusion. To protect themselves against such confusion, young people may overidentify with particular in-groups and actively exclude people who are different, for example based on culture or ethnicity. Thus Erikson’s own work foreshadowed the importance of ethnicity as individuals are attempting to develop their identities. Erikson (1968) discussed race as it might relate to identity, theorizing that members of oppressed minorities may develop a negative identity due to internalization of negative views of their group held by the dominant society. Ethnic identity researchers have had various reactions to this claim, but a majority of theories of ethnic identity development do include a stage in which individuals idealize the dominant group and reject their minority group. Their theories and work will be discussed in the section on ethnic identity development.

Marcia (1966, 1980, 2002) developed four identity statuses in order to empirically study Erikson’s theoretical postulates about identity. His identity statuses are defined by the presence or absence of crisis, and the extent of commitment to an identity. According to Marcia, a period of crisis occurs when adolescents explore different identity options. Commitment occurs when individuals show a personal investment in an identity. *Identity achievement* describes individuals who have undergone exploration (crisis) and developed a coherent identity to which they are committed. *Identity foreclosure* occurs when individuals commit to an identity without a period of exploration. *Identity diffusion* describes an absence of commitment, whether or not a decision-making period has

occurred. *Identity moratorium* describes individuals in the midst of crisis, with only vaguely defined commitment. Marcia initially specified that these statuses related to adolescent crisis and commitment in two areas, occupation and ideology. This has since been expanded to capture identity more generally, throughout the lifespan (Marcia, 2002).

Marcia (1980) noted that identity development was usually a gradual, nonconscious process. Developing an identity is the cumulative result of years of seemingly trivial decisions that over time form a relatively consistent core structure. The ways in which one makes decisions can be through self-exploration and questioning, or by more passively accepting external forces (such as parental directives or values). According to Marcia, when individuals have a well-developed identity they have a greater awareness of their strengths and weaknesses, and have a better understanding of how they are similar to and different from others. If individuals have a less developed identity, they are likely to experience confusion about who they are and be reliant on others' opinions for evaluation.

Because of its focus on different statuses of identity, Marcia's work has been extremely influential in the field of ethnic identity development. Phinney's (1989) well-known model (which will be discussed in the section on Ethnic Identity Development) is an adaptation of Marcia's model of identity statuses.

Limitation of Identity Models

These models of identity formation were developed for the purpose of describing a universal process experienced by all individuals. However, as noted earlier, attention has recently focused on ethnicity as a salient factor that may have important implications

for identity development, particularly for members of ethnic minority groups (e.g., Root, 1998; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). As such, these general models of identity development may not adequately describe development in all individuals, particularly ethnic minorities. Models specific to the development of ethnic identity will be examined next.

Ethnic Identity Development

Overview

It has been argued that if we are to understand the role of ethnicity in human behavior, it is critical to understand individuals' ethnic identities (Phinney, 1996b). Ethnic identity is a fundamental aspect of the self that refers to how connected one is to one's ethnic group, and how one's thoughts and behaviors are related to being a member of that particular ethnic group (Phinney, 1996b). Ethnic identity is a part of one's more general identity (Grotevant, 1998; see taxonomy of identity in Chapter 1).

It seems warranted to preface the review of ethnic identity theories with a discussion of caveats. Though all areas of psychological study are likely plagued with definitional and conceptual complications, the ethnic identity field is particularly fragmented and complex. Ethnic identity has not been studied in a unitary fashion. In Phinney's (1990) seminal review of research on ethnic identity from the previous two decades, she reviewed studies that examined an array of components of ethnic identity, including ethnic self-identification, sense of belonging, in-group attitudes, and involvement in cultural/ethnic practices. She did not review any models of ethnic identity development. A review of models of ethnic identity development, rather than its component parts, is currently missing from the field. This chapter provides such a review.

As the construct of interest to this study was ethnic identity, only studies examining the development of ethnic identity, not simply related constructs or outcomes, were included.

Importantly for this review, most models of ethnic identity development have been developed for use with a single ethnic group only, such that virtually non-overlapping literatures exist for the different ethnic groups. In addition, these literatures are often further divided, for example to study Mexican American ethnic identity development rather than Latino identity development. This is perhaps necessary, in order to account for experiences and processes unique to different ethnic groups. Most ethnic identity researchers have not attempted to develop a single model that is applicable to individuals of all ethnic minority groups. Jean Phinney has been a pioneer in this respect, and her (1989) model is the most widely used model of ethnic identity development in the current literature, accompanied by her Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; 1992) which was designed to measure ethnic identity, for use with all ethnic groups. Some would question whether it is wise or even possible to study ethnic identity as a general phenomenon. Phinney (1992) acknowledged that each ethnic group in the U.S. has history, values, and traditions that may distinguish its members from other groups. However, she argued that there are commonalities across members of all ethnic minority groups, and that a comprehensive model is needed in order to advance the study of the role of ethnic identity in human development. It seems that the field may benefit from having both (a) a general model that draws on common experiences of minority groups coexisting in a society with a dominant group, and (b) models that illuminate specific experiences and processes unique to each ethnic group.

The aim of this section is to review the models of ethnic identity development that have been most influential and generative for researchers studying bi-ethnic identity. This will include ethnic identity models that were developed for use with one particular ethnic group that have influenced theories of bi-ethnic identity, as well as models developed to be applicable to members of all ethnic minority groups. It should be noted that because this study focused on individuals with Asian heritage, an exhaustive review of the models of ethnic identity development in Asian Americans is included. However, I did not review all models of other ethnic groups (for example, the large literature on ethnic identity development in African Americans), only ones that were most influential for researchers studying bi-ethnic identity. As the ultimate purpose of this section is to illuminate the foundation from which the field of bi-ethnic identity has developed, the focus will primarily be on theoretical models of ethnic identity development with a limited look at supporting empirical works.

Before beginning the review of models of ethnic identity development, it seems prudent to mention that two theoretical frameworks have guided much of the research on ethnic identity: Erikson's theory of identity development (1968), and social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1978; 1986). Erikson's theory was discussed in the previous section. Social identity theory focuses on the meaning of group membership for individuals. Tajfel (1981) defined social identity as "that part of the individuals' self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership to the social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that group membership (p. 255)." According to this theory, group identity is important because value is attributed to one's in-group and a sense of belonging can contribute to a positive

self-concept and self-esteem. Intergroup comparisons are made in order to achieve a positive social identity (Tajfel, 1982). Arguably, this theory has been most influential for the literature relevant to this study through its influence on Phinney's body of work on ethnic identity (see below). The MEIM assesses individuals' sense of belonging to their ethnic group, as well as an affective component to assess feelings about group membership (Phinney, 1992).

Models of Ethnic Identity Development for Particular Groups

Models examining identity development in African Americans were among the first to develop, and Cross (1971, 1978) has arguably been the most influential at generating early theory and impacting later researchers in this area. Cross developed a five-stage model of Black identity development, *Psychological Nigrescence*, reflective of the changes accompanying the civil rights era in the United States. This model begins with an initial stage, *pre-encounter*, characterized by acceptance of and preference for White culture, and negative views of Blacks. A period of crisis is triggered by a dislodging incident or *encounter* (the second stage), such as experience with racism, which shocks the self system into new formulations of identity. The third stage, *immersion-emersion*, was the highly emotional period following an encounter. This stage was characterized by positive feelings toward Blacks and negative feelings toward Whites. Individuals wholly immerse themselves in Black culture in the first part of this stage, followed by emergence from this reactionary period in the second part of this stage. Acceptance of and connection to Blacks occurs when individuals come to terms with being Black at the *internalization* (fourth) stage, accompanied by balanced feelings toward members of other groups. Cross' final stage reflects the zeitgeist of the 1960s and

1970s, as he proposed the stage *internalization-commitment* to characterize individuals who internalized a new identity and retained a commitment to social activism. These individuals were distinguished from those in the internalization stage who discontinued their involvement in activism after resolving personal identity conflicts.

There are several assertions in Cross' (1978) model that are questionable. First of all, his encounter stage necessitated "a shocking personal or social event" (p. 17). It seems likely that many individuals could lack single events of this magnitude, but still undergo exploration of their ethnic identity after a steady accumulation of even seemingly trivial experiences. Additionally, Cross specified that once in the encounter stage, individuals begin "a frantic, determined, obsessive, extremely motivated search for Black identity" (p. 17). Perhaps in the 1970s more African Americans would have been involved in such an all-consuming search, but even then, it seems equally likely that individuals could progress through developmental processes in a quiet, introspective manner lacking the frenzied drive Cross describes. In the immersion-emersion stage, Cross again seems to exaggerate the normative developmental process, citing "euphoria, rage, inordinate amounts of artistic and/or political energy, perturbation, effrontery, high risk taking, a destructive mood in constant tension" and other extreme characterizations (p. 17). Even given the sociopolitical climate at the time of this model's conception, it does not seem applicable to all African Americans. His final stage, internalization-commitment, idealizes those African Americans who continue social activist involvement after personal identity conflicts have been resolved. While commitment to civil rights was and always will be an issue of the utmost importance, requiring this in a model of intrapersonal psychological development may not accurately represent processes leading

to healthy development in most individuals. It is also questionable whether this stage has the modern relevance it might have had three decades ago.

Cross (1995) revised some of the stages in his model in response to theoretical and empirical critiques of his original conceptualization. Self-hatred and degradation of Blacks is no longer a focus of the pre-encounter stage; rather, the pre-encounter identity is characterized by a low salience of race, whereby race is considered insignificant to the individual. In the encounter stage of this revised model, he acknowledged that a single shocking event may not be typical for all African Americans, and that this stage could be characterized by a series of smaller episodes that have a cumulative effect on one's worldview. The internalization stage was also revised to reflect research suggesting that personality and self-esteem changes are minimal as individuals progress through Cross' stages. Thus this stage is less about self-healing, and more about changes to a reference group orientation or worldview. Despite criticism in the field about the internalization-commitment stage (see Helms, 1990 below), Cross retains this stage in his model, emphasizing that Blacks who have successfully negotiated an ethnic identity have a responsibility to translate this sense of Blackness into social action. As previously critiqued, this goal is admirable but not necessarily relevant in a model of personal ethnic identity development.

Ruiz (1990) created a Chicano/Latino ethnic identity model based on his clinical experience with the purpose of aiding counselors working with Chicano and Latino individuals. The five stages revolve around "crisis," or the development of ethnic identity conflicts (the first three stages), and "resolution" of crisis (the last two stages). In the *causal* stage, identity conflicts can be caused by variables such as parental denigration of

their own ethnic group, rejection from one's group, racism, or isolation from one's ethnic group. In the *cognitive* stage, Ruiz asserts that individuals can hold three false beliefs about ethnic identity: (a) group membership is linked to poverty and prejudice, and thus are perpetuated by maintenance of ethnic identity; (b) assimilation is required to escape poverty and prejudice; and (c) economic, social, and personal success depend upon assimilation. As a consequence of the growing fragmentation of ethnic identity in the first two stages, the *consequence* stage results in a lack of identification with one's ethnic group and denial of one's identity. This leads to psychological distress, and in the *working through* stage individuals are willing to enter counseling and cope with ethnic identity conflict. When individuals accept themselves, their culture, and their ethnicity, they have reached the *successful resolution* stage. This model has several similarities with the aforementioned Black identity development models of Cross (1971, 1978, 1995), such as the denial of one's identity and eventual acceptance and resolution, though it differs from models in the developmental literature with its emphasis on counseling.

Ruiz's (1990) model of ethnic identity development assumes individuals will experience difficulties extreme enough to require counseling. His theory is grounded in assumptions of marginality and maladjustment. This is understandable considering its basis in clinical experience and literature. However, the utility for such a model to describe the normative developmental processes of all Latinos is questionable. Additionally, his clinical experience was only with university students, which could further limit the applicability of the model to other populations. Therefore, the adequacy of this model for explaining developmental processes even in other clinical populations is unknown. As with other models, this model assumes a linear progression through stages.

Interestingly, the final stage of this model is acceptance of one's own ethnic group. This is in contrast with the most frequently occurring final stage in other ethnic identity models, which is self-acceptance combined with appreciation for or empathy with other ethnic groups. Ignoring psychological relations with other members of other ethnic groups is a major limitation of this model.

There is a dearth of models developed to describe the process of ethnic identity development in Asian Americans, particularly when compared with the amount of research on other ethnic groups. Results from literature searches revealed one ethnic identity development model applicable for all ethnic minorities but used with Asian Americans in that study (Tse, 1999). This study will be reviewed emphasizing its use for describing development in Asian Americans. Another study (Sue, 1989) was found on the topic of ethnic identity development in Asian Americans, but the author did not create a new model specifically for Asian Americans; rather, he used the Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1983) minority identity development model (see its description below). Only two studies were found that proposed new models specifically to describe ethnic identity development in Asian Americans. One was an unpublished doctoral dissertation (Kim, 1981), which will be reviewed despite its unpublished status given the dearth of literature relevant to the ethnic group of main interest to this study. In the additional study that will be reviewed, Nadal (2004) created an ethnic identity development model specifically for Filipino Americans.

The lack of ethnic identity development models for Asian Americans is disappointing, but it can perhaps be explained by attention to macrolevel contexts. The majority of ethnic identity development literature has focused on African American

development, and recently, Latino development. The surge in literature on African American ethnic identity coincided with the African American civil rights movement in the United States, and the current increase in literature on Latino ethnic identity is coinciding with the increased voice of the Latino community accompanying the changing demographics in the United States. This country has not yet experienced a large-scale “Asian pride” movement, and it is possible the sociopolitical zeitgeist is affecting the research that is conducted and published in the United States.

Kim (1981) conducted a dissertation study in which she interviewed ten Japanese American women, and proposed a model of ethnic identity development in Asian Americans from grounded theory analysis of these interviews. It should be noted that Kim assumed that conflict would be the primary characteristic in Asian American identity development, although this is questionable and deserves further study. Kim proposed five stages, which she argued were sequential and developmentally progressive. The first stage, *ethnic awareness*, occurred before children entered school, when they were aware that they were Japanese and this was regarded either as neutral or positive. Entry into school was characterized by a strong sense of being different. They saw themselves through the lens of the dominant culture, and this was described as a very painful period. This increased exposure to White culture and an internalization of White standards characterized the *white identification* stage. Kim described the next stage, *awakening to social political consciousness*, as the most important in ethnic identity development. At this point, Asian American individuals recognize that it is not a personal flaw that they are members of a minority group within society. For Kim’s participants, significant identity changes did not occur until they became involved in political

movements (e.g., anti-war demonstrations, Black civil rights, women's rights). Kim acknowledged that these women were influenced by the political culture on college campuses in the late 1960s and early 1970s. *Redirection to Asian American consciousness*, the fourth stage, occurred when individuals moved from their previous reference group orientation toward all minorities and oppressed groups. In this stage, they made efforts to understand themselves as Asian Americans. Kim's final proposed stage, *incorporation*, was achieved when individuals gained a confident, stable sense of Asian American identity, and could then relate to all other ethnic groups. They no longer felt the need to define themselves in opposition to or as part of White culture.

Readers are reminded that this study has not been published, and there are several limitations. For example, Kim (1981) only interviewed Japanese American women, yet created a model she argued could explain ethnic identity development in men and women of any Asian background. In addition, some of her stages seem dependent on the political climate at the time, and thus its modern applicability is questionable. However, this study is informative in several ways. An important implication of Kim's *redirection to Asian American consciousness* stage for the study of bi-ethnic individuals is her notation that individuals here tried to figure out which parts of themselves were Asian versus which parts were American. It is possible that bi-ethnic individuals may have similar experiences trying to figure out the different "parts" of their ethnic heritage. Additionally, Kim's model was the only one that explicitly stated that at the final stage of ethnic identity development, individuals realized that their ethnic identity was very important, but it was not their only identity. Individuals have many "identities," and different

identities can be salient at different times. This was an astute observation that is perhaps accepted in the field but had not been overtly recognized.

Tse (1999) proposed a four-stage model of ethnic identity development for members of ethnic minorities in the U.S., based on extant models of ethnic identity development in the literature. She then analyzed printed narratives from 39 Asian Americans to investigate the process of ethnic identity development in Asian Americans. In Stage 1, *ethnic unawareness*, individuals are unaware of their status in a minority group. This stage occurs in young children before they enter school. Entry to school spurs movement to Stage 2, *ethnic ambivalence/evasion*, when individuals become aware of their minority status and are ambivalent about such status. This occurs in childhood and adolescence, and often involves preference for the dominant group and rejection of one's minority group. Stage 3, *ethnic emergence*, occurs when individuals realize membership in the majority group is not possible, and they search for alternate group membership. This can include associating with other ethnic Americans, or embracing one's own ethnic heritage. When ethnic identity conflicts are resolved, individuals reach Stage 4, *ethnic identity incorporation*, and develop pride and a sense of membership in their ethnic group. For Tse's study, she specified that Stage 4 was characterized by discovering Asian Americans as a reference group, and the development of Asian pride.

Tse's (1999) study was a narrative analysis of 39 published autobiographies of Asian Americans. Empirical studies are needed to test her theory and determine generalizability. It is questionable whether all members of minority groups idealize and long for acceptance from the dominant group, or if this is more prevalent in certain groups or only certain individuals. It also seems that individuals could achieve a healthy

ethnic identity and still experience conflict related to this identity from time to time. The notion that ethnic identity conflicts could be wholly resolved does not seem as realistic as a theory suggesting that individuals may experience occasional issues with self-definitions but can have an enduring self-structure that aids them in the negotiation of hardship.

The most important contribution of Tse's (1999) study was her distinction between being Asian and being Asian American. In some of the narratives she analyzed, individuals described feelings of not fitting into mainstream American culture, and then traveling to their country of origin to connect to their Asian roots. In these Asian countries, they also felt they did not belong. This experience, of not feeling American or Asian, led them to "discover" being Asian American, a reference group where they felt connection and belonging. While it is unknown how typical this process may be for Asian Americans, this has potential implications for the study of bi-ethnic individuals. It may be the case that some bi-ethnic individuals experience difficulty finding an ethnic reference group where they feel they belong, and later attach themselves to a new reference group of bi-ethnic people rather than identifying with either one ethnic group in their heritage.

Nadal (2004) proposed a Filipino American identity development model by modifying the models of Kim (1981) and Atkinson et al. (1983, described below) to describe development in native-born or second-generation Filipino Americans in the United States. His purpose was to aid clinicians in appropriately counseling this population. Nadal specified that the six stages in his model were not meant to be interpreted as implying linear or sequential development, and that not all Filipino

Americans would experience all stages. In stage 1, *ethnic awareness*, the very young child is only aware of the culture of the home, and Nadal argues that at this stage parents attempt to teach their children of the importance of Filipino culture. He does not provide evidence that all parents are involving in enculturation attempts at this time, which is a limitation of this proposed stage. Stage 2, *assimilation to dominant culture*, occurs when children enter school and can continue throughout individuals' entire lives. In this stage, Filipino Americans prefer the dominant culture over their own and strive for assimilation into Whiteness. *Social political awakening*, stage 3, is accompanied by increased political awareness and realization of racial inequality in society. Individuals at this stage are angry at White society and are defiant and rebellious. They feel compelled to act to end racial oppression. Stage 4, *panethnic Asian American consciousness*, is unique to Filipino Americans because they have been classified in this society as racially Asian. Prior to this stage, Nadal claimed Filipinos focus only on being Filipino, but in this stage he asserted that they accept their social classification as Asian American, are proud to be Asian American, and join Asian American groups. Nadal did note that if individuals live in regions with large Filipino populations, this stage may not be applicable and they may not connect themselves with the Asian American reference group. Stage 5, *ethnocentric realization*, is also unique to Filipino Americans, though Nadal conceded it could also occur in other groups which have been marginalized within larger racial groups. This stage is triggered by an event that causes Filipino Americans to recognize that they have been unjustly categorized as Asian Americans. They are angry not just with the dominant group but with society at large, and they desire recognition as Filipino and not Asian American. The final stage, *incorporation*, is indicative of a positive and comfortable

identity that is characterized by Filipino American pride along with an appreciation for all other ethnic groups. Individuals in this stage are no longer angry at being categorized as Asian Americans, but will continue social justice efforts for the Filipino community.

Nadal's (2004) model offered interesting insights into potential processes within a specific ethnic community. In particular, his distinction between identifying at the most specific level (Filipino American) versus identifying at a more general level (Asian American) may have implications for distinctions in identification in bi-ethnic individuals. However, his model needs empirical testing, particularly since his description of stages often includes generalizations that may not be applicable to all individuals. For instance, in the *social political awakening* stage, Nadal asserts that the Filipino individual "is instantly prejudiced against every White person he or she encounters and attempts to discriminate against them" (p. 56). This characterization is too extreme for inclusion in a model of normative development. As has been critiqued in other models, Nadal's emphasis on social action as an integral part of ethnic identity development is questionable.

Integrative Models of Ethnic Identity Development

Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1983) proposed a Minority Identity Development model based on their clinical observations and models in the literature at that time, which were almost exclusively Black racial identity models. However, this model was designed to be applicable to members of all minority or oppressed groups (i.e., ethnic, gender, sexual orientation, disability status), albeit with an acknowledgement of intragroup and intergroup differences. The initial stage is *conformity* in which individuals display a preference for the values of the dominant culture over their own. As individuals start to

question and challenge these beliefs, they move into *dissonance*, a stage typified by confusion and conflict. The *resistance and immersion* stage is characterized by rejection of the dominant culture and immersion in one's group. Rigid and hostile views from this stage can lead to feelings of discomfort, and individuals move into the *introspection* stage. The stage of *synergetic articulation and awareness* reflects resolution of conflict and a sense of self-fulfillment. This model was developed to aid counselors' understanding of minority clients, and has been used extensively in the counseling literature.

There are several specific issues that can be raised with respect to the stages in the model, as well as overall critiques. In the first stage, Atkinson et al. (1983) assert that individuals have discriminatory attitudes against members of other minority groups. Even if individuals at this stage idealize the majority group, this would not necessitate prejudice toward other minorities. This claim needs empirical testing. In the third stage when individuals reject the dominant society, individuals are said to experience a sense of "distrust and dislike for all members of the dominant group" (p. 37). This is likely an exaggeration. Additionally, it is stated that in this stage a main goal is to eliminate oppression of one's ethnic group. Similarly, in the fifth stage individuals are said to be motivated to eradicate all oppression. It is remotely possible this was a normative developmental feature at the time the model was conceptualized; however, its modern relevance is questionable. Furthermore, individuals in this final stage are said to only trust and like members of the majority group who devote themselves to ending oppression. These judgmental standards of others are improbable and extreme.

Atkinson et al.'s (1983) model was designed to be applicable to members of all minority or oppressed groups. The authors acknowledged the probability of intragroup and intergroup differences, but felt their model could adequately address common developmental processes for all oppressed groups. However, empirical studies have not tested this assertion with a wide variety of oppressed groups. Creating a one-size-fits-all model purporting to address developmental experiences common to women, gay and lesbian individuals, individuals with disabilities, and all members of different ethnic groups seems potentially problematic. Additionally, the authors noted that not all individuals move through all these stages, and that the stages are best thought of as blending into one another in a continuous process of development. The notion of "continuous stages" is antithetical to the definition of stages in the psychological field, and therefore meaningless. Despite these critiques, this model is important because it has been extremely influential in the field, particularly in the generation of later models of ethnic identity development.

Helms (1990, 1995) reconceived Cross' (1978) Nigrescence model with the purpose of applicability to individuals of all ethnic minority groups. Helms' People of Color Racial Identity model has five stages, almost identical to Cross' stages. The first stage, *conformity (pre-encounter)* is characterized by degradation of one's group and preference for White culture. The *dissonance (encounter)* stage is marked by confusion about one's commitment to one's group. In *immersion/emersion*, White culture is devalued and one's own group is idealized. Helms characterized the third stage, *internalization*, as development of a positive commitment to one's group. She relegated Cross' internalization/commitment stage to a sub-phase of her internalization stage. She

asserted that empirical categorization of individuals in this internalization/commitment stage was difficult because it required a distinction between individuals' motivation for civil rights advancements and their behavior designed to bring about change (Helms, 1990). Helms' fifth stage (added in Helms, 1995), *integrative awareness*, is characterized by value for one's own group as well as empathy for members of other oppressed groups. This addition recognizes an important distinction between commitment to one's own ethnic group and a sense of connection with other ethnic groups that was lacking in Cross' model.

Helms (1995) recognized that for most researchers, the term "stage" connotes a static position reached by or assigned to an individual, rather than a complex, dynamic process by which behavior can be explained. Helms then shifted her terminology, preferring the term "status" over stage to promote the idea of interactive themes of identity development. She asserted that these statuses are not mutually exclusive and that individuals may be simultaneously characterized by attributes of multiple statuses. Therefore, in her revised model (1995) she describes development as being characterized by statuses, not stages. However, despite these changes in terminology, Helms continued to claim linear, sequential development through these statuses, which other researchers have questioned (e.g., J. F. Collins, 2000; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004).

Many critiques of Helms' (1990, 1995) model are similar to critiques of Cross' (1978, 1995) model, and thus will not be repeated. Overall, Helms asserted that individuals' status of ethnic identity resulted from their cognitive maturation level, and it seems unwise to assume that individuals at "lower" levels of ethnic identity are necessarily less mature cognitively.

Phinney (1989; 1996a) developed a three-stage model of ethnic identity formation. She created this model by modifying and expanding upon Marcia's (1980) model of identity formation, and synthesizing and critiquing the existing models of ethnic identity development for individual ethnic groups. Phinney's model is a widely used and accepted model in the field. The first stage, *unexamined ethnic identity*, embodies either a lack of ethnic exploration (similar to Marcia's identity diffusion) or acceptance of socially ascribed ethnic attitudes (identity foreclosure). It is possible for individuals in this stage to have a negatively foreclosed identity, characterized by rejection of one's ethnicity and/or expression of preference for the majority ethnic group. *Ethnic identity search* (akin to moratorium) is characterized by a period of exploration into the meaning of one's ethnicity, and can include thinking about the effects of ethnicity on one's life, talking to others about ethnicity, and learning more about one's ethnicity through books, events, or organizations. The last stage, *ethnic identity achievement* (Marcia's achieved identity), involves a sense of membership in an ethnic group and acceptance of the ethnicity of others. Individuals in this stage have a clear sense of the meaning of their ethnicity, and can be characterized by expressions of acceptance of and pride in their ethnic group.

Phinney (1989) found evidence for these stages through interviews with African American, Asian American, and Latino high school students. Interview questions focused on exploration of, commitment to, and attitudes about one's ethnic group. A coding scheme for the interviews was then developed to assign individuals to stages of ethnic identity development. It should be noted that Phinney conceived her model with all four stages existing in Marcia's (1980) model of identity statuses. However, coders could not

reliably distinguish between diffusion and foreclosure, so these students were grouped together into what Phinney then labeled unexamined ethnic identity. Just over one-half of the high school students were categorized in the unexamined ethnic identity stage, with a little less than one-quarter of the students falling into each other stage, ethnic identity search and ethnic identity achievement. The percentages of students in each of these stages were almost identical across the three ethnic groups. With the exception of a few students who emphasized European heritage (e.g., Irish, German), European American adolescents could not be assigned to stages.

Phinney's (1989) model received nearly uncritical acceptance in the field, perhaps because no other model of ethnic identity development had been published in the developmental psychology literature that could be used with members of all ethnic groups. It is somewhat troubling that reliable distinctions could not be made between individuals in identity diffusion versus foreclosure, since there are important theoretical differences between these two stages. Additionally, some researchers (e.g., Root, 1998) have questioned whether stage models accurately describe developmental processes; this critique will be discussed in detail in a later section. While recognizing these limitations, Phinney's theory is of critical importance because it has been extremely generative for the field of ethnic identity.

Connections Across Ethnic Identity Models

There are several similarities among these ethnic identity models. Common across all models is a period of exploration and questioning; in some models this involves rejection of the dominant group. These theorists agree that an achieved ethnic identity is characterized by acceptance of one's ethnic group and feelings of connection to the

group; most also propose that this phase is characterized by balanced feelings toward other groups. Future research could be conducted to determine if differences in the models are due to different experiences of members of different ethnic groups; if this were the case, arguments could be made against the utility of Phinney's (1989) model for measuring identity development in all ethnic group members, or against the Atkinson et al. (1983) model for identity development in members of all oppressed groups.

Overall Critique of Ethnic Identity Models

Our knowledge of the process of ethnic identity development is complicated by the division of research on racial/ethnic lines. Researchers in this area need to consider the question of whether separate models of ethnic identity development are needed for different ethnic groups, or if a single integrated model suffices. Phinney's (1989, 1996a) work has succeeded in integrating this body of research into a single model appropriate for all ethnic groups, according to her assertions. Yet some would argue that there are important differences between experiences of different minority groups in this society. In particular, there are differing expectations and stereotypes imposed on different groups (e.g., the model minority expectation for Asian Americans) that may differentially influence identity development. Thus, there is a need for studies to assess whether Phinney's stage model of ethnic identity development truly captures the process for individuals of all ethnic groups, or whether separate models more accurately and adequately reflect the developmental experiences of members of different ethnic groups.

If separate models are needed, it seems the field would still benefit from further integration. Models of ethnic identity development for one ethnic group could certainly learn from the years of research or the new insights and directions of research conducted

on other ethnic groups, even if specifics of the processes differ. For example, models developed for one particular group that has experienced discrimination and exclusion might help for development of models for others who have experienced discrimination and exclusion.

Additionally, the use of homogeneous models that do not explicitly account for heterogeneity within group members has been challenged. M. B. Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) argued that a weakness of models of identity development thus far was the assumption of homogeneity among group members. They argued that the role of societal status characteristics such as skin color and socioeconomic status need to be accounted for in ethnic identity development models. Celious and Oyserman (2001) suggested that racial identity models for African Americans should be heterogeneous. They argue that racial identity models to date do not account for differential identity processes related to gender, social class, and skin tone, and that the combination of race with these variables produces different experiences in the lives of African Americans. While acknowledging the added complexity of heterogeneity when studying this topic, Celious and Oyserman assert that without it social science will not reflect social reality. This is a recent critique that has not yet received the research attention it deserves. It also has interesting implications for the study of bi-ethnic individuals. These critiques perhaps suggest that bi-ethnic individuals with different heritage combinations need to be studied separately, rather than studying all bi-ethnic individuals as a unitary group. The current study focused only on individuals of Asian and European descent, given that bi-ethnic individuals of other backgrounds may have different experiences. It is important to note

that there is also heterogeneity within a group of Asian Americans, and this is recognized as a potential limitation of the current study.

Recently, researchers have questioned defining ethnic identity in a stable, trait-like manner without taking context into account (e.g., Kiang & Fuligni, 2009; Sellers, 1993, Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Social identity theory would argue for the importance of context such as school and neighborhood environments, as it proposes that contact with members of out-groups would increase feelings of in-group membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1978). Fuligni and his colleagues (e.g., Kiang & Fuligni, 2009, Yip & Fuligni, 2002) have made important advances in the study of variation in salience of ethnic identity due to participation in ethnic behaviors, and variation of ethnic identity in relational contexts among parents and peer groups. There are many contexts that seem important and in need of further study, including familial contexts, peer contexts, and environmental contexts. The current study will begin to address these contextual issues as it examines the influences on individuals' bi-ethnic identity development.

More work is needed to explore the nature of ethnic and bi-ethnic identity. In particular, the construct of bi-ethnic identity and how it is understood by bi-ethnic individuals is in need of further research. Prior research has focused on stage models of development rather than asking what bi-ethnic identity means for individuals and what factors influence its development. The current study addresses two areas needing further research, the construct of bi-ethnic identity and influences on its development. The construct of bi-ethnic identity has not been studied in-depth, and a goal of this study is to develop the construct of bi-ethnic identity and describe it more richly than in previous research, rather than uncovering developmental stages. It seems premature to describe

stages of bi-ethnic identity development before we have a clearer understanding of what it is. Existing research on bi-ethnic identity development will be discussed next.

Bi-ethnic Identity Development

Overview

While the importance of studying ethnic identity has been fairly well established, researchers have only recently recognized identity development in bi-ethnic and multiethnic individuals as an important topic lacking substantial research. Phinney and her colleagues have found evidence of her ethnic identity development stages in monoethnic adolescents (e.g., Phinney, 1989). However, many researchers have asserted that ethnic identity models developed to describe identity in monoethnic individuals do not as accurately explain these processes for multiethnic people (e.g., Gillem et al., 2001; Root, 1998; Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Researchers have noted that Phinney's and other ethnic identity models do not capture the complexities of bi-ethnic identity formation in our culture, nor do they document or describe processes of integration of more than one ethnic group into one's identity (Gillem et al., 2001; Poston, 1990). Poston (1990) argued that models of ethnic identity development designed for monoethnic individuals were inadequate because the models did not allow for integration of multiple ethnic identities. In addition, many monoethnic models assume acceptance by the minority group as part of one's healthy ethnic identity development, and bi-ethnic individuals may not always experience acceptance by the groups that make up their heritage (e.g., Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Gillem et al. (2001) showed that even in the case of bi-ethnic individuals who identify with only one ethnic group in their backgrounds, monoethnic identity models did not accurately capture the complex issues bi-ethnic individuals have to deal with while

developing an identity in a “monoracially defined world” (p. 194). Given the critical role of ethnicity in identity development, it seems imperative to examine this process in individuals who are negotiating an identity that incorporates two distinct ethnic groups. In particular, we need more information about what bi-ethnic identity is comprised of, and how bi-ethnic individuals define themselves.

The field of bi-ethnic identity development is in its infancy, but it is growing rapidly (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Since the early 1990s there has been a steady increase in theoretical and empirical research about bi-ethnic individuals. However, most of the research has examined the psychological adjustment of bi-ethnic individuals, as opposed to a sense of what it means to be of bi-ethnic heritage. This gap in the literature was addressed with the current study. Models of bi-ethnic identity development will be reviewed in the next section. As with the study of ethnic identity, there have been models developed for use with particular bi-ethnic groups versus models developed to be used with all bi-ethnic individuals; both types of models will be presented.

Models of Bi-ethnic Identity Development

Poston (1990) was among the first researchers to assert that existing racial identity models were inherently limited in their applicability to biracial individuals, and that a model for biracial individuals was needed. He developed a five-stage model of biracial identity development. This model was based on his counseling experience with support groups for biracial individuals, and the limited research available on biracial individuals at that time. The first stage is *personal identity*, where children have a sense of self that is independent of ethnic heritage. The second stage, *choice of group categorization*, occurs when individuals feel pushed to choose a group with which to identify.

Enmeshment/denial then occurs, which is characterized by guilt over denying one parent's heritage or confusion about lack of acceptance from one or both ethnic groups. The fourth stage, *appreciation*, is when individuals attempt to learn more about both ethnic groups and appreciate having a mixed heritage. In the final stage of *integration*, individuals integrate and value their multicultural identity, experiencing wholeness. Poston did not specify ages at which individuals might experience these different stages. However, in explanatory examples for each stage, he described children being in the first and second stages, and adolescents in the third. He alluded that the fifth stage might occur in adults, but did not state this explicitly. It is unclear whether Poston did not specify age ranges because he believed these stages could occur at any age, or if he in fact conceptualized the stages as occurring at certain periods (as his examples suggest) but neglected to explicitly state the ages.

This initial model has been extremely generative for the field, and many subsequent models retain similarities. It is somewhat troubling that Poston (1990) did not describe scientific methods of data collection or analysis; rather, his main source of information seemed fairly anecdotal. However, he did acknowledge that his model should be viewed as tentative, and his work was significant in that he successfully argued for the field to move away from applying monoethnic identity models to bi-ethnic people.

Jacobs (1992) developed a biracial identity development model for young Black-White children. He interviewed children (aged 3-12 years) with a "doll-play instrument" that consisted of dolls painted with various hair and skin combinations. The children he interviewed used the dolls to answer questions about topics such as self-identification, family identification, and playmate preference. From these interviews, Jacobs proposed a

three-stage model of biracial identity development with specified age periods. Children younger than 4 ½ years were said to be in the *pre-color constancy* stage. In this stage the child's view of skin color is nonevaluative, and she typically lacks a racial label or a sense of skin color constancy. Between ages 4 ½ to 8, children move into the *post-color constancy* stage. This stage is characterized by knowledge that skin color does not change, and ambivalence about one's own racial grouping. Children in this stage often reject one group while showing a preference for the other; in Jacobs' research this was typically a White preference and Black rejection at first. Jacobs stressed that such ambivalence is developmentally important, as a discordant identity is necessary for individuals to move forward and develop a unified identity. The third stage is *biracial identity*. Children 8 to 12 years of age understand that group membership is determined by parental heritage as opposed to skin color alone, and they develop a biracial identity based on the realization that their parents come from two different socially designated ethnic groups, not because they are different colors.

The idea that a biracial identity is formed by the end of childhood is highly questionable. Other bi-ethnic identity models (described below) extend into or focus on development in adulthood, which seems more realistic. It is also unclear whether this model could be used with individuals of different heritages. Interestingly, Jacobs (1992) included dolls with Asian features along with the dolls with various light-dark skin and hair combinations. However, he only studied children of African and European descent, so the transferability to other groups is unknown. Most importantly, it seems that Jacobs' model is more of a description of children's understanding of skin color versus racial groups, rather than a description of the process of developing a sense of belonging and

commitment to one's group. Thus despite his characterization of this work as a model of biracial identity development, this model seems to describe a different construct.

Kich (1992) proposed a three-stage developmental model for biracial identity. He conducted semi-structured interviews with 15 adults (17-60 years old) of White and Japanese heritage. The first stage is an initial *awareness of differentness and dissonance* between self-perception and others' perception of the self, hypothesized from 3-10 years of age. The second stage, *struggle for acceptance*, is characterized by a questionable or devalued sense of self. This second stage can run from age 8 to late adolescence. When individuals accept themselves and value their biracial/bicultural identities, they are said to be in the third stage, *self-acceptance and assertion of an interracial identity*. This stage is most often attained in adulthood. Kich asserted that while his research was on biracial Asians, his developmental model was appropriate for all multiracial individuals because it was influenced by his involvement in the multiracial community and his clinical experience with multiracial individuals of varying backgrounds. This claim has not been empirically tested.

Kich (1992) did not specify whether the constraint of one Japanese parent referred to a Japanese individual who immigrated to the U.S. or a Japanese American who was raised in the U.S. It is arguable that this difference has implications for bi-ethnic identity development because of the impact of acculturation on parents' socialization goals (Parke & Buriel, 1998; Phinney, 2003). Additionally, it would be interesting to see if most bi-ethnic individuals feel they need to assert a bi-ethnic identity in order to feel positively about themselves and their heritage as Kich specified in his final stage. Root (1990; see description below) noted that some bi-ethnic individuals choose to identify with only one

ethnic group in their background, and this is a positive identity as long as they do not feel marginalized from that group and they do not deny the other part of their heritage.

J. F. Collins (2000) conducted a study to elaborate on the concepts described by Kich (1992), and he proposed a biracial identity model specifically for biracial Asians. He conducted in-depth, open-ended interviews with adults who had one Japanese parent and one parent of another ethnicity. J. F. Collins identified four phases that were put forth as interrelated themes as opposed to linear and mutually exclusive stages. In phase I, *questioning and confusion*, individuals become aware of their differentness and often have feelings of a dual minority status due to lack of acceptance from either ethnic community. In phase II, *refusal and suppression*, individuals attempt to define themselves, often by choosing one ethnicity and denying the other. Resultant guilt leads individuals to reach out to the rejected culture and attempt to integrate it in phase III, *infusion and exploration*. In phase IV, *resolution and acceptance*, both cultures are recognized and valued, and acknowledged as significant and equal parts of themselves. To note, J. F. Collins stressed individual variation in identity development, and emphasized that trends that may seem unidirectional often include advances, repetitions, and retreats.

J. F. Collins (2000) made an important advancement by moving away from the idea of inflexible stages and recognizing that development is not always linear. However, it is not clear whether the resolution and acceptance phase can apply to individuals who publicly assert a monoethnic identity even if they have internally accepted both groups in their background. An important constraint of J. F. Collins' sample was that these participants had all moved to the San Francisco area because of its multicultural

reputation. By studying a group of individuals who went to such lengths to find an environment that would accept and foster their bi-ethnic identities, it is possible that the experiences described and processes undergone by these participants are not reflective of other bi-ethnic individuals. Overall, the stage models of biracial identity development created by Kich (1992) and J. F. Collins are very similar. It is not known if their models would be applicable to individuals with different ethnic backgrounds, or if these stages are only experienced by bi-ethnic individuals with Japanese heritage. Their research also does not examine influencing factors on bi-ethnic identity development, a gap that the current study addressed.

Kerwin and Ponterotto (1995) proposed a six-stage model of biracial identity development focused on transitions accompanying developmental age periods. They created this model in an attempt to comprehensively integrate their own and others' empirical and theoretical research on biracial identity development. At *preschool* age, biracial individuals become aware of parental physical differences. *Entry to school* brings about the use of descriptive terms and labels, influenced by definitions provided by the family as well as school influences and role models from different groups. *Preadolescence* is marked by the connection of physical appearance to group membership and a heightened sensitivity to differences of language, culture, or appearance. At *adolescence*, there is characterized by external pressure from peers to choose one group over the other. This can cause conflict about identifying with only one parent's heritage. The authors proposed that dating during this period may bring race to the forefront and pose additional pressures. In the *college/young adulthood* stage, individuals move away from immersion in one culture and rejection of the other toward

an appreciation of both heritages. At this stage, however, individuals still primarily identify with one group. In *adulthood*, there is ongoing integration to form a biracial identity, accompanied by personal growth and flexibility around issues of race. According to Kerwin and Ponterotto, this stage is dependent on successful resolution of earlier stages.

While this model lacks parsimony, its complexity and lifespan perspective perhaps best reflect the lived experiences of bi-ethnic individuals. However, it is questionable whether all bi-ethnic individuals experience all these stages, in this order, and in the specified developmental periods. It seems possible that an individual in adolescence could attain an integrated biracial identity, or conversely, that an individual could go through adulthood with a sensitivity to physical appearance (as described in the preadolescent stage). This model, like other models of bi-ethnic identity development, assumes only one positive identity outcome that is not reached until adulthood. Different ways of experiencing a dual heritage are not accounted for in this stage model.

Some researchers have challenged the utility of stage models for research with bi-ethnic individuals. Root (1990) suggested that biracial individuals seek a sense of self in a cyclical, repeating process throughout their lives. The force in this circular process that moves an individual forward is internal conflict over one's core sense of self. Sources of conflict include familial, political, and social environmental influences, which most often reflect tension between the different racial components within the person. Root suggested that individuals are likely to compartmentalize different parts of their ethnic heritage in the beginning of the identity development process, and that resolution occurs when there is no longer a need to separate racial components of self.

Root (1990) proposed four resolutions of the biracial identity development process, for the purpose of asserting that more than one healthy psychological outcome is possible. Common to all resolutions is the assumption that the biracial person recognizes both parts of her ethnic heritage. *Acceptance of the Identity Society Assigns* occurs when individuals identify with the ethnic identity society views them as being. This can stem from oppressive environmental forces, or reflect a positive resolution when individuals feel a sense of belonging with the group to which they are assigned. When biracial individuals identify with both groups in their heritage, this resolution is termed *Identification with Both Racial Groups*. Their personality remains constant across group situations, and they do not feel rejected by either group. *Identification with a Single Racial Group* can appear identical to acceptance of the identity society assigns; however, this resolution is active rather than passive in that individuals choose to identify with a particular group (regardless of which group society might assign to them). It is important to note that the choice of one group does not mean that the other part of their heritage is denied or rejected. *Identification as a New Racial Group* occurs when a struggle with marginalized status leads biracial individuals to feel strong kinship with other biracial people. Individuals do not reject their heritage, but feel more connected to the newly generated reference group. Root suggests that individuals may move among these resolutions and that such movement can be consistent with a stable, positive sense of self. The exception is internalized oppression, when individuals deny any part of their heritage.

In the aforementioned schematic, Root (1990) stressed environmental contexts as powerful influences on identity. Root has since expanded this view, drawing on the work

of Bronfenbrenner (1979). Root (1998) conceptualized an ecological model of racial identity development to provide a framework to guide multiracial identity inquiry. She describes contextual macrolenses of gender, class, and regional racial history that filter perceived meanings of situations and experiences. The meaning of daily experiences is also filtered through microlenses of *inherited influences* (e.g., languages spoken in the home, phenotype), *traits* (e.g., temperament, coping skills), and *social environments* (e.g., home, school, work). Generational differences are described as interacting with the lenses in the model. Root's (1998) model does not outline a linear progression of stages, but instead acknowledges that multiethnic individuals may identify in many different ways, and that these identities may be situational, simultaneous, or changeable throughout life. This model provides an excellent overview of possible contextual influences on identity development. However, this model has not been empirically tested, thus the validity of these theorized influences is unknown. The current study examined some of these theorized influences; please see the section on Familial Influences on Bi-ethnic Identity.

Along the same lines as Root's (1990) resolutions, Rockquemore (1998) proposed four meanings of biracial identity for Black/White individuals, rather than a stage theory of development. She interviewed 14 Black/White undergraduates at a Catholic university in the Midwest. Rockquemore proposed four categories in response to interview questions about what being biracial means to the individuals and how those meanings change through social interactions. Individuals with a *border identity* perceived their identity as existing between the Black and White racial groups; they did not consider themselves either race alone but incorporated both into a new category, biracial. Individuals with a *protean identity* defined themselves as either Black, White, or biracial

depending on the particular social context because their experiences allowed them to shift their identity in various settings. For individuals with a *transcendent identity*, racial identity did not play a role in their overall identity and they rejected racial categorization as defining them personally. Rockquemore stated that only individuals who were highly phenotypically ambiguous and could be perceived as White would be able to claim this identity category, but she did not provide empirical evidence for this claim. Individuals with a *traditional identity* defined themselves as Black, without denying their White parent. She had no respondents in her study who were coded into this category, but she proposed it theoretically based on this country's history of hypodescent (the "one drop rule"). It is not known whether these categories would be meaningful for bi-ethnic individuals from other backgrounds. See Chapter 5 for further discussion of this model.

Connections Across Bi-ethnic Identity Models

Despite the distinctions in the models just presented, many connections can be made across these models of bi-ethnic identity development. As with ethnic identity models, most begin with a stage where ethnicity is not a major part of identity. This is common in young children, and can be characterized by lack of thinking about group identities. Several bi-ethnic models then describe a feeling of "differentness" experienced by bi-ethnic individuals. This can be brought on by others' questions such as "What are you?" or growing awareness of racial/ethnic groups. In most models this is followed by an individual choosing one ethnicity, and can include rejection of other heritages. This is also sometimes characterized as a period filled with confusion and angst. There is then a move toward acceptance of both ethnicities. An achieved identity is usually characterized by an integration and valuing of all parts of one's heritage. According to current

theoretical perspectives, the processes bi-ethnic individuals experience as they develop their identities differ in meaningful ways from monoethnic individuals developing an ethnic identity. These processes differ partly due to reactions of a confused society (which could lead to feeling different), and partly due to the unique processes of integrating two or more ethnic backgrounds into a unified identity.

Critique of the Stage Model Approach

One major issue with respect to both ethnic identity and bi-ethnic identity models is their use of the term “stage” in discussing development of ethnic and bi-ethnic identity, particularly since several researchers have used this term loosely to refer to attributes or phases rather than actual stages of development, as defined in the developmental psychology literature. Stage models of development often are fairly formally defined with respect to ordering of stages, degree of discontinuity between stages, and processes of moving from one stage to another (see Fischer & Bidell, 2006, for discussion of stage models in developmental psychology). It would be informative to ascertain whether ethnic and bi-ethnic identity development is continuous or discontinuous. For both ethnic identity and bi-ethnic identity, theorists have questioned the appropriateness of the stage model approach for understanding developmental processes.

It is possible that continuous and discontinuous models can co-exist to enhance our knowledge in different ways. For example, Root’s (1998) ecological model that outlines influencing factors may be useful for guiding research into *how* identity is developed, whereas other bi-ethnic identity stage models may be useful for describing *what* the individual goes through in the process of developing an identity. However, it does seem unwise to assume the existence of only a single healthy psychological

outcome to the process of bi-ethnic identity development, as is asserted in stage models. Root's (1990) schematic of possible bi-ethnic identity resolutions, and Rockquemore's (1998) categories of identity, are thus welcome additions to the field. On the other hand, the presentation of four possible outcomes of bi-ethnic identity development does not inform us of the process individuals go through to reach these identity resolutions. Thus this study aimed to obtain knowledge about both the experience of having a bi-ethnic identity and the factors that influence it, such that future studies can address some of these issues surrounding conceptualizations of bi-ethnic identity and its development.

These models of bi-ethnic identity development have been generative for the field, and were influential for the current study as its aim was to build on this work. In particular, two areas needing research were the nature of bi-ethnic identity and the influences on bi-ethnic identity development. The construct of bi-ethnic identity has not been studied in-depth; it seems researchers started first to examine the stages of its development rather than asking what it is and how it is experienced by bi-ethnic individuals. Additionally, it is important to ascertain information about what factors are influential on bi-ethnic identity development, as different individuals define themselves differently and the reasons for this are currently unknown.

Familial Influences on Ethnic and Bi-ethnic Identity Development

Overview

Almost all seminal theorists of the self emphasized the importance of others for the development of the self (e.g., James, 1890/1950; Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934). These influential others ranged from immediate family members to friends to society at large. Given the contributions of these works to the field of identity development, it seems

prudent to continue this line of study with respect to bi-ethnic identity development. With the exception of Root's (1998) model, which has not been empirically tested, the aforementioned models of bi-ethnic identity development present stages without explicit attention to influencing factors, such that the internal and external influencers associated with progression through these stages are unknown. This leaves many questions unanswered. An imperative next step in this field is to examine influencing factors on the process of bi-ethnic identity development to further our psychological understanding of this rapidly growing population (e.g., Root, 1998; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004).

The factors that could potentially influence bi-ethnic identity development are too numerous for comprehensive, in-depth examination in a single study. Past research (e.g., Adams, 1997; Quintana, 1999; Zwiabach-Sherman, 1999) has examined several influencing factors without exhaustive examination of any single factor. Parents are viewed as the single most important influence on development, both in general (e.g., W. A. Collins & Steinberg, 2006; Nurmi, 2004) and for ethnic and bi-ethnic identity (e.g., Fisher et al., 1997; Kich, 1992; Rotheram & Phinney, 1987). In addition to parents, extended family members (especially grandparents) may be important in the transmission of culture and the development of bi-ethnic identity (Johnson, 1992; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). This study provided an in-depth exploration of familial influences on bi-ethnic identity development.

The literature currently lacks empirical research on familial influences on bi-ethnic identity development. The few exceptions, which are mostly unpublished doctoral dissertation studies, will be discussed in the following section. The scant literature on familial influences on ethnic identity may be informative for bi-ethnic identity, so these

were included in this review. It is important to note that all of these studies reported influences other than familial (e.g., neighborhood ethnic composition, peer influences, bilingualism). However, given the focus of the present study, only results pertaining to familial influences are presented.

Familial Influences on Ethnic Identity Development

Phinney and Chavira (1995) attempted to examine the relation between ethnic socialization and ethnic identity, among other variables. Their study used interviews and questionnaires of adolescents and their parents in three groups (African Americans, Japanese Americans, and Mexican Americans) using the MEIM to measure ethnic identity. They did not find a significant relationship between parental ethnic socialization and adolescent ethnic identity. However, this study had serious flaws. Parental ethnic socialization was a dichotomous variable they created in response to the single question, “Do you try to teach your son or daughter about the cultural practices of your ethnic group?” (p. 39). This question needed much greater expansion. Ethnic socialization could occur in myriad ways, and it could be implicit or explicit. Parents might have answered “no” to this question even if they routinely eat ethnic food, attend ethnic religious events, speak a native language, or decorate their homes to reflect their culture, for example. Parents may not have viewed these as explicitly “teaching” their children about the “cultural practices” of their group, despite their potential implicit influence on children’s ethnic identity development. A single dichotomous variable is not adequate to capture a full range of potential enculturation behaviors. Phinney (Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001) later acknowledged the limitations of this mode of measurement of parental ethnic socialization.

Phinney et al. (2001) studied the ethnic identity of immigrants, including a consideration of how parental practices to maintain the family's culture of origin potentially influenced ethnic identity. This study used questionnaires to examine ethnic identity and parental cultural maintenance in three ethnic groups (Armenian, Mexican, and Vietnamese). They found that group differences necessitated separate models of influence for each group. Cultural maintenance by parents was significantly positively related to adolescent ethnic identity for all groups. Path analysis indicated that parental cultural maintenance predicted ethnic identity in Vietnamese adolescents indirectly, with ethnic language proficiency mediating the influence of cultural maintenance on ethnic identity in this group. In the Armenian group, parental cultural maintenance directly predicted adolescent ethnic identity, as well as indirectly predicting through ethnic language proficiency. This is in contrast to the Vietnamese and Mexican groups, where they did not find a significant direct link between parental cultural maintenance and ethnic identity. Phinney et al. interpreted this finding by claiming that the strength and coherence of the Armenian community was greater than the Vietnamese and Mexican communities they studied.

This study's main focus was on the role of language in ethnic identity, and it lacked an in-depth examination of parental behaviors aimed at ethnic socialization. Measurement of parental cultural maintenance consisted of extent of agreement (using a Likert scale) with statements about specific practices to transmit cultural heritage. While this method is an improvement over the Phinney and Chavira (1995) study, this study would have been stronger if the authors had developed their items through interviews with Vietnamese Americans (and other groups in their sample) to ensure validity of the

items as socialization practices utilized by members of this group.

Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004) studied the ethnic identity development of Mexican-origin adolescents using an ecological framework. They proposed familial ecological factors would influence familial ethnic socialization behaviors, which would in turn influence ethnic identity development. Familial ecological factors included divorce status, familial generational status, and reasons for immigration. Familial ethnic socialization included covert or overt efforts by parents, siblings, and extended family members to teach about ethnicity (e.g., decorating the home with cultural items; parents giving children books on their culture). Structural equation modeling was used to test these hypothesized influencing factors. This study found partial empirical support for the hypothetical model. Familial ethnic socialization (as perceived by adolescents) was strongly positively related to ethnic identity achievement (as measured by the MEIM). Generational status indirectly influenced ethnic identity achievement through its negative relationship with familial ethnic socialization (i.e., third generation immigrant families reported fewer ethnic socialization behaviors than first generation immigrant families).

A possible limitation of this study was the measurement of familial ethnic socialization, which was very similar to the measurement in the Phinney et al. (2001) study. This was measured by nine items developed by the authors (i.e., “My family attends events such as plays, poetry readings, or art exhibits that represent my ethnic/cultural background;” “My family discusses the importance of knowing about my ethnic/cultural background;” Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004, p. 47-48). Again, this study would have been stronger if the authors had developed their items through interviews with Mexican Americans to ensure validity of the items as reflective of the lived

experiences of these individuals.

One study was found that examined potential influencing factors on Asian American ethnic identity development. Yeh and Huang (1996) asked 87 Asian American undergraduates to write or draw about the process of their ethnic identity development. From these writings or drawings, the authors coded influencing factors on ethnic identity. They found that 45% of participants wrote or drew about relations with parents, and 48% wrote or drew about relations with other relatives as influencing their ethnic identity development. This study reinforces the influential role parents and extended family members may have on ethnic identity development. However, there are several important limitations. The authors acknowledged that the writing/drawing research method they developed for this study has not been validated by other researchers, and they even admitted that they may have misinterpreted their data while creating their coding scheme. Future studies in this area with more rigorous methodology are necessary.

Familial Influences on Bi-ethnic Identity Development

The field of bi-ethnic identity development is new enough that the literature on its familial influences is virtually non-existent. One theoretical chapter and one empirical study have been published that included an examination of familial influences on bi-ethnic identity. The majority of studies of influences on bi-ethnic identity are unpublished doctoral dissertations, which will also be described due to the dearth of published literature.

Johnson (1992) theorized several familial factors that could influence the development of biracial identity in Black/White individuals, although she did not empirically test them. Family structure variables, including marital status, divorce, and

living arrangements could be influential, along with parenting dynamics within the various family structures. She also posited extended family contact as an influence on biracial identity, as affected by the quality and frequency of contact with extended family members and whether these members accepted or rejected the interracial marriage and/or biracial children. Though Johnson's concentration was on individuals of African and European descent, it seems these factors could be influential for bi-ethnic individuals of many different backgrounds.

Root (1998) interviewed 20 pairs of siblings to explore biracial identity development in siblings. She asked her participants to divide their lives into developmental stages, then discuss issues of race and gender as related to these stages. She asked them to particularly focus on describing differences in treatment of siblings within the family, and how they wished they had been physically different at these stages. She found that extreme family dysfunction negatively affected the process of healthy bi-ethnic identity development. Family dysfunction included physical, sexual, or emotional abuse, parental drug addiction, and mental illness. She found that her participants tended to "color-code" these dysfunctions, such that the participants would distance themselves from the dysfunctional parent's ethnic group. Participants who were able to move past these negative familial influences had learned to separate the individual parent from the ethnic group as a whole, such that positive relations could be had with that part of their heritage. In this particular study, Root's interview questions seemed skewed toward capturing negative biracial experiences, so it is not surprising that her results focused on negative familial influences.

The majority of studies found on the topic of familial influences on bi-ethnic

identity development were unpublished doctoral dissertations, so these results should be interpreted with caution. In several of these dissertations (Adams, 1997; Quintana, 1999; Zwiebach-Sherman, 1999), the researchers theorized factors *a priori* that might influence bi-ethnic identity, and developed questionnaires to see if participants endorsed their hypothesized factors. This is seen as a limitation, due to the lack of knowledge of bi-ethnic identity and the processes that influence it. The current study employed open-ended interviews to allow familial influences salient to participants to emerge. This methodology allows for future development of valid questionnaires that are grounded in participants' lived experiences.

Adams (1997) conducted a dissertation study examining developmental correlates of multiracial identity, with a focus on aiding clinicians working with multiracial clients. She created a survey with items to measure family support of multiracial heritage. Seventy-three multiracial participants completed her questionnaire and the MEIM. Her measure of family support of multiraciality was found to be predictive of ethnic identity as measured by the MEIM. Limitations of the use of the MEIM with bi-ethnic individuals have already been noted, and it is unclear how to interpret the results of this study because we do not know bi-ethnic individuals' reference group(s) when completing the MEIM. Additionally, because Adams created a survey measure of family support without interviewing bi-ethnic individuals, it is quite possible she missed significant influences that bi-ethnic individuals perceive on their identity development.

De Bruin (1998) interviewed 20 Korean/White and Japanese/White biracial individuals and analyzed the interviews using grounded theory methodology. His goal was to study conflict and struggle in biracial identity development. He asserted that

Eastern and Western cultures were so diametrically opposed that Asian/White individuals would necessarily experience difficulties in identity development. His assumptions about culture and bi-ethnic identity development are questionable. Given that biases and assumptions held by the researcher can influence what results are found when using grounded theory methodology (Creswell, 1998), his results must be interpreted very cautiously. One finding that was of interest to the current study was that familiarity with Asian culture was identified as an important factor in biracial identity development. This will be further examined in the current study.

Quintana (1999) was interested in how multiracial individuals identify themselves and reasons for their racial identification choices (for example, if a Chinese/White individual identifies only as Chinese versus identifying as biracial). She gave a survey to 159 individuals about their familial ethnic background(s) and from those responses identified 16 individuals with parents from different ethnic groups. She interviewed these bi-ethnic individuals, some of whom identified themselves as monoethnic and some of whom identified themselves as multiethnic. Of interest to the current study, she found that familial influences appeared to be the most salient contributor to how biracial individuals identified themselves. In particular, parental messages about ethnic/racial identification influenced individuals' choice of identifier. However, this was found only in 4 of 16 participants. This is perhaps because Quintana's interview did not include a question to specifically probe for parental messages about ethnicity. Since it was spontaneously mentioned by some of her participants, it was systematically asked in the interview for the current study.

Zwiebach-Sherman (1999) also assessed racial identification choice, and factors

that influenced how biracial people identify. She developed questionnaires to assess the degree to which participants identified with each ethnic group in their background and several influencing factors on their racial identification. Eighty-six participants with one White parent and one minority parent completed questionnaires over the internet. Using multiple regression analysis, she found that the degree of knowledge of minority familial and historical culture predicted racial identification. Participants with less knowledge of their minority parents' culture were more likely to identify as White.

Coleman (2000) examined the process of biracial identity development and its influencing factors in eight individuals of African American and European American descent. She presented case studies of interviews with implications for counselors. Some of the interview questions, such as about self-identification and familial influences, are very similar to those in the current study. The familial factors she identified as influencing biracial identity development in Black/White individuals are as follows. Familial support of a biracial identity was reported by 2 of 8 participants. Parental willingness to discuss racial issues was reported by 3 of 8 participants. All participants reported contact with extended family, in general stating they felt more support from the African American side of the family. For 5 of 8 participants, relations with the Caucasian side of the family were strained because of discomfort with the interracial marriage. The current study also explored extended family relations.

Sansone (1999) focused his dissertation on fathers' role in ethnic identity development. Note that this dissertation focused on ethnic identity, not bi-ethnic identity. However, this study was unique in that it was the only study found that focused on the role of fathers, and so it is included here. Sansone interviewed ten men of different ethnic

backgrounds, including both monoethnic and bi-ethnic participants, who had children ranging from 1 to 26 years. His interviews focused on fathers' strategies for promoting their children's ethnic identity development (which was not measured). Several of the strategies reported by his participants were relevant to the current study. Discussion of ethnicity with children was seen as a productive strategy to facilitate ethnic identity development, particularly fathers' attempts to promote appreciation of their ethnicity. Fathers also reported providing children with information related to their ethnicity to teach them about their cultural background(s). Additionally, fathers' effort to build bilingual skills was reported as a way of building children's cultural competency and connection with their ethnic group in those groups where another language was spoken. The current study included interview questions related to these strategies.

A summary of these familial influences on bi-ethnic identity can be found in Table 1. The interview questions in the present study explored whether young adults of Asian and European descent perceive these factors as influencing their bi-ethnic identity development (see Chapter 3).

Summary

Models of identity and ethnic identity development have contributed to theories of bi-ethnic identity development. However, our knowledge of bi-ethnic identity development remains largely theoretical, and there are significant gaps in our knowledge of both (a) bi-ethnic identity as it is experienced by bi-ethnic individuals and (b) the familial factors that are perceived by these individuals as influences on bi-ethnic identity. The current study contributes to the literature in several ways. Interviews were used to gain an authentic understanding of bi-ethnic identity in individuals of Asian and

Table 1

Theorized Familial Influences on Bi-ethnic Identity Development

Authors	Familial Influences
Adams, 1997 ^a Coleman, 2000 ^a	Family support of bi-ethnicity
Coleman, 2000 ^a Quintana, 1999 ^a Sansone, 1999 ^a	Willingness to discuss issues related to ethnicity and bi-ethnic identity
De Bruin, 1998 ^a Root, 1998 ^b Sansone, 1999 ^a Zwiebach-Sherman, 1999 ^a	Familial teaching about minority culture
Quintana, 1999 ^a Root, 1998 ^b Sansone, 1999 ^a	Teaching [non-English] language
Coleman, 2000 ^a Johnson, 1992 ^b Root, 1998 ^b	Extended family influences <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contact • Quality • Frequency • Acceptance • Rejection
Johnson, 1992 ^b	Parenting dynamics <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marital status
Root, 1998 ^b	Parental and family racial identities
Root, 1998 ^b	Names

Note: Superscript “a” indicates source is unpublished doctoral dissertation.

Superscript “b” indicates source is published article/chapter.

European descent. The scant extant literature on familial influences on bi-ethnic identity was utilized in the development of the interview questions. However, the questions in the current study were open-ended such that individuals could express any salient familial influences, even if they were not previously described in the literature. Additionally, much of the existing literature on bi-ethnic individuals is from the counseling field. The sample for this study was not drawn from a clinical population, in an effort to develop constructs describing normative developmental processes.

CHAPTER 3

Method

Design and Rationale

This was a qualitative study that employed semi-structured, open-ended interviews to probe participants about their bi-ethnic identities and familial influences on bi-ethnic identity. Interviews were necessary because of the dearth of extant research and a lack of preexisting measures on this topic. The construct of bi-ethnic identity is not currently well-formulated in the literature, and no survey measures exist that could accurately capture participants' bi-ethnic identity or the influences on this identity.

The qualitative mode of inquiry is often used when research aims are such that a quantitative approach would be inadequate. Research goals best suited to qualitative methodology include aims of construct identification, which was the case in this study of bi-ethnic identity and perceived influences on its development. Qualitative research is likewise ideal for interpretive aims, to investigate important categories of meaning for participants and to understand the influences of particular contexts or factors, which were integral parts of the present study (Creswell, 1998). The research goals of this study were: (a) to identify the key constructs that characterize bi-ethnic identity as perceived by young adults of Asian and European descent; (b) to identify the perceived familial influences on bi-ethnic identity development in individuals of Asian and European descent; and (c) to identify other salient influences on bi-ethnic identity development in this group. Given the nature of these goals, qualitative research methods were the most appropriate.

Data analysis for this study incorporated techniques from grounded theory

(Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and analytic induction (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). Grounded theory is research method aimed at generating a theory, an abstract schema devised to explain a phenomenon (Creswell, 1998). As opposed to an a priori decision made about a theory that will frame the study with the goal of hypothesis testing, grounded theory studies have as the goal to produce theory. They proceed by first collecting data then proposing theory after data analysis, such that the theory is grounded in the data. In grounded theory studies, the researcher typically conducts 20-30 interviews, develops categories of information about the central phenomenon, and generates a theory of relationships among categories (Creswell, 1998). Data analysis in grounded theory is a systematic process with a standard format of coding (see Data Analysis section below). Analytic induction is similar in many ways to grounded theory. Analytic induction is used to generate categories of meaning and behavior in relation to a phenomenon (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). Analytic induction is a method that was developed to explain phenomena through close examination of cases. It includes inductive observation of data and analytical searches to find patterns and interrelations among emergent categories (LeCompte, 2000). Negative instances (instances that do not fit any category) are sought out and used to revise categories, and working typologies of the categories are developed and refined until all instances of the phenomenon can be adequately explained (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). LeCompte and Preissle (1993) argue that grounded theory methods can be used to supplement analytic induction, as this extends the data analysis by comparing new categories with all existing instances of the phenomenon in the data.

These two research traditions were appropriate for this particular study due to the current state of knowledge in the field and the qualitative nature of the research

questions. Little is known about the nature of bi-ethnic identity for individuals of Asian and European descent, or the factors that influence the development of bi-ethnic identity in these individuals. Further, the field currently lacks theory to inform new studies of individuals of Asian and European descent. Grounded theory studies are needed when theories are not available in the literature to guide new research, and when the purpose of a study is to generate an abstract analytical schema of a phenomenon (Creswell, 1998). The iterative analytic methods of grounded theory and analytic induction allowed understandings to emerge from in-depth interviews with bi-ethnic individuals who reflected on salient influencing factors on the developmental process of bi-ethnic identity formation (see further discussion in the Data Analysis section below). These emergent understandings were used to identify the key constructs that characterize bi-ethnic identity and perceived familial influences on bi-ethnic identity development in young adults of Asian and European descent.

Grounded theory methodology and the use of iterative, constant comparative analytic methods have been commonly employed by researchers in the study of ethnic and bi-ethnic identity (e.g., Oikawa & Yoshida, 2007; Plaza, 2006; Schachter & Ventura, 2008; Tse, 1999). To note, this study employs the grounded theory approach of Strauss and Corbin (1990), rather than Glaser and Strauss (1967) as they have disagreed on methodology since their early collaboration (see Creswell, 1998; Glaser, 1992). Strauss' approach was designed to be systematic and scientific, with verification procedures and a well-defined coding paradigm. Glaser's approach was more inductive, with the dictum "all is data," meaning field notes are taken on everything (e.g., newspaper articles, conversations with friends), the interviews would not be recorded or transcribed (as

afterward the researcher would write field notes on concepts that fit the data), the researcher would not conduct a literature review until after data collection was finished, and the researcher would not talk about the theory until after it was written up (to avoid being influenced) (Glaser, 1998). There are positive and negative aspects of both approaches, but Strauss' approach was considered more desirable for the current study because of its methodological guidelines and scientific standards.

Participants

Participants were 20 undergraduate and graduate students from a large public mid-Atlantic university. Consistent with qualitative methodology, theoretical sampling was used, in which participants were chosen based on their ability to contribute to the emergent understanding of the phenomena of interest (Creswell, 1998). With theoretical sampling, it has been argued that the actual number of participants is not as important as the contributions of each participant to the greater understanding of the topic being researched (Ponterotto & Casas, 1991). Thus, if participants are found who are reflective, insightful, and articulate about their experiences, important contributions to the literature can be made despite relatively small sample sizes. In previous literature relevant to this topic, interviews have been done with two (Gillem, Cohn, & Throne, 2001) to 40 participants (Root, 1998). Consideration was given to matters of transferability of results, thus a non-trivial sample size with heterogeneity on certain characteristics was sought to enable transferability of research findings to other bi-ethnic Asians. The set of participants was heterogeneous in terms of: (a) heritages including many Asian backgrounds, (b) different gender of the minority parent, (c) varying marital status of parents, (d) different generational statuses of the minority parent, and (e) gender of

participants. Participants' backgrounds included Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Japanese, Korean, Malaysian, Thai, and Vietnamese. For 40% of the participants, the father was Asian and the mother was European American. The participants' Asian parents were 1st generation (55%), 1.5 generation (20%), and 2nd or 3rd generation (20%); one parent was not a U.S. citizen and lived in his country of origin. All participants were U.S.-born, but 25% had lived internationally, 20% in the Asian parents' country of origin. Only 10% of the participants were fluent in the language of their Asian parent; 10% were taught the Asian language when very young then forgot; 10% were learning the Asian language in college or graduate school. A majority (65%) of the participants had parents who were married, never divorced, while 35% of the interethnically married parents had divorced. The sample was 65% female.

The mean age of participants in the sample was 21.40 years. Adolescence is a period in which identity development is viewed as a main task (e.g., W. A. Collins & Laursen, 2004; Erikson, 1968; Grotevant, 1998; Schwartz, 2002). While adolescence is an important period for identity development, recently researchers have argued that identity development may be even more profound in the young adult years when individuals have the opportunity to explore who they want to be as they leave home for college or work (Arnett, 2007; Kiang & Fuligni, 2009). Identity is a process that is not completed by the end of adolescence, and transitions to new environments, undergraduate or graduate school, and changes in living situations, could all potentially impact identity development. Therefore, late adolescents and young adults were chosen as the population for this study. The goal of the current study was to document individuals' understandings of their bi-ethnic identity and the factors that have influenced that identity. With this aim,

it was thought that slightly older individuals would be able to provide better reflections on that developmental process than adolescents, because they could give retrospective accounts as well as current details. This study focused on individuals in late adolescence and early adulthood, approximately 18-29 as defined by Arnett (2004).

It is important to reflect on the broader developmental context of this age group (or any age group a researcher studies). Narváez, Meyer, Kertzner, Ouellette, & Gordon (2009) argue against studying identity in isolation, and urge researchers to be mindful of the intersection of social identities as individuals experience them. Thus, it is acknowledged that there are developmental issues these participants face other than their bi-ethnicity, such as sexual and gender identities, but also as undergraduate and graduate students, issues such as choosing a career and becoming independent from their families.

This study was conducted at a major public university in a mid-Atlantic state. This geographic location was an important factor for the study's significance, since most of the studies that have been conducted on bi-ethnic individuals were with populations from the western United States, where demographics are different and racial and ethnic attitudes may be dissimilar. For example, all participants in J. F. Collins' (2000; see description in Chapter 2) study moved to the San Francisco area where they perceived greater acceptance of bi-ethnic Asians because of its multicultural reputation. These macrostructure characteristics appeared to influence individual identity development, adding another dimension to the characterization of the bi-ethnic identity of this study's participants.

Procedure

Participants were recruited through advertisements and snowball sampling. Flyers were posted in every building on campus that held classes, other public buildings on campus such as the libraries, and all kiosks around campus where flyers could be posted. Recruitment flyers were emailed to listservs of all the Asian students groups on campus, as well as the multiracial/biracial student group. Advertising was also done with the Asian American Studies department at the university. In addition, snowball sampling (or word-of-mouth recruitment) was used to expand the sample size. Snowball sampling is commonly used in research on bi-ethnic individuals due to the dearth of official statistics on bi-ethnic individuals and because bi-ethnic individuals lack organized sociopolitical power (Williams, 1996). These techniques did not result in random sampling, which can be seen as a limitation of the study. However, Root (1992) noted that random sampling of bi-ethnic individuals is nearly impossible. In addition, Creswell (1998) argued that theoretical sampling can greatly enhance the depth of understanding gained in qualitative studies.

Prospective participants were screened over the phone or email to obtain information about age, country of birth, ethnicity of parents, and willingness to discuss issues of bi-ethnic identity development in detail. When criteria were met, an appointment with the interviewer was set up to last 1 to 2 hours. Participants first read and signed the informed consent form, then completed a short demographics questionnaire. Participants were then interviewed using semi-structured, open-ended questions about bi-ethnic identity and perceived influences on bi-ethnic identity. The purpose of a semi-structured yet open-ended interview is to ensure that the interview is

systematic but also to allow participants to respond freely about topics that seem important to them. In cases of brevity or partial responses, the interviewer probed for further information. Participants were paid \$10 for their participation. All interviews were conducted in a private room. Interviews were digitally recorded then transcribed. The analytic process will be further discussed in the Data Analysis section.

Interviews were conducted by the author, a European American woman. I disclosed to participants that I am married to a Chinese American man and thus have both a personal and professional interest in the topic of study, as my children will be of Asian and European descent. It is possible my ethnicity could have been a limitation if participants did not feel comfortable disclosing information related to their identity development to an individual who has not experienced the task of developing a bi-ethnic identity.

Participants were interviewed one time. Though multiple interviews have been done in this field (Root, 1998), most studies of bi-ethnic identity development have interviewed participants only once (e.g., J. F. Collins, 2000; Jacobs, 1992; Kich, 1992; Williams, 1996). Before conducting the pilot study (discussed further below), it was assumed that multiple interviews would lead to a greater depth of knowledge and thus could justify the greater burden on participants and the sampling bias that would result from requiring participants willing to be interviewed several times. However, results of the pilot study suggested that sufficient information required to address the research questions could be obtained in one interview, and therefore more than one interview was not necessary.

Measures

Pre-interview Questionnaire. A pre-interview questionnaire was used to obtain data on demographics of interest to this study. (See Appendix A.) Questions asked about participant age and ethnicity, parents' ethnicities, current and past family structure (i.e., married, divorced, widowed), sibling sex and age, birth order, and languages spoken in the home. These particular demographic characteristics were assessed because of their potential influence on bi-ethnic identity (Johnson, 1992; Quintana, 1999; Root, 1998; Sansone, 2000). These data were used to not only characterize the sample but to enable more personalized questions during the interview.

Interview. Interviews probed participants about their bi-ethnic identity, parental and extended family influences on identity, and other perceived influences (e.g., peer and environmental). These in-depth interviews were semi-structured and open-ended. The interview protocol is attached (please see Appendix B). These interview questions went through seven revisions on the basis of feedback from two experts in qualitative research methodology, other researchers in the field of developmental psychology, and a pilot study. The pilot study consisted of interviewing five individuals of Asian and European descent, of diverse Asian backgrounds and mixed in gender. The purpose of the pilot study was development and revision of the interview questions. Revisions to questions from the pilot study were the result of direct feedback from participants about the questions in addition to my own revisions to better capture constructs of interest when questions proved inadequate.

Interview questions: Development and rationale. Each question was developed with a specific purpose and rationale. The first question solicited the preferred term, race

or ethnicity, that the participant was comfortable using to refer to groups of people. This question was asked because these two terms have different connotations and different definitions for many people. I then used the preferred term throughout the interview. The second question was similar, but asked about a term specific to participants' bi-ethnic heritage. There are many different terms that bi-ethnic Asians can use to refer to themselves, such as Amerasian, Eurasian, or hapa haole, as well as more general terms such as mixed or biracial (Root, 1996). When participants provided a self-label, I used that during the interview, both out of respect for the individual's wishes and because positive self-labels can be mechanisms for empowerment in oppressed groups of people (Root, 1996).

The next question asked about participants' overall, general identity. This question was designed for rapport-building for participants who might not be used to discussing their heritage, but primarily to identify if ethnicity was perceived as an important part of the participants' general sense of self. If ethnicity was not mentioned as part of a participant's overall identity, a follow-up question asked directly if ethnicity plays a role in identity. This question probed salience of ethnicity, which has been found to be moderately, positively related to ethnic identity (as measured by the MEIM) (Roberts et al., 1999).

The following question solicited bi-ethnic identity explicitly, which directly addressed the first research question (the key constructs of bi-ethnic identity). Probes were used as needed to ensure rich descriptions of bi-ethnic identity, and to explore characterizations and attributes of bi-ethnic identity development that have been described in various models in the literature. These attributes (drawn from models by J.

F. Collins, 2000; Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995; Kich, 1992; Poston, 1990; and Root, 1990) include identity change/development over time, confusion about identity, perceived pressure to choose one ethnic group over another, the experience of being different with different ethnic groups, and discomfort or comfort with identity.

As an important dimension of ethnic identity concerns affirmation, belonging, and commitment (the affective part of ethnic identity; Phinney, 2004), the next question elicited attachment to each ethnic component in participants' heritage. In addition, contemplation of bi-ethnic identity (the cognitive component of ethnic identity; Phinney, 2004) was solicited, specifically with regard to being bi-ethnic.

Given the prevalence of bi-ethnic individuals' experiences with the question "what are you?" the next interview question addressed interactions regarding such queries (J. F. Collins, 2000; Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Williams, 1996). The "what are you" question is asked when monoethnic individuals are unable to categorize individuals perceived as phenotypically ambiguous (Williams, 1996). Bi-ethnic individuals may experience discomfort at such a question (Shih & Sanchez, 2005), which forces them to contemplate the more important question "where do I belong?" (Kich, 1992). Ways in which individuals have responded to the "what are you" question may be particularly illuminating with regard to their self-definitions, especially if they have different public versus private self-labels. Related research has shown that multiracial individuals have high private racial regard, but low public racial regard (Shih & Sanchez, 2005).

The next set of interview questions addressed the second research question concerning perceived familial influences. The initial question obtained information about generational status and perceived level of acculturation of the Asian parent, as varying

levels of acculturation and time in the U.S. can influence parents' socialization goals and thus influence children's identity development (Parke & Buriel, 1998; Root, 1998).

The next question asked participants to describe relationships between different family members. This question had several purposes. The quality of the relationship with parents could be a factor in the development of bi-ethnic identity. For example, research has shown that adolescents are more likely to follow examples set by parents if they have a good or moderately good relationship than if the relationship quality is poor (Andrews, Hops, & Duncan, 1997). The relationship between the participant and each parent may have impacted identification with the different ethnic groups. If parents were divorced, this may have affected exposure to ethnic practices and enculturation. Kich (1992) suggested that for bi-ethnic individuals with divorced parents, good relationships with both of them are necessary for full self-acceptance and an integrated bi-ethnic identity. In addition, siblings may be important to individuals' development (W. A. Collins & Laursen, 2004). It is possible that participants influence or are influenced by the ethnic identity of their siblings. Root (1998) found that siblings of mixed heritage do not always identify in exactly the same way. This could be due to differential treatment from parents, different experiences with peers, or personality differences.

The next two questions probed for extended family influences, as individuals are affected not just by parents but also by extended family members (W. A. Collins & Laursen, 2004; Grotevant, 1998). Questioning about extended family members the participant is close to or was close to growing up provided information about potential ethnic influences. Connection with extended family members can strengthen connection to ethnic groups and thereby one's ethnic identity (Kich, 1992). The next question asked

participants if they knew of extended family members' feelings about their parents' interethnic marriage. Extended family support of the interethnic relationship has been identified as a potentially important influence on bi-ethnic identity (Adams, 1997; Root, 1998; Shih & Sanchez, 2005).

Participants were then asked to describe typical family gatherings. This question was designed to elucidate the presence of cultural influences without explicitly probing for ethnicity or culture. The next three questions were more explicit in asking participants to think about familial influences on bi-ethnic identity. Explicit enculturation attempts by parents or extended family members were explored by asking about efforts to teach about culture, language, history, and food specific to participants' Asian heritage. Family ethnic socialization (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004) and the degree of knowledge of minority familial and historical culture (Poston, 1990; Zwiebach-Sherman, 1999) can be important influencing factors on bi-ethnic identity development. Another potential factor could be opportunities to experience Asian culture and participate in Asian cultural events and practices (Parke & Buriel, 1998; Poston, 1990), and the next question asked about these experiences.

Messages specific to bi-ethnic identity, or the lack of messages about bi-ethnic identity, may also influence developing conceptualizations of bi-ethnic identity (Quintana, 1999). Kich (1992) suggested that a healthy bi-ethnic identity is best cultivated in a home environment where parents are comfortable talking about ethnicity with their bi-ethnic children. However, parents in interethnic relationships often downplay the importance of race/ethnicity despite the fact that race is so salient and important in shaping experiences in this society (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). This

“colorblind” worldview that race does not matter is no doubt transmitted with the best intentions in mind; however, this can lead to tension because of conflicting messages transmitted by society about the importance of race as a social category (Shih & Sanchez, 2005).

The next two questions were designed to explore the meaning of being bi-ethnic for these individuals, a topic that has not received much attention in the literature thus far. I asked participants about ways in which being Asian manifests in their lives, if at all. In addition, I asked participants to contemplate whether being bi-ethnic gives them a different perspective than if they were monoethnic, and if so, what this means for their lives. A recent review of research on positive and negative implications of being multiethnic found several studies reporting that bi-ethnic people felt more accepting and empathetic toward other ethnic groups, and felt being bi-ethnic enabled an appreciation of both cultures in their heritage (Shih & Sanchez, 2005).

Another issue not adequately explored in the literature to date is how given and family names may influence bi-ethnic identity. Root (1998) theorized names could influence bi-ethnic identity development. Williams (1996) reported a quote from a bi-ethnic individual about perceived phenotypic ambiguity, in which the individual made a reference to others being confused by his name because of its mismatch with his phenotype. This question was designed to elicit perceptions of influence on bi-ethnic identity from participants’ names, particularly from different individuals describing differing experiences with Asian versus Anglicized names.

In response to a request from one of the participants in the pilot study, I added a general question near the end of the interview that allowed participants time to reflect on

our conversation. Participants then expressed any other important thoughts, stories, or experiences that were relevant to the topics of bi-ethnic identity or familial influences on that identity that occurred to them after the initial questions were asked.

The purpose of the last interview question, which addressed the last research question, was mainly to generate ideas for future research. Since this study focused on familial influences, I asked participants if there were other experiences or people who were influential in the development of their identity as a person of mixed heritage. Probes were used when necessary, including peers, community, phenotype, and language, among others (Adams, 1997; Quintana, 1999; Root, 1990, 1998; Zwiebach-Sherman, 1999).

Data Analysis

Interview data were analyzed using techniques from grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and analytic induction (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). In these traditions, a constant comparative method is used in which data are gathered and analyzed, then more data are compared with the emerging categories, and so forth. Categories “emerge” when salient, important constructs are found as the researcher scans the transcripts looking for categories of meaning. Analytic techniques from these two traditions were carefully selected and integrated in order to implement a rigorous, scientific method of analysis with this qualitative data (see Hoa, Guthrie, Wigfield, Tonks, & Coddington, 2009). In this section, the analytic plan will be detailed (drawing most extensively from Strauss & Corbin, 1990), with an example of the coding process in Appendix C.

The coding procedures utilized in this study are outlined in sequential format in Table 2. The first step was *open coding*, which is the initial process of comparing, examining, and categorizing data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In open coding, *concepts*

Table 2

Data Analysis: Coding Procedures

Transcript reading

Line-by-line identification of concepts

Construction of categories to classify concepts

Notation of categories in margins

Identification of subcategories, properties and dimensions of categories

Documentation of categories in code notes

Relation of subcategories to categories

Examination for distinctions among categories

Repetition of process with additional transcripts

Modification and refinement of categories based on subsequent cases

Documentation of inductive, deductive thinking about categories in theoretical notes

Verification of categories against data

Repetition of process until theoretical saturation

(instances of phenomena) are found when reading through interview transcriptions. The researcher labels concepts in a way that conceptualizes, rather than summarizes, the data. A concept label is broader than any one instance of a phenomenon, such that other instances may fit into this concept. For example, the concept “interest in learning about Asian heritage” will characterize more statements than “took a class on Chinese history.” These concepts are compared and placed into a *category* (classification of concepts). Category labels are consciously created to be abstract but intuitively related to the data they represent. Categories are internally consistent but distinct from one another. The categories are further developed in terms of their *properties* (attributes and characteristics of a category). Properties can then be dimensionalized as appropriate. The *dimension* refers to the location of a property along a continuum. Please see Table 3 for an example of the products of open coding. This particular example is of an influence on bi-ethnic identity development (this will be discussed in much greater detail in Chapter 4). The category is a parental influence, and one of the subcategories that was identified for this category was parental discussion of ethnic issues. A property of this subcategory was how the parents’ responded to the participants’ ethnic identity choices (e.g., if the participant identified herself as Asian, and the European American mother expressed disapproval). The dimensions of this property ranged from positive and supporting, to negative and critical of participants’ ethnic identity choices. These products of open coding are recorded in *code notes*, a type of analytic memo. *Memos* are written records of analysis. Throughout open coding, careful attention was paid to how the data were being reduced, as a primary concern was accurately representing the lived experiences of the participants (Creswell, 1998).

Table 3

Example of Data Analysis: Categories, Subcategories, Properties, and Dimensions

Category	Subcategory	Property	Dimensions
Parental	Parental discussion of ethnic issues	Response to ethnic identity choices	Positive (e.g., supportive of choices) Negative (e.g., critical of choices, pressure to make different choices)

The next step was *axial coding*, which refers to making connections between a category and its subcategories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This can include exploring perceived causal conditions, identifying contextual and intervening conditions that pertain to the phenomenon of interest, and delineating consequences for the phenomenon. There is a continued search for properties and dimensions in order to further develop the categories and subcategories. The discovery of similarities and differences among categories is crucial, and categories are evaluated for sufficient distinction to warrant separation. In axial coding, the researcher is constantly switching between inductive and deductive thinking about the data. Axial coding is recorded in *theoretical notes*, which are summarizing memos of the products of inductive and deductive thinking about categories and subcategories.

Emergent understandings were tested to evaluate the plausibility of my developing understandings of the data (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This testing consisted of searches through the data to find negative instances of patterns or alternate explanations, which led to modification of categories as necessary. According to LeCompte and Preissle (1993), *negative instances* are phenomena that do not fit into existing categories, and these should be consciously sought out in order to adapt the categories such that they provide a better fit for the data. Another key component of this phase was the evaluation of the categories for their usefulness and centrality in understanding the phenomenon of bi-ethnic identity development (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This step was important because some categories were discovered that offered interesting insights into participants' lives, but they were not of central importance to bi-ethnic identity or its influencing factors. These analytic processes were

repeated until theoretical saturation was gained. *Theoretical saturation* occurs when searches through data cease to yield new information related to the categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). For example, when new categories or subcategories emerged in a transcript, I returned to all transcripts that had previously been coded for another line-by-line reading for verification of categories against the data, with modification and refinement when necessary. This process was repeated with all transcripts until no new categories or subcategories emerged from the data.

The final step was writing the research report, which was undertaken with attention to the interpretive nature of the act of writing when summarizing and reflecting the complexity of the data (Creswell, 1998). In the Results section, the data gathered through the in-depth interviews will be presented, focusing particularly on the participants' perspectives. Individual cases will not be the focus of the research report. Rather, categories and their subcategories will be presented with illustrative quotes. The emergent understandings of bi-ethnic identity and its perceived familial influences will contribute to our limited knowledge of psychological development in bi-ethnic individuals of Asian and European descent.

Validity. As with every study, the validity of the conclusions is of the utmost importance. Verification procedures have been developed for qualitative data analysis that differ from those of quantitative data analysis. Creswell (1998) reviewed eight verification procedures popularly used in qualitative research, and recommended that researchers employ a minimum of two of these procedures when conducting a study in order to achieve credibility and validity. In this section, the four verification procedures utilized in the current study will be detailed. The most serious validity threat to this type

of study is researcher bias, in which data are selected for the emergent theory because they fit the researcher's existing theory or preconceptions. This could involve misinterpretations of the data, categorization that is not reflective of the participants' lived experiences, and missed influences that are integral to the development of bi-ethnic identity. This threat was addressed in the research design in the following ways.

One important step for reducing validity threat is *clarifying researcher bias* from the onset of the study so that readers may understand the researcher's perspective and assumptions that could impact the study (Creswell, 1998; Maxwell, 1996; Shank, 2002). The main assumption I made while conducting this research was that bi-ethnic individuals can be happy, healthy, and well-adjusted, and that previous research with clinical samples is not representative of the lived experiences of many bi-ethnic individuals. Such a bias could skew my interactions with the data in that I focus on or maximize the positive aspects of identity development while overlooking or minimizing any negative aspects. This threat was checked by *critical subjectivity*, which describes my heightened self-awareness throughout the research process, as well as the use of a peer reviewer for supplemental critiques (see below). Critical subjectivity is a discriminating, self-aware state in which high-quality, informed judgments are made; one's perspective and its biases are not suppressed, but rather articulated (Reason, 1994).

Another verification procedure utilized in the current study was peer review. *Peer review* is used by qualitative researchers as an external assessment of the research process, similar to interrater reliability in quantitative research (Creswell, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The peer reviewer challenges the interpretations and conclusions to ensure that the researcher's findings are supported by the data. Written records are kept

of these *peer debriefing sessions*. For this dissertation these peer debriefing sessions were typically bi-weekly. When discussing open coding, the peer reviewer assessed and challenged existing categories, subcategories, properties, and dimensions, and modifications were made as necessary. In axial coding, the peer reviewer pushed for further interrelations among categories and aided in the examination of distinctions among categories. During and after negative case analysis (see below), the peer reviewer inspected the products of coding to confirm the usefulness of categories for understanding bi-ethnic identity and influences on its development. Throughout the dissertation, the peer reviewer scrutinized the process and the product, to ensure that the findings were supported by the data.

Rich, thick description is a recommended verification procedure in qualitative studies because when data are fully detailed and complete enough, readers can make their own judgments about the transferability of the study's findings (Creswell, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Maxwell, 1996). For studies employing interview methodology, rich data requires verbatim quotes from interview transcripts, rather than only summaries or notes from the researcher about what seemed significant (Maxwell, 1996). In the current study, the results section (Chapter 4) gives detailed, thick descriptions of participants' lived experiences with several illustrative quotes from participants' interview transcripts for all categories and subcategories. Using this verification procedure, it is the goal that readers will be able to determine for themselves whether the findings transfer beyond the setting of this study.

Another verification procedure of many traditions of qualitative inquiry is *negative case analysis*, which was discussed above in the section on data analysis, termed

negative instances by LeCompte and Preissle (1993). Negative case analysis is a process whereby the researcher rigorously examines corroborating and divergent data to ascertain whether the conclusions made theretofore need modification or whether it is reasonable to retain them (Creswell, 1998; Maxwell, 1996). This is done in the later data analysis phase and eliminates exceptions, as the developing theory is revised when negative cases are encountered until all cases fit (Creswell, 1998). In the present study, negative case analysis consisted of searches through the data to find instances that challenged existing categories or subcategories, with modifications as needed in order to provide a better fit for the data. Additionally, categories and subcategories were scrutinized to determine their usefulness in developing the construct of bi-ethnic identity and identifying the influences on bi-ethnic identity development; categories that were not meaningful for the research goals of the study were not included in the results. Negative case analysis helped ensure that the coding process ended with a product that fit the data to the greatest extent possible, reflecting the participants' diverse set of experiences while answering the research questions concerning the constructs of bi-ethnic identity and the influences on its development.

CHAPTER 4

Results

This qualitative study utilized semi-structured, open-ended interviews to identify constructs that characterize bi-ethnic identity and its familial and other influences as perceived by young adults of Asian and European descent. This chapter will present the results of the study in three parts. First, the key constructs of bi-ethnic identity will be defined and described. Based on participants' responses to interview questions, two overarching groups of key constructs emerged: types of bi-ethnic identity and facets of bi-ethnic identity. Next, perceived familial influences on bi-ethnic identity development will be presented. Finally, other salient perceived influences on bi-ethnic identity development will be delineated. For each section, the constructs will be defined, and then illustrative and representative quotes from various participants will be given as exemplars. The research questions this study was addressing were the following:

1. What are the key constructs of bi-ethnic identity as perceived by young adults of Asian and European descent?
2. What are the key familial influences on bi-ethnic identity as perceived by young adults of Asian and European descent?
3. What are other salient perceived influences on bi-ethnic identity development in young adults of Asian and European descent?

Key Constructs of Bi-ethnic Identity

The first research question concerned the key constructs of bi-ethnic identity. The main purpose of research question 1 was to understand the content of bi-ethnic identity, which has yet to be adequately examined in the literature. We currently lack a thorough

understanding of how bi-ethnic individuals think about their ethnic background and the meaning it has for them. The key constructs of bi-ethnic identity, as gleaned from participants' responses to interview questions, include types of bi-ethnic identity and facets of bi-ethnic identity.

Results in this section will be presented in two parts: types of bi-ethnic identity, and facets of bi-ethnic identity. Through participants' responses to interview questions probing their thoughts about their bi-ethnicity, five distinct types of bi-ethnic identity emerged. Participants were coded into an identity type based on how they described their thinking about their ethnic background. (See section below.)

The facets of bi-ethnic identity emerged from participants' responses to interview questions about the importance of their ethnicity, their sense of belonging, and how they felt about their background. Overall, the facets of bi-ethnic identity indicate a level of connection to one's bi-ethnic identity, the importance one's ethnic background has for oneself, and how one feels about one's heritage. Four main facets emerged during the coding of the interviews, including centrality, self-label, affirmation, and affect. Each facet is defined in more detail below.

Types of bi-ethnic identity. Five bi-ethnic identity types emerged from the interviews (see Table 4). It is important to note that the bi-ethnic identity types are not stages; each of the types can occur at different time points of development and no order of progression is implied. Further, there is no judgment being made that one type is most desirable. However, while no universal progression is set, individuals may develop and their type may change to another type over time. These types are durable, yet dynamic. They are not static, but may respond to internal growth as well as external forces.

Table 4

Types of Bi-ethnic Identity

Identity Type	Definition
Majority Identity	Participant identifies self mainly as White, Caucasian, part of the majority of America
Minority Identity	Participant identifies self mainly as belonging to the specific Asian group of her/his heritage, or to Asians in general
Dual Identity	Participant emphasizes being of both European American and Asian/Asian American heritage, not just one or the other
Integrated Identity	Participant identifies self as belonging to the group of bi-ethnic individuals of Asian and European descent, while valuing both parts of her/his heritage
Unresolved Identity	Participant does not feel s/he belongs to any ethnic/racial group or is uncertain about the group(s) to which s/he belongs; overarching confusion about how to identify ethnically

However, as will be seen in the more detailed presentation of each type and in participants' descriptions of their bi-ethnic identity development, one's bi-ethnic identity is not constantly changing, but is relatively stable for periods of life.

Another interesting distinction that emerged from the interviews is that the different bi-ethnic identity types can be described as beginning or ending; I use the terms waning and emerging identities to capture this. A *waning identity* was stronger in the past and is currently being replaced by an *emerging identity*, which is still developing. Five of the 20 participants had waning and emerging identities (both must exist together within an individual). The five identity types will be described next. To note, all participants have been assigned pseudonyms to protect anonymity.

The *majority identity* type describes participants who mainly thought of themselves as White, Caucasian, or "American." These individuals did not deny their Asian heritage, but it did not play a major role in their overall identity. They often said that being half-Asian made them unique, which they appreciated. They may or may not have had any interest in learning about the culture of their Asian parent. However, they did not identify with Asian people or being Asian.

Rachel was a participant who was classified as having a majority identity. Rachel talked a lot about culture versus race and ethnicity, and she aligned her bi-ethnic identity with the culture to which she was more connected. When asked about filling out forms where she has to check her race, she said:

What do you normally pick when you have to fill out those forms? I mean if I'm forced to, I just put White or Caucasian, because, regardless of what my race may

be, technically, that's really how I was raised *culturally*. I think, so I'll pick that one.

Rachel felt that regardless of her heritage, culturally she was simply White or Caucasian. She also stated that "I think more in terms of, I guess, not ethnicity, but just culturally, like I identify myself as an American, and I am connected to that." For her, she was raised in the U.S., in a European American household (her parents were divorced), and she did not feel a cultural connection to her Chinese heritage.

Abigail was another participant who was characterized as having a majority identity. In her mind, it was not an option to have an integrated or a dual identity: "Well, I don't know that many other mixed people, so, I mean, I either have to choose one identity or another, sort of, if that makes sense." She felt impelled to choose to identify as one ethnicity or the other.

So you said that you felt like you had to choose one group or the other. Have you ever felt external pressure to choose one group over the other? Um, no, it's just my preference, I guess. I never, I mean, with the Asian culture there are a lot more, I mean, there's a distinct, I mean I don't want to generalize too much, but there's something distinct about that certain group that brings them close. And maybe it's their language that brings them closer, and because I don't share that. And with, like my other friends, I mean, we're—and when I say my other friends, I mean my, like, I mean we're probably a diverse group of people, I mean we're not just all White, we're not just all Asian. I mean there's some Asian, but I mean, we just happened to come together. But I've never really felt that I am biracial. I

mean I know I am, but I don't use it that often that I really, talk about it that much, you know.

For Abigail, who stated that "I've never really felt that I am biracial," she does not feel as if she can be simultaneously Caucasian and Filipino. Instead, she lacks identification with her Filipino heritage, and identifies herself as Caucasian:

Would you say on an average day you would sort of just think about yourself or group yourself as a Caucasian, or that more often you'd think about being Filipino? Oh, well I definitely would feel more Caucasian than Filipino. I think it's mainly the language that I don't, that I don't know, that makes me feel that way.

Abigail was not the only participant to mention of lack of language knowledge as an influence on her identity; see the description of the language subcategory below under the perceived influences on bi-ethnic identity development.

Sam was another participant who was classified as having a majority identity. He described his upbringing as "normal American," and identified himself as White. He did not feel much of a connection with his Chinese heritage. When asked to describe his identity as related to his ethnic background, he said:

I guess, like I'd just say I was like any like American White person. 'Cause we don't practice any Asian like culture, like we don't have any cultural Asian aspects, and we don't speak Chinese, we don't, my mom doesn't really enforce any of that stuff on us. If you couldn't see us, we'd just look like a normal American White family. Just an American family. So yeah I guess, I'd say we were White identity, I don't know. Okay, you said if you couldn't see us. But

people can see you. Well like, yeah. Well just ‘cause they see me, it’s like obvious that I’m not full White. But just like if they found out, if they researched who I was and all that stuff, they wouldn’t be able to tell that I was like—they wouldn’t think I was an immigrant or anything. It’s just like a normal family. With like the American culture, and probably guessing White.

Sam did not perceive much transmission of Asian culture by his mother (see section on enculturation by parents), and he also mentioned lack of language knowledge as influential on his bi-ethnic identity.

The *minority identity* type was applied when participants described themselves as Asian. They could identify themselves as belonging to the specific Asian group of their parent’s heritage, or to Asians in general. These participants were not denying their European American heritage, they simply felt more affiliated with their Asian side.

In this sample, there was only one participant currently classified as having a minority identity. Two participants were coded with minority identities in the past, based on details provided retrospectively. Chris was the participant coded as currently minority identified. He defines himself as Asian, and saw more culture to connect to with his Asian heritage than his European American heritage.

And then do you have any specific terms that you like to use when referring to your own background? I guess normally I would describe it broadly as Asian, then if someone got curious, I would specifically, normally if someone asks me what I am, then I just say, oh my mom’s from China, my dad was born here, he’s White.

Chris was the only participant in this sample to describe himself mainly as Asian. Additionally, he was the only participant to state that he did not consider himself White:

Would you say that you are at all attached to being Chinese? I suppose I'd be more attached to it than being White. I don't, I don't really, I guess I don't consider myself White. I'd probably say I'd, if someone had to ask me, I had to pick one or the other, I'd probably say I was Asian over that, I don't know why.

Chris said that he felt connected to his Asian heritage because he did not perceive as rich of a culture with which to connect on his European American side. "Well, my dad's side of the family doesn't really have culture besides being just American, so there's not really that much to identify with." For Chris, he could more easily identify with being Asian, but he did not really see how to identify as European American.

One of the things that Chris likes about identifying as Asian is that he is different from his European American friends.

What do you think has been the biggest influence on how you think about yourself, specifically how you think about yourself mostly as Asian? I guess the biggest influence on me wanting to do that would be the fact that otherwise, I'd probably feel like it was pretty bland, otherwise. And um, I don't know, I don't think any of my White friends really have any kind of culture, 'cause they're just kinda like primarily American, and, well everyone's American, so, I can be different. So I figured that like, you know, if I, if I want to choose I'd probably be Asian.

For Chris, he chooses to identify as Asian and embrace his culture and heritage in part to make himself different from the majority in the U.S.

Emmett was a participant who had a minority identity in the past (he was currently classified as dual identified). When asked how he thought about his background over time, he described how the population of his middle school was majority minority (80% African American), and stated: “I think going into high school I identified myself as Asian. Like I know on my driver’s license and stuff I was, I put like Asian.”

Like Chris, Emmett also discussed how he liked connecting to his Asian heritage for its rich culture, something he could not as easily see in his other half.

I definitely say that I partake in more Chinese culture, and maybe that’s just because everything else is White to me, so I just don’t, I don’t see it as being another culture, I just see it as being like American.

Emmett defined himself as Asian until his college years, when a dual identity formed and he emphasized being Asian and White (see dual identity section).

Jessica was a participant with a waning minority identity (and an emerging integrated identity). Up until college she defined herself as Asian, but she was starting to identify herself as mixed, one of the self-labels used by those with integrated identities.

And also I don’t think, like I knew I was mixed, but as far as thinking of myself that way, I think that took a little bit longer to develop. I just thought of myself as being Asian, or like you know, I happened to be half-White, but you know.

Like others who were minority identified, Jessica had a very strong connection to her Asian heritage. Being half-White was an anomaly in her life that she did not devote much thought to until college, and before that point she mainly thought of herself as Asian.

The *dual identity* type classifies participants who emphasized having Asian and European American heritage, rather than only emphasizing one part of their heritage. They made sure others knew of both parts of their heritage (e.g., “my mom’s Chinese and my dad is German” versus “I’m Eurasian”). Importantly, they viewed these two parts of their heritage as distinctly separate, which distinguishes this identity type from the integrated identity type which will be described below.

Colleen was a participant who was classified as having a dual identity. She identifies herself as Chinese and Irish. When explaining why she had not joined any Asian student groups on campus, she said:

I don’t feel like I fit in that much. Because like most Chinese people tend to like speak the language, and like, are fully Chinese, and identify with that. And I identify with two things, and like I just don’t feel like I’d really get that much out of it.

Colleen stated, “I identify with two things,” and felt a distinction between herself and people who were “fully Chinese.” Also note her mention of language as an influence on her bi-ethnic identity, which will be explored in the section on that subcategory.

Emmett was another participant who was classified as having a dual identity. When asked how he responded to people who asked him “what are you?” he stated, “Well now I’ve come to, my mom’s Chinese, my dad is of German descent.” He identified as both Chinese and German, and it was important to him that others did not just identify him as Asian.

A lot of times, like my friends they always pick on me, I don’t know, they’ll say something like, you know how to do this ‘cause you’re Asian, or something, I’d

be like, I'm half White too! And it goes the other way also. So, I'll make sure people know that I'm both.

For Emmett, and other dual identified participants, it was important that others recognized both parts of their heritage. He took pride in both sides of his ethnic background.

Craig was a participant with an emerging dual identity (and a waning majority identity). He described himself as "Occasionally Asian, mostly White, not necessarily American." He is still figuring out his bi-ethnic identity, which he says he reflects on frequently:

How do you think about yourself as a biracial person? Like what would your identity be as related to race? I think about this a lot, actually. I don't know if I've ever come to like a conclusion of what I am or whatever. 'Cause like I said, like I put Asian down on paper because it can get you things. You know, you're a minority. And sometimes it helps to be the minority, it helps you to stand out also if you're the minority. But generally, I just consider myself White. Like I eat Asian food, I like it. I don't deny that I'm Asian, and I don't not tell people that I'm Asian—they can usually figure it out by looking at me. But like, I don't see it like that. Like, people have said "you look Asian," but I don't think I do. But I guess they think I do. And I might, but I don't see it. I don't know, I guess, I just don't really think about it that much. I don't think about race everyday unless people are like talking about it around me. I don't know, it's just not the way I was raised. But you know I am Asian, I am White, it's both what I am, so I just embrace it, I guess.

Craig states that he is Asian and White, “it’s both what I am,” so he embraces it. This connection to both sides of his heritage is emerging as he contemplates what his ethnicity means to him in different ways. From colorblind thinking (he did not think about race unless others brought it up) to thinking about how his ethnicity can be helpful to him, and having to deal with others’ reactions to his phenotype, Craig began to claim both parts of his background.

Emily was a participant with a past majority identity, a waning unresolved identity, and an emerging dual identity. When asked to describe herself, she detailed an “identity crisis” in graduate school:

Well, my dad was in the military, so we moved around a lot, and I actually lived overseas a lot, and so I, sort of coming from that military background, when people say what is your identity, strangely enough, *American* pops into my head first. And I think it’s just because I was always a foreigner in another country, and so I was The American. So I guess that’s sort of how my, the main part of my identity is. And I’ve been a student forever, so uh, so being a student is a big part. Um, and I put biracial because, if I put White, other people call me out on it, and they’re like “oh you’re not really White.” And so it’s sort of a, okay to appease everyone else, I will put biracial, because I don’t classify as White. And so for the longest time I just sort of, I saw myself as American. I didn’t see myself as Korean American, because I sort of saw Korean Americans as people who had both parents being Korean and they grew up in the U.S. And so I didn’t really know how to label myself. And, and so people call, I don’t know, what do they call you—like, Hasians, I think? Like half-Asian, so I was a Hasian. And I’m just,

I don't, so, I'm not quite sure how to identify myself. And I think for the first 23 years of my life I just thought of myself as American, and typically, White American. And so I, I'm in grad school, I'm studying Western Europe, and I was learning German and Italian, and I thought about adding French, and then, about 2 years ago I sort of just had this I guess identity crisis or some type of crisis, and I thought, my God, I'm half Korean, I don't know the language, I don't, I know the culture and the food, but I don't know half of myself, I don't know my mom and her family, and I'm in grad school, I have this huge opportunity to like research whatever I want, why am I researching Western Europe, when, um, and I think it helped that there are so many people that study Western Europe and know the languages, are themselves European, and they know 4 or 5 languages, and I can't compete with that. And I thought, why, all these Europeans are studying Europe, why am I, as a half-Asian, not studying Asia? And so I sort of did an about-face, and now I'm doing Western Europe and Asia, and that has helped a lot. It's sort of made me much closer to my, I guess my Asian identity. But I'm still not as comfortable with that part of my identity, as with sort of my White identity.

Through college, Emily thought of herself mainly as White American. However, in graduate school she entered a transitive period where she started questioning her bi-ethnic identity, how she defined herself, and what meaning her identity had in other areas of her life. She has started to connect with her Korean heritage and a dual identity is emerging. Reflecting on her own heritage, she decided to study Asia in her graduate studies. She went to Korea for a year on a grant to study the language.

Before I studied Korean, I was very aware of “I was part Korean,” and I didn’t identify with “Asian” really at all. It was sort of this anomaly in my life, my mom’s Korean, but it didn’t really affect anything else. Her relatives are all in Korea, I didn’t know my, any of, I didn’t really know any of my relatives on her side. So but now, I think of myself sort of—sort of tentatively, but I still think of myself as White and Asian.

Emily’s dual identity was emerging as she started to tentatively think of herself as White and Asian. Learning the language was very important in the development of her bi-ethnic identity (see the language subcategory section). As she further states,

There sometimes is this sort of expectation or sort of imposition of identity that, and then, it’s been a very, sort of—not that I’m ashamed of being Korean, but I never really embraced it. And it hasn’t really been until I started, I became a grad student, started researching it and learning the language, and that I could actually talk to my relatives. That became a, I’m Korean, and that’s part of me, and that’s okay.

Emily started to claim her Korean heritage after learning the language and connecting with her Korean relatives. No longer thinking of herself solely as a White American, she began to embrace both parts of her background and with that a dual identity emerged.

The *integrated identity* type describes participants who felt they belonged to a new ethnic group, consisting of other bi-ethnic individuals. This could be a group of bi-ethnic individuals of Asian and European descent only, or a group of all bi-ethnic people of various backgrounds. Participants always had a label for the new ethnic group to

which they felt they belonged, although these labels varied across individuals (e.g., biracial, mixed, Eurasian, halfsie). These participants typically had bi-ethnic pride. They may or may not have felt connected to groups of Asians and European Americans separately, as their reference group of choice may have been other bi-ethnic people.

These participants claimed both sides of their heritage and integrated them into a single inseparable identity. This is what distinguishes them from the dual identified participants. Those with a dual identity embraced both parts of their heritage, but kept them separate in their minds. Participants with an integrated identity formed a new reference group by integrating both ethnic groups into a single entity.

Stephanie was one participant who was coded as having an integrated identity. She defined herself as mixed, and she stated that it was impossible for her to separate her ethnicity in her mind and identify herself as either Thai or Caucasian:

Yeah, I don't think there's ever a point where I'm, where I say oh I'm Thai, just Thai, and I don't think of being mixed. I don't think really that it's possible for me to just identify with being Thai or being American Caucasian.

Internally, she always categorized herself in an integrated way as mixed. When asked if it bothered her when other people labeled her as either Caucasian or Asian, she responded, "I prefer it when people see me as being mixed rather than one or the other, because that's who I am." Stephanie did not see her ethnicity as one or the other, or two ethnicities separately, but rather a new integrated entity.

Jennifer was another participant with an integrated identity. She grew up in an area where there were other bi-ethnic individuals, and she created a label for her group of bi-ethnic peers:

I came up with this term in my high school, I called myself a halfie, and I had a couple of halfie friends, so we called ourselves halfies, or mixed. And I would generally get offended if like I had to choose between the two.

One of the requirements for being classified as having an integrated identity was using a label to indicate bi-ethnic group membership. Many participants used labels such as biracial or mixed, but not all participants liked those broad terms that could apply to any bi-ethnic person. Some participants knew of terms more specific to half-Asians, such as Eurasian or Amerasian, and used one of those. Jennifer empowered herself by creating her own label for her bi-ethnic identity. She refused to choose between her two heritages, and instead formed an integrated identity that fit her better.

Marie was a participant with an emerging integrated identity (and a waning majority identity). When asked how she felt on any random day, more Korean, more Caucasian, or more mixed, she said, “I feel mixed.”

For Marie, belonging to this new ethnic group had significance beyond a personal identity. She described her views on her bi-ethnic reference group from the standpoint of a minority group member:

I consider myself a minority, but not because I’m half Korean. I consider myself a minority because I’m mixed. And I don’t think a lot of people think of that as a minority. Or that mixed people have their own cultures and values and beliefs, that are different from just Asians or just Caucasians.

Marie considers herself a minority not because of her Korean heritage, but because she is bi-ethnic and she views that as its own cultural group.

Aaron was another participant with an integrated identity. He defined himself as Eurasian, and identified strongly with that reference group.

When are you most aware of being Eurasian? When people ask me what's my ethnicity. Or actually, you know what, when I'm around a bunch of people of like-ethnicity. So if there's a bunch of half-Asian, half-White people, then I'll notice like, oh yeah I'm like this.

For Aaron, he identified with other individuals of Asian and European descent. He also thought it was important for bi-ethnic individuals to come together as a group, which he talked about in this quote:

As I grew older, I realized the importance of defining myself, and um, more than just defining myself, I feel like it's good that people who are Eurasian build a little bit of a, a bit of ego around the term. Because something valuable about cultural boundaries tied to ethnic boundaries is that, you know, there's a sense of culture that comes from a sense of race. I mean there, there are definitely people from cultures who are not the norm race, but at the same time there are those people where race is a lot, is a part of the culture. You know the color of your skin and the way you look is a part of the art in the culture of a region. And so it's good that people are aware of it, and it's not good that sometimes when you know, when things are all diffused we lose a sense of culture and art. So I think it's important to identify myself as Eurasian. Even if Eurasian is not you know a primary, what do you call it, secondary kind of thing, there's definitely you know a certain look to a person, at the very least, there's a visual distinction that's important and people should be, you know, proud of.

For Aaron, it was important not only to define himself as a Eurasian, but to identify himself as a Eurasian to others and for other Eurasians to do the same and build a group ego for the larger society to recognize. He desired greater awareness of Eurasians, which he perceived as a diffuse group, because he thought it would be important for this group to bring its own culture to society, much like Marie described.

The *unresolved identity* type was applied to participants who did not feel a sense of belonging to any ethnic group, or who were uncertain about the ethnic group to which they belonged. To be coded into this identity type, participants had to voice overarching confusion about how to identify ethnically. This classification involved more than a passing sense of confusion about how to identify ethnically; it had to characterize a period of life.

None of the participants in this sample were currently classified with an unresolved identity, but three were coded with this type in the past based on details provided retrospectively.

Kira was a participant who described having an unresolved identity in her middle school and early high school years, with an integrated identity after that. She discussed social difficulties, which at the time she blamed on her bi-ethnic heritage:

And then I think there was one point in my life where I was just like, I don't know, I was really like, like a mess socially, so, hopefully that's not a problem anymore. Right, I was really like, I think it's because of this identity, I think it's because of this biracial thing, I think it's because like you know either side can't really, you know, the White kids don't like, they think I look weird and the Asian

kids look, think so too. It's like, they might think it's special for a second, but it doesn't really mean that they'll include you, necessarily.

Kira did not feel like she really fit in with either her White peers or her Asian peers at school. Middle school was a difficult time for her (as for many young people), and she discussed difficulties dealing with cliques that were compounded by complex racial issues. When asked if she was ever uncomfortable with the way she thought about her ethnic background, she responded:

Like I said, at that one time, like during like I guess like pre-adolescence, you know, in middle school, especially in like beginning of high school, I was kind of like a mess about that. It just, um, it's kind of like, why is it that it's so hard for me to like I don't know, open up to people, I suppose. Maybe it's just because of this like, maybe it's because of this half-thing going on. And that, you know, I feel like, I immediately tell myself that I'm not gonna fit in and so I don't, or something. And, because I just saw like, you know, so many like racial peop— like, people just like, same, same racial people just like clinging together. Like, middle school is very, very cliquey, it was very, yeah, in terms of, you know. So you'd just see that all the time, and then you'd be very intimidated, kind of.

Kira may have experienced difficulties making friends at this age no matter what her ethnic background, simply as a shy person. However, as a bi-ethnic individual, she interpreted this experience not as one relating to personality but to race. As such, she told herself she would not fit in with the groups in school, and was left with an unresolved identity where she did not feel as if she fit in anywhere.

Tiffany was a participant with a past majority identity, a waning unresolved identity, and an emerging integrated identity. She thought of herself mainly as Caucasian until college and graduate school, when she started to reflect more on her bi-ethnic identity. When asked to describe herself, she responded:

And like in terms of my ethnicity, I usually am most comfortable just saying that I'm mixed, because it's confusing whether I'm Filipino or Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, or, but I'm comfortable with all those terms, 'cause they all make sense in some way, but, I never know exactly which one to go with—or Caucasian, 'cause that's like usually what people just say I am.

Tiffany's quote demonstrates her uncertainty with which group she belongs, but also her use of the self-label "mixed" as a solution. She did not always use this term, and this integrated identity and new understanding of herself was emerging with time. She described more her feelings about the word "mixed" when she discussed filling out forms that asked for her race:

It's too complex to just check, I mean even to just check "mixed," because that can mean so many different things, and me being mixed is very different from someone else being mixed. And just checking Caucasian feels like it's a, like it's the easy thing to do but it's not exactly the truth.

Tiffany had some uncertainty about how to identify, but knew that identifying as Caucasian no longer felt right to her. Reflecting at the end of the interview, Tiffany voiced confusion about her identity journey, but in the end reaffirmed the direction in which she was headed:

I've been sitting here thinking about that, I mean like what does it mean to, I mean yes I have half that blood, but do these like summer experiences really qualify me as being ethnically mixed? Because I, you know I have these small things that contribute to that part but I know so little about what it means to be Filipino or even Hawaiian. I mean I think I have a better understanding than like the average person, but what I said earlier about pretty much I've grown up Caucasian, I mean that's, that's the way that it is, so it's kind of like, am I like a mixed-race imposter? Just like, the Asian American—but see, reading like that _____ [mixed race] magazine that I talked about and stuff, I think that's how a lot of people feel who are mixed race, that it's, I mean because it's really difficult I think unless you're growing up surrounded by other people who are of mixed race, to fully embrace one thing, because there's always something just a little off. And so, anyway. *So it's hard then to fully embrace one ethnicity over the other, you mean?* Yeah. Yeah, it's hard, I mean like what I was saying about pretty much growing up Caucasian, I still, it still makes me uncomfortable to just say yeah I'm Caucasian. Sure, that's fine, put that on my [driver's] license, whatever. I mean that still doesn't feel right, even though I have limited experiences with that other side of who I am. It's still there and it still, maybe if it wasn't something that made like a physical difference in, in who I was, that people didn't have to ask the uncomfortable question, it wouldn't matter as much, but, yeah it still, you can't just embrace one or the other. And I guess, yeah, which leaves you with mixed.

Though Tiffany had to go through a period of uncertainty, her unresolved identity is waning and an integrated identity is emerging. She stated that it does not feel right to just identify as Caucasian, and she said that she recognizes that other mixed race people have been through the same things she is going through. She has started to identify with other bi-ethnic people on a group level, and to embrace her heritage in an integrated way.

Table 5 displays the number of participants in the sample who were classified in each of the five bi-ethnic identity types. The table includes numbers for both past and current classifications, and waning and emerging identities. Participants were coded for past types based on details provided retrospectively. The change from past to current occurred at different developmental time points for different people. The most common transition period was reported between high school and college. Eight of the 20 participants, or 40%, were coded as having changed types over time.

In summary, five bi-ethnic identity types emerged from the interviews. A person with a majority identity defines herself as European American, whereas someone with a minority identity defines herself as Asian. An individual with a dual identity stresses being Asian and European American, separately. A person with an integrated identity has a self-label that identifies her as belonging to the group of bi-ethnic people, and she thinks of her background as a single entity. Someone with an unresolved identity is uncertain about which groups she fits in or does not feel she belongs in any group. These types can wane and emerge as individuals develop, but there is no universal progression from type to type. Influences on these types will be detailed in the sections below, following a discussion of facets of these bi-ethnic identity types.

Table 5

Count of Participants' Bi-ethnic Identity Types

Identity Type	Past	Waning	Emerging	Current
Majority	3	2	0	6
Minority	1	1	0	1
Dual	0	0	2	3
Integrated	0	0	3	5
Unresolved	1	2	0	0

Facets of bi-ethnic identity. As noted above, four facets of bi-ethnic identity emerged from the interviews. To characterize these facets broadly, they indicate a level of connection to one's bi-ethnic identity, the importance one's ethnic background has for oneself, and how one feels about one's heritage. These facets include centrality, self-label, affirmation, and affect. See Table 6.

The facet *centrality* refers to the importance of ethnicity to participants' overall, general identity. On the premise that there are components of one's general identity (e.g., gender identity, religious identity) that may be more or less important to how one defines oneself, this facet captures how much of a role one's ethnic identity plays in one's overall identity.

When asked to broadly describe her overall identity, Jessica responded with a statement that referenced her ethnic background, indicating how central her bi-ethnicity is to her overall sense of self.

Um, my identity—I mean, I'd say that, as far as like what made me like who I am today, I'd say, besides the fact, like being half-Asian and White, definitely played a role in that. And growing up in an environment where you know both sides of your family have very, very different cultures played a role.

When asked how important ethnicity was to her overall identity on a scale of 1 to 10, Jessica replied: "I'd say like a 6 or a 7, because it has been fairly important. It's not the only thing that's shaped my own identity, but it definitely has had a very large role." A similar response was reported by Emily, who stated: "I guess I would put it close to a 7. It's important to me, and I'm aware of it, so it does form a big part of my identity." Her answer indicates her bi-ethnicity has a high centrality to her overall identity.

Table 6

Facets of Bi-ethnic Identity

Type of Facet	Definition
Centrality	Importance of ethnicity to overall, general identity
Self-label	Participant has a label s/he uses to describe her/his ethnicity (not just parents' ethnic labels)
Affirmation	Extent to which participant feels connection to or separation from the minority and majority cultures; sense of belonging to minority, majority, or bi-ethnic groups
Affect	Emotions related to ethnicity (e.g., pride, ambivalence, discomfort)

In response to questions about centrality of ethnicity, Jennifer reflected on how she defined herself, and how her ethnicity influenced how she acted and the expectations she placed on herself.

Do you think your ethnic background plays a role in your overall identity, or not really? Um, probably, 'cause it influences a lot of what I do, I think. Like I listen to a lot of Asian music, I've been like you know, kind of like interested in like defining my Asian self, I guess, because I kind of like, I always joke about, I have 'Asian moments' and I have 'White moments'. I just joke around with those kinds of things, like if I get really bad on a math test, I'll be like I was having a White moment.

Kira, who had a past unresolved identity and a current integrated identity, was another participant who saw her bi-ethnicity as influencing who she was and the decisions she makes for herself. She discussed the centrality of her ethnic background to her overall identity:

Do you think that it affects who you are as a person? That's a good question. Like I said, it's an important part of my identity, so I don't see why it wouldn't. Like a lot of what I do, like I said I was gonna be a Japanese major and everything, I think that it does really play a part in my identity. And yeah, it really does make, it's, it's very relevant, I'd have to say.

Similarly, Serena was participant with an integrated identity who saw her bi-ethnicity as influential in her life, and as fairly central to her overall identity: "*Would you say that that is something that you would see as a big part of your overall identity?* I

don't think it's the biggest thing, part, about me, but it definitely does influence who I am."

In contrast, not all participants saw their bi-ethnicity as very central to their overall identity. For example, Marie, who had a waning majority identity and an emerging integrated identity, stated: "*Do you ever think about being a person of mixed heritage, or is that not something you really spend much time thinking about?* I don't really spend much time thinking about it." Further probing about the importance of her Korean heritage revealed a lack of centrality: "*Would you say that being Korean manifests in your life, that it's something that is really important, and that is often salient?* No. Maybe when I'm at home, but not when I'm out here, like in the real world." Marie disconnects her Korean heritage from the "real world" and does not find much of a salient impact of her bi-ethnicity on her life.

Chris was another participant who did not perceive that his bi-ethnicity was highly central to his overall identity. However, probing indicated a distinction between thinking about being Chinese versus being bi-ethnic. He was minority identified, and he stated that being Chinese was slightly more central to his identity than being bi-ethnic:

How important do you think being biracial is to your overall identity, like on a scale of 1-10? Probably like 2. I mean, not really that much. Okay. What about being Chinese? How important would you say that is to your overall identity?

Um, maybe a 3 or 4, 'cause we, we so often visit relatives who live, all, all my relatives on my mom's side live around here on the East coast, so we're more likely to see them than my dad's relatives. So really only, only when we see them,

otherwise, it doesn't, I mean, like I said, we really don't do you know Chinese stuff at home, or anything like that.

Overall, ethnicity had low centrality in Chris' overall identity. This was slightly higher when probing the identity type with which Chris identified, and he also mentioned situations in which his ethnicity was more salient to him than others, such as when he was visiting his Chinese relatives.

Karen May was a participant who was majority identified and did not think of her ethnicity as central to her general identity. She acknowledged that her Indian heritage had some presence in her life, but its influence did not seem very consequential.

Do you think that your ethnicity plays any sort of role in your overall identity, in how you think about yourself in general, or that there are other things that are more important? I think there, I don't think I think about it. I think other things are more important. I mean it must at some level, you know, play a part in who I am, but I don't, I don't have like Indian pride. You know, I don't, like I never belonged to like the Indian youth groups, which my brother did, so there was a difference there. But you know, we probably eat more Indian food and make more Indian food at home, that kind of thing, own more Indian jewelry or whatever. I don't think of it as a huge influence on who I am. 'Cause I tend to think of influences on who I am, even if they come from my dad, almost as individualistic rather than cultural. You know, like the drive to succeed could be perceived as Indian but I've always perceived it as individual, 'cause that's just what my family is.

Karen May discussed perceiving the influences from her Indian father “as individualistic rather than cultural.” Perhaps because she did not attach cultural significance to these influences, that may have contributed to her ethnicity having a lower centrality to her overall identity.

Megan was a participant who was classified as majority identified. When asked if she feels an awareness of her bi-ethnicity, she said not really. This answer indicated a low centrality of her ethnic identity to her overall identity, which she elaborated on:

That might just be part of my personality, too, because I consider myself to be pretty open-minded, and like, I don’t know how, if other people walk around thinking about their ethnicity all the time. I think it’s kind of a closed-minded way to be, to constantly be thinking about like, you know, I’m Black, or I’m White, or I’m Asian. I just don’t think it’s worth, I don’t know, the way society kind of places a lot of emphasis on ethnicity, and makes a big deal of it, I don’t think it’s worth my thoughts, I don’t know. I just, you know, wanna be me.

Megan did not spend much time thinking about her Korean heritage, or thinking about being bi-ethnic. This color-blind attitude is consistent with many European Americans who grow up without contemplating their ethnic background (see Chapter 5 for discussion).

The facet of centrality showed for different participants the level of importance their ethnic background played in their overall identity. For some participants, their heritage was something salient, that they thought about often, and that influenced their lives. For others, it was perceived as less important, they did not spend much time

thinking about it, and stated that other aspects of themselves were more important to their general identity.

The *self-label* facet denotes whether or not participants have labels they use to describe their bi-ethnicity. These labels go beyond purely using their parents' ethnic group labels. As a reminder, a requirement to be coded with an integrated identity was the use of a self-label for bi-ethnic individuals as a group. To note, this facet is somewhat more concrete than the other facets. However, it is grouped with the other facets because using a self-label indicates ownership of bi-ethnicity and a sense of group membership with other bi-ethnics, whereas lack of a bi-ethnic self-label indicates a different identity type.

Aaron was a participant who defined himself as Eurasian, and felt a sense of belonging to bi-ethnic individuals as a group. Having a self-label helped convey his group membership to other people. He had reasons for choosing this particular self-label that were related to how he identified himself: "I like the word Eurasian now, because it's very concise. It's almost like one word, instead of two." This integrated self-label signified one undivided ethnicity, an integrated identity.

Kira was motivated to find a specific term that fit with how she defined herself, so she searched on the internet for available bi-ethnic labels. She chose a preferred term after gathering several terms, and throughout the interview referred to herself as a "halfsie."

Well, just because of like, there's like a community on the internet, called like halfsie.com or something, it's like, I think it's like a cute little term, or like Wapanese, or something like that, it's like, it's not like, I guess I could say

biracial, but that's a very broad term. So I mean like, usually when people say halfsie, it's pretty much a reference to like the half-Asian, half-White combination. More in reference to like Japanese-White.

Kira chose a term that refers specifically to individuals of Japanese and European American descent. She rejected terms that can refer to bi-ethnic individuals of any background, preferring a label that was more specific to her heritage. She was very connected to her Japanese heritage, thus it was important to her that her self-label reflect that.

Jennifer was a participant with an integrated identity who did not know many labels that fit her identity, so she decided to create a label. She felt strongly about being bi-ethnic, and did not like having to choose between her Korean and her European American heritage.

I came up with this term in my high school, I called myself a halfie, and I had a couple of halfie friends, so we called ourselves halfies, or mixed. And I would generally get offended if like I had to choose between the two.

Jennifer creatively made up a label for herself and her friends when she was not satisfied with any of the labels available to her. This new label could be defined to fit her integrated identity in an authentic way that would not be possible with a label that was placed upon her by others.

Serena had an integrated identity and defined herself as biracial. With an integrated identity, filling out forms that ask for racial identification can be complicated. Serena explained how the boxes she checked changed over time, revealing an evolution of self-labels:

So what about when you have to fill out those forms that have those boxes to check, what do you normally do with that? If they don't—some have a space for like biracial, if they do then I check it, and if I, if they don't, I'll check other. I used to, I used to, like when I was little I would check Asian, and then I switched and I would check White, and then I would just like flip-flop back and forth. But now I just choose other or biracial if they have that choice. *Do you remember why you picked Asian when you were young?* 'Cause I felt like I had to express like what was different about me compared to most other people. *Different in a good way?* Yeah. *So what made you switch to checking White?* Um, I don't know. Because I felt like I was ignoring like half of who I was. And then after I did that, I would just switch, you know, this form it would be White, this form it'd be Asian.

Serena's answer reveals both the inadequacies of the forms she had to fill out, and also that she was not comfortable labeling herself in a way that did not fit with her identity. The label she chose for herself was biracial, and that indicated her integrated identity.

The self-label facet helped mark the distinction between participants with an integrated identity versus other identity types. Participants with integrated identities always had self-labels signifying group membership with other bi-ethnic individuals. Other participants could have other self-labels to identify themselves, such as Asian or White, or they could state both their parents' ethnicities when asked for their ethnicity.

The facet of *affirmation* denotes the extent to which participants express connection to or separation from minority and majority cultures, and a sense of belonging

to minority, majority, and/or bi-ethnic groups. This facet shows the group membership or memberships the participant affirms.

Serena was a participant who affirmed her sense of group membership with both Asian Americans and European Americans.

Do you think that the combination of two ethnicities in your background gives you a different perspective than if you were just one or the other? Yeah, I think so.

‘Cause I don’t feel like, ‘cause I feel like part of both groups, so I don’t view one as like an outsider. Whereas um maybe other ethnic groups, who have a very strong like tie to their culture, like um Hispanic people, or like Africans, real Africans. Like I don’t really connect with them, I don’t feel like I have, like culturally I don’t have similarities with them, so, I kind of view them as an outside group. Whereas with like Asians and Whites, I don’t feel like an outsider.

Serena felt a connection to both Asians and Whites, and felt like an insider with both of these groups. With ethnic groups that were not part of her heritage, she did not feel this same sense of group membership and belonging. This indicated that she identified with both parts of her heritage.

Emily did not feel a sense of belonging with other Koreans, and felt more comfortable with groups of European Americans. When explaining why she did not feel comfortable going to Korean church, she relayed: “I think, in my mind, I wanted to be as American as possible, and they were not American.” She felt a separation from the Korean culture, stating for example, “Now I’m taking a Korean class here, and they’re all Korean, and they all know each other, and I find myself shying away from sort of that

social environment.” These examples show that Emily not only disaffirmed Korean culture, but she affirmed the majority culture, expressing a desire to feel American.

In contrast, Jessica expressed discomfort when she was with groups of European Americans, which she partly attributed to growing up in schools that were majority African American.

But I’d say, it’s not so much uncomfortable, like, automatically, it’s probably, I mean these are the stereotypes that I hold as well, like just growing up in school, like I would automatically assume oh we probably don’t have similar interests, you know, I’m not really White, you know, that kind of thing. So I mean, I’d say that I would feel more different when I was with a group of White friends or whatever. But I mean that’s, that has changed some while I was in college.

Jessica affirmed group membership with Asians, not European Americans, and thus assumed she would not have similar interests because “I’m not really White.” However, this was changing following the transition to a more diverse college, as she moves from a waning minority identity to an emerging integrated identity. One reason that she gave for a greater affirmation of her Japanese heritage was that she could more easily connect to its culture than to European American culture.

Do you feel an attachment to being Caucasian? I, I think somewhat. I mean it’s part of my like background, like, but I think it’s more just like my family, rather than attachment to being actually Caucasian. Because I mean at the same time, it’s not as, a definable culture for me, just because, like, I don’t know, just, like my mother, I mean, her parents, you know, mixed heritages from like Europe.

Like it's not like it's just one culture. I mean it's very American, but it's not, it's not as much tradition-based maybe I guess.

Jessica, like many Americans, did not perceive European Americans as having their own culture, traditions, or values, whereas she could define and connect to Japanese culture in a way that affirmed her Asian group membership.

Abigail was a participant who felt some degree of connection to her Filipino heritage, but mainly she felt a sense of belonging with European Americans.

Would you say that you have an attachment to being Filipino, or no? Um, if it, if this were just a yes or no answer, then no. *If it weren't?* Uh, if it weren't, then maybe. Just because, um, I mean I've always liked seeing, my mom has Filipino friends, and they always come over and stuff, and I got, I've been, I've gotten used to that, and, like even if, like I can still like, if they're ever talking in their language, I can still like in a way understand, just by, just by the way they're talking and stuff. And I can like assume what they're talking about. But I feel like it is a part of me. Like I, I can never like ignore that or anything. And it's not like I want to anyways. *So would you say that you're attached to being Caucasian?* Um, well I think, I, I've like grown up, I mean, although it was diverse, I still hung out with, with Caucasian people. So I feel like I have more of an attachment to the, to Caucasians then.

Abigail stated that despite diverse ethnic composition of schools and neighborhoods, but she was mostly friends with European Americans (see section below). She primarily affirms group membership with European Americans, but notes that being Filipino feels like "it is a part of me."

Karen May was a majority identified participant who expressed separation from her Indian heritage because she was bi-ethnic and not as immersed in the culture as other Indians.

Indians tend to have like big gatherings with like billions of Indian people in one house, and when we would go to those, I would tend to feel a little bit like an outsider, because I wasn't full-blooded Indian. There's this whole Indian thing about being a halfie, I don't know if that's prevalent in other cultures as well, but you're a halfie, you know, h-a-l-f-i-e, if you're half Indian. So I don't feel like necessarily other kids would try to like exclude my brother or I, but when we went to those things, we were never as immersed in the culture as other people were.

Karen May did not feel a sense of belonging to Indian culture, and stated that she felt "like an outsider." She separated herself from her Indian heritage, and affirmed group membership with European Americans.

Megan was another participant who expressed difficulty fitting in with minority groups because of being bi-ethnic. She also separated from her Korean heritage and felt more comfortable in groups with European Americans.

When I had my first year at Riverdale State, I really wanted to kind of get more involved, like, there was actually a Korean student association on campus, so man, I'm gonna like go and hang out with those people and it'll be a lot of fun, and I'll get to make new friends. I hung out with them two or three times and I just felt like I didn't belong there. I don't really know what it was, I mean, it's not like they were shutting me out, but I just, like, I don't know, I never, I could never

really figure that out. But when I would come back from the event, I would feel like, man, I just felt like I really didn't belong there. So I, you know, I went back and tried it again a couple more times, I think I went there three times max, but um—I sometimes, and, I think what I took from that was that if you're not like all, like, totally Asian, that we might not like welcome you as much. It was kind of a strange. It, it was really awkward for me. Being in the group and like wanting to engage with everyone, but I just felt like there was something there, which I think is kind of strange. I felt more welcome in another group where, I mean it was of mixed ethnicities or Caucasian.

Megan did not feel a sense of belonging with her Korean peers, and perceived peer rejection because of her bi-ethnicity. She was majority identified, and she affirmed group membership with European Americans.

Affirmation was a facet that showed participants' sense of belonging to different ethnic groups. It demonstrated commitment to or distance from the ethnic groups in individuals' backgrounds.

The facet *affect* enumerated participants' emotions related to ethnicity, such as pride, confusion, and uneasiness. These feelings could be positive, neutral, or negative, and could be directed toward the minority or majority ethnic group or bi-ethnic group. To note, in this sample few examples of negative affect about bi-ethnicity were found; this was probably due to the non-clinical nature of the study. When participants expressed negative feelings about their ethnic background, it was when relaying experiences with discrimination, therefore those quotes can be found in that section.

Jennifer was a participant who expressed a lot of positive feelings about being a bi-ethnic individual. She had an integrated identity, and defined herself as a halfie.

I think I have a lot of halfie pride. As I've put it, like my roommate, she's half-Black, half-White, and like we have halfie pride, and we're both half-Polish. And I also was in the multicultural biracial association. Like I was active in that last year, so I met a lot of other halfies. Like, I'm pretty proud about it.

Jennifer had a lot of pride in her bi-ethnicity, joined student groups for bi-ethnic individuals, and made friends with bi-ethnic peers. She stated, "I'm half-Asian and I love it."

Colleen, a dual identified participant, expressed pride in her Asian heritage. Colleen's mother had discussed the family history with her, and she thought her ethnic background made her more interesting because of its uniqueness.

I think it's really cool, like that, well my family, like my mom's side, we can trace it back like all the way to like one of the first emperors or something, and like, and I just feel like I have a more interesting like background and stuff, because of that.

Colleen also devised a public forum to express her positive feelings about being bi-ethnic by creating a group through an internet social networking site.

I have a "Hurray for Half-Asians" Facebook group. *Is that something that you made up yourself?* Yeah, I made it up myself, 'cause there wasn't one in State University, and also, and there was one at Metropolitan University that my friend is in, and I was like what the heck, there should be one here. So I made one here.

Stephanie was another participant who expressed pride in her Asian heritage. She had lived in Thailand for many years, and was very connected to her Thai background.

Yeah I'd say I'm attached to being Thai, and I take pride in like anything that Thailand does like as a country, or if there's something like in the _____ [University newspaper] about Thailand, or somebody's talking about Thailand, I'll get really excited about it.

When asked how she feels about being Thai, she responded: "Positively. I feel like it makes me different, and like I said, I like being different and standing out a little bit, and you know being the center of attention sometimes." Stephanie had pride in her Thai heritage and felt attached to being Thai and to the country.

Several participants echoed Stephanie's positive feelings about being different because of being bi-ethnic. For example, Sam stated: "I kind of actually like being mixed. It makes me different from everybody else. *And that's a good thing?* Yeah, I don't like being completely like everybody else." Karen May also discussed appreciation for the differentness associated with being a bi-ethnic individual.

So was being Indian important to you, or how did you feel about that part of your heritage? I don't know if it was important to me so much. It was kind of cool because it made me different in a way when I was growing up, and there was something special that I could share with other people, that other people might not have known, especially around, you know 'cause I grew up in _____ [U.S. city], where it's much less diverse than here. So like I remember that you know we would always, in kind of like a way that would now be probably considered politically incorrect, but like, we would always be asked to like teach other, you

know, can your mom come in and bring a sari, and teach us about being Indian.

But I found that kind of cool.

Note that this quote shows low centrality of ethnicity to overall identity, but positive affect. Karen May was majority identified, but liked that her bi-ethnicity made her different and gave her something special to share with her European American peers.

Megan, who was also majority identified, expressed positive affect for her European American heritage. She attributed this mainly to growing up in the U.S. where the population is majority European American.

My feelings about being Caucasian are pretty positive, just because, like I was saying before, I mean, growing up here in this culture you're constantly surrounded with the you know American, you know, just the American lifestyle, it's just you're constantly being exposed to it. I feel like I can identify with being Caucasian more than being Asian.

Megan felt positively about being Caucasian, and felt like she was immersed in American culture more than Asian culture.

Chris was a participant with a minority identity. His feelings were fairly neutral. When asked how he felt about being Asian, he responded:

Well I mean, I don't, I don't hate it, obviously, otherwise I wouldn't, I wouldn't identify to it. But I guess it's, it's such on like a low level that it's, it's above neutral, but you know, not, it's not like I'm, you know, gonna be all yay Chinese and stuff like that. I don't really, I don't follow like the culture besides like the you know basic maybe we go to an uncle's house for a holiday or something like that, Chinese New Year or whatever.

Note that this quote also concerns centrality in addition to affect (see section above). Chris describes slightly more positive than neutral feelings for his Chinese heritage, but reports that his bi-ethnic identity has fairly low centrality to his overall identity and therefore he does not have strong affect either way.

Aaron was a participant with an integrated identity who defined himself as Eurasian. However, he discussed the complexities of feeling pride in a group that was not well-formed: “It’s easier to say I’m proud of being Asian than it is to say I’m proud to be Eurasian, I think. Because Eurasian’s a less developed ethnicity than Asian.” Being Asian, there is a larger community with which to belong, versus being an individual of Asian and European descent.

The facet of affect demonstrated how participants felt about their ethnic background, including whether they had positive or negative feelings for each group or if they lacked strong feelings for their ethnicity. With all of these facets, they helped point to which ethnic group or groups the participants felt belonging and connection, and which groups were important to their identity.

Perceived Familial Influences on Bi-ethnic Identity Development

This section will present the results pertaining to research question 2, regarding key familial influences on bi-ethnic identity development as perceived by young adults of Asian and European descent. Based on the coding processes described in Chapter 3, six categories of influences emerged from the interviews: parental, extended family, personal, peer, environmental, and discrimination. These six categories were further divided into 18 subcategories. See Table 7. The two familial categories, parental and extended family, had 9 of the subcategories, and these are described next.

Table 7

Perceived Influences on Bi-ethnic Identity Development

Category	Subcategory	Definition
Parental	Marital status	Marital status, current and during childhood; includes relationship dynamics (e.g., acrimonious versus amicable relationship after divorce)
	Relations with parents	Extent to which relationship with each parent may have influenced connection to culture/ethnicity
	Acculturation	Refers to minority parent's level of acculturation to American society and/or connection to country of origin; incorporates minority parent's generational status
	Enculturation by parents	Extent to which parents transmitted Asian culture (e.g., traditions, history, food, values), as perceived by participants
	Language	Whether parents taught Asian language; includes separation from or connection to minority ethnicity due to language knowledge or lack thereof
	Given and family names	Separation from or connection to ethnicity due to first and/or last name sounding European or Asian
	Parental discussion of ethnic issues	Extent to which parents discuss bi-ethnicity or ethnic issues; whether parents support or critique participants' ethnic identity choices
Extended Family	Extended family contact	Includes extended family's country of residence, frequency of contact, and quality of contact; presence of other interethnic marriages in extended family
	Enculturation by extended family	Refers to transmission of culture by extended family members to participant

Personal	Ethnic identity search	Interest in learning about Asian heritage (e.g., culture, history, language, traditions, food) and efforts made to obtain cultural knowledge
	Self-reflection based on others' reactions	Self-reflection, often spurred by others' questions, perceptions, or categorizations related to ethnicity, that has influenced bi-ethnic identity development
	Phenotype	Extent to which bi-ethnic identity is influenced by participant's physical appearance, including phenotypic characteristics that are perceived as either Asian or European
Peer	Ethnic composition of peer groups	Ethnic backgrounds of peers currently and throughout development
	Peer discussion of ethnic issues	Extent to which peers discuss ethnic issues relevant to participant; whether peers discuss participant's ethnic heritage or ethnic identity choices; transmission of Asian culture by peers
Environmental	Ethnic composition of schools and neighborhoods	Ethnic compositions of schools attended and neighborhoods lived in while growing up; includes tolerance of interethnic marriages and bi-ethnicity
	Living internationally	Whether participant lived in Asian parent's country of origin; extent of time living in that country; developmental time period; feelings of connection to or separation from Asian culture due to experiences while living there
Discrimination	Discrimination by minority group	Experiences with exclusion, prejudice, and/or discrimination from minority group that influenced bi-ethnic identity development
	Discrimination by majority group	Experiences with prejudice, discrimination, and/or stereotyping from majority group that influenced bi-ethnic identity development

It is important to note that for all influences on bi-ethnic identity development, the effects are not linear. There is not a simple causal relationship between one influence and one identity type. For example, it is not the case that if parents were highly acculturated to American society, the participant would always develop a majority identity. The development of a bi-ethnic identity depended on the unique combination of influences in each individual. Thus, there is much variability across individuals in the way the influences work together to form identity types.

Parental influences. As a primary focus of this study was familial influences on bi-ethnic identity development, it was not surprising that this category yielded the most subcategories. The seven subcategories of this category were: marital status, relations with parents, acculturation, given and family names, language, enculturation by parents, and parental discussion of ethnic issues. To note, some subcategories are more related than others, while others are more distinct; for example, marital status and relations with parents are somewhat related, as are acculturation and enculturation by parents. Despite some relations, these subcategories each uniquely contributed to bi-ethnic identity development.

The *marital status* subcategory documents parents' marital statuses, currently and while participants were growing up. This subcategory includes relationship dynamics between participants' parents that may have been influential on bi-ethnic identity development, such as acrimonious versus civil relations following a divorce.

As stated in Chapter 3, in this sample 65% of the participants' parents were married, never divorced. For the 35% in the sample whose parents were divorced,

frequency of contact and quality of parental relationship seemed to be of some importance for bi-ethnic identity development.

The reader will notice that the quotes illustrating this subcategory are from participants with divorced parents. The marital status subcategory, and what it describes, seemed more salient to participants whose parents had been divorced. In fact, only one participant mentioned her married parents' marital status as an influence. When asked to describe her overall identity, Colleen included this statement: "I guess I would, like, my family life has always been like pretty stable I would say too, that would be another factor."

Rachel was a participant who grew up with her European American mother after her parents divorced. Of note, her mother remarried a European American when she was in middle school. She was classified as majority identified, and here spoke of the impact of divorce on her bi-ethnic identity development:

Do you think that ethnicity plays a role in your overall identity, like how you think about yourself, or not really? Not as much probably as other biracial children.

Because my parents have been divorced since I was really young, so I didn't exactly grow up in a mixed household.

Rachel described the relationship between her parents as strained when she was younger; "they're more civil now, but it was like a lot worse when I was younger, so, there was not like mixed involvement, like my dad never came over to family things or anything like that." She viewed her parents' divorce, and the subsequent monoethnic household in which she was raised, as influential on how she thought about herself ethnically. This is the same participant who identified herself as Caucasian because

“that’s really how I was raised *culturally*” (see majority identity section). For her, ethnicity was not central, which she attributed to her parents’ divorce.

Another participant, Craig, described a different situation after his parents divorced when he was a baby. His parents always lived in cities near each other, and he spent time living with each of his parents at some point in his life. Additionally, his parents both remarried interethnically, and all of his siblings are Vietnamese/European American like him. In describing his parents’ relationship, he said:

So they were always close, so we always saw each other. I saw him during all the breaks. And at first they were kind of tense, for obvious reasons, but now it’s pretty civil. Like they don’t talk regularly, but they email every once in awhile, and you know update on me and all that type of stuff. And they’ve visited with each other; my mom spent Christmas with my dad one time, even with the stepmom and everything. So it’s been good, like they have a good relationship. It’s healthy for, like, me you know—they don’t fight.

Craig was classified as having a waning majority identity with an emerging dual identity. Regardless of divorce, Craig maintained close ties to both of his parents and continuously lived in environments with both ethnicities represented. His parents’ relationship was civil and they prioritized his positive development, which may have helped him value both parts of his heritage. Thus, the frequency of contact children have with both parents following divorce is likely influential, particularly when transmission of culture is a consideration.

Marital status sometimes played a role in how participants thought about their own ethnicity, based on the ethnicity of the parent who raised them following a divorce.

For example, Marie, a participant who was raised by her European American father, stated:

Well, my parents divorced when I was very young, so I lived with my father for the majority of my life. And I never thought about myself as a different race than him or anybody else in my family until I moved to Maryland.

At 18, Marie moved in with her Korean mother, and this change in living arrangement has had an impact on how she thinks about her ethnicity. She was classified as having a waning majority identity with an emerging integrated identity. She no longer only identifies with her European American side, but is starting to connect with her Korean heritage. She spoke of the effect divorce had on language knowledge, as well as how this was changing since living with her mother: “When I was younger I was fluent in Korean, that was my first language. And then when my parents divorced I forgot it completely. So now that I’m living with her again, I’m starting to learn it again.” Importantly, while parental marital status can be influential, when children grow up they can change living arrangements or create their own environments that can influence bi-ethnic identity development.

The *relations with parents* subcategory describes the extent to which participants’ relationships with each parent may have influenced a connection to or separation from their ethnic background. Note that this subcategory was concerned with the relationship between the participant and the father, and the relationship between the participant and the mother; this subcategory did not document the relationship between parents (any such relevant information would have been captured in the marital status subcategory).

The quality of the relationship with each parent was influential for some participants on their bi-ethnic identity development. One participant, Jessica, discussed her relations with her Japanese American father and her European American mother.

My father, I guess, personality-wise I am more similar to him, which might also have a, be a reason why I identify more with being Asian than being Caucasian. I'm, like, I get along with my father pretty well. Like my mother and I we have very like I guess conflicting like personalities a lot of the time, and I mean I think that might also be because you know we're both female, and the only females in the house, I'm sure that has a role as well. But I think the fact that like personality-wise I do identify with my father more.

Jessica was classified with a waning minority identity and an emerging integrated identity. She was very connected to her Japanese heritage for myriad reasons, but she perceived her close relations with her father as an important factor in the development of her bi-ethnic identity. For her, viewing herself as temperamentally more similar to her Asian father than her European American mother was linked to identifying herself "more with being Asian than being Caucasian."

In a contrasting example, Karen May was a participant who had a better relationship with her European American mother than with her Indian father:

I think my mom and I are pretty normal mother-daughter, have the normal like we're pretty close, we talk, we fight, but it's you know nothing massive or anything. And then of course when they divorced I only lived at home for like 2 more years before I went to college, so it wasn't that different. I think my, and I had a lot of issues with my dad, you know, at that time and through college. But I

think my brother was a lot closer to him and like I said, I think that's maybe why he identifies a little bit more with the Indian part of the heritage.

Karen May, who was classified as majority identified, contrasted her bi-ethnic identity with that of her brother throughout the interview. She perceived her brother as more connected with their Indian heritage, which she partly attributed to the status of their relations with each of their parents.

Cultural and language issues sometimes made relations with parents more complex. For example, Marie described differences between her relationships with her Korean mother and her European American father. When asked about the relations with each of her parents, she discussed communication issues as well as differing levels of emotional expression:

Um, me and my mom, I find that there's a big communication barrier. Like I'll say things and I know she doesn't understand. And sometimes she'll get angry, because she doesn't understand, and thinks I said something to offend her. So communicating with her is very hard and, uh, her and I don't talk a lot about emotions, 'cause, I don't know if it's just her, but it also seems like my [Asian] friends, they're very stoic, they don't show emotions. And with my dad, I'm able to talk to him more freely. And um there's more emotion expressed in that relationship. He'd say I love you more, and more hugs and kisses, and stuff like that.

Marie's relationships with her parents were different, which she partly attributed to cultural and language reasons. She sometimes had difficulty communicating with her mother because of language issues, and she also mentioned a lack of emotional

expressiveness which she suggested may have been cultural. Marie was classified as having a waning majority identity and an emerging integrated identity. This was the same participant who was raised by her father but moved in with her mother at the age of 18. She was in the process of building a better relationship with her mother, and simultaneously fostering a better connection to her Korean heritage.

For another participant, Emily, her relationship with her Korean mother was not particularly close until she took steps to learn more about her Asian heritage by living in Korea for a year to learn the language. She describes how after she returned from Korea, her relationship with her mother changed.

So the fact that I know Korean—my relationship with my mom has always been pretty static. We've been pretty good, like we're close, but not super-close, not super-far. And now we, we're much, in some respects we're much closer, but it also comes with a lot more fighting. So it's much more spikey. Whereas before it was more sort of flat. And it's weird too, because my sister now is in the position where she doesn't, she is the sole person in the house that doesn't know Korean. And so it's one of those things, especially when I first came back, where my mom wanted me to talk to her in Korean all the time, even though my Korean was awful, but she wanted, like she was excited for me to be finally learning the language.

Emily's mother was very excited that she could share her language and parts of her culture with her daughter after she visited her homeland. Emily was classified as having a past majority identity, with a waning unresolved identity and an emerging dual identity. Her relationship with her mother was changing as she was searching for what

meaning her ethnicity would have in her life, and learning more about her Korean heritage. In general, the relations with parents subcategory tended to be important when participants perceived connections between the relationship quality and the parents' ethnicity.

The *acculturation* subcategory refers to the Asian parents' level of acculturation to American culture and, if applicable, their connection to their country of origin. This subcategory also incorporates the generational status of the Asian parents, including all relevant information such as the country of their birth, and how long they lived in the Asian country before moving to the United States. Information was also obtained about what languages the Asian parent spoke, and with what proficiency.

Many of the participants perceived their Asian parents as primarily acculturated to American society. Karen May, who was majority identified, said of her first generation Indian father:

Oh my dad? I think he was fairly, like predominantly acculturated. Predominantly part of the American culture. Definitely by the time you know that he died, definitely by the time we were you know older. Yeah, like I never really felt like he was like that much of an outsider. Part of that probably being married to my mom, and he really, you know he ate hamburgers, you know, there wasn't any outstanding thing that Dad did that was like super-Indian.

When participants perceived their Asian parents as mainly acculturated, they typically did not perceive a large amount of enculturation, or transmission of culture, by their parents (see enculturation by parents section).

However, having an Asian parent who was very acculturated to American culture did not necessarily mean the participant would lack a connection to their Asian heritage. For example, one participant, Jessica, was classified as having a waning minority identity and an emerging integrated identity. She said of her father: “And my father, he’s Japanese, but he’s very Americanized, he was born on an American Army base in Tokyo. So when he came here, I mean, he doesn’t speak Japanese; I speak more Japanese than he does.” Jessica described how her father was raised in order to elucidate his acculturation level:

Do you think that he feels an attachment to being Japanese, or a big connection to Japan, or more to the United States? More to the United States. I think, I mean, he, I mean he recognizes that he is Japanese American, but as far as like dealing with culture and that kind of thing, I mean, the time that he grew up was right after World War II, I mean, it was right, his father was from Hawaii, you know, the whole Pearl Harbor thing, and the thing is, the reason why he doesn’t speak Japanese and doesn’t know as much about the culture is that his parents tried their best to Americanize all of their children right afterward. And I mean, I think he’s always, he, he had very much the stereotypical I guess American 50s-60s like childhood. So he, I would say that he definitely feels much more of a connection to being American.

Jessica was very connected to her Asian heritage. She attributed this mostly to her Asian friends and the diversity of her schools (see ethnic composition of schools and neighborhoods section). Additionally, she shared that her grandparents wanted the next generation to reconnect to their Japanese heritage (see enculturation by extended family).

Thus, parents' acculturation levels can be important but are certainly not the only factor in the development of bi-ethnic identity.

In contrast, a participant could feel unconnected to their Asian side yet have an Asian parent who was not very acculturated. This typically occurred when the parents were divorced and the participant was raised by the European American parent. Rachel, whose parents divorced when she was young, was classified with a majority identity. She said of her first generation father:

He's very Chinese. His English is not that great. Some of my friends have trouble understanding him. I mean, for being here for like almost 30 years, he really doesn't have, speak good English...And he just, I mean he never really, I don't know, like seemed to care that much about assimilating, you know? And I think it's sort of given him some trouble, because he's very, just the way he handles things, like he deals with things, he's very different about things. I mean he's very Chinese in the way he does things. Like, so, yeah. He's definitely like 98% still totally Chinese.

A few of the participants described their Asian parents in bicultural terms, being both Asian and American. Emily discussed her first generation mother's acculturation level:

How acculturated or American would you say she is, versus how Korean? I think she moves in both worlds very well. In some respects I would like to be more like her. But she still has limitations on her English. Speaking it, she's fine. And she uses the language to her, like if there is a telemarketer, she'll step up her Korean accent, and pretend like she doesn't know it. But she still doesn't like reading

it...So there's still, she can still read it, but she relies on my dad, and me and my sister to help her with the reading part. And, though she's, she's no longer sort of Korean, she's had a lot of American cultural things, and I guess even in Korea she was always really fiercely independent, and sort of strong-willed and stubborn, and had a lot of non-Korean women like qualities. And so I don't know if that's just my mom, or, but she's, she's both. But still more Korean than American.

According to Emily, her mother "moves in both worlds very well" and "she's both." Emily was classified with a past majority identity, waning unresolved identity, and emerging dual identity. While this participant has been through an interesting identity journey, she is emerging with a dual identity in which she embraces both parts of her heritage. She has observed from her mother that a person can be both Korean and American, and while being bicultural is different than being bi-ethnic, this likely served as a model for Emily's developing bi-ethnic identity.

Another parental acculturation level that modeled biculturalism was described by Kira, who had a past unresolved identity and a current integrated identity:

How acculturated or American would you say she is, versus how Japanese? Well, this is, this is kind of interesting. Like, what I don't hear about their marriage, I definitely hear from my mom about like how she was about that, like just how American or how Japanese she was. Like, she's very like proud to be Japanese and everything. Like she's definitely not the kind that wants to forget about her culture at all. But like, when she was in Japan, she was growing up during a time like right after the, you know, World War II, and they, they were pretty prosperous. So you know, they were getting all this like, like this culture flood.

And she was into like American groups of music, like she, more than most people, she took interest in like Queen or like the Beatles or like you know, things we have here. And it's amazing how much she knows about like American like bands as well, like around that time. And she says that she was like the first to get in to, well, she claims, that she was the first to get into like jeans and stuff like that, and these, but like, at the same time, like I said, she wasn't like resentful of Japanese at all. She very much liked to embrace both sides of you know whatever she liked.

Kira's first generation mother took pride in being Japanese, had many American interests, and modeled for her children that one can "embrace both sides." This may have helped Kira value both parts of her heritage in developing an integrated identity.

One participant with an integrated identity, Aaron, came from a family with a longer history in the U.S., and he described his father as predominantly acculturated:

Yeah, so his dad was born in China, but Grandma was born in America, so.

We've been here, I, I feel like we're already pretty Americanized. *Right. So how acculturated or American would you say your dad is versus how Chinese would you say he is?* I would say he's more American. Um, but he, culturally, he's like

I guess 90% American, 10% Chinese. Ethnically, I mean, he's 100% Chinese.

Right, but— He doesn't know Chinese, he didn't go to Chinese school.

Sometimes he pulls out some weird Chinese thing that I don't know about. He cooks Chinese style.

Aaron perceived his father as mainly "American," yet he did retain some Chinese culture, such as cooking Chinese food, which could be transmitted to his son. The

acculturation subcategory may be an important influence mainly in conjunction with the enculturation by parents subcategory (see below).

The *enculturation by parents* subcategory details the extent to which participants perceived that their parents transmitted Asian culture, including traditions, history, food, values, and other aspects of culture. This subcategory also covered a discussion of holidays participants experienced while growing up. Enculturation by parents was a subcategory that had a high frequency of mention by participants. When asked to name the biggest influence on their bi-ethnic identity development, most participants cited parents, along with peers (see peer category below). Based on the frequency of mention as well as the indications of importance, this subcategory seems to have been influential for many of the participants.

Stephanie, a participant with an integrated identity, discussed some of the values passed down by her Thai father. Stephanie had spent time living in the U.S. and in Thailand, and much of her father's enculturation focused on a comparison of the values of the two countries.

Well I guess my dad's like technical religion I guess is Buddhist, but he's not really like a very strict practicing Buddhist. Like he'll do the traditional family holidays, anything that has to do with family. I guess more general values that he's taught me mainly have to do with family and him pointing out that American culture doesn't value the family, an American family won't stand by each other the way the Thai family does. And I know he used to get really angry at my aunt when my aunt wouldn't like support like my mom or that they wouldn't get together enough, or that like my aunt wouldn't let my mom like and I live with

her when we first moved back here [to the U.S.] and stuff like that, because that's the sort of thing that a Thai family would do. So I guess, he's also emphasized you know the value of family, and how Thai culture sees the family in that respect.

From her father, Stephanie learned about Thai holidays and Thai values, particularly with respect to family. This enculturation likely influenced her connection to her Asian heritage.

For Craig, a participant with a waning majority identity and an emerging dual identity, enculturation centered mainly around food. He was taught how to cook and how to order dishes at Vietnamese restaurants, among other things:

But like I've taken steps, and my brothers have a little bit, to say like "how do you say this in Vietnamese." Like my mom—and every time we're at a restaurant, she'll have us order our own food, and try to make us do it in like Vietnamese. So we know how to say like "I'm hungry," and then like a couple dishes maybe, how to count; I think I can only count to 5 now, but I used to be able to count a little bit higher. How to say like grandma and grandpa. She taught us how to say like aunt and uncle but I don't really remember it. It's really hard if you don't use it a lot. But I kind of remember a few things. Food, yeah, my grandma—no, my mom—taught more about like how to cook things, and also my stepmom, who loves to cook, and is also Vietnamese. So she taught me a couple dishes, and I love to cook them and eat them. I love Vietnamese food.

Craig received enculturation about food and, to some extent, language from his mother and step-mother. Food was one of the more frequently mentioned topics when discussing transmission of culture by parents.

Emily described the transmission of culture from her Korean mother. This involved mainly traditions, holidays, and cooking. To note, Emily had lived in both the U.S. and Korea.

I never really wanted to learn how to cook at all. But my mom wanted to try to teach us. So actually my mom and my sister make Korean food together a lot. And they taught us sort of the greetings for how to say um, sort of Happy New Year's and many blessings, so we can do, we do the bow, or not anymore, but we used to do the bow when we were kids, and say the greeting. And that was probably about it. I remember, my sister, when we were in Korea, she was, we used to play the Korean national anthem and the American national anthem before every movie, and my sister memorized the words to the Korean national anthem, and I thought it was a beautiful song.

The transmission of culture by Emily's parents included greetings, traditions, and cooking. Additionally, there was a support for the bi-ethnicity of their children, such as with the provision of the national anthems of both countries of their heritage.

Chris was a minority identified participant. He described the efforts made by his mother to transmit Chinese culture, which often included drawing on opportunities in the surrounding environment.

Did your parents or any other family member ever try to teach you about Asian culture or history or language or food or anything, or was that not something that

was really discussed? My mom actually doesn't even know how to cook Asian Chinese food really. But the only time that she ever tried to do anything like that is if, like I said, we went to Chinese school for a little bit, or maybe when we were younger, like in middle or elementary school, she'd take us out. We would, we would take habitual trips downtown to go to museums, so if they had a special on you know an Asian artist, or they had, sometimes we'd go there if they feature Asian movies like at the Gallery of Art or something like that, and we'll go down to go, we'll go see some of those every once in awhile.

Chris was exposed to Asian art and movies, and he was also sent to Chinese school for a couple of years when he was younger. His mother took advantage of the opportunities available to increase his connection to his heritage. Additionally, Chris described transmission of culture within the home and family:

Like, we don't, we have a couple of maybe like Chinese paintings on the wall, but that would just be, I think, chosen more for decoration, and we really don't pay much attention to them. And, and it's like, we never really have any Chinese celebrations at our house. Like we always go to Uncle's house for Chinese New Year, which is pretty much the main thing that we do.

Even though it seemed inconsequential to Chris, growing up with Chinese art decorating his home likely was a subtle reminder of his Asian heritage. The Chinese New Year celebration with the extended family was another important transmission of culture and tradition. All of these enculturation efforts likely had some influence on the development of his minority identity.

Some participants reported less enculturation or indirect enculturation from their parents. Serena was a participant who said that she picked up some things but that she did not perceive a lot of enculturation effort from her mother.

My mom didn't like actively teach us about food, but that's where we'd predominantly go out to eat when we did, so I mean you get to know which dishes are like more authentic, and which ones aren't. She didn't really try and teach us Chinese when we were like younger, because she felt like that it might drive a wedge between like us and our dad, because he couldn't speak Chinese. But then when I was in middle school she tried to teach all of us, all of the kids, and like we kind of refused to learn. I don't really know why, but we just didn't try to learn, we didn't make an effort.

Serena described her mother's upbringing, which did not necessarily stress holidays or traditions, as an explanation for the way she raised her children.

Well I think even like my mom's family they don't really celebrate holidays that much, that's just the way they are, so maybe if I had brought it up, my mom would tell me about like the background, but I don't know, she didn't really like try and teach us about holidays or traditions, because she didn't, she herself didn't really celebrate them.

Karen May was another participant who perceived only some enculturation. She stated that elements about her Indian heritage would have to be explained because they were not made a part of her everyday life.

Did any family member ever try to teach you explicitly about Indian culture or history or language or food, or anything like that? I feel like a lot of what I

learned was taught explicitly, and some of it by me questioning. Like I was saying like with the language, that my dad would have like little workbooks that he would have. And you know we weren't forced to do them or anything; and you know he would have us do that, or we would ask about something and he would explain it to us, because we weren't living it. We weren't living the holidays, and we weren't living, you know—the food was very, just part of life, you know, like the jewelry and some of that kind of stuff. But anything else was something that we had to generally ask, you know, and he would explain. And I don't think it's 'cause he was like hiding anything from us, but it was just, I don't know, it somehow didn't occur to him to just make it part of our lives. 'Cause I guess it's hard when you mesh the two cultures, like how does it work?

Karen May had a majority identity, and Indian culture had to be explained because “we weren't living it.” She received some enculturation with food, jewelry, and to some degree language, but overall she did not perceive her Indian heritage as being made a “part of our lives.” In general, the interviews revealed that when parents made efforts to transmit Asian culture to their children, the participants were more likely to feel a connection to their Asian heritage.

The subcategory *language* refers to whether or not parents taught their children the language of their respective Asian country. This subcategory also encompasses participants' descriptions of separation from or connection to their Asian heritage due to language knowledge or lack thereof. Language was perceived as a major influencing factor for many participants, based on frequency of mention and indications of importance. Referring back to Chapter 3, recall that only 10% of participants in this

sample were proficient in the language of their Asian parent. For another 10%, their parents started teaching them a second language when they were very young, but then stopped, usually when the participants entered school; these participants no longer retained language knowledge. An additional 10% were taking language classes in college or graduate school to teach themselves the language of their Asian parent. Most of the participants in this sample knew a few phrases and key words, especially related to food and addressing relatives.

For the small number of participants in this sample who were bilingual, the ability to speak the language facilitated a connection to that Asian culture and its members. One participant, Stephanie, brought up the importance of language when asked a question about whether ethnicity or nationality influenced her identity more:

Probably about the same, and then the fact that I can speak the language. I think if I couldn't speak Thai, I probably wouldn't feel that connection as much, if at all. But the fact that I can speak it and read a little and like, that I can really say that I am Thai, like helps me take pride in the country, and feel like that nationalistic feeling.

For her, being able to speak the language was very important to her bi-ethnic identity, and meant that "I can really say that I am Thai." Also of significance for the bilingual participants, language knowledge enabled a relationship with relatives who lived in Asia and did not speak any or much English. Stephanie describes this aspect of language knowledge and its meaning for her life.

Okay, so being bilingual, that's something that you would say is an important part of you? Um hum. Because I feel like it lets me communicate with both

aspects of my cultural heritage, and so like if I didn't speak Thai, I feel like my life would be so different, because I wouldn't have that relationship with that side of my family.

For Stephanie, who was coded as having an integrated identity, it seems being bilingual helped her feel connected to both sides of her heritage. She felt comfortable claiming her Asian side, and she appreciated the relationship she was able to have with her relatives in Thailand because of her language knowledge.

Another participant, Emmett, also described language knowledge as advantageous for maintaining relations with his extended family in Asia. Emmett had a past minority identity and a current dual identity. His strong connection to his Chinese heritage was fostered by many factors, but learning the language seems to have played a part in his identification choices.

So what about knowing the language, do you think that is something that is important to how connected you feel to your Chinese side? Yeah, I think it is.

Like, I feel like if I went to China, or Taiwan, I could you know, I could live. It's a, it keeps me in touch with my relatives, like in contact, because their English isn't that great, so I can speak to them, even though I guess my Chinese isn't that great either. And um, I guess it gives me access to this like Chinese school, which I guess is a big part of my cultural upbringing in the Chinese area.

Additionally, he asserted that language helped foster a connection to the Chinese culture in the U.S. because of the way he was taught Mandarin. The "Chinese school" to which Emmett refers are classes that typically meet over the weekend, where pupils learn spoken and written Chinese language as well as other subjects such as poetry and

calligraphy. Chinese school was mentioned by several of the half-Chinese participants, and was viewed as a typical experience of Chinese children in the U.S. However, few participants in this sample were sent to Chinese school when they were growing up.

Most of the participants in this sample were only taught English, and this could be a barrier to identifying with their Asian heritage. One participant with a majority identity, Abigail, identified language as a reason she was not as connected to her Asian heritage:

I mean I think if I knew the language I think I would be more into my heritage, but I mean I don't, and, so I can't really connect to other Filipinos on that level. But I mean I think I know enough that, I mean I just don't know all, or like just everything about it. I've never lived there before, and I don't really look that Filipino, so I don't think that I would, I mean you can just tell the difference when, when you're like hanging out with like a group of Filipinos.

Note that Abigail also mentions lack of international living and phenotype as additional barriers to identifying with her Filipino heritage. For another participant, Emily, who did live internationally, not knowing the language was also a barrier to connecting to her Asian side:

When I was, the military, especially overseas, is very diverse. And so there were a lot of people that were also half anything. Tended to kind of just know English. And so that was just sort of the norm for me, we were all just Americans, and I sort of saw, not that I was colorblind, but I just thought of us all as, we're Americans. And I didn't really have expectations. Now is very different. Now, sort of, if you're Hispanic you're expected to know Spanish, and if you're Asian, you're expected to know your relative language. And it's sort of um, but growing

up I never, I didn't feel there were expectations on me. And then there wasn't until sort of the last, I guess the last 10 years. And I don't know if it's because society's changed, or because I came to the States and it's a different environment here, or what.

Emily, who had a past majority identity, a waning unresolved identity, and an emerging dual identity, viewed lack of language as a major barrier to connecting with her Asian heritage. As she put it, "I know the food and the culture, but I think just not having the language is huge." She decided to learn Korean in graduate school, but "I go through these periods where sometimes I'm really upset that my parents didn't teach me Korean." It was not until Emily started learning the language that she started becoming more comfortable with that part of her heritage.

Not that I'm ashamed of being Korean, but I never really embraced it. And it hasn't really been until I started, I became a grad student, started researching it and learning the language, and then I could actually talk to my relatives. That became a, *I'm Korean*, and that's part of me, and that's okay.

Emily mentioned feeling upset at her parents for not having taught her a second language. This sentiment was voiced by several participants, who lamented their parents' decision to teach them only English. Karen May, who was majority identified, expressed regret that her parents did not teach her another language when she was growing up:

So the language spoken in your home then was predominantly English? Yeah, all English. My dad spoke Bengali and Hindi, those were the languages that they spoke, and my mom, when she met him, she did learn Bengali. She went like to the University of Springfield and found someone who could teach it to her. And

then they did, they would kind of teach us like words and snippets, so that I used to be able to pick up, you know, little parts of conversations in Bengali. That's actually something that I kind of wish they had taught us more, in a more naturalistic way. Because you know, it was, like it was fun when I was little to try and learn to write the Indian alphabet and try to learn from a workbook or whatever, but like, if they'd just spoken it, we would have picked it up. And we didn't. But it's that whole like, I probably couldn't understand any of it now, but the whole thing where receptive is easier than expressive, and so that kind of helped when I was in like those big Indian situations, that I could you know pick up some of what the conversation was; I couldn't participate in it, in Bengali.

Karen May wished her parents had spoken Bengali in the home so that she would have been able to learn it. She spoke of gatherings at homes of family friends where she could not participate in conversations because she lacked language knowledge.

Megan, a majority identified participant, talked about how her parents' language decisions have impacted her. This quote followed a conversation in which Megan described feeling uncomfortable when with groups of Koreans, such as attending a Korean church with her mother or the few times she went to meetings of the campus Korean student association:

Did your mom ever try to teach you Korean? She did, actually. She did speak to me in Korean until I was about 5 or 6 years of age, and that was right around the time I was joining kindergarten, and she stopped speaking to me in Korean because, I, well, she must have felt like I would get confused or something, you know. Which I understand, but, in the same respect, I wish that she really would

have kept up with it because I think I would feel a lot more confident about being in those types of environments with other Koreans, and I don't know, I might have even pursued a different career path, really.

Megan did not feel as connected to her Asian heritage as she could have, and she regretted that she lost the language skills she once had. She now described discomfort with groups of Asians due largely to language issues.

However, lack of language did not hinder all participants from feeling a sense of belonging to their Asian side. There were several participants who did not speak the language of their Asian parent but who expressed that they embraced and valued their Asian heritage. Chris, who is minority identified, was not taught a second language.

So you only spoke English? Does your mom speak a dialect? My mom speaks Cantonese fluently, and, 'cause that's what she grew up on, but I think she either knows how to speak or read Mandarin. Um, but, she normally only speaks that to Chinese relatives, and only now is she teaching my sister. So my dad doesn't know any Chinese at all. I don't really know, besides basic Mandarin, a little bit. And that's stretching it, so. *So it's not something that your parents taught you from a young age? Your mom didn't speak to you in Cantonese?* Not at all.

Chris was connected to his Asian heritage for other reasons, such as enculturation by parents and phenotype. Thus, it seems language knowledge is important and helpful but not necessary for identification with one's Asian heritage.

Given and family names was a subcategory that captured separation from or connection to one's ethnicity due to first or last names being or sounding either European or Asian. This subcategory included participants' discussion of official names on birth

certificates, as well as unofficial Asian names given by parents. (As previously noted, all names have been changed to protect anonymity.)

In this sample, 10% of the participants were given Asian first names by their parents. For 40% of the participants the father was Asian, and the participants had Asian last names. Two participants were given an Asian middle name, the mothers' maiden name.

Several participants expressed appreciation for their names because the names supported their bi-ethnic identities or helped them connect to their families or heritage. One participant with an integrated identity, Serena, said of her name:

I like my name. My middle name is Leung, which is my mom's maiden name.

Same with both of my sisters, same middle name. *Okay. Are you glad that your mom gave you that, like does that mean anything to you?* Yeah, I think it, I feel like it's important. So even if somebody saw my name and didn't see who I was, they might guess you know, well this name sort of sounds like a Chinese name, so she's probably biracial.

For Serena (whose last name sounded European), having a Chinese middle name was important because it helped express her integrated identity, indicating to others that she considered herself biracial. Another participant whose combination of names supported her identity was Jessica, who had a waning minority identity and an emerging integrated identity:

I like my last name, just because it, I mean you know, my first name's American, my last name's Japanese, I like the fact that you know I have both there. It's

definitely like, people see it, and they wonder what I am right away, you know, it, it's, I mean, I like my last name.

Jessica liked having both an American and a Japanese name, since this supported her integrated identity. The juxtaposition of names also led people to question her ethnicity, whereby she would explain her bi-ethnic heritage. She was very connected to her Japanese heritage, and appreciated having a Japanese last name.

For Marie, being given an Asian name later in life helped her connect with her heritage and her Asian extended family. Marie was classified with a waning majority identity and an emerging integrated identity. When she was born, her parents gave her a European name: "I don't think it was ever brought up for my sister and myself to have a Korean name. I think she always wanted us to have American names." Following a divorce, she was raised by her European American father, but at 18 moved in with her Korean mother.

Now that I moved back to Maryland, though, and I'm reconnecting with my Korean side, I've been given a Korean name. *So how do you feel about that?* I like it. It makes me feel like part of the family. Because it's family tradition to pass along the first part of a name to every person, so Jae is the first part of our name, and everybody has something with Jae in their name. So now we do too.

A few participants expressed a desire for their parents to have given them an Asian name, sometimes a first or middle name, or sometimes an honorary name. Emmett was a participant with a past minority identity and a current dual identity, who had a German first, middle, and last name. He described times when this was problematic for him:

Like it's funny because when I go to Chinese school and my last name's Diederich so they had to come up with like a fake name for me, so like my pseudo, my pseudo-surname is Yehe. And I was like, it's really uncommon. Like, the barbarians that came from Mongolia had that last name, so no one has it now. And so everyone's like you're, you're not Asian. So I kinda wish my mom had just like given me her last name, so I could use that, and be like, I'm an actual Asian person. I guess that's the way it goes. I would kind of want like a [Chinese] middle name, even though it wouldn't flow at all, it's okay.

For Emmett, who was minority identified for much of the time that he was enrolled in Chinese school, his name conflicted with how he thought about himself and created some discomfort with his Asian peers. He also wished his parents had given him a Chinese middle name, as his full German name belied his dual identity and his strong connection to his Asian heritage.

For Rachel, who was majority identified, her Asian last name conflicted with how she thought about herself ethnically. She reflected that before people met her, they might have expectations that did not match how she identified herself:

And actually I was just applying for an internship, and so I was like well, I wonder if they're going to look at my name and think like, oh, like we have an Asian applying, you know what I mean? And sometimes I realize that people are surprised when I'm not really "Asian," you know what I mean? I'm more, like, Caucasian.

Rachel was raised by her European American mother following a divorce when she was young. When her mother remarried, she changed her last name from a Chinese last name to a Jewish last name; this struck Rachel as slightly unfair:

But yeah, I always thought that was kind of interesting that, kind of like my mom was free to change her name, but as the children, you're not. Like that's still who you are, but really it's just a name, you know? So, I don't know how I feel, I mean I kinda like my last name. But I wouldn't be sad to lose it. But I'm not like, you know, attached to it.

Rachel struggled slightly with how much a name defines a person, especially since her Asian last name was incongruous with her majority identity. She was not able to control how other people categorized her based on her last name, and she "wouldn't be sad to lose" this ethnic identifier.

Very few participants in this sample were given Asian first names by their parents. One participant with an Asian first name, Kira, reported frustration in her earlier years at her name, followed by appreciation later.

But yeah, and then, like other people, like other little kids would come up to me and it's like, you have a really dumb name. Yeah, really! Like, you have a really weird name. And I'm like, excuse me!! I don't know, and it kinda hurt. I was like, Mom, why didn't I just have like a normal name, why couldn't you call me like, like my middle name's Lindsay, and sometimes I'd be like, why didn't you just call me Lindsay, and put Kira in the middle? But then like, now that I think about it, like, you know, you wouldn't be able to tell that, I don't know, you might still not be able to tell that I was like half-Asian unless I had that Kira in the front.

Like it's sort of an international name, so at least you know that it's not completely just like, Jackson. That's very European, sort of thing going on. Like I do like that combination. Like that sort of ambiguous Japanese name. I could write it in Japanese characters, but, it'd mean something. And then you have like that juxtaposition with Jackson. I feel like, I feel like I like that.

Kira had a past unresolved identity and a current integrated identity. Growing up, Kira expressed a desire for a "normal" European American name, partly in response to ethnic teasing by insensitive peers. However, as she got older she realized her name helped convey integrated identity to others, and her name took on greater meaning for her.

Another participant, Karen May, who was majority identified, was given a European name but one that was converted from an Asian name. She describes how her parents did this, and how she felt about it:

I like my name. My name is actually, my name is Karen May. And in actuality, it's an Indian name, Kiranmayi, is an Indian name. It's one word, Kiranmayi. And they split it and made it two words in order to Americanize it. And—this is a really good question, by the way—so my parents always call me Karen May, and my family always calls me Karen May. And you know in elementary school everyone always called me Karen May. But there was a point in that sort of you know, identity-forming junior high, high school thing, where I didn't bother to correct people, and I got called Karen a lot, and that was okay. You know, I didn't, because, well that's other identity issues, but I wasn't strong enough to say "no, that's not my name." And so, I mean I like my name because it's different,

but it's not different enough that it's off-putting. And you, it is Indian, but it's also American. So I think it's beautiful and brilliant the way my parents did that.

For Karen May, she liked that her name was interesting and appreciated knowing there was a story behind her name tied to her Indian heritage. She was also glad for an Americanized name, which was “not different enough that it's off-putting.” Overall, the given and family names subcategory was important for participants when it supported their bi-ethnic identity.

The subcategory *parental discussion of ethnic issues* refers to the extent to which parents discussed bi-ethnicity or ethnic/racial issues. In particular, this subcategory concerns parental discussions of their children's bi-ethnicity, their ethnic classification, or other relevant conversations regarding ethnic issues that may have been influential on bi-ethnic identity development. Another important element of this subcategory concerns whether parents support or critique participants' ethnic identity choices, through behaviors, questions, and discussions. These parental discussions of ethnic issues could either undermine or support participants' bi-ethnic identity development.

Jessica was a participant with a waning minority identity and an emerging integrated identity who talked about her family members' discussions of her bi-ethnic identity, the ethnic composition of her peer group, and her dating choices. In particular, her European American mother would bring up ethnic issues, and critiqued Jessica's ethnic identity choices.

Did your parents or other family members ever discuss issues of race or ethnicity with you, or was that not something that was explicitly talked about? My mother did, because like I said, she I think had a hard time accepting the fact that I

identify myself as being Asian, more so than White. I mean, at the same time, my brother, he I think feels more strongly about it than I do. He feels, he, he would always say to me, you know people don't see us as White. We're Asian. So I mean, he has a more narrow view of it than I do. And I think my mother had a, had problems with that, you know the fact that we had almost entirely Asian or non-White friends, and she couldn't really identify with that. So she did talk to me about it some. My father, he asked me once if I had any White friends, I mean you know, he would, basically echoing what she said. But he did not bring it up with me nearly as much. Other members of my family, not so much. My [maternal] grandfather also pointed out that it seemed like I did not have very many White friends, and if I was ever dating somebody—or when I started dating my boyfriend right now, the first question out of his mouth was, tell me, is he White? So I mean, you know, it, it's something that they definitely, they bring it up.

Jessica had a strong connection to her Asian heritage, but she seemed to have encountered some pressure from her family to connect with her other half. Her mother in particular seemed to have a difficult time with Jessica's identification and peer group choices, and would bring the subjects up for discussion. These were not isolated incidents:

But I mean, she's, other comments I guess that she's made just, I, like when I was going to interview for a job, I was, I don't remember what I was wearing, I guess, I think it was something though that I guess the print could be considered Asian-looking. But she, I do remember she said, well maybe you don't want to look too ethnic when you go to this job interview, and I mean that was something that

offended me. I mean, I mean for the most part, she, I think that's just things that you know, she just isn't thinking when she's saying that.

Jessica's mother, and other family members, expressed a lack of support for her minority identity. Jessica stayed connected to her Asian heritage despite these discussions of ethnic issues, not because of them. These were attempts at undermining her identity choice, but the ethnic composition of peer groups, schools and neighborhoods helped Jessica maintain her identity (see sections below).

In an opposing example, Jennifer was a participant with an integrated identity who was raised by her European American mother following a divorce. She stated,

Like my mom's always like encouraged me no matter what, though. So like, it's never been an issue of race with her, I think. Stuff like that, too, like she always embraced the fact that I was Korean, you know, and stuff like that, and she didn't mind me getting into the Korean stuff. Like if I was playing Korean music or eating Korean food, like she didn't really care, you know.

Jennifer had explored her Korean heritage and became very connected to it with the support of her mother. This was important for the development of her bi-ethnic identity, especially since she did not build a relationship with her father until her college years. To note, Jessica and Jennifer had parents who undermined versus supported their connection to their Asian heritage, respectively, yet with a similar end result. While this shows the complexity of influences, part of the reason for this is both Jessica and Jennifer had strong influences of peers and neighborhoods.

Tiffany was a participant who explained how her parents discussed ethnic/racial issues broadly on a societal level, but they did not as frequently discuss such issues as relevant to their children's bi-ethnicity.

Was race or ethnicity something that was explicitly talked about in your family, or not really? It was talked about to the extent that like my, I mean my parents really believed in equality and you know teaching my sister and I that you know everyone is equal, but that was more in a, you know, minorities shouldn't be treated as minorities kind of thing, but they never really talked about how *we* could be considered minorities.

Tiffany recalled that the only times her parents explicitly discussed her bi-ethnicity were when decisions had to be made about which box to check on forms requesting racial classification.

We didn't have discussion about us, we definitely didn't have discussions about us being biracial. And I do remember, let's see, when I was, I remember having talked with my mom about like what race we were. Like whenever we had to bring home forms from school, that's usually the only time we talked about like personally, you know, what am I supposed to check on this. And I, we were registered for school as Caucasian 'cause on my birth certificate I am Caucasian, 'cause at the time where I was born in the military hospital it was either White or Black. And so my mom knew we weren't Black, so we were White. *That was in Texas in 198x?* In Texas in 198x, at a military hospital. But, and she, she's told me of having that discussion with herself—well she's not that, so, she's gonna be White! And I can remember you know one time that my mom checked on one of

the things that I had brought home “other” and wrote in “human.” So those kinds of moments I’m sure frustrated her. But we didn’t, yeah, we didn’t sit down and have discussions or read books about being biracial or anything. *When you would ask her like what should I check here, what kind of things would she say to respond to that?* Usually, just, I don’t know, I mean, “your dad is White and you’re Asian/Pacific Islander. Can you check both?” you know. Or “just pick one.” And then when it was college application time, “well let’s go with Asian/Pacific Islander” you know. Which feels kind of bad. Yeah. So usually she would make us choose one, or, usually we just went with Caucasian.

Tiffany’s mother had some discussions with her about her bi-ethnicity when she had to fill out forms for school. She told Tiffany of having to classify her as White at birth, and later in life her mother would sometimes offer advice on picking an ethnic identifier and sometimes leave it up to Tiffany. Tiffany would not always be comfortable with the result of these discussions, though certainly most of that fault lies in the forced-choice racial classification forms.

Discussion about which box to check on school forms and applications was frequently reported as a topic of parental discussion of ethnic issues. Colleen was a participant whose understanding of her background broadened following a discussion with her mother. Colleen said of the option of checking a “mixed” box:

I don’t really identify with that. Like some, I didn’t really realize I was until my mom said something about it, and I was like oh, yes I am. *What did your mom say?* She was just like oh well, you know maybe the fact that you’re a mixed race,

or something, can help you. Or something like that, I forget what it was exactly.

And I was like, ohhh, I guess I am.

Parents and children may have different ideas about ethnic classifications, which can be revealed through discussion of these issues. For Colleen, she reported that she did not realize that she could be placed in the category of “mixed” until that discussion with her mother.

Parental discussion of ethnic issues can be a way for children to acquire self-labels. Aaron, who had an integrated identity, used the label Eurasian to describe his bi-ethnicity. He actually learned of that ethnic identifier through a parental discussion: “Well my mom’s the one who introduced the word Eurasian to me. She’s like oh, well you’re Eurasian.” Aaron recalled that this was in fifth or sixth grade: “Yeah, she introduced that term to me. And I, I thought about it, and I like that term.” With an integrated identity, a self-label is required, and the introduction of that term by Aaron’s mother served as an influencing factor in the development of his bi-ethnic identity.

Overall, this subcategory could serve as an influence when parental discussions led the participants to different understandings of their bi-ethnic identities. Importantly, both support and criticism by parents can have these effects on bi-ethnic identity development.

Extended family influences. This category focused on the results of interview questions probing influences extended family members may have had on bi-ethnic identity development. The two subcategories of this category were: extended family contact, and enculturation by extended family.

The subcategory *extended family contact* included the frequency of contact and quality of contact with both extended families; the presence of interethnic marriages in the extended families; and if applicable, the extended family's country of residence.

Many of the participants expressed disparities in the frequency of contact between their paternal and maternal extended families, with reasons ranging from geographic distance to tensions within the family. The difference in the amount of contact could be influential on bi-ethnic identity development. For example, Colleen reported that the Chinese side of her family all lived in the same town where she grew up: "And we see them all the time. So we see them more than my dad's family. Which might be another reason why I, like, identify more with my Asian side, I guess." Colleen seldom saw her European American extended family members, but she frequently saw her Chinese extended family members when she was growing up and developed a connection to her Asian heritage.

The situation was reversed for Megan, who grew up with frequent contact with her European American extended family but not her Asian extended family, since they lived in Korea.

I grew up with my immediate, well, my grandparents, my father's parents, and all of my father's extended family. I grew up with all of them. So, I have really close ties to my father and his family. However, I didn't get that chance with my mother's side of the family. So I think that might have an influence too, about how I feel as, like, being more associated with the Caucasian culture, not necessarily the Asian culture, because I just didn't get that experience with my mother and her family.

Megan reported basically no contact with her Korean relatives when growing up: *“And then your extended family in Korea, you did not see them much growing up? No, not at all. Just in pictures.”* Megan was majority identified, and she felt that the contact she had with her father’s extended family, and the lack of contact with her mother’s extended family, may have been an influence on her bi-ethnic identity.

When there were interethnic marriages in the extended family other than the participants’ parents, this was sometimes discussed as an influence. For example, Jessica stated that she was more comfortable with her Japanese American father’s extended family, where there were many interethnic marriages, than with her European American mother’s extended family, where there were no other interethnic marriages.

With my dad’s side of the family, he’s got, my father is one of 5 children, and all but one of his siblings married somebody who was White. So as far as that side, I mean, it’s very much a mixed family. So I guess, I, I mean I think that’s partially why I felt more comfortable with them to begin with.

Jessica, who had a waning minority identity and an emerging integrated identity, labeled herself as mixed. When asked when she was most aware of being mixed, she responded: “Um, most aware of being mixed—probably also when I’m with my father’s family and I see that all of us are. I’m surrounded by you know all, almost entirely mixed cousins.” Having other family members who were similar to her ethnically made Jessica feel comfortable and gave her a reference group, seeing “that all of us are” bi-ethnic. This sentiment was expressed by other participants, such as Sam. He was close to his Asian extended family growing up, as he said: “They’re all Chinese, but they all married White.

So all us cousins are hapa haoles. We're all mixed." He felt his family was very accepting and he felt comfortable in an environment with family members who were like him.

Extended family contact within the context of interethnic families is somewhat unique in that ethnicity can become an issue. Marie reported that the quality of contact changed over time with her European American extended family.

What was actually kind of weird and interesting is that I was somewhat close to my uncle on my dad's side who also lived in Michigan, and then after I moved to Maryland and came back, he was treating me differently. He would say things like, Marie, I met this new Korean person that I should bring over to the house for you. And I was like, why are you treating me like this? I've been your niece for 20 some years, you've never done this before. *Right. So he was sort of like, was just making a big deal about the race thing?* Yeah, he, it seems like he just noticed that like I was of a different race.

Marie reported a difference experience in situations with her Asian extended family. There was an imposition of ethnicity, but in a way that allowed her to be included in the family.

Does your extended family talk a lot about issues of racial background or anything? Um, my mom, my dad's side of the family, no. It's not an issue at all. On my mom's side of the family, you're either Korean or you're not. *Interesting.* But they don't, but I'm Korean, like when I'm over there, like. *So they do treat you as Korean?* Um hum. *So you don't feel like that dichotomy, Korean or not, that you're not on that—* No, I'm not on the "not" side. Or even in the middle.

Marie did not have to have two Korean parents, speak Korean, or even define herself as Korean to be defined as Korean by her extended family members. Marie did not have much contact with her Asian extended family until she was college-aged, at which point she started developing a strong connection to her Korean heritage.

In general, respondents indicated that extended family contact could be influential through the presence or absence of contact (particularly due to family members living in a foreign country), level of comfort at family gatherings, and interethnic marriages.

The *enculturation by extended family* subcategory is similar to the enculturation by parents subcategory; it refers to the transmission of culture by extended family members to the participant, including traditions, history, food, and values. This subcategory was mentioned frequently by participants and was important as either a supplement or substitution for enculturation by parents.

Extended family members, particularly grandparents, often played an important role in the transmission of culture to the participants. If there was not much enculturation by parents, enculturation by extended family could have been a main source for participants. For example, Jessica was raised by a very acculturated Japanese American father.

How much would you say you experienced Asian culture growing up? Um, somewhat. Definitely not as much as I know—a lot of my friends, they are the first generation in their families to be born here, and so I can say definitely not as much. I mean the fact that my father grew up, I mean he grew up largely Americanized, you know in American culture, I'd say that I experienced it like through more my grandparents, my extended family. You know I try to take that

back with me. But as far as like growing up, I definitely was more Americanized than not.

The enculturation Jessica received was from her extended family more than from her father. She explains the reason for this:

When my, when I was younger, my grandparents I think they felt partly because of the fact that they did not teach their own children like Japanese, they wanted the second generation to learn it. So I mean I did learn some. Like my, I was always very interested when I was younger, my grandmother taught me some Japanese, I mean, which I probably since forgot a lot of it. But I mean, I was always very interested in that part of my heritage, I would watch you know, they'd have these shows that were on like Japanese language, and I'd watch them when I was like 9 years old, trying to learn, and then I took Japanese when I was in high school for a year. So I've, I definitely have. And I'm pretty, I'm aware as far as like pop culture, and the artists that are popular over there, I definitely know something about that as well.

Note that this quote also shows ethnic identity search (see below). Jessica's grandparents exposed her to Japanese culture, taught her some Japanese, and helped her connect with her heritage when she was growing up. She has strong ties to her Japanese background, with a waning minority identity and an emerging integrated identity. When asked if it was her parents or her grandparents who tried to teach her about her Japanese heritage, she responded, "My grandparents stressed it more."

Kira was a participant who remembered being very interested in her Japanese heritage until she was about 5 years old; she lost interest when she started elementary

school, but then her interest rekindled when she was about 10 years old. When asked if she had any idea why she redeveloped an interest in learning about her Japanese heritage after the five year hiatus, she responded:

I'm really not sure why. It's hard to say. Um, no, I really don't know. It's just all of a sudden I just got reminded of it at like—oh, I think, maybe it was because I was like receiving these like import CDs and games from my uncle in Japan, and I didn't, I couldn't read any of it, I was like, oh I would really like to know, you know. And yeah, he was very generous with gifts and stuff like that, so I'd be like, and my grandmother would like send me little books and things, so, and I really, and I figured, this might be a problem, I don't know how to read any of this, I don't know how to like thank my relatives or like, I don't know how to interact with them. I mean, they can try speaking in broken English as much as they can, but you know, I think I have to make some effort myself if they're gonna like, if it's any reciprocation for their, their unconditional love and whatever. So yeah I guess that was like a real motivator. Now that I think, yeah that probably was it, like just when I started receiving the CDs and his old belongings and stuff.

Despite living in a different country, Kira's uncle and grandmother shared pieces of Japanese culture with her and impacted her interest in her Japanese heritage. She was motivated by their enculturation to learn even more on her own. In college, she is now majoring in Japanese.

Marie, who had a waning majority identity and an emerging integrated identity, was connecting to her Korean heritage with the help of her mother's close-knit extended family.

My aunts want me to learn how to cook Korean, so when they're cooking they'll kinda show me what they're doing. Or if they say something that I don't understand, they'll explain it to me, or like explain—like at Christmastime you're supposed to bow, and they explained that to me, and showed me how to do that, and the history behind it.

Marie was raised by her European American father and did not have much contact with her Korean relatives when she was growing up. Since reaching college age, she has moved closer to them and with their enculturation and the enculturation from her mother her bi-ethnic identity is changing.

Tiffany had a large extended family in Hawaii that she would visit on average twice a year. She described the transmission of culture she perceived when she was with her Asian extended family:

There's a slight difference with, my dad's extended family is kind of that jovial, jubilant, poking fun; my mom's extended family is the same, but usually those gatherings, maybe it's just because I didn't grow up and experience it, but like when I think of family gatherings on my mom's side, they're a lot more cultural, like you know we're having a luau, we're having lomi-lomi salmon and lau lau and poi, and so like to me there's another thread that weaves through those gatherings.

Tiffany was immersed in this culture when she was with her extended family. She went on to describe more enculturation efforts by her extended family members, but expressed the feeling that there was a barrier to identification because she did not grow up there:

In terms of, like when we'd visit, there were times when, I mean just activities, like my grandmother would teach me how to like make a lei, and there were a couple times where I took hula lessons when we were visiting and stuff, but not, definitely nothing at home. I mean, like, I think I brought a ukulele home one time from Hawaii, and tried to learn how to play it, and like as I've gotten older there were things, I mean there are things that my mom's tried to kind of collect, like she interviewed my great-grandmother on video about what it was like growing up in the Philippines and moving to Hawaii, so there's a videotape of that. And when I'm there, I usually try to like go through the photo albums or different things. I always feel like I want to try to connect and figure out that heritage, but, I don't, there's two ways of doing things when you're there; there's you know being a tourist or you know being a local, and you can't really be both, and so it's different. Like I have one aunt, my mom's sister, and uncle, who are kind of, they're, there's like a movement in Hawaii right now to embrace like the old ways and take back the land kind of thing, and they're kind of in that movement right now, and they're the ones who know how to hula, they, you know, and so it's interesting to talk to them. But definitely growing up there wasn't a specific, like you know like how there are people who go to Greek school, there's nothing like that to equate. Maybe through food, there are certain things that I like eating when

we go to Hawaii, my mom would try to make them at home, but it's just not the same.

Despite the enculturation from her extended family members, Tiffany had difficulty connecting to her heritage because there's "being a tourist" or "being a local" and "you can't really be both." Tiffany had a past majority identity, waning unresolved identity, and emerging integrated identity. She struggled with whether these experiences with her extended family justified an identification with that part of her heritage (see unresolved identity section). However, she was becoming increasingly confident in the enculturation she received and was developing an integrated identity.

Occasionally, participants described a lack of enculturation because of the reasons their Asian family members emigrated from their country of origin. If the family preferred their adopted country, or had ambivalent feelings about their country of origin, they may not have prioritized transmitting that culture.

For example, when asked about opportunities to experience Asian culture, Aaron said, "I feel like maybe the reason why a lot of opportunities were closed off was because my Chinese part of my family is more interested in being American." He explains that this lack of enculturation had to do with his family's reasons for emigration:

Right, there was no, I never got any explicit teaching. No one carried around you know, you know Mao's book, right, or anything like that. No one did anything like that. Partially because I guess my family rebelled a lot against China, and escaped from China, and came to America. And when [Uncle] Tom came here he was like, he was so humbled by the fact that he had his own toothbrush, and he didn't have to share it with, with people, and, and so, and now he's like the

scientist, but, but the point is though is that it may have been due to the fact that my family pretty much disagreed with the communist way of life, came here, and then they maybe tried to avoid, avoid it in some ways, I'm thinking. But at the same time, there's a lot of cultural things that stuck, especially food, and cooking, and maybe drawing.

Importantly, while the family preferred certain aspects of their new country over the old, they did transmit other aspects of the culture such as art and cooking. Aaron reported the enculturation he received from his grandmother:

Yeah, my grandma though, well like my dad, before she died, she, she was more of a person who I asked, and she was a bird watcher and a gardener, and she also, she drew in a very, very Chinese style. She would get these markers that were like, these like, gray, they were almost like watercolors, but they were sort of like a modern watercolor. And she would draw these, she, she would go to the zoo with me when I was little, and she would teach me how to sketch. And I was like oh, and I realized later in life, oh this is very Asian, the way, this style that she taught me how to sketch. And she used to travel and watch birds, very close to nature in a very Asian sense.

Aaron's grandmother taught him how to draw in a Chinese style. He discussed other things he might not have been exposed to had he not been bi-ethnic, all of which he learned from his grandmother:

The art and the calligraphy and the plants that my grandma has, had. And I associate gardening with being Asian, for some reason. And I also associate Tai

Chi, and those are things my grandma did, you know, the art and exercise. So, yeah so there's some attachment to certain things in the culture.

Aaron's grandmother explicitly and implicitly passed on many parts of Chinese culture that were important to her. He expressed attachment to these cultural elements transmitted by his grandmother, which may have influenced the development of his integrated identity.

Overall, enculturation by the extended family was important in cases where it supplemented or replaced efforts by parents. Not all participants reported enculturation by extended family, most often due to lack of contact, but when present, enculturation typically enhanced the connection participants felt to their Asian heritage.

Other Salient Perceived Influences on Bi-ethnic Identity Development

This section will present the results pertaining to research question 3, which concerned non-familial influences on bi-ethnic identity development thought salient by young adults of Asian and European descent. Though the focus of this study was on familial influences, the family is certainly not the only influencing factor on one's development. Thus a portion of the interview was devoted to elucidating influences on bi-ethnic identity development other than parental and extended family. The non-familial categories that emerged from participants' responses to interview questions were personal, peer, environmental, and discrimination. Nine subcategories were created from these categories. See Table 7 (p. 133).

Personal influences. This category dealt with influences of the participants on their bi-ethnic identity development. These were internal, such as search and self-reflection, as well as external, meaning physical characteristics. The three subcategories

of this category that emerged from participants' responses were: ethnic identity search, self-reflection based on others' reactions, and phenotype.

The subcategory *ethnic identity search* refers to participants' interest in learning about their Asian heritage (e.g., culture, history, language, traditions, food) and efforts made to obtain cultural knowledge. Participants could obtain cultural knowledge in a number of ways, such as by questioning parents or extended family members, reading books, taking classes, or joining cultural clubs or student associations.

Jennifer, who was coded as having an integrated identity, immersed herself in Korean culture by befriending other Koreans, attending Korean church, and learning about Korean food.

Like I used to hang out a lot with like my Korean friends. Like I used to go to Korean church; it wasn't because I was religious, I'm not religious at all. But like it was just like to hang out with other Korean people, and like, eat Korean food, and like, like I really like that part of the culture, I think.

Jennifer was raised by her European American mother, and growing up received little enculturation from her Korean father who lived on the opposite side of the country. However, she developed a strong connection to her Korean heritage due to efforts to learn about the culture herself as well as transmission of culture by her peers (see the section on peer discussion of ethnic issues).

Kira was very motivated to learn about her Japanese heritage, and she decided to major in Japanese when she got to college. She started taking language classes, for which she felt she had a natural predisposition.

So you just started learning Japanese in college? Yeah. I mean like I had always been interested and like tried to learn it myself by like watching like dramas, TV dramas, and like cartoons, and like listening to my mom's phone conversations with her mom, and stuff like that. So I mean lots of exposure. I got the basic thing going with it. But like I didn't actually start formally learning it until college.

Aside from language, Kira had also been interested in connecting with other bi-ethnic people. When she was 15 she discovered a half-Japanese community on the internet. She used these anonymous message boards throughout high school to learn about other people's experiences and ask for advice on relevant issues (i.e., which box to check when filling out applications).

How did you discover it? I was just curious one day. Like just completely like randomly, I wonder if there's like other half-Asians out there. So I like literally put that in, like half-Japanese or something like that, and it just came up on Google search, and then, like there was like a huge forum, and like other associated websites and stuff like that, so, I guess I you know just kind of dived into that. Most of them were older, but, I guess like, I don't know. Yeah, there wasn't a lot of young people, which is what, like what surprised me. I thought you know only young people, like only young half-Japanese people would be kind of like, oh my identity, I'm so fragile, right. So like, that they'd cling together. But apparently, they said that even as adults, they would still be like, they still had you know, those sort of insecurities every now and then, and you know, that's why they liked interacting with each other.

This forum gave Kira a self-label, “halfsie,” and provided a community that gave her comfort and a reference group. Kira’s initiative to increase her understanding of herself and others similar to her helped her shift from an unresolved identity to an integrated identity.

Jessica was another participant with an interest in connecting with other bi-ethnic individuals. When she got to college, she searched for a campus student group that would provide such a reference group: “I actually had read about it on the internet, like I saw a list of groups, and I knew I wanted to join right away.” This group provided a community for sharing experiences and discussing identity issues.

When are you most aware of being mixed? I mean, when I joined the multiracial student association, that was a big thing, I mean, obviously it was a big thing. But I mean we focused a lot on doing discussions about our own identities, about interracial dating, about our own experiences, so I think that’s when I also became more aware of not only like things that I had gone through but things that a lot of the other people in the group had gone through.

Jessica was very involved in this student organization, holding officer positions and joining committees. She had a waning minority identity and an emerging integrated identity. Her awareness of her integrated identity was growing as she became more involved with the student group and started to identify more with bi-ethnic people.

Marie, who has a waning majority identity and an emerging integrated identity, was taking steps to connect to her heritage and in particular to learn the language. She started taking Korean when she was in college. “I’ve taken 2 courses in Korean. It’s really hard. And I go to a church where I learn Korean there.” When asked if this was at

her mother's request or if it was self-initiated, she responded: "No, I initiated it, I was interested in it. My grandmother can't speak English, so I'd like to learn Korean before she dies." Marie's initiative is helping her connect with her family and her heritage, and she is developing an integrated identity that reflects this increased connection.

Some participants expressed a lower interest in learning about their Asian heritage. Rachel, who was majority identified, described ambivalent interest in her Chinese heritage.

Would you say that you're at all attached to being Chinese? I would say a little bit. I mean I'm not going to shun it away in any way. And when I was younger I was really interested in like Chinese culture and stuff like that, but I didn't really get a lot of response from my dad. He's kind of, like a, I don't want to say like a self-hating Chinese, but he's very particular in what he chooses to share about his heritage. It's really interesting. So, I'm definitely still into it. And actually I'm a government major, so I'm planning on taking a couple classes that specifically deal with China, and its government. And I mean I'm choosing those classes because of my dad, and just like, I mean I can't deny that there's a part of me that's in that. I mean, that there's a part of that in me. So yeah, I definitely don't try to shun it away or ignore it for any reason.

Rachel does express some degree of ethnic identity search, saying she plans on taking Chinese government classes and that she was very interested in learning about Chinese culture when she was younger. However, it seems she lacked parental enculturation that might have fostered such interest.

Megan was another participant who had a lower level of ethnic identity search. She was also majority identified. She discussed what interested her and what efforts she has made to learn about her heritage:

So have you ever tried to learn more about Korea or your Korean heritage or like how to cook Korean food or anything? How to cook Korean food, yes. I really like Korean food. In preparation for the trip to Korea I mean I read up on it, I even bought some books to learn how to speak Korean, which I still have around the house, and you know, every once and awhile, probably like two or three times a year I'll pull them out when I'm bored, and just kind of flip through them, but, no I haven't really tried learning at all about Korean culture. However, when I see something in the newspaper about Korea or Koreans, I do tend to read those articles, or if I see events, like recently, I think last week, or maybe it was even this week, there was some sort of young professionals cultural affair happening at the Embassy of Korea, which I think would be really fun to attend, just to see, you know, the traditional dress, the dance, the food, and stuff like that. I mean, it does interest me, but I don't necessarily go out of my way to learn more.

Megan expressed some interest in learning about her Korean heritage, such as cooking Korean food and that she was drawn to newspaper articles about Korea. However, she said that she does not “go out of my way to learn more,” and it seems that this search is something that she will initiate mainly “when I'm bored.”

The subcategory ethnic identity search described participants' desire, or lack thereof, to explore their heritage and connect with its culture, traditions, food, or

language. Engaging in ethnic identity search seemed to be influential in developing an identity type that reflected this connection to their Asian heritage.

The subcategory *self-reflection based on others' reactions* captures self-reflection, often spurred by others' questions, perceptions, or categorizations related to ethnicity, that may have influenced bi-ethnic identity development. This subcategory includes participants' reflections on the ethnic/racial labels others put on them, and reflections on how to deal with others asking them the "what are you?" question. This subcategory had a high frequency of mention and was often influential as participants discussed key reflections on their bi-ethnicity.

Emmett was a participant with a past minority identity and a current dual identity. He said, "I think going into high school I identified myself as Asian. Like I know on my driver's license and stuff I was, I put like Asian." When asked about his choice of ethnic identifier, his answer revealed reflection on others' categorizations:

What do you think made you choose Asian as opposed to White or, I don't know if "other" was an option, or whatever? I think it's because, well "other" might not have been an option, I can't remember. But it's just that, in America I believe people identify you as non-White. So if you are anything non-White, then they're like, you're that. Because White's the majority.

Being a member of a minority group, and due to phenotypic characteristics, other people would categorize Emmett as Asian as opposed to White. His reflections on how others perceived him influenced how he identified himself through his high school years.

Jessica discussed how her bi-ethnic identity was influenced by her reflections on the perceptions and categorizations of others as she grew up. Jessica had a waning minority identity and an emerging integrated identity.

Do you think that your ethnic background plays a role in your overall identity, or not really? I think it definitely does, as far as how I viewed myself. I mean as I was growing up, people always thought that I was something other than Caucasian. I mean like, I, a lot of time they didn't know that I was Asian, but they thought I was Latino. So I would, I mean, just knowing that, it definitely played a role, because you automatically like, people like see you and they automatically form ideas about you based on that. So it definitely played a role in my identity, and I always felt, I guess that also had, I guess, a role in who I felt more comfortable with. 'Cause I mean I had a lot more Asian friends when I was growing up. I mean, granted that's also partially because the areas I was in, they weren't very, there weren't that many White people, they're mostly like African American, so that's who most of my friends were. So I think that it did play a role, just because I mean I felt like since people did not see me as White, I felt that I could fit in better with people that were you know, Asian, Black, Latino.

These self-reflections were related to the ethnic composition of her peer groups, schools, and neighborhoods, as well as her external phenotypic characteristics. Growing up, other people always labeled her as "something other than Caucasian," and she developed a minority identity. She felt she "could fit in better" with other minorities, "since people did not see me as White."

Jessica, who was dating someone who is European American, reflected on an incident when she met his parents. He had told his parents Jessica was half-Japanese:

But with his parents, they, I think it was a bit of a culture thing. Like they saw me, and they automatically, like oh my gosh, are you sure she's half-White? That kind of thing, are you sure. And like, I mean, I think that made me think about it more, and the thing, the fact is that also makes me feel more like people see me as Asian, therefore I feel more that way as well.

As Jessica reflects on how other people categorize her ethnically, it reinforces her connection to her Asian background. However, not all participants had experiences where the categorizations of others were in concordance with their own self-definitions. Some participants had jarring experiences where others put them in ethnic categories that did not match their self-conceptions, prompting reflecting and often reformulation of self-categorization. For example, Tiffany described an incident in which a teacher categorized her in a way she would not have categorized herself:

So, in elementary school in fifth grade, my class was studying geography. And she was talking about the equator and about how the sun was closer to the earth at the equator and so everything was hotter there, and she said that that was why the people there have darker skin. And then she said "and that's why Brendan and Tiffany have darker skin than we do" and Brendan was an African American boy in the class. And I had never considered myself, well it was confusing because I knew I wasn't African American, and I didn't understand why I was being put in that category, or if we were being put together, and that's probably the first incident where, where those questions became apparent to me. Like I'd never

realized that I was different at all from Caucasian kids, I'd grow up with, in a very Caucasian community, and not, not in Hawaii, and so I just thought that I was like everybody else. And then this was just a really salient incident of being singled out and labeled as being different. Or not different, but yeah, it lumps me into a group and a category that I didn't know I even remotely belonged to. And so it was very different. And that, I remember, upset me at the time, and it upsets me more *now*, or you know, later on, looking back on it and realizing like what that meant. But at the time it was just confusing, and I just, you know I went home and I talked to my parents about it. But they never really emphasized one way or the other. Like I don't think they realized—I still don't think they realize—like how confusing it is, sometimes. I mean it's not like something that's held me back or anything, but it's like, it's just, it's fun to sit and think about and try to figure out. And I don't think it ever occurred to them that that would be a challenge for us.

Tiffany did not realize she was different from her European American peers until this incident when her teacher placed her in a category that did not make sense with her self-definition. Tiffany had a past majority identity, waning unresolved identity, and emerging integrated identity. She has reflected on how others see her and how that contributes to how she presents herself:

I think it's easier for people to accept that I'm Caucasian than some form of Asian. That usually, if I say well you know I'm actually half you know Asian/Pacific Islander/Filipino, there's not, I guess I don't fit whatever their idea of what that should be is, and so that gets more of a result, more of a kind of a reaction than just saying Caucasian. Like I think if I went around and just said that

I was Asian/Pacific Islander and I just, instead of just check—I mean if people were standing in front of me and I said that, and they didn't know me, they'd kind of do a double-take and think about it for a second. Whereas if I said Caucasian they'd just kind of accept it because I think I fit more whatever that mold is than the other.

For phenotypic reasons, Tiffany feels that other people perceive her as Caucasian rather than Asian or bi-ethnic. However, she did not want to identify herself solely as Caucasian, because she started to realize “that I'm actually more complicated than that.” This self-reflection was aided by peer discussion of ethnic issues (see section below).

Emily was another participant who had an experience where she was placed in an ethnic category she did not think she belonged. When asked when she was first aware of being biracial, Emily recalled a time when she was living in Germany on a military base:

The first time I think I was really aware of it—I was in first grade, and we were studying sort of German culture, different cultures, and my teacher, there were two of us in the class, and incidentally the other boy was also half-Asian, and she asked us to say, hello, goodbye, and different greetings in our respective languages. And I didn't know, and I ended up saying, yo bo se yo, which is what my mom used on the telephone, but that's not actually how you say the greeting, it's just a, hi what's up, on the telephone, not. And he didn't know at all, and I remember thinking, oh that's strange, I wonder, like I felt like a bad student. I'm like, I wonder if I'm supposed to know this. So then I went home, 'cause she hadn't asked anyone else, and I asked my dad, um I'm supposed to learn how to say these greetings, like, do you know how to say them? So he taught me, and

that's the first time I was aware that, that I was supposed to know this. And it wasn't bad that I didn't know, but it was sort of a, oh that's good, you know, how, okay, and she made the whole class say yo bo se yo, which turned out to be incorrect.

This teacher's comment, likely with the intention of drawing on the diversity in the classroom to enrich the lesson, placed Emily in a minority categorization when she was previously unaware of difference between her and others in the class. She experienced confusion and discomfort at this categorization, as well as an initial awareness of differentness based on her heritage.

Some participants showed a lack of self-reflection on issues pertaining to their bi-ethnic identity. Megan, who was majority identified, revealed that she does not think of herself in ethnic or racial terms:

When I think of myself, I don't think of myself as being Caucasian or Asian or half, you know, or Amerasian. I don't think of it at all. And it's, I haven't really had, even though I grew up in an environment where there weren't really any other people like me around, I think I was fortunate enough to not have people look at me differently, at least they never expressed it to me.

Megan does not think of her ethnicity at all when she thinks of herself. She attributes this to the ethnic composition of the neighborhood in which she grew up, which was mainly European American. She later expressed surprise that other people were always thinking about her ethnicity, even when she was not:

It's always a good conversation starter when I'm meeting new people, too, 'cause that's one of the first things they ask me, they're like, what, what are you, what

ethnicity are you, so in some ways it's kind of like, I know that people are always thinking about that, just like, if that's the first question that people ask me, I know that's what they're thinking, but it always kind of catches me off-guard, I'm like, oh, yeah, I'm half Asian and half Caucasian.

Megan did not reflect on these questions in the way other participants did that might have influenced her bi-ethnic identity. It caught her off-guard when people wanted to know her ethnic background, particularly because she was majority identified but did not reflect on ethnic categorizations.

Overall, this subcategory was influential on bi-ethnic identity development when self-reflection helped change the way participants thought about their bi-ethnic identity. It seemed that participants who were majority identified did not spend much time reflecting on their ethnic background, whereas the participants who did report self-reflection tended to have identity types that indicated a connection to their Asian heritage or both heritages.

The subcategory *phenotype* concerns the extent to which bi-ethnic identity is influenced by participants' external physical appearance, including phenotypic characteristics that can be perceived as either Asian or European, or those that are ethnically ambiguous.

Serena was a participant with an integrated identity who felt her physical appearance allowed her to be accepted both by groups of Asians and by European Americans.

Because like I'm biracial, and I look, like I probably do look mostly White, but if you're looking at me you could tell that, you know, there is something different.

And some, you know some people can tell that I'm half-Asian. So I mean if I wanted to be in a group, like I, in either group, they accept me.

Serena knew that other people could tell there was "something different" about her external appearance, and that ambiguity allowed her the fluidity to travel in multiple social circles without encountering ethnic or racial barriers. Other participants described different experiences based on their phenotype. Jessica, when asked if she ever felt pressure to choose one group over the other, responded:

I always felt more, I mean I know some half-Asian people that first of all look more Caucasian than Asian, and the fact is I was never one of those people. I was one of those people that people would see and they automatically assumed that I was something other than White. And I think, I don't know that that was really pressure, but just because of that, I always felt more one way than the other.

Jessica stated that because her appearance caused people to assume she was not Caucasian, she "always felt more one way than the other." Her group of friends was diverse, but mostly Asian and African American. She had a waning minority identity and an emerging integrated identity.

Kira discussed how phenotype influences people's interactions. She felt her physical characteristics were perceived by others as Asian, and this influenced how people interacted with her.

I think it'd be much different if I had both White parents, definitely. But if I were like full-Asian, like if both my parents were Japanese, living here, it might have been a pretty similar situation. Just like, you know, you look different, and

therefore—a lot of things are determined by your appearance, and like, you know, how people react to that.

Because of her physical appearance, Kira mused that her life would have been much different if both of her parents had been White, but she did not think her life would have been drastically different if she had been born to two Japanese parents instead of an interethnic Japanese and European American couple.

For some participants, their phenotypic characteristics at times interfered with group membership or caused confusion about how to identify. Tiffany reported that when people asked her the “what are you” question, “it’s usually because it confuses people whether I just spend a lot of time in the tanning beds or something.” Because of her external appearance, she felt her choices were somewhat limited:

Do you feel like there are sometimes when you have to choose one race over the other? Like certain instances where I have to be—I mean I think, yes and no. I think that I *do* choose most of the time to just be Caucasian ‘cause it’s just easier. And so in that sense, no I don’t ever like find myself, oh well today I’m gonna be this or that, ‘cause I’ve pretty much just grown up and been Caucasian, in whatever sense you can be that. But there are times when we’re in Hawaii or when we’re—I say we—it’s usually better when my sister’s with me, because then like we, we both, we don’t really fit there, but we fit better there than here kind of thing, and I was gonna say, like another feature of being mixed or like, physical feature that kind of messes us up in Hawaii is our height, because we’re like 5 foot 9, 5 foot 10, and everybody is about a foot shorter than us, and so, while we, like skin-tone-wise, which is what throws everyone off here, we fit in

there. They still know that there's something else there because we're a foot taller than everybody else. So it's like even there it's not a decision, like if we're just walking down the street, we're the right shade but we're the wrong height. And so it's still clear that we don't fit there.

Tiffany stated that it was easier to identify as Caucasian, but she is at times conflicted when she visits relatives in Hawaii because of her external characteristics. She felt like she did not fit in there because of her height, whereas at home she was questioned because of her skin tone.

In general, this subcategory was important when participants' phenotype influenced their thinking about their bi-ethnic identity. Their external appearance may have led them to identify more with one part of their heritage than another, or allowed them to identify with both parts of their heritage.

Peer influences. This category pertained to participants' discussion of the influence of their peers on the development of their bi-ethnic identities. The two subcategories in this category were ethnic composition of peer groups, and peer discussion of ethnic issues.

The subcategory *ethnic composition of peer groups* refers to the ethnic backgrounds of participants' peers, both currently and as they were growing up, and how this may have influenced participants' bi-ethnic identity development. In particular, questions probed ethnic backgrounds of participants' friendships and romantic relationships.

For the participants who knew other bi-ethnic individuals, this was typically mentioned as an influencing factor on their bi-ethnic identity. For example, Emmett was

a participant with a past minority identity and a current dual identity. When asked about the change between these identity types, his answer pointed to the influence of his bi-ethnic peers: “*Can you pinpoint sort of what changed that made you change from saying Asian to saying that you’re both?*” I think it was when I became aware of other people being mixed.” He went on to describe the bi-ethnic friends he made in high school. Developing an awareness that there were other people with parents from two different backgrounds helped Emmett realize that he could identify with both parts of his heritage.

Serena was another participant with bi-ethnic peers. She has an integrated identity, and grew up in an area with large Asian and bi-ethnic Asian populations.

I used to live in New Jersey, but when I did live there, which is up until the end of my sixth grade, I was friends with mostly Asian or biracial Asian like background. I was mostly friends with those kids, and a lot of the times it was a big deal, like oh, we’re half Asian, we’re half Asian.

Serena had friends who were of a similar background, and she developed pride in her bi-ethnic heritage from a relatively early age.

Marie had a different experience. She grew up in an area where the majority of her peers were European American, until she attended a university with a more diverse student body. It was in college that she connected with her Asian peers:

Do you think that your ethnic background ever influences how you act in different situations? Um, yes, more so now. Like when I first came here I noticed that Asian people were more ready to come up and talk to me and make friends with me than anybody from any other race. So now when I see an Asian person in

class, I feel like a connection to them, 'cause uh, like we're somewhat different than everybody else. I'll probably talk to that Asian person first.

Marie had a waning majority identity and an emerging integrated identity. She was connecting more with her Asian peers and starting to identify more with that part of her heritage.

Jessica had a very diverse peer group and identified herself as Asian through high school. She felt her Asian peers accepted her as Asian, but attributed this partly to a lack of Japanese peers.

What about when you're with groups of Asian people—do you ever feel like you don't fit in, or have you always just felt accepted by other Asian people? For the most part I've felt accepted. I mean at the same time, like the Asian people that I've been I guess with for the most part, they haven't been Japanese, they've been mostly Filipino, or Indian, or like South Asian, so I mean already, like I'm not like part of them, but at the same time, they don't, like I said, they don't have something to compare like, oh is she really Japanese, they don't have, they don't have anything to compare that to, they just see me, and you know, see like the friends that I have, the interests that I have, and they automatically accept.

Jessica thought that part of the reason her minority identity was accepted by her Asian peers was that they lacked other Japanese peers for comparison. Whatever the reasons, she always felt accepted and preferred to surround herself with friends from diverse backgrounds.

Not all participants had Asian friends, which was sometimes related to the diversity of the schools and neighborhoods in which they were raised. Karen May, who is

majority identified, described a lack of Asian peers. When asked if there were people other than family who had influenced her bi-ethnic identity, she replied:

I think that probably, I mean I never really have had Indian friends, so that's almost a *lack of*, you know, I didn't have any Indian friends to influence my Indian identity. My brother actually did, there were just more kids in his grade level that were Indian, you know, that he was friends with, so I think that maybe influenced him a little bit too. But no, I mean I really haven't had outside people other than my family to relate to who are Indian.

Karen May felt that her bi-ethnic identity was influenced by a lack of Indian friends with whom to relate. Megan was another participant who described a lack of Asian peers to influence her identity.

And it's funny too, because really the only Asian environment that I've experienced, besides the fact that I was in Korea for a month, when I was, a couple years ago, um, the grocery stores and the Korean restaurants are really the only way that I can really experience interacting with other Asians. I don't have any Asian friends or anything like that.

Megan was also majority identified, and her peer group was mainly European American. She stated that the only interaction with other Asian individuals she has is when she goes to Asian markets or restaurants.

Some participants stated choices about their peer groups based on personal preferences. Rachel, who was majority identified, grew up in areas that were majority European American. She attended a university with a diverse student body, but was not comfortable joining Asian peer groups.

I kind of have this thing that I'm kind of averse to being friends with a lot of Asian people, actually. And I *hate* the cliques around campus of the kids who are all American Asian, or Asian American, whatever you want to say, and all they do is hang out with each other. And I was invited, I know, like, I don't really go on Facebook that much anymore, but when I first got here, I did a lot, and I was invited to all these groups, like, not only the Asian sororities, but like, just these groups, these random ones, and when I looked at who was also part of the group, everyone was Asian. And I was like, I just really don't like that, that you just harbor around people who are just like you, like why would you do that? And um, like I always tell my friends like I'll never date an Asian boy. And it definitely has something to do with, just because it just reminds me of my dad. I can't fathom dating someone anywhere close to my dad. So I have this thing where, I'll be, I have some Asian friends, but they're kind of more like me, where they don't like other Asian people, and my friend in middle school, she, her mom's from Peru and her dad's from Vietnam, and she and I used to have this inside joke that like we're friends, but we hate all other people who are Asian, unless they're half-Asian, then we might like them. So I, it was this kind of funny joke when we were younger, but I definitely, um, I don't know, I kind of have this stigma attached to—it's pretty bad, I guess, to um some Asian people, I don't know. *So would you say that you feel more comfortable then with a group of all White people, versus a group of all Asians?* Yeah. Definitely.

Rachel was uninterested in dating Asian men or in being friends with all-Asian peer groups. She said of cultural student groups, “on the one hand I think it's good that

people are able to celebrate who they are,” “but at the same time I think it’s sort of ostracizing to other people a little bit, when you form these groups.” Rachel somewhat intentionally limited the influence of Asian peers on her bi-ethnic identity.

The ethnic composition of peer groups often helped determine participants’ level of connection to their Asian heritage or their European American heritage. The peer group composition was frequently related to ethnic composition of schools and neighborhoods (see below), but could also be related to personal friend choice.

The subcategory *peer discussion of ethnic issues* refers to the extent to which peers discuss ethnic issues relevant to the participants’ bi-ethnic identity development. It also covers whether peers discuss participants’ ethnic heritage or ethnic identity choices. Additionally, this subcategory includes transmission of Asian culture by peers, and interest in learning about Asian heritage that is fostered by peers. This subcategory was frequently mentioned by participants and was perceived as highly influential.

Discussions with peers seemed to be very important, with several participants citing this as the biggest influence on their bi-ethnic identity development. When Emmett was asked what the biggest influence was on his bi-ethnic identity, he responded: “Biggest influence, I would say that I’ve had the most experience talking with my peers, so as of overall hours spent, maybe that would be the biggest influence.” Colleen was another participant who said that peers, along with parents, were the biggest influences, specifically her college peers.

I mean, it was never really, I never really thought about it when I was little, you know what I mean, like I mean, no one really ever does, I think. But um, and I didn’t really think about it in high school too much either. But then when I got

here [to college], like because, I knew all those people like all my life, you know what I mean, like I went to the same high school with like all my friends from elementary school and stuff. And then when I got here, like you meet all these new people, and like, I go to parties, and people are automatically like uh, so what's your ethnicity, like, 'cause they can tell that like I'm not, I don't know, they're like, they'd try to guess at my ethnicity, and normally they're wrong, and I'm just like okay. Like I didn't really know that it was like, you know, really different until I came to college, I guess.

Colleen relayed how questions about her ethnicity from her peers in college led her to think about her ethnic background in ways she had not previously. A similar sentiment was echoed by other participants. For example, when Marie was asked what she thought the biggest influencing factor was on her bi-ethnic identity development, she replied: "I think it'd have to probably be my peers, because they make it more noticeable to me than anybody else." Peers seemed to be the prevalent source of discussion of ethnic issues for many participants, especially since not all parents discussed ethnic issues with their children.

These discussions with peers could facilitate change in bi-ethnic identities. Tiffany had a past majority identity, waning unresolved identity, and emerging integrated identity. When describing how her thinking about her background changed and was changing, she emphasized peer discussions.

Through like elementary school and middle school, and I think in high school, later in high school, I started trying to think about not just putting Caucasian—realizing that it was, that I'm actually more complicated than that, or that there's

more to my racial identity than that or my ethnic identity. And I think in college, I think I just became more aware on my own of those kinds of questions that people were asking me that I hadn't you know, either I'd been asked so many times that I started realizing that a lot of people were asking me these things, and I became more aware of that. I think another, one of the biggest things that, I don't know, moved me forward in thinking about everything, was that one of my friends in high school was Caucasian/Hispanic. And I'd never really thought about it before. And when he went to school, he went to school in California, and became involved with the ____ [mixed race] organization, or he became involved with the ____ [mixed race] magazine but he was the head of his, I forget what it's called, but it's like a mixed race club or something. *Like a student group you mean? Like on campus?* Yeah, it's a student group at college, and it's national, like they have chapters at all the different schools, and he became really involved in that and became president of it and they were having like a conference at his school. And I remember when he first started getting into it that he had emailed me about it and was like, you know, because you're mixed race. And that was the first time, and I think that's probably one of the only times, that someone didn't say you know, like what are you, like someone got it right. You know, with singling me out but for the right thing. It wasn't you know because you're, that's why your skin you know "that's why Brendan and Tiffany's skin is darker" but it was you know, "you're mixed race too, I am, and you know you should look at this magazine and do you want to come to our, the conference" kind of thing. Or "you should see if there's a chapter near by you" or whatever. And so that, and like just reading, he

sent me that one magazine, and just reading through that, it stopped being well, am I Caucasian, am I Asian/Pacific Islander, it was just like, I'm mixed. That's what I am. And that's the only thing that makes sense—I'm mixed. And like I've kind of started trying to grab onto that, which I guess is more kind of acceptable now in terms of people understanding that that doesn't just mean African American and Caucasian, that you know mixed can mean a lot of different races, and you can say, well I'm mixed race and people understand that. Like I think it's become a more accepted term. So in that sense, like I've kind of started changing to that idea of myself, but I think for the most part, unless someone wants to sit down and listen to me try to explain it, you know, I'm still, I still pretty much consider myself Caucasian.

Tiffany's discussions with her bi-ethnic friend were important in moving her forward in her thinking about her bi-ethnic identity. She was introduced to a self-label that she did not previously realize she could use. Although she stills finds her story complex to explain to others, she is starting to embrace this integrated label: "And that's the only thing that makes sense—I'm mixed."

Peer discussions could be influential by changing participants' thinking about their bi-ethnic identity, or by reinforcing it. Sam has a majority identity, and he talked about his peers discussing his ethnic identity choice.

Are there other people or experiences that have influenced your identity, your sense of who you are, particularly with respect to your background? Well, my friends just call me White. They're like "Sam, you're not Asian, you're White." So that kind of makes me feel like I'm White. Just 'cause I don't fit the

stereotypes, like all the stereotypes of an Asian person I guess. Just experiences in general: my whole upbringing, 'cause it was all American culture. So that's about it.

Sam revealed that his friends tell him they think of him as White, not Asian, and that "makes me feel like I'm White." Note that this quote also mentions enculturation by parents, when referencing his American cultural upbringing (see section above).

Jessica was a participant with a diverse peer group, whose peers viewed her as Asian. She grew up in schools where minorities were in the majority, in a county where the majority population was African American. She talked about some of the discussions her peers had about ethnic/racial issues which were somewhat complicated because of her background:

I mean I know like, my friends for the most part I guess view me as being Asian, like they accept that. I mean, I think that's partially because, I mean, they're not Japanese, so it's not like they have a benchmark to compare me to or anything like that. Um I guess the thing is that I mean, like in high school you know you'd hear like, instead of you know I guess racial like comments being made towards minorities, you'd hear a lot more of that going towards like White people. So I guess, and I think, and some of my friends would say things like that, and I mean, they would just be like, but of course Jessica we don't mean you, you're not really White. So I mean like, that kind of stuff, I just sort of let it go, because I mean I knew what they were trying to say, but at the same time, I knew they didn't really get it, so.

Jessica had a waning minority identity and an emerging integrated identity.

Growing up in a diverse environment, it was somewhat advantageous to identify with her Asian heritage. However, Jessica sometimes felt awkward because even though her peers would discount part of her heritage, saying “you’re not really White,” these discussions of ethnic issues were more complicated for someone whose heritage included both minority and majority backgrounds.

Peers could also be important in transmitting culture. Jennifer, who was raised by her European American mother following a divorce from her Korean father, talked about the cultural experiences she had with her friends.

And most of the Korean stuff I picked up was probably from my friends. Like my friend Elaine Oh was my best friend through most of middle school and high school, and I mean she still is my friend, and like, she had Korean parents, and we’d go to her house, and she introduced me to a lot of Korean things that I like, introduced me to a lot of Korean foods there, like Korean games, we’d watch Korean TV, like I got into Korean music, and I started listening to Japanese music too. I don’t understand any of it, but I like the beats and stuff, so. So I got really into it, and like eighth grade, which was the year that I became really comfortable with myself, me and Elaine actually went down to LA to see a Korean concert, and like we met my grandpa there, who’s Korean, and like we just spent the whole weekend doing Korean stuff, so. That was kind of like I guess a changing experience, I guess.

Jennifer was offered a wealth of knowledge and experiences from her Korean friends, and her best friend in particular fostered her interest in learning about her heritage.

Like for awhile too, back when I was getting really into it in the eighth grade, like I started, my friend went to Korea, Elaine Oh went to Korea, and she bought me a lot of Korean clothes, so I started having these crazy shirts, and like crazy stationary and stuff.

Jennifer's friend went to Korea and brought back elements of the culture to share with her and develop her interest. When asked about learning about her ethnic background, she replied: "I think like a lot of it was like, I was really interested in it, because Elaine Oh, like she really encouraged it. Like we kinda learned from each other." For Jennifer, her best friend was very influential in helping her connect to her Asian heritage.

For participants for whom this subcategory was important, discussions with peers were prevalent and led to reflection about their bi-ethnic identities. These discussions could influence bi-ethnic identity development. Peers could also transmit culture, particularly when there was a lack of parental enculturation.

Environmental influences. This category involved influences on participants' bi-ethnic identity development that relate to the environments in which they were raised. The two subcategories in this category are ethnic composition of schools and neighborhoods, and living internationally. The reader will notice that ethnic composition of schools and neighborhoods has some relation to ethnic composition of peer groups. As explained above with examples such as the marital status and relations with parents

subcategories, some subcategories were more related than others, but each uniquely contributed to bi-ethnic identity development.

The subcategory *ethnic composition of schools and neighborhoods* captures the ethnic composition of schools attended and neighborhoods lived in while growing up, as well as currently. It included information about diversity, or lack thereof, and tolerance of interethnic marriages and bi-ethnic individuals. This subcategory had a high frequency of mention and was often perceived as highly important by participants.

The areas where the participants were raised could influence how they thought about their bi-ethnic identity. Jennifer, who had an integrated identity, grew up in an area populated by Asians, European Americans, and also other half-Asians. She described how comfortable she was there, contrasting it with the majority European American environment of her early childhood years:

There's a very high Asian population there, and there's a lot of half kids, actually. So a couple of my friends were half-Japanese, half-White. And then I had a lot of Korean friends too. Some half-Chinese friends. So that made it more comfortable I think growing up. It's a big contrast, because before I lived in the Northwest, I lived in Colorado, and we lived in like a very like White area, and I didn't have *any* friends when I was younger. I had one friend, and she was 13 years old, I was like probably 6, and she was a Liberian refugee. And she was the only Black girl in town. So there was a lot of racism going on there when I was a kid.

Living in an area with a high Asian population, Jennifer connected with her Korean heritage and connected with other bi-ethnic individuals. This helped her develop

a group identity. She contrasted this with her experience in the majority European American environment of her youth, and perceived that it influenced how she developed:

And just like growing up in a really White and a really Asian you know neighborhood. 'Cause I think, I think if I had grown up in Colorado my whole life, I would have been a completely different person. I'd probably be ashamed, you know, to be Asian. So I think it had a lot to do with where I grew up.

Jennifer predicted that if she had not grown up in the diverse neighborhood in which she was raised, she would not have been as comfortable with herself. She pointed out the tolerance for interethnic relationships as another important factor:

I feel very grateful I guess for living up where I did where it's so tolerant. And like being half-Asian isn't like a weird thing, you know. I don't think it's particularly weird out here, you know, because luckily I've lived in pretty, you know, I guess progressive and liberal places, where interracial marriage and you know interracial kids aren't really a big deal. But like any other place, you know, I might not be as lucky, you know.

Jennifer cited neighborhood diversity, particularly the presence of other bi-ethnic Asians, and tolerant attitudes as important factors in the development of her bi-ethnic identity. She never felt marginalized in this diverse environment, and was able to embrace her heritage and develop an integrated identity.

Marie described different experiences than Jennifer. Marie grew up in a homogeneous European American environment, in which she always felt accepted. She did not think about being "different" from her European American peers until she left that environment for a more diverse one at college.

Yeah, I was like, I'm just like everybody else, like I have hair, like, but it never occurred to me until I moved to Maryland, where people actually do notice, 'cause there's a huge racial diversity in this area. And then everybody will ask you, what are you. *Right. Yeah, how do you respond to questions like that?* What, oh, well, they usually ask, where are you from, and I hate that question, 'cause I'm like, oh I'm from Michigan. Like, no, where are your parents from. I guess there's no good way to ask, but then I'm like, oh my mom's from Korea, and my dad's from Michigan. *And that usually seems to satisfy them?* Yes. And they're like, oh you're half-Korean then. Like, yes, that, that's what I am.

Whereas in the majority European American environment Marie simply thought "I'm just like everybody else," it took moving to a diverse area for her to feel like she stood out. She explains, contrasting the ethnic composition of her high school to that of the college:

But when I go to like bars with no minorities in it, now I feel like I stand out a little bit. Whereas before I never felt like that. *What do you think changed? Like what do you think caused that difference?* Um, living in a community where race didn't really matter. Nobody thought of me as Asian, they just thought of me as Marie. 'Cause there's only like, there's 4 Asian people in my school, that's 500 kids, and 2 Black people. And no Hispanic people. So we just fit in, we were one of them. But here, it has so many different races. You need to fit into a category. That's where I've started to realize, like, I'm something else to these people.

Marie found that in a widely diverse environment, "you need to fit into a category." Her ethnicity was being questioned by others, whereas the peers she knew

growing up did not make an issue of her bi-ethnicity. This environmental change contributed to her move from a waning majority identity to an emerging integrated identity.

Karen May grew up in an area that was majority European American. Because of this, she felt she could learn her mother's heritage naturally through her environment, but that her Indian father's heritage had to be explicitly taught.

It's the part that was different, so it was the part that sort of had to be almost taught. You know, kind of, I grew up in a place where there was some diversity but not a ton of diversity. There was more religious diversity than ethnic diversity. Anyway, so the Indian part was the part where I felt like we sort of had to go out of our way to be Indian. Like we had to drive like 45 minutes to the temple. And like the Indian community was separate sort of from my whole life. You know at school there were maybe a couple other Indian kids, so I feel like that was the part of the ethnic identity that had to be really sort of explicitly taught, where the other, my mom's side, there wasn't that much to teach and it just sort of came from my surroundings.

Karen May was classified as majority identified. She described a separation from the Indian community, whereas she felt surrounded by and connected to European Americans and felt that learning that culture came naturally from her surroundings. However, when further probed on the opportunities to experience Indian culture, Karen May reflected that there could have been opportunities but that her parents chose not to immerse her in that culture:

You know, I don't think there was a lack of opportunity. I think _____ [U.S. city] has a pretty big Indian population, like where we grew up. And it actually has one of the few, well at that time anyway, one of the few Hindu temples. Like people from all over would come to go to that temple, like all over the East coast. So there was a pretty big Indian population in _____ [U.S. city]. And I guess, you know when you're little it's not your choice, but I guess it was my parent's choice, that that wasn't the community that we were a part of or whatever.

Karen May observed that children cannot control the communities to which they are exposed, and this quote also points to parents' desire to enculturate (see section above). Due to her parents' personal choice, Karen May felt disconnected from her Indian heritage because "that wasn't the community that we were a part of."

Megan was another participant who was majority identified. When asked about the backgrounds of the people in the schools and neighborhoods in which she was raised, she replied:

Definitely Caucasian background. All throughout, like I said, I went to a very small private school, and there were actually, well it was predominantly Caucasian. There were probably one or two African American students, and I think there were probably one or two Asian students, but they were either a lot older or a lot younger, and it was just kind of, pretty much all the same type of environment. My freshman year of high school, however, I did attend a public school, and I think I was probably the only, I don't, I can't even really remember seeing any Asian kids at school—it was all White. Or, I mean, there was a pretty good representative population of African Americans. But yeah.

Megan described her environment as fairly homogeneous, with a majority European American population. Megan felt comfortable in this setting, stating: “even though I grew up in an environment where there weren’t really any other people like me around, I think I was fortunate enough to not have people look at me differently” (see self-reflection based on others’ reactions subcategory above). This likely helped her develop a majority identity.

In contrast, Chris was a participant who was raised in an environment with very diverse schools and neighborhoods. He was minority identified.

It was pretty diverse. We had a lot of different people on our street. And in our school, too. I mean I guess, I guess the school I went to, around, it’s Stone Valley, but it was, I would say I think it’s mostly Black, but it’s, it’s not like, it’s just geographically, I suppose. But it was, it was definitely really diverse. It wasn’t just like only Black and then there’s some White and other people there. It was, it seemed like it was pretty mixed. But if I, I think if I were looking at statistics, then it might have been like 60% Black, and then a bunch of other people.

The ethnic composition of both Chris’ neighborhood and high school were quite diverse. Growing up in an environment filled with diversity may have helped him embrace his background and take pride in his Asian heritage, aiding in the development of his minority identity.

Jessica was another participant who was raised in an environment where African Americans were the majority. She discussed the impact this had on her identity:

I grew up in an environment that was neither majority White nor majority Asian. I mean if you, I think if you grow up in an environment where you, you’re

surrounded by people that are at least like one part of your family, I think it affects like, I mean, how you view race. Like at least you have that one side that's like maybe a benchmark, or you know, you have more to compare yourself to. I didn't really have that. Like I had more like, I just classified myself as Asian and left it at that.

Jessica was coded as having a waning minority identity with an emerging integrated identity. She reflected on this progression, with the changes in school and neighborhood ethnic composition from her middle and high school years as she transitioned to college.

I think when I was younger, and this is like also partially because of the schools I went to, um, the first, when I was very young I'd say elementary school, like, my school was majority Caucasian. People like, I mean, they, people knew that I was, for some reason when I was younger everybody thought, knew automatically that I was half-Asian, half-White. I guess maybe I looked different then, I don't know. But I mean, back then, like I thought, I knew I was half-Asian and like, I, that was something I think I probably identified a little bit more with, just because people automatically picked that up. But I think as I got older, like, just identifying with being part of like the group of minorities, I think that was something that played a bigger role, because, I mean, personally like, there aren't—I'm half-Japanese, there are almost no Japanese people on the East coast, and I think, I just, I sort of just identify myself as being Asian, like not necessarily like a certain subset of, but I think, during my like, middle school and high school, I think I identified with just being Asian, and I think, when I came to college and I'm, you know

exposed to more people of more, honestly like this college is probably more diverse in the fact that it has, you know, it's not solely like majority one race, as much so as my high school was. But I think I started to think of myself more as being mixed rather than just Asian.

Growing up in an area where minorities were the majority, Jessica identified herself as Asian. This changed when her environment became more diverse, and she started to think of herself as bi-ethnic. Jessica perceived the ethnic composition of her schools and neighborhood as one of the biggest influences on her bi-ethnic identity:

I think more than anything, like, people that I met at school, like, growing, I think even more so than like my own family, I think growing up like in Hammond County, going to the schools here, probably had one of the biggest influences on how I viewed myself.

The ethnic composition of schools and neighborhoods could influence which ethnic groups participants did and did not identify with. Changes in environments leading to different ethnic compositions could, with other factors, influence transitions to different identity types.

The *living internationally* subcategory refers to whether participants have lived in the Asian parent's country of origin. If so, it probed the extent of time in that country, the developmental time period of the participant when living there, feelings of connection to or separation from the Asian culture due to experiences while living there (e.g., preferential treatment due to bi-ethnic heritage; rejection due to lack of fluency in language). In this sample, 20% of the participants had lived in their Asian parents' country of origin.

Stephanie was a participant who was raised in both Thailand and the U.S., moving back and forth between the two countries until early high school. She grew up immersed in both cultures and is bilingual. She developed an integrated identity and perceived international living as an important influence.

Do you think it [your ethnic background] is an important part of who you are?

Yes, I would say so. Simply because I guess half of my childhood was in Thailand, so that's always going to be a factor in you know how I developed and how my personality has developed, and who I am. And I'd probably be different if like I'd just grown up in America.

Stephanie explained some of the cultural differences between the countries that influenced how she thought about herself. In Thailand she experienced preferential treatment because she was different, but in the U.S. she felt she could blend in because of greater diversity in the country.

But um, in Thailand there's sort of like a subculture of the mixed kid, because there are a lot of people in Thailand, well I guess not, not a lot a lot, but there's definitely like a subculture of people who are half-Thai, half-uh like French, British, Australian, American, whatever, half-Caucasian. And you're sort of seen as like the golden kids, because you know you have like the aspect where you can speak Thai and understand the culture, but your parents are probably better off, because, well if your Thai parent isn't well off, then he or she is married, usually she, has married someone from another country, another culture, who probably has more money. Or your Thai parent is high up enough in society to have gone to another country and married someone from another country, so, there's a whole

thing where if you're half, you're automatically like just treated differently, I guess. It's sort of weird to explain this to like my American friends, or something like that, because in America you know you're just another person. But in Thailand if you're half and you're walking around and you look like you're mixed and you speak Thai, automatically you're gonna be treated a little differently um because like just people will expect you to have money, will expect you to have education, will expect you to have traveled to another country, just expect you to have all these privileges. And most often it's true. So, in Thailand, because I definitely look mixed, like I get that. Which is sort of nice, but in a way it's like, I'm consciously aware of being different, even though I consider myself definitely part Thai. I carry a Thai passport, I'm a Thai citizen. Whereas in America I feel like I blend in more because America is so mixed in itself, and I don't get that like sort of privileged stereotyping, I guess. So I guess in America I don't feel as different, in a way, but in Thailand I do because I definitely stick out a little.

Spending time living in both countries has given Stephanie insight into how each culture views its own diversity and has influenced how she views herself in each environment. When asked to think about what has been most influential in shaping her bi-ethnic identity, she replied: "I think really basically just living in both countries."

Emily was a participant who spent much of her childhood abroad because of her father's military career. She moved to Korea when she was 3, then lived in Germany for six years, then Korea for 4 years, returning to the U.S. at age 15. She returned to Korea later in life as a graduate student to study the language. She perceived international living to be an influence on how she thought about herself because of her formative years

outside the U.S.: “Now, it’s to the point where I have spent more time in the US than I have overseas, but I think because my childhood was spent overseas, that’s influenced me a lot.” Emily was also affected by differences in experiences between countries when living internationally.

And then when we moved from Germany to Korea was another big thing for me. Because, there were other, sort of, the military’s so diverse, there were other people that were like half-Asian, or half-French, or half anything, and I don’t remember anyone really speaking the language, and my friends that were half-Korean didn’t speak Korean. So I don’t think it’s strange that I couldn’t. And when I got to Korea it shifted, so that instead of most people who are half not being able to speak it, most people that were half could speak it, even just a little bit. So that’s when I sort of became aware that, oh I’m half-Korean and I can’t speak Korean.

For Emily, not being able to speak Korean was a barrier to connecting with her Korean heritage, and this was emphasized when she lived in Korea. However, she later decided to return to Korea and learn the language in an effort to connect with her heritage.

It’s strange because for the longest time, Korea was my mom. And she was sort of my only representation of Korea. And so I think, in some respects, I attached a lot of what she valued and what she believed as, these are Korean beliefs. And then I realized in fact they’re not, there’s a whole range of beliefs and values. And so my mom is not all of Korea. So, it has changed already, a little bit, from going to Korea and seeing my mom isn’t all of the values.

A year of international living when she was older helped Emily develop a greater understanding of Korean culture, which helped her connect with her heritage on a greater level than purely a personal connection with her mother.

This subcategory was important when participants had lived internationally, especially in their formative years. The experience could make them feel connected to or separated from their heritage, depending on a number of factors.

Discrimination. This category includes experiences with prejudice, discrimination, and stereotyping, as perceived by the participants, that influenced bi-ethnic identity development. This category had two subcategories, discrimination by minority group, and discrimination by majority group.

The subcategory *discrimination by minority group* referred to participants' experiences with exclusion, prejudice, and discrimination from Asians. Participants reported exclusion from Asian groups, or discrimination because they were bi-ethnic.

Jennifer was a participant who discussed a discomfort she felt when in a group of Korean Americans, but not with European Americans. She reported that this discomfort was due to exclusion based on her background.

I've been to Korean churches before, and all they do is they speak Korean, they leave you out, like people my age they don't really talk to you 'cause I mean I don't look Korean, like, you know. Some people would be like oh she's half, like I mean, most of them I think know I'm half, because otherwise I wouldn't be with my dad, but you know, like a lot of them just don't talk to you, so I feel like the Korean like modern Korean American culture is very cliquish. I feel the same way on campus, actually, like with a lot of Korean groups. Like I feel like if I get

invited to like an Asian event, like I don't want to go, because I'm like, nobody's gonna talk to me, like you know, they're all gonna be speaking Korean in their little corner, and like, they'll be like that's the little you know half-girl or White girl, or, you know, I don't know what they call me, but you know I feel like that happens a lot, that there's more exclusion in the Asian community than in the White community. Like I don't feel I have any problem like you know with a White group of people.

Jennifer cites reasons for this exclusion as partly based on phenotype, and partly based on lack of language knowledge. Her experiences with exclusion from some groups have led her to expect discriminatory experiences in the future, and feel more discomfort in groups of unknown Korean Americans than European Americans. Fortunately, she has still been able to connect with her Korean heritage through the individual influence of her Korean best friend (see the subcategory peer discussion of ethnic issues).

Emily experienced discriminatory behavior from a teacher while living in Korea that influenced her decision to learn Korean, a decision she regretted many years later. She explains that when she first moved to Korea in middle school, she had a choice of which language to take in school.

So I took Korean, and I hated it. The person who taught it was Korean, and he definitely treated people who were half-Korean and didn't know the language very poorly. Not poorly so much as he held us to a different standard. And my parents actually went into the school and talked about it, 'cause my friend, who wasn't Korean, we had the exact same grades, we had both turned in all our homeworks, our participation, there wasn't that much but it was about the same,

and she ended up with an A in the class and I ended up with a B in the class. And anyway, but the whole class was like that, that if, if you were White and you said something correctly, oh that's so great, that's so great! And then you were Korean and you said something correctly it's like okay, next. There was no accolades whatsoever. And I wasn't, like we all noticed it, and we all thought it a little bit sort of unsettling, but it was sort of, that's just him and he's crazy, sort of. But I didn't, it definitely turned me off of learning the language. And really anything about Korean culture, for a long time. So that when I started college, er, high school, and I had the choice of any languages, I picked, I actually picked two, I picked German and Spanish instead of German and Korean. And my dad said, well you're in Korea, and your mom's Korean, why don't you want to learn Korean? And I said no, I don't want to. So I learned German and Spanish instead of Korean.

Emily reported that her teacher judged students differently based on their ethnic background. She was so upset by this unfair treatment that she distanced herself from her Korean heritage, and was uninterested in learning the language or the culture. She was majority identified through college, until in graduate school she went through an unresolved period, with an emerging dual identity. She decided that being half-Korean, she should know Korean and went to Korea to learn the language.

The discrimination by minority group subcategory was important when participants reported experiences with exclusion, prejudice, or discrimination that made them disconnect from their heritage, or made them uncomfortable when around groups of their minority peers.

The subcategory *discrimination by majority group* concerned stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination by European Americans. Several participants reported racial slurs and derogatory remarks linked to their Asian heritage.

Tiffany had a traumatic experience and repeated unsettling experiences with an insensitive friend of her husband, who is European American.

So there was this one time that Mark was talking online, and he has a friend who makes fun I think of every race and gender and sexuality preference, anyway, and I don't think he means harm, but anyway, he liked typed something, and then he made a comment, he was like, well if you didn't spend so much time with slanty-eyes you know I would see you more, or whatever. And you know I just happened to be sitting there and look up and I saw that, and this was like a year ago, and I just like started crying and like went and locked myself in a bathroom. Because it was, and I mean like thinking back on it, like it was confusing for so many different reasons. Like, I don't have slanty-eyes, I like I, it was a racial slur, that was misapplied, and so it was just insulting on so many different levels. And I didn't like remotely know how to deal with it, like I didn't really know him that well at the time, and then like Mark of course came looking for me, he was like you know knocking on the bathroom door, and I'm just like sitting on the floor, and so like we talked about it, but I mean that was just like the term that he had decided to refer to me as, like I guess to get at Mark, and like he still makes comments like when my family's visiting, he'll like be like, how's the rice, you know things like that. And I'm like you know he doesn't exactly have the right, if he's trying to like make fun of me, he should at least like pull the right stereotypes

out or whatever. It's just, it was really confusing and I think it upset me so much at the time because I just wasn't in, it just came from left field, like it was completely startling.

Tiffany was understandably upset at the first and subsequent interactions with the discriminatory remarks of her husband's friend. These were particularly confusing for Tiffany because she was being put into a category to which she knew she did not belong. Moreover, during this time Tiffany was figuring out her own bi-ethnic identity, as she was coded with a waning unresolved identity and an emerging integrated identity. She did not need the hurt and confusion of prejudiced categories being misapplied while she did identity work.

Megan was a participant who experienced negative comments about her background from a European American boyfriend. When asked how she felt about being Asian, she replied:

It's funny, because I'll feel different, I don't know, depending on the situation or something. I actually dated someone for quite awhile who would make remarks about how I was Asian all the time, and for some reason I felt like they were derogatory remarks, but I mean he would be joking, but in the same sense I kind of felt like they were kind of like derogatory remarks. Which, you know, that made me feel kind of bad.

Megan was majority identified, and says that most of the time she does not think about being Asian at all. However, despite her personal identification, this European American boyfriend placed her in a category as being Asian, and brought it up constantly in a way that was demeaning to her.

Aaron spoke about stereotyping in society in general and how that affects the expectations people have of him, because he is European American and Asian American.

I feel like being White, people look at me different than, especially than if I was Black, which is sort of like the big contrast in my life, is White versus being Black. And mainly because I guess socioeconomic trends with, with that. And you look at the census data, and so, because of that information, people know, they project and um being White can be helpful sometimes, because people will assume I already know certain things, or I'm more perceptive of certain things. Which is often times actually untrue. Sometimes it could hurt me too, because, because people assume that I know certain things or I act certain ways.

Sometimes people have this stereotype around here I feel like that Asian people are smart. And sometimes people think I'm smart. And I'm not smart.

Aaron brings up the model minority stereotype here, that Asian Americans are considered intelligent and educated and that he feels disadvantaged by this stereotype. He acknowledges that many of the stereotypes for the groups in his background are "good" and can theoretically be helpful, but at the same time they can hurt him when they do not apply to him as an individual.

Marie was a participant who recalled an upsetting instance with extended family and friends on her European American father's side.

Um, one woman, like my dad's close friends, we call them like uncle, like Uncle Bob or something, even if we're not related. One of their girlfriends came up to me and made her eyes like this, and said, now am I related to you? [Note: pulled corners of eyes down to make them appear slanted]...*So do you remember what*

emotions those experiences evoked? I was angry. Like incredibly angry. Like, even, um, I don't know, you can't really do that for any other race. Like, just like move your body part to make yourself look like something else. But like, that was really rude. I didn't see the point in that.

Marie was very upset by this incident as well as others, such as a man making a Korean racial slur in a grocery store when she was with her grandmother, and several people assuming she must have been adopted.

How do you think those experiences of discrimination influenced the way that you think about yourself today? Um, I realize like, people see me as a race. Like, I don't look quite Asian, but I don't look quite Caucasian. So like I'm not just a person to them, I'm not just a girl, I'm a race and a girl.

Until college, Marie viewed herself as Caucasian, which likely made it more hurtful to be categorized by others as a non-member of this group. As she grew older, she realized other people saw her differently than she saw herself. In college she now has a waning majority identity and an emerging integrated identity.

The discrimination by majority group subcategory was influential when participants reported experiences with prejudice, stereotypes, or discrimination that made them uncomfortable to be who they are, or caused them confusion about how they identified. Dealing with discrimination the majority group could lead to increased identification with minority and bi-ethnic groups, thus impacting their identity type.

Summary of Perceived Influences

All of these influences have been shown to be important, and for different people combinations of influences work to result in different identity types. Therefore, different

influences are important to differing degrees in different people. However, across the data certain of the influences emerged as important at a general level based on frequency of mention, as well as an indication by participants of the biggest influences to them. The most important influences were: enculturation by parents, language, enculturation by extended family, self-reflection based on others' reactions, peer discussion of ethnic issues, and ethnic composition of schools and neighborhoods. See Chapter 5 for further discussion.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion

This study had three main goals. The first goal was to identify the key constructs that characterize bi-ethnic identity as perceived by young adults of Asian and European descent. This study accomplished this goal by identifying five types of bi-ethnic identity that characterized how participants identify themselves with respect to their ethnic backgrounds. In addition, there were four facets of bi-ethnic identity that emerged from the interviews. These facets indicated participants' connection to or separation from the groups in their heritage, their feelings about their ethnic background, and how important their ethnicity was to their overall identity.

The second goal of this study was to identify the perceived familial influences on bi-ethnic identity development in individuals of Asian and European descent. Participants' interview responses yielded a rich dataset on familial influences. The parental and extended family categories had nine subcategories, including such influences as acculturation, language, enculturation by parents, parental discussion of ethnic issues, and extended family contact.

The third goal was to identify other salient influences on bi-ethnic identity development in individuals of Asian and European descent. Four non-familial categories of influences were identified: personal, peer, environmental, and discrimination. These categories had nine subcategories, and included such influences as self-reflection based on others' reactions, ethnic composition of peer groups, peer discussion of ethnic issues, and ethnic composition of schools and neighborhoods. In the following sections there

will be a greater discussion of the findings relevant to each goal, with connections to and implications for the existing literature.

Key Constructs of Bi-ethnic Identity

In this dissertation study, I attempted to extend the bi-ethnic identity literature by identifying how bi-ethnic individuals define themselves. With the exception of Root (1990) and Rockquemore (1998), researchers studying bi-ethnic identity development have put forth models that describe stages or phases individuals may go through when developing a bi-ethnic identity. These models were designed to understand process, not capture an individual's understanding of their bi-ethnic identity. While these developmental models serve an invaluable purpose, the field lacks an understanding of how bi-ethnic individuals identify themselves. The present study focused on identifying the key constructs of bi-ethnic identity, and the interviews revealed two overarching constructs, bi-ethnic identity types and facets of bi-ethnic identity. In the current study, five bi-ethnic identity types emerged from participants' responses to open-ended interview questions. These identity types in this study are the first to tell us, with a degree of specificity, how bi-ethnic individuals think about their ethnic background, and how they define themselves.

Bi-ethnic identity types. Five bi-ethnic identity types emerged from the interviews: majority identity, minority identity, dual identity, integrated identity, and unresolved identity (see Table 4). These bi-ethnic identity types are not stages and there is no order of progression. These types are durable, yet dynamic. They may remain for many years, even a lifetime. However, they may respond to internal and external influencing factors, and a type may change to another type over time. To note, the term

“bi-ethnic” should not be equated with “integrated.” The term bi-ethnic as in bi-ethnic identity types refers to the person who is bi-ethnic. Therefore, a bi-ethnic identity type can be, for example, a majority identity, because the purpose of the identity types is to capture how bi-ethnic individuals think about their ethnic backgrounds and identify themselves. If a bi-ethnic individual identifies herself as Caucasian, she is still a bi-ethnic individual, she just has a majority identity. This point is important particularly since there can often be discrepancies between how bi-ethnic individuals define themselves and how they are defined by others.

The *majority identity* type described participants who mainly thought of themselves as White or Caucasian, a part of the majority of the United States. These individuals did not deny their Asian heritage, but they did not identify with being Asian and it did not play a major role in their overall identity. In general, participants with a majority identity tended not to reflect much on their ethnic heritage, were raised in environments that were majority European American, and had parents that did not stress enculturation or teach Asian language.

The *minority identity* type depicted participants who identified themselves as Asian or as the specific Asian group of their parent’s heritage. These participants felt affiliated with their Asian side, but did not deny their European American heritage. In general, minority identified participants grew up in very diverse areas, often areas where minorities were the majority. Also, participants with a minority identity typically had diverse peer groups, parents and extended family who transmitted Asian culture, and some language knowledge.

The *dual identity* type classified participants who emphasized having Asian and European American heritage, rather than only emphasizing one part of their heritage. Participants with a dual identity type were comfortable belonging to both Asian and European American reference groups. However, they did not assign themselves to a new reference group of bi-ethnic people, like participants with an integrated identity. Overall, participants with a dual identity developed that type after a period of another identity type such as majority, minority, or unresolved. They talked about wanting others to recognize, as they currently did, that there were two parts of their heritage and not just one. These participants typically grew up in diverse schools and neighborhoods, engaged in parental and peer discussions about ethnic issues, and reflected on others' reactions to their heritage.

The *integrated identity* type described participants who felt they belonged to a new ethnic group, consisting of other bi-ethnic individuals. Participants with an integrated identity used a self-label that grouped them with either all bi-ethnics (e.g., biracial, mixed) or bi-ethnics of Asian and European descent (e.g., Eurasian, Amerasian). These participants claimed both sides of their heritage and integrated them into a single identity, forming a new reference group. In general, participants with an integrated identity type tended to engage in ethnic identity search, reflect on their bi-ethnic identity, have parental and peer discussions about ethnic issues, and either grow up in diverse environments or transition to more diverse environments (such as for college). This group is distinct from participants with a dual identity because of the identification with a new reference group of bi-ethnic individuals. Participants with integrated identities were more

likely to join bi-ethnic student groups on campus and have friends who were also bi-ethnic.

The *unresolved identity* type characterized participants who did not feel a sense of belonging to any ethnic group, or who were uncertain about the ethnic group to which they belonged. It is unknown how common a passing uncertain thought may be for a bi-ethnic person in a society that forces racial and ethnic labeling, particularly when determining how to fill out forms that ask for a box or boxes to be checked. However, the unresolved identity type encompassed more than a passing sense of confusion about how to identify ethnically; it characterized a period of life. Participants who had this type tended to be very reflective about their ethnic identity.

The bi-ethnic identity types are a unique contribution to the literature, in that to date this is the only study that has specified how bi-ethnic individuals of Asian and European descent define themselves. There have only been two similar publications, Root's (1990) theory about resolutions to biracial identity development and Rockquemore's (1998) study proposing categories of identity for Black/White biracial individuals. Root proposed four resolutions to biracial identity development (for individuals from any background), which have some interesting similarities yet important distinctions from the current study's bi-ethnic identity types. Her resolution *acceptance of the identity society assigns* could be several of the 5 types, but with the assumption that the external environment will play a heavy role in how individuals identify. The resolution *identification with both racial groups* is fairly similar to the dual identity type, as Root defines this as when individuals identify with both groups in their heritage. *Identification with a single racial group* could look either like majority identified or

minority identified, as Root chose to have a single category to represent both individuals who identify as European American and those who identify as Asian American. The delineation of types in the current study more accurately represents how individuals define themselves. The resolution *identification as a new racial group* appears similar to the integrated identity type, in that Root categorized this group as those who felt connected to other biracial individuals. However, there are some differences, in that Root asserted that these individuals sought out a new reference group because they struggled with feeling marginalized. This was not characteristic of the individuals with integrated identity types in the current study. If individuals described any thoughts of uncertainty or confusion about how to identify, they were classified as having an unresolved identity type. Overall, since Root did not specify how individuals defined themselves in these resolutions, more information would be needed from the individuals than merely their resolution type if one wanted to know how individuals identified ethnically.

Rockquemore (1998) examined the meaning of a biracial identity for Black/White undergraduates at a Midwestern university and found four categories of identity. Individuals with a *border identity* perceived their identity as existing between the Black and White racial groups; they did not consider themselves either race alone but incorporated both into a new category, biracial. This is somewhat similar to the integrated identity of the current study, except for the emphasis on feeling in-between, the struggle about this location, and dealing with oppression. Individuals with a *protean identity* defined themselves as either Black, White, or biracial depending on the particular social context because their experiences allowed them to shift their identity in various settings. The premise of this identity category is questionable. It is reasonable that bi-ethnic

individuals who are comfortable with being bi-ethnic and have exposure to both cultures from their background are able to fit in with both groups, but this does not mean that the individuals' very identity would change as they move through settings. Rather, I would propose a single stable identity (such as the integrated identity) that describes the individuals' comfort with their heritage instead of an identity that is constantly shifting. For individuals with a *transcendent identity*, racial identity did not play a role in their overall identity and they rejected racial categorization as defining them personally. Rockquemore stated that this identity category was only available to individuals whose external appearance could be perceived as White, but this claim was not tested empirically. Individuals with a *traditional identity* defined themselves as Black, without denying their White parent (or vice versa). This category is similar to the majority and minority identity types of the current study, but without the degree of specificity for the individual. It seems clear that future research is needed to study different bi-ethnic groups and determine whether the same bi-ethnic identity types are reflective of the lived experiences of members of all groups, or if different types are needed to reflect differing experiences in this society.

Data analysis indicated theoretical saturation with respect to bi-ethnic identity types for individuals of Asian and European descent. Searches through the data did not reveal new types beyond the five that emerged. The only other possible type suggested from previous literature might be a type in which individuals prefer to define themselves as human or choose not to be classified as any ethnicity, similar to Rockquemore's transcendent identity. However, it could be argued that this category exists only theoretically. There is no doubt a subgroup of bi-ethnic individuals who would speak out

against the emphasis placed on ethnicity by society and argue that they would prefer to be defined by personal characteristics rather than their ethnic background. As an example, majority identified participant Megan who stated “I just, you know, wanna be me” would be coded as having a transcendent identity if she had been in Rockquemore’s study. But Megan also talked throughout her interview about having positive feelings about being Caucasian, being more comfortable in groups of Caucasians than Koreans due to lack of language knowledge and peer exclusion, and feeling more connected with Caucasian culture than Korean culture due to differing extended family contact. Her ethnicity was not central to her overall identity, an attitude which is typical for European Americans. It would seem that despite a desire for society to look past ethnicity, individuals would still have a bi-ethnic identity (for example, a majority identity). Whether there are individuals who truly have no racial/ethnic identity, as Rockquemore suggests, is an area that needs future study.

It may have been surprising to readers that some bi-ethnic identity types were more or less prevalent than others; for example, it might have been expected that the minority identity type would have been more prevalent than it was, or that the majority identity type would have been slightly less prevalent. However, the distribution of the types for this sample should be interpreted with an understanding of the importance of the geographic location. This sample was from the mid-Atlantic region, which was viewed as a strength of the study given that few studies on bi-ethnic identity development have sampled from this region. However, if future research was conducted on these bi-ethnic identity types in, for example, the Pacific Northwest, it is anticipated that the distribution of the types would be different. Brunsma (2006) explored regional differences in

identification choices of Black/White biracial individuals, using samples from universities in the South, Midwest, and Northeast. He found regional differences, such as in his sample no biracial individuals from the Northeast identified as Black ($n = 30$) and none from the South identified as White ($n = 41$). To caution, these results were not meant to be generalized to all biracial individuals in these regions. Rather, Brunnsma pointed out that there is regional variation in how individuals define themselves and how they present themselves to others, and researchers should be aware of this. In the current study, readers are encouraged to view the count of participants' identity types as contextually rooted, and not appropriate for generalization to bi-ethnic individuals in all geographic locations.

As discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, all models of bi-ethnic identity development, except Root's (1998) ecological model, end with a stage or phase where there is integration and acceptance of both parts of the individual's heritage (J.F. Collins, 2000; Jacobs, 1992; Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995; Kich, 1992; Poston, 1990). As a reminder, these models were developed for use with individuals of various heritages, both specific (Black/White, Asian/White) and individuals of any bi-ethnic background. The integration or acceptance end stage is portrayed as the most desirable, positive identity an individual can attain, and often other stages are portrayed negatively, with individuals in those phases being in denial, struggle, or suppression. The current study does not propose that any one bi-ethnic identity type is the most desirable. Overall, the participants spoke positively about themselves and their bi-ethnic identities regardless of their identity type. Perhaps this was because this was a non-clinical sample, and previous literature has drawn from clinical samples or has relied on theoretical rather than empirical work.

Currently in the literature it is suggested that bi-ethnic individuals need to have an integrated identity in order to be healthy, well-adjusted individuals. From the current study, it appeared that it is not necessary to have an integrated identity to be a happy, functioning individual, but rather there are several possible identity types that could lead to that outcome. For example, participants with a majority identity reported as much high positive affect (pride) in their bi-ethnicity as did those with an integrated ethnicity. The exception would be the unresolved identity, in which participants experienced confusion about how to identify ethnically, but in this sample this was a past or waning identity type, meaning the participants worked through their uncertainty and emerged with a different identity type. The current study did not directly assess self-esteem or psychological well-being, but this would be a promising area for future research to address in relation to the bi-ethnic identity types.

In his dissertation, De Bruin (1998) argued that there was not a single process bi-ethnic individuals go through in developing a bi-ethnic identity, but rather there are several processes which can lead to healthy, well-adjusted individuals. This contradicts the published models of bi-ethnic identity development which proposed single paths, such as moving from pre-color constancy to post-color constancy to a biracial identity in Jacobs' (1992) model. Data from the current study also suggest that there are several types of bi-ethnic identity which have varying influences contributing to their development. Therefore, a developmental model in which the final stage or phase is integration, biracial identity, or interracial identity, may only be adequately describing the bi-ethnic identity development of some bi-ethnic individuals. Clearly, future research is

needed to examine the developmental paths of various bi-ethnic identity types, and the similarities and differences among those paths.

In general, researchers studying bi-ethnic identity development have proposed models in which movement through stages or phases is relatively unidirectional, though they may have stated that individuals could retreat or cycle through stages without providing further detail (e.g., Kich, 1992, J. F. Collins, 2000). The current study uncovered new information about the nature of change in bi-ethnic identity. When a new bi-ethnic identity type was developing and replacing a previous type, the individual was said to have a *waning identity* type, which was being replaced with an *emerging identity* type. Thus identity types can recede, as individuals develop new connections with another ethnic group or develop a different understanding of the meaning their heritage had for them. As they are transitioning, they will initially identify themselves as they have for years, yet they will start to define themselves in a way that will better fit with the new type of identity and internal and external influences that have created this need for change. It is theoretically possible for waning and emerging of identity types to occur throughout the lifespan; this is an issue that could be addressed in future research.

All of the models of bi-ethnic identity development (except Root's) were characterized by periods of negativity. In Poston's (1990) third stage, enmeshment/denial, individuals experienced guilt over denying part of their heritage or confusion over a lack of acceptance from the ethnic groups of their heritage. Jacobs (1992) stated that in the post-color constancy stage (second stage), children often rejected one part of their heritage. In Kich's (1992) second stage, struggle for acceptance, individuals do not accept themselves or value their bi-ethnic heritage. In J. F. Collins'

(2000) first phase, questioning and confusion, individuals perceive differentness and a lack of acceptance from others. In his second phase, refusal and suppression, individuals deny one part of their heritage. In Kerwin and Ponterotto's (1995) model, their adolescence stage is characterized by pressure to choose one group over another.

According to these models, which are largely based in the clinical literature, bi-ethnic individuals are being portrayed as necessarily having to progress through developmental phases of denial, suppression, struggle, and confusion. It is unclear whether a universal, negative life phase is needed to accurately describe the developmental process for all bi-ethnic individuals. It may be the case that bi-ethnic individuals in this society have to contemplate their ethnic background more than monoethnic individuals. In the current study, very few in this sample were classified as having an unresolved identity type at some point in their lives. Most of the participants did not report experiencing a life period characterized by overwhelming confusion related to their ethnic background. Additionally, participants in this study generally did not reject either part of their heritage, even those who were minority or majority identified. The participants recognized both parts of their heritage, but chose to define themselves as part of one ethnic group for a variety of reasons.

There are several possible reasons for this pattern of findings, which most likely worked in combination. This sample was non-clinical, which would offer different results than studies of individuals who pursued therapy due to confusion over identity issues. Additionally, this study only sampled individuals of Asian and European descent. Individuals with different backgrounds may have different experiences, and it may be the case that some groups of bi-ethnic people experience more struggle and confusion than

others, which warrants further study. It is important to note, though, that past studies of Asian/European bi-ethnics included phases of struggle for acceptance (Kich, 1992), questioning and confusion, and refusal and suppression (J. F. Collins, 2000). Both of those studies included a wide age range, 17-60 (Kich) and 20-40 (Collins) so it may be possible people who were born when anti-miscegenation laws were still in effect had different experiences than those in the next generation. All participants in this study were born after 1967 when the last laws against interracial marriage were repealed in the U.S., thus the average age (21.40) of participants in this study differs from those in the aforementioned studies. Given the complex and evolving nature of race relations in the United States, it seems important for researchers to be mindful of the ages of study's participants.

Facets of bi-ethnic identity. Four facets of bi-ethnic identity emerged from responses to the interview questions: centrality, self-label, affirmation, and affect. These facets indicate a level of connection to one's bi-ethnic identity, the importance one's ethnic background has for oneself, and how one feels about one's heritage.

The facet *centrality* elucidated the importance of ethnicity to participants' overall, general identity. Researchers have studied other components of one's general identity such as religious identity (i.e., Yip, Kiang, & Fuligni, 2008) that can be important to how one defines oneself. This facet captured how much of a role ethnic identity played in participants' overall identity. Participants with high centrality discussed how their ethnicity influenced their actions, expectations, and decisions, and that it affected how they defined themselves. Participants with low centrality typically stated that they did not think about their ethnicity and did not perceive it as salient in their lives. Although there

are exceptions, most European Americans do not think of ethnicity as central or salient to their general identity (Phinney, 1996b; Waters, 1990). In this study, some participants with low centrality were majority identified and displayed a “color-blind” attitude consistent with many European Americans who grow up without contemplating their ethnic background. There was a slight tendency for high centrality to be more characteristic of participants with an integrated identity and low centrality to be found in participants with a majority identity, but this needs further study.

The *self-label* facet denotes whether or not participants have labels they use to describe their bi-ethnicity. These labels were not merely their parents’ ethnic group labels. Use of a bi-ethnic self-label was required for coding in the integrated identity type, as this type affirmed group membership with other bi-ethnic individuals and involved self-identification as bi-ethnic. Participants who were coded with an integrated identity type were the main subgroup who used these self-labels. Use of a self-label indicated ownership of bi-ethnicity and a sense of group membership with other bi-ethnics, whereas lack of a bi-ethnic self-label indicated a different identity type. Participants learned of self-labels in several ways, including from family members and friends, by internet searches, or by creating their own labels when none were readily available. Participants carefully chose self-labels that fit with how they defined themselves. For some, it was important that the self-label reflect their particular ethnic background, such as a term designed to describe individuals who are half-Japanese, half-White. Others were comfortable with more generic terms, such as biracial, that connected them to a larger reference group of bi-ethnic people with many different heritages. There has been a growing number of studies on how individuals report their race/ethnicity, particularly

since the change in the 2000 U.S. Census which allowed individuals to check more than one race (i.e., Renn, 2009). This is an important and rapidly changing field. However, few studies have explored the self-labels bi-ethnic individuals are choosing to describe their heritage. In a footnote, Renn noted that multiracial individuals may identify themselves as Blaxicans (Black/Mexican), Mexipinos (Mexican/Filipino), or Japoricans (Japanese/Puerto Rican), but this was not the focus of her article. Research has yet to catch up with bi-ethnic individuals' lives on this matter, as there is a dearth of literature on preferred self-labels.

The facet of *affirmation* denotes the extent to which participants expressed connection to or separation from minority and majority cultures, and a sense of belonging to minority, majority, and/or bi-ethnic groups. This facet was important because it showed the group membership or memberships the participant affirmed, as well as the one(s) they did not, which was very connected to how they identified. If participants experienced discomfort in groups of Asians and did not feel a sense of belonging to that Asian culture, yet felt more comfortable with European Americans, most likely they would be majority identified. Participants who felt a connection with both Asian and European American groups and could move fluidly between them were likely to be integrated or dual identified. This facet is similar in part to *affirmation, belonging, and commitment*, the affective component of ethnic identity as described by Phinney (2004). According to Phinney, affirmation, belonging, and commitment included positive feelings about ethnic group membership and a sense of belonging to one's ethnic group. Participants' answers to open-ended questions about affirmation validate it for the bi-ethnic population and added to our knowledge about a connection between sense of

belonging and identification. Note, however, that Phinney tied affect and affirmation together, whereas in this study these are viewed as two distinct indicators of bi-ethnic identity.

The facet *affect* enumerated participants' emotions related to ethnicity, which could be positive, neutral, or negative and directed toward the minority or majority ethnic group or bi-ethnic group. In this non-clinical sample, almost all of the feelings expressed were positive, particularly pride in bi-ethnic or Asian heritage, or appreciation for being different from European American peers. A few participants were ambivalent or neutral, and this was typically accompanied by low centrality, in which participants stated that their ethnic background was not of great importance and they did not think or feel much about it. When participants discussed times when negative feelings were evoked related to their heritage, it was usually when relaying experiences with discrimination. The affective component of bi-ethnic identity needs further research attention within developmental psychology. Verkuyten and de Wolf (2002) coded respondents' references to feelings, but in statements about a sense of self (e.g., I feel like I'm Chinese) rather than emotions about their ethnicity. In the social psychology literature, social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981) recognizes that affect is an important component of group membership, in that social identity is both knowledge of belonging to the group(s) and feelings about membership in the group(s). The current study's findings that most participants expressed pride and fondness for their bi-ethnicity provide an impetus for further research on individuals' feelings about being bi-ethnic in order to dispel stereotypes that their lives are riddled with conflict and tension (i.e., Shih & Sanchez, 2005).

To summarize, these facets provide indicators of how participants emotionally and cognitively relate to their bi-ethnicity and its component groups. While several of these facets have received attention in the literature previously, they have not been as richly described as in the current study. As these facets were not the main focus of the study, further research is needed to ascertain whether other facets exist or whether saturation has been reached with the facets that emerged from this study. It seems possible that there may be other indicators of how participants relate to their bi-ethnicity, or other markers of how they think and feel about the components of their ethnic background.

Perceived Familial Influences on Bi-ethnic Identity Development

The second main focus of this study was familial influences on bi-ethnic identity development, and a sizable portion of the interview questions were devoted to illuminating possible influences from parents and relatives. Based on participants' responses to interview questions, two familial categories emerged, parental and extended family, with nine subcategories. The seven subcategories of the parental category were: marital status, relations with parents, acculturation, enculturation by parents, language, given and family names, and parental discussion of ethnic issues. The two subcategories for the extended family category were extended family contact and enculturation by extended family.

The *marital status* subcategory documented the marital status of participants' parents, currently and while participants were growing up. This subcategory also included relationship dynamics between participants' parents that may have been influential on bi-ethnic identity development, such as acrimonious versus amicable

relations following a divorce. The majority of participants' parents in this sample were married, never divorced. However, this subcategory was mainly influential for participants of divorced parents, who discussed frequency of contact and quality of parental relationship which seemed to be of importance for bi-ethnic identity development. If an interethnic marriage dissolved and a bi-ethnic individual was raised in a single-ethnicity household, some participants identified with that ethnicity. However, this was not the case for all participants, as this identification would be influenced by other factors, such as frequency of contact with the parent of the other ethnicity, extended family contact, peer influence regarding ethnicity, and neighborhood ethnic composition factors.

The *relations with parents* subcategory described the extent to which participants' relationships with each parent may have influenced a connection to or separation from their ethnic background. In general, the relations with parents subcategory was influential on bi-ethnic identity development when participants perceived connections between the relationship quality and the parents' ethnicity. Kich (1992) stated that for bi-ethnic individuals with divorced parents, the relationship with the absent parent was particularly important, and a reconnection was necessary for self-acceptance. In the current study, there was some support for the notion that a participant can move through different identity types after developing a previously dormant connection with a part of her heritage. However, this reconciliation did not appear to be necessary for self-acceptance and an interracial identity (as Kich called it) when in combination with other influences. For example, an integrated identity could occur without a relationship with the Asian parent in combination with parental support of identity choices, interest in learning about

Asian culture, Asian friends who transmitted culture, and diverse schools and neighborhoods.

The *acculturation* subcategory referred to the Asian parents' level of acculturation to American culture, their generational status, their connection to their country of origin, and what language(s) they spoke. Many participants in this sample perceived their Asian parents as mainly acculturated to American society. For some, an acculturated parent meant a lack of enculturation efforts and language teaching, and could influence the development of a majority identity. However, other factors, such as enculturation by extended family, peer discussion of ethnic issues, and ethnic composition of schools and neighborhoods, could influence bi-ethnic identity development in different ways. It seems there may be a gap in the literature on the acculturation of immigrants in interethnic marriages. Literature on acculturation informs us that in general first generation immigrants are slower to acculturate than their children, and that children's socialization is strongly influenced by parents' goals for maintaining their culture (Parke & Buriel, 1998). In the current study, the majority of participants had a first generation Asian parent. Most of these Asian parents were perceived as fairly acculturated, and not all made enculturation a priority. It would be interesting to study acculturation levels of individuals in interethnic versus monoethnic marriages and to explore their socialization goals.

The *enculturation by parents* subcategory described the extent to which participants perceived that their parents transmitted Asian culture, including traditions, history, food, values, and other aspects of culture. Enculturation by parents was a subcategory that had a very high frequency of mention by participants. Additionally,

when asked to name the biggest influence on their bi-ethnic identity development, most participants cited parents, along with peers. While the influence of parents is enormous, many participants discussed meaning the enculturation related to parental teaching of cultural values, food and cooking, traditions and holidays, culture, history, art, and family history. The transmission of Asian culture by parents usually helped participants connect to their Asian heritage as they had insider cultural knowledge. A lack of enculturation typically led to less connection to their Asian heritage, unless participants received enculturation from non-parental sources, such as extended family or peers. Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004) found that familial ethnic socialization (e.g., teaching about ethnic background, participating in cultural activities, decorating home to reflect ethnic background) positively influenced ethnic identity achievement (meaning they had explored and were committed to their ethnic group), as measured by the MEIM for Mexican American adolescents. In a study of Asian/White biracial individuals, Khanna (2004) used logistic regression to show a strong positive relationship between Asian cultural exposure (e.g., family participation in Asian holidays, hearing Asian music growing up, eating Asian food) and identifying as Asian rather than White. To be noted, the participants were forced to identify either as Asian or as White, without other options such as biracial, which is seen as a methodological limitation. Both of these studies show a link between enculturation by parents and ethnic or bi-ethnic identity development. Given the importance of this subcategory to participants in the current study, it certainly warrants future research, especially as it seems to be a key influence in building a connection to one's ethnic background.

The subcategory *language* referred to whether or not parents taught their children the language of their respective Asian country. Language was a subcategory that was often perceived as important to bi-ethnic identity development by the participants. Knowledge of the language of the Asian parent influenced feelings of connection to Asian heritage and to other Asians, and helped lead to feelings of group membership with Asians. A lack of language knowledge, for some participants, could be a barrier to identifying with their Asian heritage, and it could lead to feelings of separation from Asians and a lack of a sense of group membership. Without knowing the Asian language, participants sometimes stated that they felt they did not belong or could not fit in with groups of Asians, and they experienced discomfort in such groups. Some participants also expressed regret or resentment that their parents did not teach them the Asian language. Participants who did not know their Asian language were most likely to be majority identified, although there are obviously many factors that influence bi-ethnic identity development in combination. The findings of this study about the importance of language are similar to those of Phinney, Romero, Nava, and Huang (2001), who used path analysis to show that language proficiency influenced ethnic identity in adolescents from immigrant backgrounds. While studies like these linking language and ethnic identity are important, further research is necessary on its relation to bi-ethnic identity.

Given and family names was a subcategory devoted to separation from or connection to one's ethnicity due to first or last names sounding either European or Asian. This subcategory was important for bi-ethnic identity development when participants' names either supported or were in discordance with how they thought about their ethnic background. Participants with majority identities who had Asian last names

sometimes struggled with the incongruity since the name did not match how they defined themselves. Participants with integrated identities expressed appreciation for the juxtaposition of Asian and European names their parents had given them, so that their bi-ethnic heritage would be more evident to others. This subcategory is an important addition to the literature because it had been theorized but not previously tested. When Root (1998) proposed her ecological model of racial identity development, she introduced the idea of names as a possible influence on mixed-race individuals' identities. The current study provides support that given and family names can be influential on bi-ethnic identity development.

The subcategory *parental discussion of ethnic issues* covered the extent to which parents discussed their children's bi-ethnicity, their ethnic classification, or other relevant ethnic issues that may have been influential on bi-ethnic identity development. This subcategory was influential for bi-ethnic identity development when parental discussions about children's ethnicities led to a different understanding of their background. For example, when having to check boxes for racial background on forms, if a parent suggests an ethnic label that the participant had not previously associated with herself, this may influence how the participant thinks about her background. Not surprisingly, quite a few participants reported that their parents did not discuss ethnic issues with them. Shih and Sanchez (2005) asserted that parents in interracial marriages often downplay the importance of race; these parents may not think racial/ethnic issues are worth discussing. Kich (1992), who studied Japanese/White individuals, suggested that if parents can discuss race with their biracial children, that would be an important influence on the development of a biracial sense of self. Data from the current study extends this. Some

parents allowed their children freedom to explore their heritage and fostered their developing identities through discussions about their bi-ethnicity; these discussions could expand or shift participants' ideas about their background in important ways. In other cases, parents did not discuss participants' backgrounds with them, and participants' identity growth occurred more from self-reflection or peer discussion.

The subcategory *extended family contact* included the frequency and quality of contact with both extended families. Information about the presence of interethnic marriages in the extended families was also obtained, as participants with such families tended to talk about the comfort they felt when they were with their bi-ethnic relatives. Disparities in the frequency of contact between paternal and maternal extended families could influence connection to or separation from part of one's heritage. Kich (1992) proposed that an interracial identity is strengthened by contact throughout the years with both sides of the extended family. Data from the current study suggest that extended family contact is not necessary for the formation of an integrated identity (or any other type), but when contact occurs it is typically influential on the development of a connection with that part of one's heritage. This is likely due to enculturation efforts by extended family members (see below), as well as increased comfort with members of that ethnic group and an associated sense of belonging to that ethnic group.

The *enculturation by extended family* subcategory referred to the transmission of culture by extended family members to the participant, including traditions, history, food, and values. Grandparents, aunts, and uncles could expose participants to Asian culture, helping them connect with their heritage when growing up. This category had a high frequency of mention by participants. Participants who discussed this influence often

talked about extended family members teaching them how to cook Asian food or about traditions associated with their Asian culture, and this enhanced their connection to their Asian background. Some participants perceived transmission of culture to be more important to their grandparents than to their parents in cases where grandparents had not made efforts to enculturate parents, but now wanted to pass on the culture to the grandchildren. If parents were very acculturated or did not prioritize transmitting culture to their children, extended family members could have been a main source of enculturation. In cases where there was high enculturation by extended family members, participants were most likely to have an integrated identity, followed by a dual or minority identity. It is reasonable given the connection fostered by their relatives that these individuals would develop identities that incorporated their Asian background.

To summarize, the most important influences based on participant report and frequency of mention were enculturation by parents, language, enculturation by extended family, self-reflection based on others' reactions, peer discussion of ethnic issues, and ethnic composition of schools and neighborhoods. These influences worked in combination with other influences within individuals in unique ways to contribute to bi-ethnic identity development.

Other Perceived Influences on Bi-ethnic Identity Development

This section concerns non-familial influences on bi-ethnic identity development that were perceived as salient by young adults of Asian and European descent. The non-familial categories that were coded from the interview data were personal, peer, environmental, and discrimination. Nine subcategories were created from these categories. As the focus of this study was on familial influences, several of these

influences did not have designated interview questions that were systematically asked of all participants, but rather they emerged when certain participants spoke of their bi-ethnicity and its influences. Thus, many of these influences warrant further research.

The subcategory *ethnic identity search* captured participants' interest in learning about their Asian heritage (e.g., culture, history, language, traditions, food) and efforts made to obtain cultural knowledge. The most common ways participants obtained cultural knowledge was by questioning parents or extended family members about their heritage, reading books about language or culture, taking classes relating to language, politics, or culture of their Asian country, or joining Asian or bi-ethnic student associations or cultural clubs. Research on the internet was also helpful, particularly for aiding participants in the development of a connection to their bi-ethnicity and other bi-ethnic individuals, as online communities could widen this reference group. This subcategory is similar to the concept *ethnic identity search* as described by Phinney (2004), the cognitive component of one's ethnic identity. Phinney defines ethnic identity search as learning about one's background, reflecting on one's ethnic identity, and participating in practices or organizations unique to one's ethnic group. Participants' answers to open-ended questions about this concept validate it for the bi-ethnic population and extended our knowledge about the ways in which participants influence their own identities by seeking out cultural knowledge. Future research is needed on the motivational aspect of this subcategory. It is not always clear why some participants initiate ethnic identity search while others are uninterested in exploring their ethnic heritage.

The subcategory *self-reflection based on others' reactions* included reflection about others' questions, perceptions, or categorizations related to one's ethnicity, that was influential on bi-ethnic identity development. Self-reflection based on others' reactions was a subcategory that had a high frequency of mention, indicating both that other people frequently brought up their ethnic background and also that many participants' identity development was influenced by their reflections on these incidents. When participants reflected on other people's categorizations, questions, and misconceptions about their ethnic background, it sometimes challenged their existing self-conceptions about how they thought about their heritage. Reflecting on how others viewed their ethnicity could influence how participants identified themselves. Cooley's (1902) *looking glass self* metaphor is relevant to this subcategory, as some participants seemed to use a social mirror of significant others whose opinions were incorporated into a sense of self. However, not all participants who reflected on these opinions incorporated them without question; some analyzed how others saw them and developed a different understanding of their identity.

The subcategory *phenotype* concerned the extent to which bi-ethnic identity is influenced by participants' external physical appearance, including phenotypic characteristics perceived by participants or others as either Asian or European. For some, phenotypic ambiguity allowed fluidity between ethnic groups and acceptance by Asian and European American peers. For others, external appearance limited membership with certain peer groups and contributed to confusion over how to identify ethnically. Of interest, it may have been expected that phenotype would be a major influencing factor in bi-ethnic identity development since it is so apparent both to self and others. However, it

was mentioned relatively infrequently compared to many of the other subcategories; thus it seems that for many participants, their external appearance was not a factor that overly influenced how they defined themselves ethnically. Further research into phenotype and bi-ethnic identity development could yield interesting results. In particular, research with individuals of Asian and European descent is needed. The limited literature on phenotype and bi-ethnic identity mainly utilizes sampling of individuals of African and European descent. Brunnsma and Rockquemore (2001) found a strong relationship between appearance and racial identification in a sample of Black/White biracial individuals. There was a strong association between how respondents believed others' categorized them based on their external appearance and how the respondents identified themselves racially. It is possible that phenotype is of differing importance for bi-ethnic groups of different heritages. It is also possible that within bi-ethnic groups, phenotype may or may not be an important influence on an individual level. Further research is needed.

The subcategory *ethnic composition of peer groups* described the ethnic backgrounds of participants' peers, both currently and as they were growing up, and how this may have influenced participants' bi-ethnic identity development. It was particularly influential when participants knew other bi-ethnic individuals, as that typically led to a greater identification with other bi-ethnics. Participants who did not have any Asian or bi-ethnic friends tended to be majority identified and described discomfort interacting with Asians; most of these participants grew up in areas that were majority European American and lacked enculturation by parents. The ethnic composition of peer groups often helped determine participants' level of connection to their Asian heritage or their European American heritage. Phinney, Romero, Nava, and Huang (2001) found that

social interaction with same-ethnic peers influenced ethnic identity in adolescents from immigrant backgrounds, and that the effect of peers was greater than ethnic language proficiency. These results are important, especially since peers were reported to be very influential (see below), but studies specific to bi-ethnic individuals are needed as it is more complex when one has multiple peer groups to traverse.

The subcategory *peer discussion of ethnic issues* encompassed peer discussion of issues relevant to the participants' bi-ethnic identity development, participants' ethnic heritage or ethnic identity choices, and transmission of Asian culture by peers. Peer discussion of ethnic issues was cited by participants as the biggest influencing factor on bi-ethnic identity development, along with parents. Peers were said to be the most influential because they are the ones who question ethnicity the most, particularly at the transition to college when common initial questions include "what are you?" and "where are you from?" In the words of Marie, peers "make it more noticeable to me than anybody else." Peers can provide support for, reinforce, or challenge a bi-ethnic person's ethnic identity choices. Peers can also provide self-labels which participants may lack. Peers can be a source for transmitting culture, which can be particularly important if parents or extended family members are unavailable or uninterested in passing down Asian culture.

The subcategory *ethnic composition of schools and neighborhoods* probed the ethnic composition of current and past schools attended and neighborhoods lived in. Ethnic composition of schools and neighborhoods was one of the most important subcategories in bi-ethnic identity development, with a high frequency of mention by the participants. The areas in which participants were raised could influence how they

identified, due to populations, diversity, attitudes, tolerance levels, and treatment of participants by others. This was clearly connected to the peer categories above as well; participants had greater opportunity to make Asian and bi-ethnic friends if their schools and neighborhoods were diverse. Additionally, transitions between environments were often important, and could influence movements through bi-ethnic identity types. For example, if a participant grew up in a neighborhood that was majority European American, they may have had a majority identity, but following the transition to a more diverse college, they may have developed a dual or integrated identity. These identity types would not have been influenced solely by this one factor, of course; peer, parental, and personal factors would also have influenced the development of the individual's bi-ethnic identity type. Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004) used structural equation modeling to show that ethnic identity was influenced by familial ethnic socialization, ethnic composition of schools, and familial generational status in Mexican American adolescents. These influences are similar to enculturation by parents and extended family, ethnic composition of schools and neighborhoods, and acculturation, all of which were influential in the current study. There have been few studies examining environmental factors that influence the development of ethnic identity, much less bi-ethnic identity. More research is needed on the ethnic composition of schools and neighborhoods factor, which was one of the most important influences that emerged from this study.

The *living internationally* subcategory covered whether participants had lived in the Asian parents' country of origin, extent of time living there, age when they lived there, and feelings of connection to or separation from the Asian culture due to experiences while living there. The majority of participants in this sample had not lived

internationally. For those who did, it was an important influence on their bi-ethnic identity development that could make them feel connected to or separated from their Asian heritage, depending on a number of factors. These factors included whether they knew the Asian language, how they were treated by others in that country, their age and developmental period, and how they compared their experiences in that country with the U.S. Yeh and Huang (1996) found that “travel to Asia or living abroad” was a factor in ethnic identity development in their sample of Asian Americans. Khanna (2004) reported that Asian/White individuals who had lived in the Asian parents’ country of origin were much less likely to identify as Asian than as White. However, she only allowed them to pick between those two ethnic group options, Asian or White (without a bi-ethnic option), which is viewed as a methodological flaw that may have impacted the findings. This subcategory needs further exploration as a potential influence on bi-ethnic identity development, so these are important initial findings.

The subcategory *discrimination by minority group* referred to participants’ experiences with exclusion, prejudice, and discrimination from Asians that influenced their bi-ethnic identity development. Participants reported exclusion from Asian groups, or discrimination because they were bi-ethnic. Experiences of the type covered in this subcategory could have led to discomfort around groups of Asian peers, or a disconnect from their Asian heritage, which was typically associated with the majority identity type. Discrimination has received much attention in the field of psychology. However, there is a dearth of literature on discrimination as a possible influence on bi-ethnic identity development, particularly for individuals of Asian and European descent. Miville, Constantine, Baysden, and So-Lloyd (2005) found that *encounters with racism* was

related to racial identity development for multiracial individuals of various backgrounds. The current study adds to this by specifying that two different types of discrimination were reported, from minority and majority group members.

The subcategory *discrimination by majority group* concerned stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination by European Americans that influenced bi-ethnic identity development. Whereas the discrimination by minority group subcategory frequently involved exclusion, this subcategory mostly contained reports of racial slurs and derogatory remarks linked to participants' Asian heritage. These were particularly confusing and upsetting for participants who were majority identified, as they viewed themselves as belonging to the majority group along with the European Americans who were discriminating against them for being different. This type of discrimination could influence bi-ethnic identity development when it led to increased identification with minority and/or bi-ethnic groups. The reports of discrimination warrant further study. Fisher, Wallace, and Fenton (2000) studied racial discrimination in ethnically diverse high school students, and found that discrimination by peers was reported most frequently by Asian youth. This included being called insulting racial names, being excluded from activities with peers because of race, being threatened due to race, and others assuming their English was poor due to their race. These are extremely troubling findings. Further research is needed to examine discrimination against bi-ethnic individuals. Bi-ethnic Asians may be particularly at risk, as they may be excluded from Asian and/or European American groups, in addition to being targeted for discrimination by their peers because of their Asian heritage.

In summary, the particular familial and non-familial influences worked in combination to greater or lesser degrees depending on the individual and the identity type. It is difficult to know for certain whether saturation was reached with the subcategories in either of these sets of influences, as other influencing factors may exist that were not supported in the current study (e.g., enculturation by peers). It seems plausible that saturation was reached with the overall categories (e.g., parental, personal, peer).

Relations among Types, Facets, and Influences

The three research questions can be tied together in interesting ways with an exploration of interactions among the types, facets, and influences on bi-ethnic identity development. A question that has no doubt come into readers' minds involves how people end up with the identity type they have, which is a fascinating and important question. The purpose of this initial study was to identify the types and influences, which does not provide a definitive answer. Subsequent studies could attempt to explore the interrelations among types and influences more directly, either through a different set of interview questions directed specifically at the interrelations, or through quantitative investigations of types, facets, influences, and their interrelations. Such work would require the development of surveys based on interview responses about the types, facets, and influences. While future research is necessary, interactions among the types, facets, and influences on bi-ethnic identity development gleaned from individuals' responses in the present study can be discussed, being mindful that these observations are speculative.

When discussing overall patterns in the data, it is critical that the complexities of individual differences are not overlooked or disregarded. The development of a bi-ethnic

identity type depended on the unique set of familial, personal, peer, and environmental influences present (and absent) in each individual. Thus, there is variability across individuals in the way the influences work together to form identity types. There are patterns that can be explored, with the caveat that these trends will not hold for every single bi-ethnic person. As a reminder, there is not a simple causal relationship between one influence and one identity type. Additionally, different sets of influences can result in the same identity type (i.e., there are different paths to developing an integrated identity).

In general, participants developed an integrated identity when a certain pattern of influences and facets came together. These individuals grew up in schools and neighborhoods with other bi-ethnic people and/or high Asian and European American populations. They had high positive affect for being bi-ethnic and high centrality, meaning their ethnicity was an important part of their identity. They also had high self-reflection about others' reactions. They grew up with a lot of contact with both sides of their extended family, or with just their Asian extended family, but rarely just the European American side. They also received a lot of enculturation from their Asian extended family. People with an integrated identity had the highest peer discussion of ethnic issues, but this was high for all identity types. They also had high parental discussion of ethnic issues. Some had high enculturation by parents, but some did not; similarly, some knew the Asian language and some did not. Those whose parents did not transmit culture found cultural connection through their relatives, peers, and own ethnic identity search.

Participants with a majority identity grew up in schools and neighborhoods that were mainly populated by European Americans, or when there were opportunities to

experience Asian culture their parents did not take advantage of the opportunities to immerse them in that community. Their parents rarely prioritized enculturation or teaching the Asian language, and they did not discuss ethnic issues with their children. They typically had low contact with their Asian extended family, and more with their European American side. They affirmed majority group membership and disaffirmed minority group membership, with a tendency to express discomfort at being in groups of Asians and a feeling of not belonging with Asians. Relative to the other identity types, they did not spend as much time reflecting on their ethnicity. Participants with all identity types displayed high positive affect for their heritage, they just differed on the centrality; people with a majority identity usually had low centrality and did not think their ethnicity was important.

Participants who had a dual identity often, but not always, started in a different identity type. Participants could have a dual identity if they were raised in an environment that was majority European American then transitioned to a more diverse environment, such as for college. Dual identified participants tended to be people who valued one part of their heritage first, then connected to the other part of their heritage while maintaining the initial connection. This identity type included the greatest amount of participants with waning and emerging identities or past and current identities, so participants with a dual identity in general were people who had experienced a change in their identity type over time. Dual identified participants were high on self-reflection based on others' reactions, which is reasonable because individuals with waning and emerging identities were the highest on self-reflection. Participants with a dual identity

had high enculturation by parents and extended family. They affirmed membership in both ethnic groups. They also had high positive affect for their heritage.

Participants with a minority identity typically grew up in very diverse neighborhoods and attended schools where minority groups were in the majority. In these environments, being a minority was valued by their peers, and claiming a minority identity meant they fit in better. They affirmed Asian group membership, and may have disaffirmed European American group membership. They had high peer discussion of ethnic issues and typically had a diverse peer group. They also often had high enculturation by parents and extended family members, which helped increase their connection to their Asian background.

Participants who had an unresolved identity at some point in their lives had high centrality and considered their ethnic background important to their identity. They had high self-reflection on others' reactions to their ethnicity. They had low affirmation and could not figure out where they belonged. In general they were not taught the Asian language and this was seen as a barrier to group membership. Their parents did not discuss ethnic issues with them. In sum, they thought a lot about their heritage, thought it was important, but were not taught much about it and did not feel a sense of belonging to the groups of their background.

These patterns are an initial step for the literature, particularly for the minority and unresolved identity types which were not as prevalent in the current study. Further study is required so that we may understand which facets are displayed and which influences are most important when each of the identity types is formed. Specific directions for future research are discussed in the next section.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The current study extends the bi-ethnic identity literature in new ways, but there are limitations to be considered and further research that needs to be conducted. This study only examined individuals of Asian and European ancestry. It is unknown whether the results would be similar with other groups of bi-ethnic individuals. Future studies need to be conducted with different groups of bi-ethnic individuals to ascertain whether these identity types, facets, and influences are applicable to other groups. In particular, individuals with two minority parents may have different experiences than those with one minority and one majority parent. We currently lack research on whether individuals with minority/minority heritage (e.g., African and Asian ancestry) versus individuals with minority/majority heritage (e.g., African and European ancestry) have different experiences with developmental influences such as discrimination, societal expectations, and peer acceptance. This is an area that is in need of future study. Additionally, there may also be important differences among groups of bi-ethnic individuals. For example, individuals with one African American parent may differ than those in the current study for societal reasons, and certain influences such as phenotype and discrimination may be more important to identity development than they were to individuals of Asian and European descent. At this time, the literature lacks sufficient evidence to make comparisons among different groups of bi-ethnic individuals. Future research would need to assess individuals from many bi-ethnic groups in order to ascertain similarities and differences in developmental processes and influences among the groups.

There are other factors that limit the transferability of these findings and should be taken into consideration. The socioeconomic status of these participants was not

directly assessed, but all participants were undergraduate and graduate students at a public university. The lack of diversity of economic background is a limitation, and future research is needed to ascertain if there are differing developmental processes or influences when life circumstances are different. These participants were also well-educated, so it is unknown if the types, facets, and influences would differ for bi-ethnic individuals of Asian and European descent who, for example, did not attend university.

Another limitation to the transferability of findings is the age of the study's participants. The age and life phase of the participants is an important factor that has not received prior research attention. When considering influences on identity development from an ecological perspective, the macrolenses of the sociocultural and political climate, as well as historical events and changing race relations, must be taken into account. These may indirectly or directly impact individuals' bi-ethnic identity development. Given the complexity of race relations in the United States, when studying issues involving race/ethnicity, it seems important for researchers to be mindful of the ages of study's participants. It would be interesting to conduct a comparative study of different age groups of bi-ethnic individuals to examine whether types and influences are comparable or dissimilar for individuals from different generations. As the participants in the current study were young adults, it is unknown whether the results can be transferred to populations of different age brackets.

The sampling techniques employed in this study did not result in random sampling, which is a limitation. Additionally, this sample was self-selected, and it is possible that there may be some differences between bi-ethnic individuals who respond to advertisements for a study involving bi-ethnic people than those who do not. It is possible

people who were willing to participate may have been more self-reflective and interested in thinking about their heritage than those who were uninterested in participating in such a study. Also, the study may have attracted those who were proud of their background more than those who were conflicted or neutral. Thus, it is unknown whether there is a positive bias in this non-clinical sample which may not be representative of all bi-ethnic individuals.

As previously mentioned, the location of the study is seen as both a strength and a limitation of the research. This study was conducted in a mid-Atlantic state, making it unique among the research on bi-ethnic individuals as most studies have been conducted in the Western United States. However, the geographic location may also limit the transferability of the findings. Environmental differences in ethnic composition of schools and neighborhoods, tolerance of interethnic marriages and bi-ethnic children, and regional relations among racial/ethnic groups may all impact individuals' bi-ethnic identity development.

Future research is needed to explore possible gender effects and interactions. This was not a goal of the current study. Data indicated that participants' identification choices seemed to be influenced more by enculturation efforts by parents rather than mere gender, in addition to myriad other influences such as ethnic composition of neighborhoods and peer groups, extended family contact, and knowledge of language. In this sample, it was not necessarily the case that, for example, if the mother was Asian, the participant was minority identified, or the participant identified with the ethnicity of their same-gendered parent. Future research could involve interviews with parents and children to elucidate parents' experiences, values, and efforts in raising bi-ethnic

children, which would provide valuable information to supplement data from participants. Additionally, interviewing the parents could obtain more in-depth information about parents' acculturation level and desire to transmit culture. In this study all the participants were born in the U.S., but the generational status of their Asian parents was varied. Further study could more directly explore the impact of parents' generation status and acculturation level on their children's bi-ethnic identity development.

Future study is needed to examine how each of the bi-ethnic identity types relates to psychological outcomes such as self-esteem, well-being, and perhaps academic achievement. Currently in the literature it is suggested that bi-ethnic individuals need to have an integrated identity in order to be happy, well-adjusted individuals (J.F. Collins, 2000; Jacobs, 1992; Kerwin & Ponterotto, 1995; Kich, 1992; Poston, 1990). This claim needs to be empirically tested with bi-ethnic identity types that reflect how bi-ethnic individuals define themselves. It would no doubt be important to include facets such as centrality, affirmation, and affect in this type of study, in that these facets might mediate a relationship between an identity type and a psychological outcome.

Further research is also needed to determine if there are other types, facets or influences on bi-ethnic identity development. In this study, there was initial evidence of a few more influences on bi-ethnic identity development (i.e., enculturation by peers, ownership of ethnicity) but they would require more data to be established clearly as influences. In particular, this study focused on familial influences on bi-ethnic identity development. More parental influences were found than any of the other categories of influences, but this was merely because a larger portion of the interview questions were

devoted to that topic. It cannot be definitively stated from this study whether, for example, parents are more influential than peers or environment on bi-ethnic identity development. Further study is required to probe these and other influences in greater detail.

In addition, an interesting future study would be to differentiate between participants' self-label and self-identification (identity type). Self-labels can be more fluid because these are how people define themselves to others, whereas self-identifications are how one identifies oneself (Coleman, 2000). Thus a self-label may be influenced by knowledge of how others view oneself, whether one wants to take the time to explain one's heritage, or a limitation of options if filling out forms. However, a self-identification will be truer and more stable. Researchers who are trying to obtain information about self-identification from their participants need an awareness of this, and research on easily obtaining information about identity types from individuals would be useful and widely applicable.

An important area for future research is within-person variability and the impact of situational context on bi-ethnic identity. There is a dearth of literature on whether there is variation in bi-ethnic identity depending on context, but this warrants research. There may be situations when bi-ethnicity is more salient; for example, one's Asian heritage may be more salient when in an Asian grocery store. There are methods that are ideally suited for capturing situational variance. Yip and Fuligni (2002) conducted a study on daily variation of ethnic identity salience on Chinese American adolescents using a daily diary method. A similar method could be employed with bi-ethnic individuals to study contextual variance in bi-ethnic identity, using either daily diaries or a method employing

paggers, in which participants would be paged throughout the day and asked to record the degree of ethnic salience at that moment for each group in their background.

Research in the field of bi-ethnic and multiethnic identity development is important given the changing population of the United States and other countries. The current study has extended the literature by describing five ways in which bi-ethnic individuals of Asian and European descent define themselves ethnically, with the bi-ethnic identity types. Additionally, this study identified four facets of bi-ethnic identity that indicate centrality, commitment, and affect, as well as 18 influences on bi-ethnic identity development that ranged from familial, personal, peer, and environmental. This study is important because of its use of a nonclinical sample, given the overreliance on clinical samples in bi-ethnic research of the past. In addition, bi-ethnic individuals of Asian and European descent have been neglected in the literature, thus this study is a step towards filling that gap.

Appendix A

Pre-Interview Questions

1. How would you describe your race or ethnicity?

2. What ethnic/racial group does your mother belong to? Your father?

3. Currently, are your parents married, divorced, separated, widowed? Was this different when you were a child?

4. Do you have any siblings? Please give sex and age. What is your birth order?

5. What language(s) were spoken in the home you grew up in?

Appendix B

Interview Protocol: Bi-Ethnic Identity & Familial Influences

This interview will focus on two issues: your identity and your family. I'm interested in finding out about your sense of yourself, of who you are. I'm particularly interested in how your family may have influenced how you think about yourself and your background.

Your openness and honesty will help make my research meaningful. However, it's possible some of these issues may be sensitive; if you are not comfortable discussing something, just let me know. You don't have to talk about anything that you don't want to.

I'm going to record these interviews so that I can listen to them later. I may also jot down some notes, just to help my memory. Do you have any questions before we get started?

1. We're going to be talking a lot about your race or ethnicity. What term do you best like to use?
2. Do you have any specific term that you like to use when referring to your own ethnicity/race? (i.e., biracial, Eurasian, Amerasian, mixed)
3. Let's talk about your identity, about who you are and how you think about yourself. How would you describe who you are? [*if needed:*] Tell me 5-10 things about you, which are most important to your identity.
4. [*if not mentioned*] Does ethnicity play a role in your identity, in how you think about yourself?
 - a. Do you think your ethnicity influences how you act? In what situations?
5. How important is your (ethnic) background to your overall identity?
 - a. Is it something you notice or think about often?
 - b. Do you think it affects who you are as a person?
6. I'd like to talk now about your (bi-ethnic) identity, how you think about yourself as related to your (ethnic) heritage. What would you say your identity is as a (bi-ethnic) person?
7. *Probe as needed for:*
 - a. *content*
 - b. *perceived importance*
 - c. *change over time*
 - d. *confusion*
 - e. *pressure to choose one group*

- f. *different identities with different groups*
 - g. *discomfort/comfort with defined identity*
8. Do you ever think about being a person of (mixed) heritage, or no?
 9. Has anyone ever asked you a question like “what are you” or “where are you from” that you knew really meant to ask about your ethnic/racial background? *If yes:* How did you/do you respond to such questions?
 10. How would you describe your attachment to being Asian? How would you describe your attachment to being Caucasian?
 - a. How do you feel about being Asian? How do you feel about being Caucasian? Does this change in different situations?
 11. Have you ever tried to learn more about your Asian heritage or no?
 12. When are you most aware of being Asian? Caucasian? (Mixed)?

Let's move on now to talk about your family.

1. What generation is your [Asian parent]? How acculturated or American would you say s/he is?
2. What are/were the relationships like between different members of your family?
3. What about your extended family? Are there people you are/were close to?
4. How does your extended family feel about your parent's marriage? [*probe for support of multiraciality*]
5. Tell me about your typical family gatherings (e.g., holidays; family dinners).
6. Did any family member ever try to teach you about Asian culture, history, language, food, etc., or was this not something explicitly talked about? [*probe for degree of knowledge of minority culture*]
7. How much did you experience Asian culture growing up? How much opportunity would you say you had to experience Asian culture growing up? [*probe for groups participated in, book reading, going to Asian schools, etc.*] What was your family's role in that, if any?
8. Does being Asian manifest in your life? If so, how does it manifest?
9. Do you think the combination of 2 ethnicities/races gives you a different perspective than each ethnicity/race separately, or not really?

10. Did your parents (or other family members) ever discuss issues of (race/ethnicity) with you, or was this not an issue that was discussed? [*probe for messages specific to bi-ethnic identity*]

11. Let's talk about your name. What do you think of it? Do you like your name? Do you ever wish you had a different name? [*if needed: probe for language/ethnic meaning*]

12. Earlier in the interview we talked about your identity as a (bi-ethnic) person. I'd like to ask you to reflect on our conversation a bit. Has anything else come to mind that you think is important to add?

13. We've talked a lot about your family. Briefly, are there other important people or experiences you can think of that influenced your (bi-ethnic) identity?

Appendix C

Example of Coding Process

Transcript, with coding underlining shown	Coding
<p><i>I: How would you say you feel, like either positively or negatively, about being Korean? Or like, if it's easier to think of just in specific situations, like say when you're at the Korean student group gatherings or something, like what sort of feelings would be evoked by, you know, you are, you do have this in your background, so you are part Korean, but then you say that you didn't quite feel like you belonged, so what were some of the like emotional responses?</i></p> <p>P: Um, I mean, well once I would, well when I would go there I would try to be really outgoing and like talk to everyone, and then it just kind of, or I just kind of like <u>started clamming up</u> and just didn't really want, well, you know, <u>it was just hard to kind of, just to find some common ground with them</u> really, was I think the issue,</p>	<p>Affect: discomfort with Asian side</p> <p>Affirmation: separation from minority group, disconnect</p>

<p>maybe. I don't know. Because I felt like, you know, in the conversations I had with these people, like, they grew up in an environment that was evenly split between like the Caucasian, the White heritage and the Korean heritage, and then those who grew up in a Korean-speaking home, like I, I don't know, <u>maybe it was language that kept us, or kept me from being more comfortable...</u></p> <p><i>I: Was there Korean being spoken?</i></p> <p>P: There was. But I mean, they would speak English predominantly, but I mean, people would have their side conversations like speaking in Korean. And you know, <u>if you're sitting next to someone who's speaking in Korean, you can't really like interject or say, or add to the conversation at all.</u> So yeah, I would just kind of clam up, and you know, just...</p> <p><i>I: What about in general, how do you feel about being Korean? Do you feel positive or negative, or just neutral, like you don't</i></p>	<p>Language: lack of language barrier to acceptance, comfort with minority group</p> <p>Affect: discomfort with Asian side due to lack of language knowledge</p> <p>Language: barrier to connection with minority group</p>
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<p><i>really feel anything about it?</i></p> <p>P: It's funny, because I'll feel different, I don't know, depending on the situation or something. <u>I actually dated someone for quite awhile who would make remarks about how I was Asian all the time, and for some reason I felt like they were derogatory remarks, but I mean he would be joking, but in the same sense I kind of felt like they were kind of like derogatory remarks. Which, you know, that made me feel kind of bad.</u></p> <p><i>I: This person was not Asian?</i></p> <p>P: This person was not. <u>He was White.</u> But um...so in that sense, I think, <u>that's probably the only real like experience I've had with feeling negative about my Asian heritage.</u> Otherwise, I mean, like I was saying earlier, <u>it's just kind of nice to go out and flaunt it,</u> I guess, I don't know. <u>But really, most of the time, I'm not thinking about it at all.</u></p> <p><i>I: Right. What about feelings about being</i></p>	<p>Affect: differs by context (Asian side)</p> <p>Discrimination: negative feelings about Asian heritage; context was derogatory remarks by boyfriend</p> <p>Affect: negative (Asian side), in cases of discrimination</p> <p>Discrimination by majority group</p> <p>Affect: rarely negative affect (Asian side)</p> <p>Affect: positive feelings about bi-ethnicity</p> <p>Majority identity: lack of reflection on bi-ethnicity indicative of majority identity</p>
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<p><i>Caucasian? Would you say that you have positive, negative, or neutral feelings about being Caucasian?</i></p> <p>P: <u>My feelings about being Caucasian are pretty positive</u>, just because, like I was saying before, I mean, growing up here in this culture you're constantly surrounded with the you know American, you know, just the American lifestyle, it's just you're constantly being exposed to it. <u>I feel like I can identify with being Caucasian more than being Asian</u>. Umm...I don't really know why that is, I mean. Most of my friends—I don't know. I really don't know why.</p> <p><i>I: Most of your friends?</i></p> <p>P: Are of other ethnicities.</p> <p><i>I: Than you, or than Caucasian?</i></p> <p>P: Than me.</p> <p><i>I: Okay.</i></p> <p>P: But <u>most of them are Caucasian</u>. I don't know, I don't know. <u>I just identify myself more with them.</u></p>	<p>Affect: positive affect (Caucasian side)</p> <p>Majority identity: stronger identification with Caucasian than Asian side</p> <p>Ethnic composition of peer groups: most friends are Caucasian</p> <p>Majority identity: identifies self with</p>
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<p><i>I: Do you find it easier to interact with Caucasians versus Koreans in general?</i></p> <p>P: <u>Yeah, from my experiences. I haven't had too much experience with Korean people.</u> Although my mother, she, she would attend church every weekend, with a small group of Korean people—they have their own Korean church. And I would go with her, but again, I mean <u>the language, like I couldn't speak to anyone, 'cause they chose to speak Korean after the gathering,</u> so. And the kids there, you know, they were nice, but I think it's because it was like a church environment, so I mean they're not really gonna be otherwise.</p> <p><i>I: Did your mom ever try to teach you Korean?</i></p> <p>P: She did, actually. <u>She did speak to me in Korean until I was about 5 or 6 years of age,</u> and that was right around the time I was joining kindergarten, and <u>she stopped speaking to me in Korean</u> because, I, well, she must have felt like I would get</p>	<p>Caucasian peers</p> <p>Affirmation: disconnect from minority group; more ease with majority group</p> <p>Language: lack of Korean is barrier to connection with minority group</p> <p>Language: Asian parent did teach language at young age, but stopped so participant lost language ability</p>
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<p>confused or something, you know. Which I understand, but, in the same respect, <u>I wish that she really would have kept up with it because I think I would feel a lot more confident about being in those types of environments with other Koreans, and I don't know, I might have even pursued a different career path, really.</u></p>	<p>Language: regret at parent's decision not to teach language because of consequences</p> <p>Affect: discomfort, lack of confidence when in groups of Koreans</p>
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