

**TOWARDS A PSYCHOLOGY OF MIXED-RACE  
IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE UNITED  
KINGDOM**

**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Psychology**

**By**

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## THESIS ABSTRACT

Racial identity can be defined as the personal understanding, both explicitly and implicitly, that one is similar to some people and different from others, according to concepts based around the idea of race. In the US, there has been a lot of research, including on the identity of persons having parents from different races. However, in the UK, there is the view that race is a taboo topic, and this is particularly true in psychology; hence strikingly little such research has been conducted. This situation seems most evident particularly regarding how mixed-race persons develop their racial identity. This thesis begins to redress the imbalance. A literature review on "race (Chapter 1)", is followed by a literature review on "mixed-race (Chapter 2)", with many ideas forwarded in these two chapters then tested in five further qualitative and/or quantitative research chapters. In order, these investigate the salience of race at the explicit level (Chapter 3), then at the implicit level (Chapter 4, regarding black and white persons). Chapters then investigate the mixed-race identity qualitatively first in adults (Chapter 5), and then qualitatively/quantitatively alongside self-esteem measures in adolescents (Chapter 6); before a fifth empirical chapter considers the implicit level again but this time specifically regarding attitudes by and towards mixed-race persons (Chapter 7). Taken together, the five empirical chapters find that the parental races tend to see "race" differently to each other. Regarding specifically mixed-race, we find that mixed-race persons shift in identity first from childhood (a more black identity) to adolescence (white identity), and then back again from adolescence to young adulthood (black identity). We additionally find that mixed-race persons tend to have a less definite sense of identity than their parental races, and that this view of mixed-race is also held by one of the parental groups (the white group). It is hoped that further research will now begin to build on these findings. The final chapter (Chapter 8) offers a start at this, outlining a new theoretical account of the development of a mixed-race identity.

## DEDICATION

My up most love, honour and respect to my late Baba La, who watches over me with our ancestors. It is through you all that I draw my strength to be able to stand in this world today, and to make a contribution to psychology in the area of culture and racial identity development.

I pay my love, and respect to the following individuals in my life who supported my progress and existence: My adoptive mother, my auntie Cheryl, my Nan, my best friend Charmaine, Mama (Rasheeda), Le, Victor, Penny, Evrard, Danene, Tracy, Reene, Turker, and my guardians Tony, Jo, Gina and Peter. Also to Ethan F, who has impressed me with his achievements with a difficult start in his young life, but you show determination and I know you will achieve all that you desire, remember honour and respect takes you far in life.

But my first contribution to the Psychology of racial identity, I really dedicate to My Son Tahir, developing and growing up beautifully; and to the love of my life Sinon, your love and support enables me to live. Also Ethan F, this is dedicated to you too.

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## CHAPTER 1

### Introductions to Race and Identity

*In "propaganda against the Negro since emancipation in this land, we face one of the most stupendous efforts the world ever saw to discredit human beings, an effort involving universities, history, science, social life and religion." (DuBois, 1935).*

What are you? Where are you from? These are questions probably often asked of most of us, perhaps especially when we do not seem to fit into any obvious group. Sometimes, the enquiring person either is confused or genuinely interested to know. The confused persons are the unpredictable ones, as they can either accept your answer thereby accepting you, or else their confusion can just as readily turn into aggressively challenging you - "No you are not; you must be this or ...".

But why are so many of us so bothered about where we each come from, when we might very well speak the same language, have the same customs and beliefs, and so on. The answer is "race". However, not only does this lead to problems such as superiority or inferiority (or presumptions and anxieties about these), but it can also lead to problems when the individual being questioned actually has one parent from one so called race and the other parent from a different so called race. Not only this, but these issues can even lead the individual being quizzed, to take a particular view of him/herself; be it more positive or more negative. The present thesis concerns all these issues and more. For now I will simply use the terms "identity" and "perception"; but it will soon become clear that these terms relate strongly to other terms which are just as frequently relied on when talking about one's self and other people.

It only remains for me to add the final major ingredient "development"; to refer to how these issues alter over time particularly during late-childhood to early-adulthood. I settled on this

time span for two reasons. Firstly, we seem to alter both socially and cognitively, in a most changing way during this period, as opposed to earlier or later than this period (Fatimilehin, 1999; Monroe-Clay, 2009; Wright & Howells, 2008; Wright & Wanley, 2003). Secondly, although it would be desirable to look at the above issues as they develop from infancy to late-childhood, it would not be feasible to do so whilst also covering the span offered here - it would be too much for one thesis.

Since the core construct to be understood here is about race, I will spend much of this chapter unpacking it from a variety of angles. I will begin with its historical roots and end with arguably its biggest challenge (which we could term "being of mixed-race"). Along the way, I will cover each of the other constructs I mentioned above, and more besides. Then I will elaborate on the main focus of my work, "a mixed-race identity" in the next chapter, and offer up studies testing various aspects of it in the following chapters. Hopefully, the reader will agree that the conclusions offered in the final chapter are both reached on the basis of my work and reviews of other work cited here, plus they are also critical yet constructive.

### **1.1. Historical Introduction to the Idea of Race**

Whatever "race" is or is not, it surely has a profound influence on most if not all of us, and does so in a variety of ways. For example, segregation because of your race is significantly higher than segregation by things such as class or gender (Fischer, Wiebe, Paabe & Przeworski, 2004; Quillian & Campbell, 2003). To help give some depth to this point, I start with U.S. research for reasons which will shortly become clear.

In the U.S., studies typically find that race is an especially strong basis for segregation, for example, in what schooling you had as a child or adolescent (Orfield, 2003), in what groups you selected friends or even a partner from (Hallinan & Williams, 1989; Joyner & Kao, 2005; Marsden, 1987; Qian & Lichter, 2007; Quillian & Redd, 2009), and even where you

considered versus did not consider moving to live (Fischer et al., 2004; Massey & Denton, 1993). Indeed, even among children growing up within the same area and social stratum (e.g., same housing and schooling), still they will tend to make friends only within their own racial group, and still this racial segregation not only tends to occur but also is significant (Joyner & Kao, 2001; Moody, 2001; Mouw & Entwisle, 2006; Quillian & Campbell, 2003). In short, more so than with perhaps any other social distinction, the social worlds of members of different racial groups tend not to intersect to any real extent (Quillian & Redd, 2009).

So whatever race is, it is clearly both very real and far reaching. But in fact, race is actually quite a relatively recent concept in human history (Smedley, 2007). From its inception, the modern concept of “race” was modelled after an ancient theorem of the Great Chain of Being, that posited natural categories on the hierarchy established by God or nature. But in more neutral and concrete terms, race can be defined as a system of classifying people on the basis of inherited features and traits (i.e., biologically). In short, it was assumed that your race is both fixed or “rooted in nature”; and that what you look like (i.e., your physical appearance) gives unmistakable and reliable clues to your race and hence to qualities within you as an individual (Holt, 2000; Omi & Winant, 2003).

When we break it down though, “race” is first and foremost a divisive mechanism invented during the eighteenth century largely to categorise and refer to populations of people who were under colonial rule by the Spanish, Portuguese, Americans, English and other Europeans (Bonilla-Silva & Glover, 2004; Rockquemore & Arend, 2002; Sundstrom, 2001). The common link between those races is that from the two previous centuries, they were in the midst of enslaving the African and Indian peoples in order to exploit them for the purposes of slave labour (Nobles, 2000; Phillips, Odunlami & Bonham, 2007).

To people in the colonial situation, race was a mode of classification linked specifically to them. A large growing ideology of inequality devised to rationalise European attitudes and

treatment of those people conquered and enslaved. Those who argued in favour of slavery in particular during the nineteenth century used “race” to justify the retention of slavery. The ideology showed a significant difference among Europeans, Africans, and Indians to whom a rigid hierarchy of socially exclusive categories and unequal rank and status differences was applied. This therefore led to the rationalisation that the inequality was natural or God-given. For example, in his classic book "The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals" (1872), even the famous Charles Darwin succumbed. Darwin claimed first that Blushing was a gift from God and reflects having a conscience; but second he claimed Negroes do not blush (see Skultans, 1979). His evolutionary implication is clear.

More generally, the physical traits of African and Indians and their differences became markers of their status differences. Ultimately “race” as an ideology about human differences was subsequently all too easy to spread to other parts of the world. Primarily though, race remained and expanded as a divisive strategy for ranking and controlling colonised people imposed by colonial powers. Race was not just limited within the colonial system, but in the latter part of the 1800s it was implemented by the Europeans even to rank one another and to justify social, economic, and political inequalities among their own peoples.

In the 1790 U.S. Census, people had been categorized into just two groups - either "Free" or "Slave". But although as divisive as race, this means of categorisation was not yet fully about race. By the time of the 1850 census, however, these two categories had become "White" versus "Negroid" races, respectively. But additionally, a third term had come into common usage - "Mulatto". This was an umbrella term not only for the products of white (usually male) unions with non-white (usually Negro females) persons, but also for many other races at the time seen as non-white. By the 1890 census this category had been separated out into races such as Mulatto (mixed-bloods), "Quadroon", "Octoroon", "Chinese", "Japanese" and "Indian" (see Phillips et al., 2007).

These categories are said to have stemmed from the need for each group, in turn, to distance itself as far as possible from "lower races" (Quillian & Redd, 2009; Song, 2010a). This system of categorisation resulted in a number of problems, the solutions of which are still difficult today - such as how to categorise (or self-categorise) the children of any two so-called pure races (Sundstrom, 2001).

In order to keep this latter problem manageable, right from the very outset of slavery, unions between the dominant race and its inferior races were strongly discouraged, so preserving the very idea of race; for example by keeping the "master race" pure (Mills, 1998, 1999; Talty, 2003; Zack, 1996). However, Europeans and European Americans often took advantage of their inferior races (typically African slaves), for example raping them and forcing them to bear offspring, which would then be categorised as not of European descent because of having an inferior race within their make-up ("hypodescent" or "the one-drop rule" - Davis, 1991). The answer was that inter-racial unions and the children of such unions' were seen as "unnatural" in cultures such as British, European and American (Katz & Treacher, 2005). This view was perpetuated by claims from biologists, geneticists and evolutionary scientists, such as that non-European races are mentally inferior and if ever mixed with a European race the offspring will be further degraded relative to both races, as a consequence of the lower race genes being unable to mix constructively with the superior genes of the European race (see Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Jordan, 1968; Omi & Winant, 1994; Smedley, 1999; Zuberi, 2001).

## **1.2. The Polar Dimensions of Race**

Steck, Heckert and Heckert (2003) argue that race is a highly critical characteristic in our stratified society. Indeed, race is typically the first aspect of a person we notice (Haney Lopez, 1996; Obasogie, 2010; Phelps et al., 2000). Brown (2006) found that, at least in children, it is

most easily discerned by looking at a person's colour; although hair texture and facial features are also used (Lewis, 2011; Montalvo & Codina, 2001).

Colour first took on such primacy during the period of mass enslavement of African peoples by Europeans (Spickard, 1989; Waters, 1990). In order to justify the lack of consideration given to the worth of an African life during slavery, the slavers used race, indexed primarily by colour, in order to label and easily identify their slaves as so inferior that they are barely human (Davis, 1991; Jordan, 1968).

However, at least in genetic terms, current evidence suggests that there is greatest variability in African countries (Gabriel et al., 2002; Tishkoff & Verrelli, 2003). If we did not wish to accept the argument introduced earlier, this would make it all the more curious that it is the populations of African countries, along with all other countries having a population that can be traced to any extent back to Africa (e.g., Caribbean Islands), which tend together to be taken to represent the most homogenous single group in the world. Indeed, it is this tendency that first spurned the term Negroid and later the term "black". In tainting multiple world populations with either of these terms, the Europeans gave themselves a term representing the antithesis of "black", hence the term "white" was born. In selecting the term "white", the deliberate intention was to invoke concepts of purity, cleanness and untaintedness. As Phillips et al. (2007) put it, there was a "simplistic view of the world in black and white" (Phillips et al., 2007, p.798).

In the U.K., the Black/White boundary is not the only one readily used to categorise whole swathes of peoples; there are other boundaries, such as between white people (taken to be categorised under the heading "Christian") and Muslim people (Alba, 2005). But other races, when added, could then be added as intermediates between the most supreme race and the most inferior race - first given terms such as Brown and Yellow but subsequently referred to by geographic origins such as Asian and Chinese (Nobles, 2000; Phillips et al., 2007). When

white races came across African countries which could not be denied having made a contribution to world development (e.g., Egypt), they simply hived these off from the rest of black cultures, refusing to give them a colour. The result of all of this was a gradual one-dimensional gradation of so called races from white, through yellow and brown, and finally to black (Phillips et al., 2007).

Recently, Lee and Bean (2004) have suggested that, whereas traditionally white peoples were successful in seeing the world as white versus the rest, the graded races are now being just as successful in seeing themselves not relative to white but instead relative to black. In other words, the main goal of all races would seem to be at all costs to avoid being tainted with the term black. Being black happens to carry the most negative connotations both from a white perspective and from a subjective black perspective (i.e., black being the least positively thought of race Santos, Dogra, Neve & Dalgalarroondo, 2010), and the converse for white (Steck et al., 2003).

Concerning these polar categories, Monteith and Spicer (2000) conducted a study of white and black young adults, and found that some of their views were highly similar and yet they differed greatly regarding other views. Four groups of participants were asked to write an essay about their racial attitudes; and these essays were later coded to determine whether the same themes and content emerged for the white group versus the black group. They found that the two groups were highly similar in terms of positive themes. However, the groups began to diverge regarding negative themes. For example, white participants viewed black people as lazy, apathetic, or reluctant to help themselves; and as having an attitude problem, thinking they can do whatever they want, or too often crying about discrimination. Black participants' negative attitudes reduced to reactions to perceived racism, and their essay themes were unrelated both to Egalitarianism (being treated equally) and the Protestant ethic (rewards

should only follow from hard work and frugality). They were found to mistrust white people and perceive of white people as harbouring unjustified negative stereotypes about them.

So race seems to be critical to the lived experiences of particularly black persons, in the context of continued differences in race-perception by other people. For example, being classed as white is linked with privilege and the reduction of challenges to acceptance and success. This situation was first constructed in the context of domination as outlined earlier (DuBois, 1935). Indeed, being white (i.e., of European descent) is important for the maintenance of racial inequality and stratification in many aspects of life (Haney Lopez, 1996; Ignatiev, 1995). Whiteness basically leads to more positive opinions about people like one's self and negative opinions the more people are perceived as unlike one's self.

In the same ways, self esteem may be one way in which the externally-generated disadvantages associated with certain races (especially black persons) leads to internal disadvantages because of greater perceived negative life chances that people of that race will face, and the greater likelihood of failing to sufficiently overcome these disadvantages (Demo & Hughes, 1990). One way or another then, race, regardless of whether it is real or illusory, still frees the lives of white persons and constrains the lives of black persons (Cross, 1995; Worrell, Cross & Van Diver, 2001).

Some argue that not only have we polarised races into positive and negative (white v black respectively), but we have even polarised the way we think of solving the very inequality we created. For example, in an unusual take on racism, Steinberg (1998) notes that we do not seek to address the real root of the problem, which is the situation in which black people find themselves simply because of being black. Instead we focus our attention on relieving white people of their racist views. Steinberg argues that this might well make white people feel better about themselves, but it will not actually do anything to improve the lives of the people who we really need to help. Indeed, Steinberg's view might well explain why it is that white



people increasingly are taking the view that it is black people rather than white people who are receiving unfair advantages (Gallagher, 1995).

The chasm, not just between the plight of black people compared to white people but also between the ways to tackle the gross inequality created hundreds of years ago and still to some extent perpetuated today, has itself created issues even about how best to improve the situation of individual black children. For example, on the basis of 15 years of longitudinal research on the success of black children who were adopted by white parents, Gill and Jackson (1983) conclude that their research disproves the assertion by opponents of trans-racial adoption that these children would experience significant social and psychological difficulties. Monroe-Clay (2009) sees that conclusion as "the most serious flaw" in Gill and Jackson's research. Monroe-Clay (2009) stresses that since most of the children described in Gill and Jackson's research were around 15 years-old, it would be premature to reach any firm conclusions about their psychological adjustments. But the way Monroe-Clay phrases this argument would seem to want to deny white families who, for whatever reasons, would wish to adopt a black child.

The above all said, contrary to the notion of any pure race (e.g., white or black), many individuals would not be able to trace all of their ancestors to one place (Collins, 2004). This is where the one-drop rule comes into play, neatly categorising people according to the lowest race that can be readily gleaned by any observer (e.g., by colour or physical features - Brown, 2006; Montalvo & Codina, 2001; Song, 2010a).

### **1.3. Race as a Biological versus a Social Construct**

We have seen a glimpse of what race is taken to be. Indeed, I have implied in my earlier sections, that race carries connotations about history, and socioeconomic and political status; as well as deriving from common ancestral geographic origins (Collins, 2004). But I now turn to a brief overview scientifically of what it really is and is not.

As previously stated, race is a relatively recent concept in human history (Smedley, 2007). Steck et al. (2003) acknowledges that it is typically taken to refer to broad groupings of individuals according to similarities in their power of thought, the ways they typically react to things and correlations between these and the way they look (see also Rockquemore & Arend, 2002). This way of classifying people was initially said to have a strong biological basis. People assumed that race was fixed or "rooted in nature" and physical appearances provided clues to qualities within individuals (Omi & Winant, 2003).

But from where did the links between race and biology come? "Race" evolved as a world-view; a body of prejudgment that accentuates or even distorts the differences and group behaviours within human beings. From the generalisation that European nations (grouped together as "white") had the most advanced navies, trading structures, and technological frameworks, it was decided that this was solely because God had created not man but specifically "white man" - e.g., to rule over all other animals (Darwin, 1872).

The systems of white nations could now be put down to the fact that white people were superior mentally. Hooks (1993) evaluates thus: "When structures of domination identify a group of people (as racist ideology does black folks in this society) as mentally inferior, implying that they are more body than mind, it should come as no surprise that there is little societal concern for the mental health care of that group." (Hooks, 1993, p.5). The above is of course directed at attitudes to black people; but actually it applies just as well to attitudes towards other groupings of humans, such as to women. The phrase "more body than mind" refers to the viewing of the individual concerned as first and foremost a physical entity (e.g., a machine for labour, a machine for sexual gratification) and only second as an entity having a mind just as does the ruling group (a generalised equal)!

The view that white people are superior is a belief still espoused by a few theorists even today (e.g., Lynn, 2002; Rushton, 2000). The fact that different physical environments

necessitate different solutions, and this can explain most of the apparent differences between continental populations without the need to postulate that those differences are "hard-wired", tends to be completely ignored. Likewise, the fact that systems of empirical/social oppression predispose certain ways of acting more so than they highlight exact powers of mind, was similarly ignored (Steinberg, 1998). White man was simply better. The physical traits of African and Indians soon became markers of their "lower intellect" and hence of their "natural" status differences.

Those arguing in favour of slavery, in particular during the nineteenth century when the flawed ideology of slavery was challenged and eventually corrected, used "race" to try to justify its retention. The basic rationale was that "race", and hence the inequalities accompanying races, were natural and/or God-given. So warped was this rationale, that even according to popular medical books of the time, any slave found to have been taught to read, refuse to "work" (*Dysaesthesia Aethiopsis*), or desire freedom (*Drapetomania*) would be diagnosed as having a serious (but fortunately curable!) disease of mind (Smith, Bem & Nolen- Hoeksema, 2001; Szasz, 1971). For example, any slave who tried to run away from the master would be diagnosed with the convenient but ridiculous medical diagnosis of "drapetomania" and a cure that sometimes led to death (severe whipping followed by the raw flesh being in contact with the soil during hard labour - see Cartwright, 1851). Of course, a white man whipping a black man until death simply because he had tried to escape arguably the worst kind of enslavement in known history was of course not seen as anything other than completely normal. According to Cartwright (1851), chaining, beating and whipping black slaves, for refusing to comply; and if they survived following this by forcing them to do hard labour whilst still exhausted and bleeding, "revitalized" their lungs and brought them back to their senses. We might like to believe that Cartwright (1851) represented the extreme views of just one person, but he was actually writing on behalf of a prestigious medical association.

Aside from debates about whether any nation should enjoy such a right to brutally subjugate, partially displace and treat as non-human, any other race, biologists in the Nineteenth century simply went along with (and even contributed to) the dominant attitude. Specifically they believed that races differed in their hereditary physical and mental characteristics, and viewed crossing between distant races with suspicion or outright antagonism (Hatler, 1971). For example, one of the fathers of intelligence theory, Francis Galton (1870) provided a quantitative model for the distribution of intelligence within populations versus between populations (Galton, 1870). According to this model, the Negroes intelligence was on average, two grades below that of the Englishmen, while the "Athenian race" in the Fifth Century BC was two grades above that of the Englishmen. One of Galton's grades is said to represent around ten points on the I.Q. scale (Provine, 1973).

The early twentieth century saw an increase of interest in genetics and on the basis of genetic research and mathematical models of the time, Galton created "the eugenics movement"; his legacy apparently being a Chair at University of Cambridge. Eugenics apparently is a scientific-inspired social system for "giving the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable" (Galton, 1883, p. 24). In 1918, geneticists Paul Popenoe and Roswell H. Johnson wrote "Applied Eugenics". In their chapter "The color line", Popenoe and Johnson argued that racial-hatred is a natural and biological mechanism that helps ensure that races do not mix (see Provine, 1973). They stated further that when there is any crossing between races "in general the white race loses and the Negro gains from miscegenation". On this basis, they made recommendations to outlaw marriage or sex between white and black people (Provine, 1973).

But what of race today? Today's theorists increasingly accept that humans are genetically less diverse than related species such as chimpanzees (Fischer et al., 2004; Kaessmann, Wiebe, Weiss & Paabo, 2001). This said, the links to common human ancestry might be taken

to imply that the regions from which any one particular race could be said to derive, are occupied by persons with little genetic diversity; as compared to the diversity between different races/regions. But, up to 85% of the genetic variation that does exist between humans, occurs within innate continental populations, with at best 15% of genetic variation occurring from one continental population to another (Jorde et al., 2000). Put another way, there is more genetic diversity within so-called races than there is from any one race to another! Furthermore, to date, no gene variants have been found to be present in all individuals of any particular race but absent in all other races. Thus, there are not even clear/sharp genetic boundaries from one race to any other (Bonham, Warshauer-Baker & Collins, 2005; Frank, 2007; Serre & Paabo, 2004). In short, if we define race in terms of genetic similarities, then the whole idea of race literally evaporates.

This all said, it should be noted that, it is possible to discern some differences which do have some small but reliable correlations to broad continental geographic groupings (Bamshad & Wooding, 2003). The most obvious of these is skin colour but recent research suggest that risk factors in diseases such as of the heart or blood pressure are also examples (Phillips et al., 2007). Theorists such as Risch, Burchard, Ziv and Tang (2002) argue that such findings do point to the reality of race. However, if the principal corollary of race is colour, then surely we do not need the construct of race at all - colour will do. Put another way, even corollaries of race like heart disease vary across age or across gender within any given race, more so than between races. Yet we do not argue that women are a different race to men or that adolescents are a different race to adults. Instead, we bind the latter together on the basis of superficial criteria such as colour or featural similarities with a particular geographic region.

Scientists (including social scientists) now accept race as a social construct rather than a biological reality (Healey, 1998; Song, 2010a). Yet, "we rest at an awkward historical moment, where racial groups are acknowledged to be socially constructed with no grounding

in genetic reality, yet continue to influence everyday interactions and life chances"

(Rockquemore & Arend, 2002, p.50).

Race, then, seems to be more about settling on a neat way of including individuals we already relate to and excluding individuals we already do not relate to; rather than constituting a science-based system of biological or genetic categorisation. Yet race is such a strong construct that children learn and use it to distance themselves from other groups doing so perhaps even before they are 10 years old (Brown, 2006; Katz, 1996), and even possibly from as early as 4 years-old (Aboud & Skerry, 1984).

Indeed, even though race might be something of a fallacy, individuals will, where appropriate, emphasize selected aspects of their ancestry, despite limited knowledge of their complete ancestry; and seek to use these to obtain advantage within social and political parameters afforded by "race" (Phillips et al., 2007). Thus, race remains critical to the maintenance of social inequality and stratification (cf., Haney Lopez, 1996; Ignatiev, 1995; Roediger, 1991).

Frankenberg (1993) argues that those designated "White" enjoy more privilege. So automatic is this privilege that white persons are neither conscious about their own race or self-conscious about race. However, Gallagher (1995), found that in contexts where white persons need to constantly interact with other races (e.g., multiracial universities), white persons are beginning to be more aware of their race; although this may be more because of being unhappy about positive steps for black persons than because of becoming increasingly self-conscious about being white (Biernat & Vescio, 1993; Bonilla-Silva & Glover, 2004).

I end this section with a note of caution published by the American Sociological Association (2003): "...although racial categories are legitimate subjects of empirical sociological investigation, it is important to recognize the danger of contributing to the popular conception of race as biological." (ASA, 2003).

#### 1.4. Interplays between Culture and Ethnicity with Race

Appiah (1996) discussed evidence that concerning the U.S. census, studies often show that people change the designation of their race from one year to the next. This was interpreted as showing that race is more a status or a perception than it is a biological fact. Whereas race is about being perceived as a member of a group on the basis of superficial perceptions, it does not necessarily say much about whether the individual concerned holds the same perception of him/herself as held by other people about that individual. When we try to incorporate self-perception together with external pigeonholing, we tend to use the term "ethnicity" rather than race.

The terms "ethnicity" and "ethnic group" are derived from the Greek word *ethnos*, normally translated as "nation" or taken to refer to people of the same race that share a distinctive culture (see below on culture). The modern usage of "ethnic group", however, reflects the different kinds of encounters industrialised states have had with subordinate groups, such as immigrants and colonised subjects: "Ethnic group" came to stand in opposition to "nation", to refer to people with distinct cultural identities who, through migration or conquest, had become subject to a foreign state. The modern usage of the word is relatively new, introduced in 1851. The first use of the term ethnic group was made by Weber in 1935 (see Oxford English Dictionary), and it entered the Oxford English Dictionary in 1972.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines ethnic minority (group) as "a group of people differentiated from the rest of the community by racial origins or cultural background, and usually claiming or enjoying official recognition of their group identity." Thus, ethnicity can be defined as a psychological construct capturing one's own sense of belonging to a group. Ethnicity also captures subjective power relationships between dominant and minority groups (Alexander, 1996; Hall, 1992; Solomos & Back, 1996). Wallman and Hodgson (1977) note that "ethnic popularly connotes 'race' in Britain, only less precisely, and with a lighter value

load. By contrast, in the U.S., 'ethnics' are the descendents of relatively recent immigrants from non-English-speaking countries, with 'race' preserved as essentially meaning colour" (Wallman & Hodgson, 1977, p.451). Although not strictly speaking "race", then, "ethnic" is frequently used interchangeably with race (Fernando, 1991; Goodstein & Ponterotto, 1997). For the purposes of this thesis then, ethnicity has significant overlap with race, and may even reduce to a more polite way of saying race.

Both race and ethnicity carry connotations that reflect culture (Phillips et al., 2007). But according to Vygotsky (1934), culture also encapsulates the body of rules (often implicit rules) that govern social interactions (e.g., during work or play) social conventions (e.g., religion) and social transmission (e.g., language) of a people. Culture is therefore the entire learned body of practices, languages and customs of any specific society (Hall, 1996). It is concerned with questions of shared social meanings, and arguably is the main framework for individuals to make sense of their world.

Strictly speaking then, race is about far-reaching (if largely unjustified) classification of an individual based primarily on his/her colour; ethnicity refers to social sub-groupings on the basis of felt power-relationships between so called races; and culture refers to a learned system of behaving that is associated with a particular society ultimately from a world region (even if the racial group concerned is no longer in that region). We have seen that race and ethnicity are to some extent interchangeable (especially in the U.K.). Likewise, race and culture can be interchangeable too. Much like race, people talk of a black culture (which presumably invokes the concept of a white one too). So culture, like race, can have a colour. Also, people still tend to talk of culture (in the same way as race), when referring to persons who have absolutely no link to the geographic region associated with the culture (e.g., when referring to a black person actually born and brought up in England). The reality of culture then, just like the reality of race, is that it embodies power relationships as in ethnicity above. For these reasons, I will



tend in this thesis to use these three terms sometimes differently but sometimes interchangeably; or even substitute one or more of them for the term that seems to most matter - one's colour (Lewis, 2011).

Colour, unlike race, ethnicity or culture, can often be gleaned without even having to interact with the person of colour. Whenever we wish to identify any race as distant to our own, there is an association to their colour (Lewis, 2011). When we wish to hold a person as similar to our own race, this will be associated to them having the same colour as us. Therefore, it would seem that race, and to some extent (although less so than for race) ethnicity and culture, is really about colour.

### **1.5. Racial Attitudes**

Attitudes and attitude formation are a normal part of everyday life for all of us. However, as well as being based at the level of individuals, attitudes can be formed towards entire groups, such as by gender, sexuality, age or perceptual appearance. As we have seen, race (more specifically "racial identification") is most obviously a matter of appearance (e.g., white v black). Allport (1954/1979) argued that the visual categorisation of people according to ones race is at the heart of racial prejudice, with social experience then predisposing the way the categorised person is treated or thought of (e.g., attitudes towards them – Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Johnson, Ashburn-Nardo, Spicer & Dovidio, 2008; Olson & Zanna, 1993).

During especially the school years, white children and younger adolescents are often insulated, partly because of their majority status and partly because of highly restricted social encounters with children from other racial groups. However even in such geographic pockets, white children still seem to develop stereotypes and attitudes about the absent racial groups (George & Hoppe, 1979; Jarrett, 1981; Radke & Sutherland, 1949). Such attitudes are often negative. For example, even before age 10 years, children are aware of who the perpetrators

and recipients of racism tend to be (Brown, 2006; Inman & Baron, 1996; Sinclair, Dunn & Lowery, 2005). Although weak black-on-white prejudice has occasionally been empirically demonstrated (Johnson et al., 2008; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005), most research has focussed on white-on-black prejudice.

Towles-Schwen and Fazio (2006) found that even white university students who are not explicitly prejudiced (based on self-report measures), can be intolerant of room-sharing with a black student. In their experiment 2, they found that 43% of white students effected a room move during the year, as compared to less than 0.4% when the room share had been originally with another white student. Even in the context of interacting with computer-generated characters, white individuals still bias away from black characters. Indeed, they even prefer robot characters to black characters (Gong, 2008).

One purpose of this thesis was to determine whether such racial biases might be as prevalent in the U.K. as they seem to be in the U.S. Another was to determine the extent to which such attitudes might be specific to white individuals, or whether they generalise across ethnicities.

### **1.6. From Racial Attitudes to Ethnic Identity**

In recent years, increasing attention has been devoted to possible links between racially biased attitudes and psychological consequences, such as to ethnic identity. In line with Bonilla-Silva and Glover (2004), we construe ethnic identity as mainly the subjective understanding of oneself as a racialized person, and the recognition that one is both similar to and different from other people (Omi & Winant, 1994; Woodward, 1997). This definition subsumes both the conscious and unconscious dimensions of our sense of self, thus capturing the dynamic or even unstable nature of one's identity (Clough, 1994; Rockquemore & Arend, 2002). Note, if we were to think in terms of ethnicity instead of race, then we would simply

define ethnic identity as more or less the strength and/or centrality of one's subjective association to any particular ethnic group (Gaines, Bunce, Robertson & Wright et al., 2010).

In acquiring a racial/ethnic identity, as children become more competent in language, the language they encounter increasingly expresses social relations that lead them to feel (unconsciously) or realise (consciously) they are more similar and have more in common with some people and different or have less in common with others (Hall, 1996). Along with hegemonic notions of race (Woodward, 1997), this tends to eventually draw children towards those persons with whom they feel most similar. It is as though the society itself infuses an identity into the individual.

Consistent with this view, Doan and Stephan (2006) found that some individuals felt like their ethnic identity was externally imposed on them. Acquiring a racial identity, therefore, seems to be closely tied to acquiring a social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). Social Identity Theory states that identity and categorization are what cause social biases, including racial ones. Simply put, individuals tend to favour their in-group over their out-group. This group identification stems from our basic biological need for group acceptance. The more we feel accepted the higher is our self-esteem (Brewer & Brown, 1998).

Conversely, the less we feel accepted, then potentially the more the negative impact to our self-esteem. Hence terms like "identity problem", "identity crisis" and "identity confusion" (cf. Erikson, 1968). Erikson argued that these sorts of identity-related problems would tend to surface as the individual moves from being a child to being a young adult (i.e., during adolescence). Such problems could come in all forms from uncertainty about what kind of person they are, to their aspirations in life. Questions like these become issues due to becoming consciously aware of themselves in the world and their relationships to other people (Erikson, 1968).

In an early study of identity, Clark and Clark (1939) divided racial identity into three categories, racial awareness, racial preference, and self-identification. The children were presented with both white and black dolls, and they were asked eight questions to elicit the perceptions of the three categories. Findings showed that black children were more racially aware than white children, for example being more proficient than white children at recognising the colours of dolls at a younger age. Of greater surprise, they found that most black children preferred the white dolls, and many even identified themselves with the white dolls. Clark (1955) later concluded "The fact that young Negro children would prefer to be white reflects their knowledge that society prefers white people... It is clear, therefore, that the self-acceptance or self-rejection found so early in the child's developing complex of racial ideas reflects the awareness and acceptance of prevailing racial attitudes in his community." (Clark, 1955, in Wilson, 1987, p.44).

Concerning particularly black identity, we note that, although some strides have been made with regard to children since the Clarks studies' (Brown, 2006), research with older adolescents and adults is yet to establish empirically-demonstrable links between the underpinnings of ethnic bias (e.g., including implicit racial prejudice) and the recipients' racial/ethnic identity: There are gaps in our understanding of how other people see an individual, and how this relates to how that individual sees him/herself.

One way of greatly increasing our understanding without an inordinate amount of effort is to identify one or more group that can serve to highlight issues of identity more generally. In this thesis, I focus mainly on persons (adolescents and adults) of unions between a white parent and a black parent. Such persons may to some extent represent a test of our understanding of race and race-related issues (e.g., ethnicity, culture and colour). But in addition, such persons surely may also represent an opportunity to achieve better racial integration than ever before. Therefore, ahead of presenting my studies into identity, I first present a more detailed

overview and review of issues related to whether children of parents from black versus white groups should adopt an identity of one parent's race, the other parent's race or some other identity. The next chapter introduces this group, explains why it represents a unique opportunity in social psychological research, and sets out some of what we already know about this group (which we will term "Mixed-Race" individuals). In the remaining chapters, I then set this group in the context of its parental groups, before directly investigating this group's identity and experiences, both explicitly and implicitly.

## CHAPTER 2

### Being of Mixed-Race

"They categorize us in particular ways .... On the basis of such categorizations, they expect particular behavior from us; on the basis of these expectations, they act toward us. The manner in which they act toward us defines our 'self'." (Stryker, 1959, p.116, as quoted in Charon, 1992, p.70).

In the U.S., studies have shown that race is typically a major factor in segregation in social life. There are continued high levels of segregation on the basis of race in residence (Fischer, Wiebe, Paabo & Przeworski, 2004; Massey & Denton, 1993), schooling (Orfield, 2003), friendships (Hallinan & Williams, 1989; Joyner & Kao, 2001; Marsden, 1987; Moody, 2001; Mouw & Entwisle, 2006; Quillian & Campbell, 2003), marriage and intimate relationships (Joyner & Kao, 2005; Qian & Lichter, 2007). Segregation on the basis of race appears far more apparent than segregation on the basis of things like one's class or gender (Fischer et al., 2004; Griscom, 1992; Quillian & Campbell, 2003).

However, to some extent we do each seem to identify with a specific ethnic, cultural or racial group. As explained in Chapter 1, for the present purposes we can treat these three social constructs as overlapping. We can also treat them as relating most directly to a person's skin colour (for black v white persons this is tantamount to race - Lewis, 2011). More than any other focus, this thesis is about the situation of children of unions between races. To understand such children, we need to first understand the parental races. In Chapter 1 I discussed the roots of being black. So let us now begin with a brief discussion of what it might mean to be "white".

Whiteness "ostensibly has been mediated by privilege; constructed in the context of domination" (Fatimilehin, 1999, p.308). In the historical construction of whiteness

particularly from the mid 1800s onwards, the construct of whiteness was crystallised, and people strived to be seen as in that category (Ignatiev, 1995).

"They were given public deference... because they were White. They were admitted freely, with all classes of White people, to public functions and public parks.... The police were drawn from their ranks and their courts, depended on their votes, treated them with leniency.... Their votes selected public officials, and... It had great effect upon their personal treatment." (DuBois, 1935, p.700).

From the above, Fatimilehin (1999) concludes that "White" has long been the default racial identity, regardless of whether one is European/U.S. or from any other culture around the world. The current reality is that white persons do not often have to self-consciously consider race, and are only rarely compelled to understand themselves in terms of their own race (Katz, 1978; McIntyre, 1997). McIntosh would add, "I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was "meant" to remain oblivious." (McIntosh, 1988, p.1).

Such privileges include the following:

"I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed...

I can be pretty sure that if I ask to talk to the 'person in charge', I will be facing a person of my race"... (McIntosh, 1988, p.2).

Now consider briefly the situation of a child from a union between a white parent and a black parent:

"His appearance is different (brown), his features do not make sense, he might be half white but that does not really count. His identity, as evidenced visually in his skin, is in a perpetual oscillation between constructed opposites. His society is unable to 'read' him.

This makes him miserable, but it also makes his society even more determined to 'name' him or fix him with a stable, decided identity. Whether or not he understands or identifies with this identity is of no importance to the system, whose main concern is to maintain the perfect neatness of its boundaries." (Morrison, 2004, p.387).

In the following sections, I consider this view plus alternative views of identity and also some possible psychological consequences of being the child of the union between a black parent and a white parent.

### **2.1. Maybe They are Just Mixed-up!**

We probably develop our sense of identity starting by associating ourselves with our parents. But in the case of children growing up with parents who are of different races (most starkly, black and white), we may end up at least starting out with an identity that is in some respects mixed-up. Indeed, this is a premise that underpins the present thesis: Do the children of a black and a white parent, arrive at a definite sense of who they are, or do they simply identify as a mixture of both parents' heritage (Morrison, 2004).

But in fact, to ask about mixes between black and white may be something of a nonsense question. As Deleuze and Guattari put it "Race is defined not by its purity but rather by the impurity conferred upon it by a system of domination. Bastard and mixed-blood are the true names of race." (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988, p.379). This claim that there is no such thing as a pure race today, may well be the true case, but it does not stop us grouping ourselves and others into so called "most pure races" and then highlighting the children of unions between people of two of these so called different races as in some sense a mixture and hence a non-pure or even diluted race (Fatimilehin, 1999; Song & Hashem, 2010).



As intimated from the Stryker (1959) quote at the start of this chapter, one way or another, society plays a critical role in the creation of self identity. Morrison (2004) notes that this is perhaps best gleaned and appreciated when we consider the case of persons who have one parent of one race (say "white") and the other parent of a different race (say "black"). For Morrison, not only does this lead to the basic question of what to call the child of parents of different races. It also raises the question of whether such children call themselves the same thing - whether they identify more with one parental race, the other parental race, a mixture of these races, both races simultaneously, or even midway between the races but not either of these races (Bowles, 1993; Gibbs & Hines, 1992; Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson & Harris, 1993).

On this issue, Tizard and Phoenix (1993) interviewed 58 such children, aged 15 or 16 years. The children were part of a larger sample of children in their final year of English (London) secondary schooling. The focal group had one black (Afro-Caribbean) parent and one white parent. Both parents were interviewed, additional to interviewing the adolescent. It was found that the adolescents were not consistent in their racial categorization of themselves (Harris & Sims, 2002). It was as though they were a bit mixed-up about their identity. Less than half (46%) described themselves as black, with a similar proportion describing themselves as "coloured" or "brown" (a respondent could offer up more than one term/label). However, an even higher percentage self-identified using the highly pejorative or derogatory term "half-caste" (see below); with several other studies reporting this finding (Fatimilehin, 1999; Wilson, 1987). When respondents were asked whether they saw themselves as black or as white, they were somewhat reluctant to do so as they saw it as "disowning" one of their parents.

From these interviews, Tizard and Phoenix concluded that 10% of adolescents from the focal group had a problematic racial identity, rejecting both parental races but at the same time seeming to want to identify with one or other of the parental identities (see also

Franklin & Madge, 2000). Rockquemore and Arend (2002) also found that children of parents of different races vary markedly in their racial identification. However, of the 61.3% who embraced both their parental races approximately equally, roughly half considered themselves as intermediate between both races, with the other half acknowledging this fact but stating that to all intents and purposes they are of the "lower race" (here black - see Chapter 1 for discussion of the one-drop rule). The latter might well be Tizard and Phoenix's (1993/2002) mixed-up group. Interestingly, in Tizard and Phoenix's (1993) data, this problematic racial identity was actually more evident in adolescents whose parents had brought the child up to be proud of their own identity. Other adolescents tended to report that their status of being both black and white, although at times challenging and rather uncomfortable, was also quite a privilege; in that it offered a kind of bridge between black and white groups.

Tizard and Phoenix's study begins to answer the question of how the children of parents from different racial groups see themselves, but also itself re-raises this same question. There is also the parallel issue of how such children tend to be perceived by others (Rockquemore & Arend, 2002). The underlying question is about the "race" of such children. In Chapter 1, we deliberately avoided this issue as far as possible. But in this Chapter, I tackle it head-on.

## **2.2. The Question of Terminology**

Terminology pertaining to children of parents of differing races has long been a contentious issue. Terms, and also the ways such terms are used, seem to change almost constantly over time. In Europe and the U.S., from the 18th century to the present time, terms have generally tended to flow from mulatto, mixed-bloods, mixed-breed, half-breed, half-caste, two-breed, and mixed-race (e.g., see Aspinall 2003; Fatimilehin, 1999; Nobles,

2000; Phillips, Odunlami & Bonham, 2007). The U.S. traditionally struggled with this issue, even in their censuses (see Chapter 1; see also Nobles 2000; Roth, 2005). This was due to the historical "one-drop rule" one drop of black and you are classed as black and also the laws that prohibited interracial marriage in many U.S. states until 1967; only legislated against directly in 1980 (e.g., see Sundstrom, 2001). All of this adds to the challenges faced by fitting in society for persons of notable part-African descent (Roth, 2005), or any other non white descent for that matter.

Regarding the labels given on this issue, Aspinall (2003) notes that specifically in the U.S. literature, medical and social science databases seem to reflect the adoption of "biracial", "interracial", "multiethnic", with these used around five times as frequently as any other terms. The next most frequently used terms are then "mixed race" and "biethnic". The least used terms were "mixed parentage", "mixed heritage", and "dual heritage"; with frequencies from as low as around 10% of the most used terms down to as low as less than 1%, respectively. Fatimilehin, (1999) observes that terms that do not include associations with "race", e.g., mixed parentage and dual heritage, are lacking in specificity as the mixture or duality could refer to religion, class, or any other social grouping. These also imply the assumption that there was no "mixing" in previous generations (Phoenix & Owen, 1996).

It should be noted that not all terms are aimed at merely offering adequate labels for the children of parents who are from different races. Some terms seem pejorative and/or primarily aimed at excluding such children from one race or the other, or even from both races. Examples of such terms used in the U.S. or U.K. include "coloured", "mixed blood", "mulatta" (from "mulatto"), "half blood", "half-breed", "creole", "half caste", "Negro", and "mongrel" (Aspinall, 2003; Fatimilehin, 1999; Rockquemore & Arend, 2002).

The last three of these examples are particularly illuminating: All are highly derogatory. One of them (half-caste) is actually a pejorative term, that derives from the traditional caste systems of some Asian countries, such as India. Historically, these systems serve to keep different sections of a culture apart from one another, on the grounds that mixes between them are, for example, unholy (e.g., an individual from the priest caste - the highest caste) would be strongly discouraged from marrying or even closely associating with an individual from the under-caste (lowest caste). Formally, most cultures have officially abandoned the caste system, although it does still seem to be in operation at a less formal level.

The second of our three terms (Negro) seems to invoke or be a direct instance of the one-drop rule. In doing this it removes all possibility of children of parents of differing races from having their own identity or any part of the dominant racial identity (e.g., white). In the U.S., even many African Americans enforce the one-drop rule (Davis, 1991), so that persons with any discernable black heritage are expected to see themselves as black (Harris & Sim, 2002; Park, 1928).

The last of our three terms (mongrel) seems to remove even the possibility of a "human identity" - by applying a label associated first and foremost with dogs. So we know that many of the labels used to refer to the children of unions between parents of different races, are highly offensive - some appearing deliberately so. But what of the official line, the national censuses.

Since the U.K. 1991 census, labels for the children of parents from different races have progressively focussed less on the child him/herself and more on the parents. In this way it has been possible to come up with terms which denigrate the child less and less. This was the basis of such terms including, "dual heritage" and "mixed parentage". A similar strategy in the U.S. is what led to terms like "biracial" and "multiracial". However, while

these terms were being invented in the U.K. and the U.S., both society's continued to implicitly categorise "mixed-race" individuals as "black", by formally or informally applying the one-drop rule (Morrison, 2004). One possible implication is that the white parent may then not be taken to be all that important for the child's developing identity (Tizard & Phoenix, 2002). Thus, whilst mixed-race people may well have a varied status within society, both white people and black people seem to have always considered them, to be part of the "black race"; and this still seems to be the default today (Davis, 1991).

In this thesis, I am going to adopt the term "mixed-race" to refer to the children of parents of differing races. I am by no means claiming that this is the most neutral or fitting term, but I believe it to be a good start. This term captures the recent moves to refer to such children according to their parental races but also intimates the view that we should acknowledge the children as having their own individual identity rather than just being the product of the parents. The term mixed-race then, captures the situation of these children, as being indeterminate between having a unique identity and having some blend of parental identities. For one instance of mixed-race, we then try to determine which of these two influences is more the reality, in the following chapters. I note here though, that this label refers to "race", even though we saw in Chapter 1 that race is often taken far too literally.

### **2.3. Officially Categorising Mixed-Race**

According to Gomez (2000) and Montalvo and Codina (2001) the most noticeable differences in individuals' physical appearance are skin colour, hair texture and facial features. These have been shown to be an important part of basic social interactions, from judging aggressiveness to judging a person's beauty (Lewis, 2011). Of particular relevance here, these attributes are also used to denote a person's race and ethnicity.

In the U.K., there has been an increase of “interracial” marriages and cohabitations. Unsurprisingly, some of these unions have resulted in children. The growth of such unions and their children, was evident from the 1950s following the large scale migration from the New Commonwealth mostly to England. Initially, this mainly comprised the children of black Caribbean and white British couples. However, it includes progressively persons of black African descent, South Asian (Indian/Pakistan) descent, and East Asian (Chinese) descent. However, the black Caribbean group still has the highest proportion of unions with white persons which result in children (Aspinall, 2003).

During the 1980s in the U.K., work was undertaken to investigate whether it was acceptable to include an ethnic group question in the census for the first time. A mixed ethnic group category was tested although the results at that time indicated that those individuals within the mixed-race group preferred not to be separated from the groups which they belonged to. This reason alone was why a mixed ethnic category was not included when the ethnic group question was first asked in the 1991 census. However when the data from the 1991 census were closely analysed, they showed that a significant proportion of individuals when asked about their ethnicity, selected the category "Other Black" or "Other Ethnic Group" and would then write a description of their mixed-ethnicity group. The children of parents of differing races seemed to be telling us that they did not want to simply be regarded as just one of their parental races; but preferred to be recognised as a distinct group.

Further work was subsequently carried out for the introduction of a dedicated “Mixed” category. Four mixed ethnic group categories were introduced for the first time in the 2001 census in England and Wales. The number of people classified as "Mixed-Race" in the 2001 census was higher than expected, compared to the number of individuals who had selected “Other Black” or “Other Ethnic group” in the 1991 census. The numbers for 2001 were around 674,000 people in England and Wales versus around 230,000 for 1991 (note,

write-in answers were used for the 1991 census - Phoenix & Owen, 1996). Follow-up analyses in the Office of National Statistics Longitudinal Study revealed that a large number of people who identified within the mixed-race group in the 2001 census had actually selected one of the main ethnic groups (e.g., black v white) in the 1991 census (Platt, Simpson & Akinwale, 2005).

The 2001 U.K. census revealed that the children of unions between black (Caribbean) and white (English) partners are the fastest growing ethnic category in the U.K.; half of whom were under 16, and predicted to be the single largest minority ethnic group by the end of 2020 (Modood, 1998; ONS, 2001; Owen, 2001; Tikly, Caballero, Haynes & Hill, 2004). But after making the data from 2001 and 1991 equitable, it emerged that such mixed-race persons are more comfortable being given the choice between selecting only one race but alternatively being able to select a category that denotes being of mixed-race more directly, as occurred in 2001; rather than being restricted to choosing only one racial group but permitted to add further details as in 1991.

The U.S. 2000 census took a different view to the U.K. There, respondents simply tick all the boxes that apply. In this way, respondents identify their heritage rather than selecting a specific identity for themselves (that can be done via later data analyses - Office of Management & Budget [OMB], 1997). A criticism of the U.S. method is that it makes the extraction of identities in data analyses complex compared to the U.K. system (Parker & Song, 2001). The choice for the U.S. may stem from a recognition of individuals who are mixed-race but whom identify as being African-American (synonymous with being black); and who would continue to do so even if presented with the direct category “mixed-race” / “biracial” (Jones, 1990; McBride, 1996; Scales-Trent, 1995; Williams, 1995). In support of the U.S. system, Fatimilehin (1999) found that 43% of mixed-race adolescents spontaneously described themselves with a term which denoted a dual

heritage, most commonly “mixed race”. However, a much greater 52% used the label “African-Caribbean”.

This finding contrasts with a U.K. study by Tizard and Phoenix (1993). In terms of multiple self-labels, 39% of the 58 adolescents interviewed regarded themselves as “Black”, with a much larger 49% choosing “Mixed-Race” or a similar term. Similarly, Wilson (1987) found that 59% of their 6-9-year olds saw themselves first and foremost as mixed-race, brown, “coloured”, or “half-and-half”. Wilson additionally found that the intermediate identification was made most often by children living in multicultural areas.

#### **2.4. Can Mixed-Race Lead to Implicit Racism?**

It has recently been suggested that boundaries among whites, Asians, and Hispanics are blurring, with Asians and Hispanics following a trajectory quite similar to past white ethnic groups: And yet the black-white divide is retaining its strength (Lee & Bean, 2004). Instead of blurring, Lee and Bean suggest that the traditional black–white binary is being replaced by a black-nonblack divide. In line with this argument, Quillian and Campbell (2003) found that friendship formation across racial lines was less common among black adolescents than for other groups.

Fatimilehin (1999) and Flagg (1993) independently argue that a benefit of being white is that such persons rarely need to understand themselves in terms of race (cf. Katz, 1978). In a sense, they are often oblivious to their own racial identity and may not consciously consider their race, analyse societal patterns by race (McIntyre, 1997), or realize that being white is pertinent to “social location” (Griscom, 1992).

In view of this historical and continued racial inequality, where would we expect that persons of mixed-race stand? They may be unable to sit wholly in the category of white or



black; instead being suspended in "racial space" somewhere between these two (Rockquemore & Arend, 2002). Some studies have considered the position of mixed-race persons in racial stratification hierarchies. For example, they might contrast the educational outcomes and socioeconomic attainments relative to persons of one race or another. A general finding is that the socioeconomic status of mixed-race persons tends to lay midway between that of their two parental groups (Harris & Thomas, 2002; Hill, 2000; Kao, 1999).

Mediterranean persons such as Greek or Spanish, tend to be of similar complexion to some mixed-race individuals, and yet the former are typically assumed to be "White" by some default (Sargent et al., 2007). This potentially offers the possibility that the latter might be categorised within this white continuum. However, this leads to a claim that they are moving up the ranks in order for them and their families to benefit from white privileges (Fatimilehin, 1999; Morrison, 2004; Rockquemore & Arend, 2002; Sundstrom, 2001).

To better understand this argument, let us consider another group momentarily. White Americans during the 1800s placed "Blacks" and "Irish" as equally subhuman (Ignatiev, 1995). Ignatiev discusses jokes of the time, whereby black persons might be called "smoked Irish", and the Irish as "inside-out niggers". "Irish laborers were used for dangerous work where it would not make financial sense to waste a slave one had already paid for." (Ignatiev, 1995). However, although both groups largely lived in the same poor districts of major cities and often intermarried, instead of joining with the black group to overcome their common situation, the Irish "chose, by and large, to find a way to gain for themselves a favoured position within it." (Ignatiev, 1995).

Sundstrom (2001) argues that an overly strong insistence on being seen as of mixed-race rather than as related to two races, inadvertently submits to a racist hierarchy, reducing to an attempt to place distance between one's self and non-whites at the bottom, while

decreasing the distance between one's self and whites at the top. Those who seek "mixed race" identity do not want to abolish "racial politics", they simply want to be associated as much towards the positive race as possible. In the limit, some who claim mixed race identity, are saying to the world, "I do not want to be Asian, Native American, or African; I would rather be white." (Sundstrom, 2001, p.288).

## **2.5. Ethnic Identity and Mixed-Race**

Research about the identity (racial, cultural, ethnic...) of mixed-race (Black Caribbean/African and White English/European) adolescents aged 12 to 19 years in the U.K. seems very limited (Fatimilehin, 1999; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002). But this limited research has already shown that, whilst some individuals of mixed-race may adopt a singular racial identification (e.g., Black), others may opt for a blended identity, or a mixed identity in which they refuse to choose one category over another (Bonilla-Silva, 2004). Yet other individuals may claim an identity transcending all racial categorization and thinking altogether (see Mahtani, 2002; Rockquemore & Brunzma, 2002a/b; Root, 1992; Song, 2010a; Zack, 1996). So while some individuals may seek inclusion in an existing racial category, others may try to contest, refute or shift racial boundaries or classifications.

The plethora of alternative identifications has led some researchers to conclude that mixed-race persons (particularly young people) are in some sense trapped between "two worlds" or "stripped" of an identity. They find disproportionately high numbers in fostering and adoptive care, or at risk of educational underachievement. The criminal justice system is sometimes seen as contributing to the intimated identity confusion (Morrison, 2004; Myant, 2001; Richards, 2001).

But the above views may be overly pessimistic. They do not acknowledge that in recent history, there have been many individuals of outstanding merit who were actually of

mixed-race. These include the famous Jamaican-born Mary Seacole, the well-known "doctress of medicine" in the early to mid 1800s. She was spurned by Florence Nightingale but nevertheless was the first woman to systematically treat the injured of battle actually near the front line (e.g., in the Crimean War, 1854 - Seacole, 1984). Another noteworthy individual is Robert Wedderburn, who was at the forefront of the struggle for real abolition of enslavement in the U.K. and Caribbean, some years after the slave trade was apparently made illegal (late 1800s - see Ramdin, 1987). As one further case, the singer and song-writer Bob Marley is but one recent example of an individual with African/Caribbean heritage who managed to gain acceptance without reference to his mixed-race (see Hoyles & Hoyles, 1999). Mixed-Race individuals then, have every reason to feel proud of their historical identity. However, there are also challenges to that identity, and, as we have already glimpsed, even to their right to have a distinct identity.

So mixed-race persons clearly can achieve and have a strong sense of identity. However, is a strong racial identity what is best here? From research with four university samples, Steck, Heckert and Heckert (2003) concluded that if people see themselves as in some sense the default race, or if they are highly comfortable with their ethnic identity, then the result of this is actually a lowered ethnic identity salience. Conversely, if people see themselves as standing out as non-default, or if they feel others are seen as uncomfortable with the person's ethnicity, then ethnic identity salience is increased under those conditions. This finding was recently re-confirmed in relation to different subgroups of the Brazilian black population (black v brown) in relation to cultural identity (Santos et al., 2010).

In forming their strong identity, mixed race persons may face dilemmas of identity such as, should they hang out with white friends more, black friends more or have as diverse friendship groups as possible to reflect their own "internal racial diversity" (Quillian &

Redd, 2009)? Should they listen to the stereotypical music that their white parents follow or the more traditionally "black musics" (Song, 2010b)? And the list goes on.

An alternative and more positive plus productive view is that mixed-race persons do not necessarily have a dilemma at all. For example, they may actually be better at forming racially diverse friendship networks (Alba & Nee, 2003). Rockquemore and Brunson (2002a) present evidence that some multiracial persons even view themselves as "transcending" racial categories altogether. But again, these individuals tend to be better at forming friendships across races.

## **2.6. Psychological Dimensions of Being of Mixed-Race**

Maxime (1993) argues that, race is an emotive and potentially damaging factor in children's lives, and therefore it is a necessity that mixed-race children perhaps in particular have a positive identity in order to deal with the social effects of their race. The reality though may be that a relatively high proportion of these individuals are in fact struggling to make the successful transition to adulthood (Richards, 2001).

This view is in line with Stonequist's "Marginal Man" thesis, which suggests that those who are mixed-race risk suffering undue psychological harm as a result of possible rejection and lack of "belonging" to a particular race (Stonequist, 1937). These concerns are shared by some individuals, who believe that mixed-race children will suffer problems of low-self-esteem, and delinquent behaviour (Alibhai-Brown & Montague, 1992; Alibhai-Brown, 2001; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002). Well-being, self-esteem and self confidence are psychological constructs seen as crucial to children generally and perhaps especially to mixed-race children (Quillian & Redd, 2009; Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Whaley, 1993). For example, self-esteem has been found to be more closely intertwined with racial identity for black persons (Demo & Hughes, 1990). As well as self-esteem, some researchers have

found evidence that mixed-race persons have increased risks concerning depression and general social adjustment (see also Bracey, Bamaca & Umana-Taylor, 2004; Campbell & Eggerling-Boeck, 2006; Cooney & Radina, 2000; Milan & Keiley, 2000; Quillian & Redd, 2009; Shih & Sanchez, 2005). And yet despite such findings, psychological research into the subject of mixed-race remains somewhat taboo.

According to the above account, mixed-race adolescents might well do best to identify as black in order to survive; because this is closest to their "true identity" (Katz & Treacher, 2005). By contrast, Park (1928), who was actually responsible for the original marginal man thesis, argued that being a "marginal man" had great rewards, as the individual was privileged in being able to look equally objectively at both cultures critically, making such persons particularly valuable citizens of the world. Park also stated that the "marginal man" had a wider horizon, their intelligence keener, and their viewpoint more rational, than those individuals who live in one culture. This can be applied to those individuals of two races (Park, 1928). To support his argument he pointed out two of the most eminent "American Negro leaders" Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois who were both "mixed-bloods" (Park, 1931).

Now, part of the task that parents undertake in socializing their children is to facilitate a positive self-attitude toward the child's own identity (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Steck et al., 2003). One view is that, to prevent mixed-race children becoming confused or struggling with their identity and risk issues with low self-esteem, parents should assist their development of a single coherent image of who they are. Here, it may be preferential for them to positively identify within a single group (again this would presumably be the black group). Otherwise, they will be ill-equipped to deal with challenges to their perceived race from the society that they inevitably live in (Katz & Treacher, 2005). On this view, white parents, perhaps specifically lone white mothers, will tend to be ill-equipped to help them do so, and they require the support of the black parent.

The kind of view just outlined, might intimate that mixed-race persons, as they grow up, will come to realise that they are not as socially accepted as some racial groups in our society. On this issue, Campbell and Eggerling-Boeck (2006) contrasted single-race and mixed-racial adolescents using the U.S. National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health survey. In one section of the survey measuring social acceptance, respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the statement "I feel socially accepted". Campbell and Eggerling-Boeck (2006) found that persons identifying as multiracial (mixed-race white with black or white with Native-American only) on an in-school survey tended to score lower than single-race students on social acceptance. Other mixed-race groups exhibited similar social acceptance to white respondents, rather than being similar to mixed-race black or native American respondents. This finding may partly reflect lower peer acceptance of these mixed-race groups, particularly in adolescence (Cooney & Radina, 2000). Gibbs (1987) concluded from her own studies that mixed-race adolescents tend more often to seek peer acceptance after race-based peer rejection, by over-conforming to peer pressure or by socially isolating themselves.

## **2.7. Aims of Research**

The aim of the remainder of this thesis is to build upon previous research, and present new quantitative analyses plus enriched qualitative analyses regarding several issues related to mixed-race identity (Lewis, 2011; Phillips et al., 2007; Song, 2010a). The body of research will attempt to distinguish any genuine problems from those which arise from merely apparent-problems (i.e., misconceptions) about mixed-race individuals as simply being "confused" or "mixed-up". Among the questions answered are: Do mixed-race adolescents and young adults define themselves as mixed-race, or describe themselves as black or white? What terminology do those (black and white) adolescents and young adults

subscribe to and why? Do mixed-race adolescents and young adults decide to take on a black identity, or are they pushed by society's perception of mixed-race as black, or is it easier for mixed-race adolescents and young adults to choose a black identity rather than a white identity? Is it too difficult to be black and white to an equal amount for mixed-race individuals to respect both their racial and cultural identity?

As some of these issues are linked to the often made claim that there is a tendency for pure races to perceive mixed-race individuals as black (Katz & Treacher, 2005), or the claim sometimes made that mixed-race people are either mixed-up (Morrison, 2004; Tizard & Phoenix, 1993) or they would ideally want to be seen as white (Fatimilehin, 1999; Sundstrom, 2001), it is also necessary to include black individuals and white individuals in most of the studies. We will begin by seeking to confirm the pertinence of race in person perception, and progressively move both towards investigations of mixed-race self-perceptions of identity and towards the particular case of a developing identity specifically during adolescence. The overarching goal of the research is to attempt to present a meaningful snapshot of the current perspective from mixed-race adolescents and young adults about being mixed-race and growing up in the United Kingdom.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **On the Subjective Reality of Race and its Salience**



### 3.0. Abstract

Previous research within developmental psychology has investigated saliency hierarchies to identify which aspect of a person is the most significant in society's perception of the person. One often reported finding is that a person's gender is far more salient than their race. But it has been found mainly with predominantly white samples. This chapter asks whether this finding is as true of adults as it is claimed to be with children. Here, 280 participants, an equal number of white v black plus fairly well matched for gender, were given a task of grouping 2 of 3 photographs of individuals together by either race or gender, and deciding which of the 3 was odd one out. Findings showed that race is more salient in groupings than is gender. However, further analyses showed that the effect was driven mainly by black participants, with white participants grouping more by gender than by race. However, these findings may stem from controlled processing of the stimuli. We now need to determine if we get the same results with automatic processing of the stimuli.

### 3.1. Background to the Study

In any visual scene, faces typically draw automatic attention and elicit preferential looking (Anes & Kruer, 2004; Vuilleumier, Armony, Driver & Dolan, 2001; Zhu et al., 2010).

Arguably, one aspect of a face to impinge our consciousness is often a person's "race", or more accurately put their perceived colour, cultural group and/or ethnic group (Haney Lopez, 1996; Obasogie, 2010; Phelps et al., 2000). Brown (2006) found that colour is perhaps the most appropriate single term for these. However, as explained in Chapter 1, for reasons of clarity we will here use the terms "race" and "ethnicity", although we are cognizant of more specific uses of such terms (see Markus, 2008).

Whether explicitly or by intimation, people often identify and define themselves in terms of one or more group membership (i.e., male or female, uneducated or well educated). On this issue, Tajfel and Turner (1979) introduce "social identity theory." The theory identifies that identity and categorization are the root of causing social bias. The theory proposes that individuals tend to favour their in-group, rather than their out-group. This is about the need for identification and group acceptance, which falls into a positive form of social identity and self-esteem (Brewer & Brown, 1998). Membership or identification with a positively valued social group tends to be associated with enhanced self-esteem. Conversely, being a member of a relatively disadvantaged social group (i.e., having a criminal record) tends to be associated with decreased self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Now, in Chapter 1, I intimated that race, although not really a factual construct, has historically been used to define being black and then to justify the gross mistreatment of black persons (e.g., during black oppression/slavery - Massey & Denton, 1993; Oliver & Shapiro, 1995; Wilson, 1997). Indeed, in some ways it continues to be a primary differential regarding groups of individuals (e.g., related to increased likelihood of living in a particular environment or constituting a factor in lowered self-esteem). Then, in Chapter 2, I discussed the construct

of mixed-race using a variety of arguments (also noting negative outcomes akin to those previously discussed for black persons); and some arguments actually intimating mixed-race persons need to be aware that they will tend to be categorised as black regardless of their preferred self-categorisation. So once again each argument in some sense was rooted in race.

Indeed, it can be argued that every individual, within the context of their own identity, creates a hierarchy of saliency with some identities clearly being more important than other ones (Charon, 1992). Due to societal pressures, the saliency of racial identity would be arguably more relevant, more of the time, for the marginalized group than for the dominant group. Unlike the dominant group, the status of "black" (e.g., African-American) is one that is "racially defined" (Demo & Hughes, 1990). Thus, minority groups will be more cognizant of their (perhaps unique) identity. However, the above arguments notwithstanding, there is surprisingly little direct empirical evidence regarding the primacy of race over other social constructs in adolescents and adults. This was one reason for the present study.

Quite a lot of research has been done regarding racial saliency during young childhood and middle childhood (Aboud, 1992; Charon, 1992; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Fazio & Dunton, 1997; Ramsey, 1991; Roskos-Ewoldsen & Fazio, 1992; Smith, Fazio & Cejka, 1996; Steck, Heckert & Heckert, 2003). The standard story is that children who grow up within racially homogenous areas do not have the opportunity to test and form their racial perceptions and preference. White children are often insulated because of their majority status and due to the absence of any direct contact with children from other racial groups. However, despite the absence of other non-white racial groups, white children were still developing attitudes about other absent racial groups (George & Hoppe, 1979; Jarrett, 1981).

Saliency of race versus gender appears to be related to the demands of the set tasks and the social experiences of the children (Ramsey, 1991). In previous research it had been shown that preschoolers use gender more frequently than race when they categorised others (Doke &

Risley, 1972; Van Parys, 1981). For example, McGraw, Durm and Durnam (1988), investigated the relative salience of gender, race, age and the wearing of eyeglasses in children's social perception. Children of 3 to 8 years were tested across five experiments, which varied the analytical design (within-subjects v between-subjects), and the number of dimensions on which the photos could vary (e.g., replacing gender with the wearing of eyeglasses – experiment 2 v 4). Blocks of 16 pairs of head-and-shoulder colour photographs of adults were shown on cards arranged in a predetermined random order within a folder. A photograph pair could vary in up to three dimensions, and the child's task was to report the most salient dimension occurring to him/her.

For each pair (one pair per page) one photo was accompanied by a "\*", and the child simply had to talk about this photo relative to the non-starred photo of the pair. By looking at the proportion of times that the starred photo was described first and foremost in terms of each of the dimensions of interest, it was concluded that adults' gender was the most salient variable followed by their race (white v black), their age and then very distantly followed by the wearing of eyeglasses. Similar findings were found by McGraw, Durm and Patterson (1983), based on only white 4 and 5 year-olds.

However, the fact that in their 1988 research, McGraw et al. had included at least three distinct races in their study, is suggestive that the salience hierarchy found in both the 1983 study and the 1988 study are independent of race; in other words black children as well as white children show this same salience hierarchy. It is worth noting though that even the McGraw et al. (1988) study had only included 8 black participants out of the maximum of 69 participants (less than 12%). Ideally, black participants would have been represented in similar numbers to white participants.

As well as showing that race and gender are the most salient categories to develop (Aboud, 1992), this shows that relatively young children tend strongly to see a person's gender ahead of

seeing that person's race. Other research has contested this finding of subservience of race beneath gender. For instance, when research has actually looked at children's social interactions within a multiracial environment, it has been found that children show a marked preference for peers of the same race as themselves (Sagar, Schofield & Snyder, 1983; Schofield, 1982; Schofield & Whitley, 1983).

However, even if we accept McGraw et al.'s (1988) findings of race being subservient to gender, this does not mean that the salience of gender over race remains during the rest of childhood, adolescence and into adulthood. Indeed, as Mullen (1991) found, the picture is more complex than a simple advantage of one construct (e.g., gender) over the other (e.g., race), even in childhood. In one study, Ramsey (1991) tested 93 white preschool children of 3 to 7 years. Children were first screened and only those showing good categorisation skills and good understanding of the concepts "same" and "different" were included in the study proper. Photographs of unfamiliar Asian-American, African-American, and European-American children were used to investigate the salience of race and sex. Each photo showed a child's head and shoulders taken against an identical, neutral background. The interviews were conducted on an individual basis in quiet areas near classrooms. Photographs were presented in sets of three simultaneously placed in front of the child, with six trials constructed out of a random selection of eight photos. For each set, the photographs varied according to race and gender (e.g., black male, black female, white female). For matched pairs testing, when each participant was presented with photographs, they were asked to put two photographs together that "go together". Importantly, no criteria were given. Responses were scored on the basis of the first grouping children gave. Salience of race or gender was determined by the number of times they categorised in terms of race or gender (range = 0-6).

Once the participants sorted the set of 6 photographs, they were then asked to explain their choices. Responses were coded for explicit references to race (e.g., "They are both White.") or

gender (e.g., “They are both boys.”). The coding for racial comments were limited to explicit references to skin colour (e.g., “He is darker than me.”), racial group (e.g., “Black people”) and cultural association (e.g., “They eat with those stick things.”). The results showed that race was used significantly more frequently (58%) than gender (40%) in the categorisations of others. The children rarely gave clear reasoning in their explanations of their choices. An interesting finding in this sample was that race and hair was mentioned equally often and more frequently than gender; it appears that children used hair as a factor to be able to categorise by both race and gender.

However, when these child participants were subsequently shown one photograph at a time and asked to describe each photograph, participants now rarely mentioned race at all in their responses. The highest results were about physical attributes such as clothing (57%), with hair as the second highest (22%), gender as the third (14%), and race as the lowest (10%) attribute. This finding notwithstanding, children did mention race more frequently when looking at pictures of different-race children (14%), as compared to when looking at same-race children (7%). Race, then, was twice as salient when looking at children of a different race to one's self, compared to when looking at children of the same race as one's self.

When the children were now asked to state which pictures denote persons they would have as friends versus who they would not have as friends, they showed a tendency to reject both different-race and different-gender peers as potential friends. Importantly, rejection according to race was more marked than rejection by different gender. Intriguingly, different race tended to be mentioned explicitly as a reason for rejection, but same-race did not tend to be mentioned as a reason for acceptance. The suggestion is that race is relatively unimportant so long as the other person is of the same race as you. However, this finding can only be generalised to white children, as, much like in McGraw et al. (1983), no black children were

included in the sample. Also, even though there was a fairly even split of boys versus girls in the sample, differences in responses according to participant gender were not elucidated.

On the issue of the primacy of race versus gender but this time in adulthood, Fazio and Dunton (1997) tested 57 participants twice each, on a photograph identification task. The first of two sessions used 48 colour digitized photos of males and females of origin white, black, Asian and Hispanic. Photographs were head shots taken against a common backdrop. The second session used 24 photos of such individuals but this time in various occupations. The photos were presented in pairs, with each pair presenting two out of three social dimensions - race (12 white/black), gender (12 male/female) or occupational status (policeman, bricklayer, carpenter, mailman, cashier, professor, pharmacist and businessperson). The primary response variable was how long it took participants to respond to each pairing (Reaction Time - RT), but the actual response choices were also analysed. For both RT and choices, results showed that participants' judgements primarily relied upon race, followed by occupational cues and then gender when judging the similarity of the stimulus persons. In terms of RTs, this conclusion was based on the assumption that participants for whom race was more of an issue, would actually take longer to give their responses, regardless of what any particular response was.

Fazio and Dunton's findings suggested that white persons have greater difficulty with race; but although the RT findings strongly supported this, the finding that white persons tended to select on the basis of race may be problematic. This is because one could just as easily argue that the reduced ethnic identity saliency of white persons and the greater ethnic identity saliency of black people, should have led to white persons tending to categorise less in terms of race but black persons categorising much more in terms of race.

We might better appreciate our predicted black-white participant tendencies by considering a different kind of study. Gallup (2001) studied how black people are treated in the U.S.

Questionnaire data suggested that 59% of black people reported that black people are treated “more badly” than white people. This finding contrasted strongly with the 69% of white people who perceived that black people are treated “the same as white people”; that is to say not treated more badly than white people (Gallup, 2001). These differences in both group perceptions have existed for over 35 years as the same research was initiated in the 1960’s and was carried out at 5-year intervals from thereon (Gallup, 2001). White people presented the view that the average black person in the U.S. as “faring about as well, and often better, than the average white person” (Morin, 2001).

The point here is that if black persons versus white persons differ so widely in their perceptions of racial inequalities, we should expect them to also differ in terms of how salient each group takes race to be: In short, a group focussing on racial inequalities should be predicted to be more sensitive to race, and the group denying racial inequalities should be predicted to be less sensitive to race (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami & Hodson, 2002). Thus, if white versus black participants do have differing perspectives on social stratification, this reopens the issue of whether racial differences exist in the salience hierarchy profiles of these groups after all.

### **3.1.1. Aims of the Present Study**

More research into salience hierarchies has been done on children, with very little to date done on adults. One aim of the present study was to begin to redress this imbalance. As the two main (somewhat-opposing) social constructs of this line of research seem to be race and gender, we focussed exclusively on these two. Specifically, the present study firstly aimed to determine using a photograph pairing task, whether gender really is more salient than race during adulthood; and secondly whether the general profile found is the same for black participants as for participants who are white. We termed this latter variable "ethnicity".



Two further aims were thirdly to determine whether the findings for race of photos is the same or different depending on whether the photos are of men versus women: We termed this gender variable "sex". Lastly, we aimed to determine whether the gender of the participant has the same bearing on the sex of the photos as does the ethnicity of the participant. In investigating these aims, we also corrected the tendency in the previous literature, to rely solely or mainly on only white participants (e.g., McGraw et al., 1988). Here, we tested an equal number of white and black persons.

## **3.2. Method**

### **3.2.1. Participants**

The participants were 280 undergraduates and postgraduates from 2 local universities, none of whom were psychology students. Half the sample were white (59 female and 81 male) with the other half being black (72 female and 68 male). Ages ranged from 17 to 35 years, with an overall mean age of 21.9 years ( $SD = 3.1$ ). All participants were treated in accordance with the university's code of ethics and the British Psychological Society's code of conduct.

### **3.2.2. Materials**

Stimuli were a set of 12 full-colour gloss photographs of black persons and white persons. Photos were of dimension 9 cm x 10 cm and were taken against a background curtain of neutral colour (grey). No photographee wore eyeglasses.

In total, 12 photographs were selected out of 60 photographs by 3 independent adults (black male, white female and mixed-race male). The pictures used within the experiment were 3 black females, 3 white females, 3 black males and 3 white males, aged in their 20's on a neutral grey background, with neutral faces (not smiling, no teeth showing). No photographee was known or recognised by the participant. Each set of three photographs was presented on grey paper, and the question "Which one of the three pictures is different?" was labelled at the top of each page in the centre.

### **3.2.3. Design**

The experiment was of a mixed model design. There were two between-subject factors which were a participant's racial group and their gender. There was one between-subject factor which was the categorisation of photographees (by race versus by sex). The dependent variable was simply the total number of categorisations that a participant gave to photographees.

### 3.2.4. Procedure

Potential participants were approached on campus and were asked whether they would be willing to partake in a research task on perception; which was about on what basis people are distinguished and recognised. Those participants who agreed were given a consent form to read and sign. The experimenter randomly showed all photos in sets of three, covering four combinations of three photos. The photographs were arranged side by side in the sequence of either two males (one black and one white) with either a black or white female, or two females (one black and one white) with either a black or white male. The sequence of the photographs was situated so as to only provoke one of two outcomes from the participant: Namely the categorisation of the photographees most likely on the basis of race or gender.

Each group of three pictures was shown together on a single A4 page, with a question at the top of the page - "Which one of the three pictures is different?". The stimuli were labelled A, B or C, and the participant gave his/her answer, followed by as detailed an explanation as they wished. The experiment lasted approximately 5 to 10 minutes for each participant, depending on the detail of participants' verbal answers. All participants were debriefed on completion of the experiment (see Appendix A for Ethics submission).

### 3.3. Results

There were no right or wrong answers in this experiment as such. Instead, we simply counted the frequency with which each participant had responded according to race versus the frequency of responses for gender. If a participant viewed race as of equal saliency to gender, then s/he would tend to give two responses for race and two responses for gender; the maximum number of responses for either category being 4. The data were analysed using a three-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). This was a mixed ANOVA with participant gender being a between-subjects variable (male v female), participant ethnicity (race) being a second between-subjects variable (white v black), and categorisation\_tendency being the sole within-subjects variable (with 2 levels corresponding to "photographee race" v "photographee sex", respectively). It should be noted that ethnicity was used for participants simply so as to help avoid possible confusions between the race of participants and the race of photographees; and likewise, sex was used for photographees in order to avoid confusion of the gender of participants with the gender of photographees.

Table 3.1 summarises the data out of 4, according to participant gender, participant race and photographee category. The scores have also been presented as percentages, in order to help interpretation and comparisons against other studies. The first thing to note was that on a few occasions, participants decided for whatever reason, not to give a response according to either race or sex of photographees. However, such instances were quite rare (always below 5%).

Table 3.1. Participants (Race & Gender) Perception to Stimulus Race/Gender			
Participants	Photographee Race	Photographee Sex	Photographee Overall
Black Male	89.1% (3.600)	8.3% (3.650)	48.7% (0.800)
Black Female	81.6% (3.525)	17.3% (3.575)	49.4% (0.800)
White Male	34.0% (3.350)	59.0% (3.375)	46.5% (0.750)
White Female	32.6% (3.900)	59.3% (3.950)	45.9% (0.875)
Black	85.3% (2.525)	12.8% (2.550)	49.1% (0.575)
White	33.3% (2.575)	59.2% (2.600)	46.2% (0.575)
Male	61.6% (2.450)	33.7% (4.950)	47.6% (0.550)
Female	57.1% (2.625)	38.3% (2.650)	47.7% (0.600)
All Participants	59.3% (1.800)	36.0% (1.825)	47.6% (0.400)

Note: Figures in parentheses are standard errors.

The above said, when we turn to the main effects, we see that there was a difference of 3% between the mean percentage of race/gender responses in black participants versus white participants, with white participants more often avoiding giving a valid response at all (Ethnicity -  $F(1, 276) = 12.292$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ,  $\text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.043$ ,  $\text{Obs.Power} = 0.937$ ).

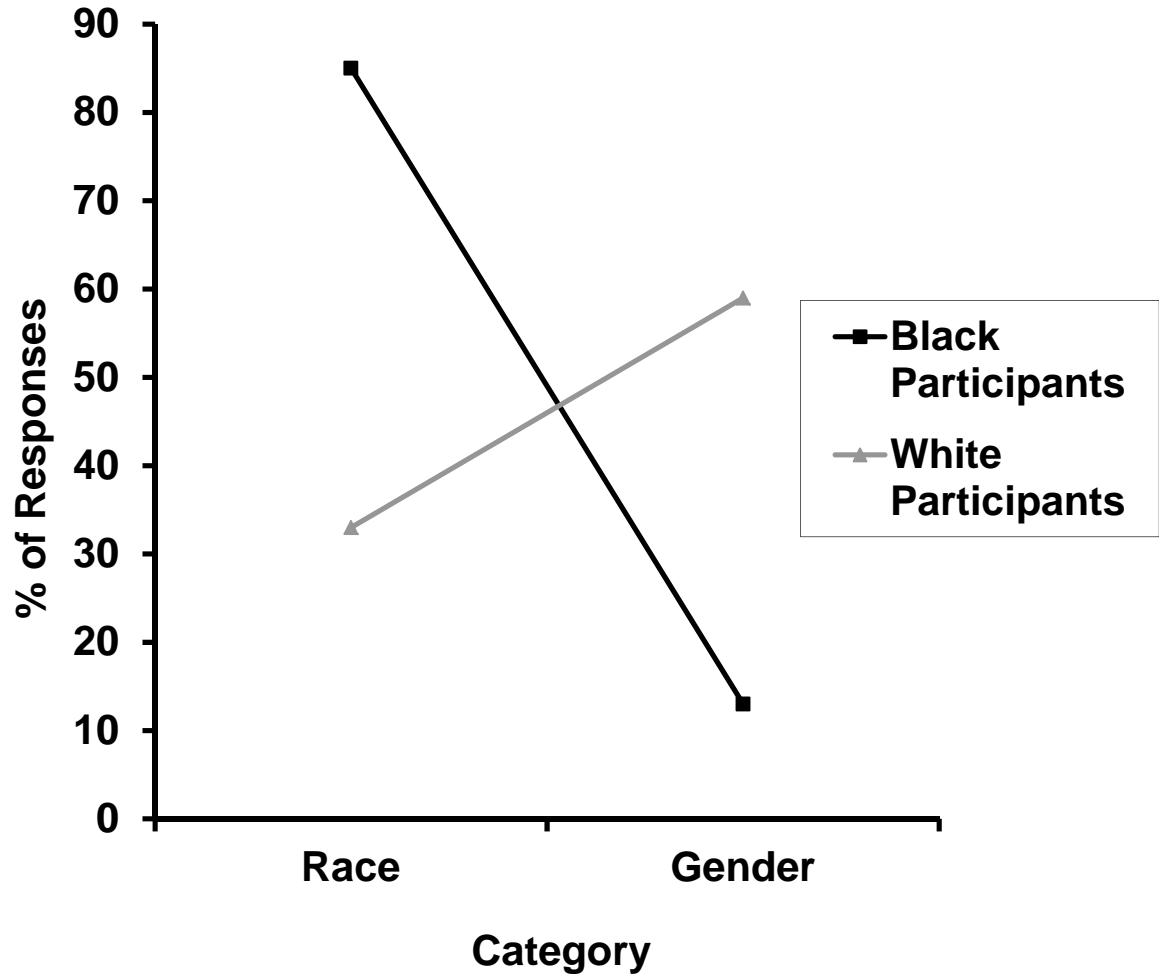
However, the overall percentage across both categories (of photographee race v sex) was negligible (less than 0.5%), indicating that over all, male participants responded in the same way as female participants. Indeed, this interpretation was supported by a statistically non-significant main effect for the difference between males and females (Gender -  $F < 1$ , NS).

Across both participant ethnicity and participant gender, we could look at how participants overall tended to categorise the photographs. The bottom row of Table 1 shows that the percentage of categorising by photographee race was 23% higher than categorising by photographee sex. That is to say, participants generally tended to group two pictures together by race, and select the third (sex matched) picture as the odd one out. This main effect of advantage of grouping by race rather than gender was statistically significant (category -  $F(1, 276) = 43.719$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ,  $\text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.137$ ,  $\text{Obs.Power} = 1.000$ ). It is worth noting that the observed power being 1.00 is the highest value possible. This indicates that the finding of race taking priority over sex is very robust indeed, and is relatively independent of our particular sample size (this is what observed power measures).

Turning now to the two-way interactions: Table 3.1 shows a very stark interaction between participant ethnicity and photographee category. Whereas white participants grouped by photographee sex more often than by photographee race, black participants did the converse. Additionally, the difference between categorisation by photographee race versus sex, was 72% for black participants compared to only 26% for white participants. The contrast is most evident when viewed graphically (see Figure 3.1). This two-way interaction effect was

statistically significant (Photographee Category x Participant Ethnicity -  $F(1, 276) = 194.215$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = 0.413$ , Obs.Power = 1.000).

Figure 3.1 Participant Graph Responses for Each Category





The two-way interaction between participant gender and photographee category was an interesting one. Here, whilst males tended to categorise by photographee 5% more than did females, females then categorised by gender 4% more than did males. However, this tendency towards an interaction was not statistically significant (Photographee Category x Participant Gender -  $F(1, 276) = 1.672, p = 0.197, \text{Partial } \eta^2 = 0.006, \text{Obs. Power} = 0.252$ ).

The last column of Table 3.1 shows that there was never more than 3% difference between the overall mean percentages given by each of the four subgroups of participants (white males, white females, black males and black females). This closeness of percentages suggested that the overall response rate was the same for each of the four subgroups. This was statistically confirmed by a two-way interaction between males/females and black/white participants (Participant Ethnicity x Participant Gender -  $F < 1, \text{NS}$ ).

Finally, concerning the three-way interaction, another very interesting profile was evident in Table 3.1. Here, white females showed the same contrast between photographee race and sex, as did white males. However, for black participants, black males tended to categorise according to race around 6% more than did black females, with the reverse contrast shown for categorisation according to photographee sex. Thus, there was a participant gender difference for black persons but not for white persons. This three-way interaction was, however, found not to be statistically significant (Participant Gender x Participant Ethnicity x Photographee Sex -  $F(1, 276) = 1.909, p = 0.293, \text{Partial } \eta^2 = 0.004, \text{Obs. Power} = 0.183$ ).

### 3.4. Discussion

This was a relatively simple experiment, in order to allow us to work with a relatively high number of participants. Yet, the findings are very conclusive. The first finding concerns our interest in race versus gender, after ensuring that black participants are just as well represented as are white participants (e.g., contrast McGraw et al., 1983). Here, unlike in studies outlined in the introduction (e.g., McGraw et al., 1988), we found a very strong overall tendency for people to categorise photographs by race rather than by gender (Fazio & Dunton, 1997; Ramsey, 1991; Schofield & Whitley, 1983). It should be noted though that all participants, both white and black, did categorise by gender as well as by race to at least some degree (Mullen, 1991).

As well as an overall tendency to categorise photographs by race more than by gender, participants' ethnicity also affected their overall judgements about categorising the photos. Specifically, black participants tended much more towards categorising photos by race, and white participants actually preferred to categorise by gender instead of race (Steck et al., 2003). Both these opposing strategies were very marked, but the one shown by black participants was even more marked than the one shown by white participants (hence the overall outcome of race being selected more than gender). This could be taken as showing that white participants saw race versus sex in closer balance than did black participants. Alternatively put, black participants may actually have tended to be overly tuned to race at the expense of them giving adequate recognition of photographees' sex.

One rather unexpected finding was about how often black participants versus white participants refused to give a response to a photograph set. We found that white participants did this more often than black participants, and the difference was very robust. But there are two ways of trying to interpret this finding. First, it may be that white participants more often than black participants, wanted to avoid indicating too many differences according to one of

the categories (we suppose this category to be "race"), even though if they had responded they would have done so by this category. So, possibly because they reasoned that they might otherwise appear racist, white participants, more often than black participants, tended to withhold an answer altogether. On this interpretation, we would expect an interaction between participant ethnicity and photographee race/gender (i.e., photographee category), which we did in fact observe - see above.

The interpretation that white participants had controlled their selection in favour of photographee sex rather than photographee race, is in line with a theory by Fazio (1990). Fazio (1990) argues that there are both automatic and controlled components of racial prejudice and the control components can affect selection strategies on experimental tasks. The intimation here is that white participants tended more often to control their photograph selection, after putting the response criteria through an automatic process (a kind of race "detector" - see also Devine, 1989; Fazio & Dunton, 1997; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton & Williams, 1995; Roskos-Ewoldsen & Fazio, 1992).

However, the second possible interpretation is that the refused race-gender responses in fact represented cases where the participant, be they white or black, really could not decide on whether to respond with race or gender; because both race and gender were equally relevant as grouping (or odd one out - e.g., see Ramsey, 1991). So, rather than give an answer the participant believed to be misleading, s/he would simply withhold an answer altogether. There are two issues with this interpretation. One is that, if it were right, then we would have expected to see a large proportion of such refused answers; which of course we did not (we obtained an overall average of only 3%). The other, is that this interpretation still leaves us noting a black-white participant difference in these refusals; which would still imply that our white participants did not take race to be as salient as our black participants did (Gallup, 2001).

Black participants may have selected race extensively as a basis for judging similarities and differences; with white participants selecting on some other basis. But this would mean that, for both white and black groups, how a given participant categorised the stimuli was partly dependant on his/her own identity (Charon, 1992; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Dovidio et al., 2002; Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

The quantitative data here suggest that race/ethnicity is a subject that white people tend to find difficult to discuss and the subject matter is avoided if possible (Gallop, 2001; Morin, 2001). This conclusion is further supported by our qualitative data by way of participants' unsolicited explanations for their choices: Here, the array of statements recorded during testing and which only tended to come from white participants in this study. These included - "colour [race] doesn't matter", "it's not important" or "I don't see your skin colour". These types of remarks may mean no harm, but do not amount to neutrality about race (see Chapter 8).

Steck et al. (2003) gave white university students and black university students (713 in total) a well established questionnaire (The 20 Statements Test - Kuhn & McPartland, 1954). It is important to realise that this study did not distinguish between black persons having two black parents versus black persons who were actually of mixed-race (i.e., black by the one-drop rule). The tool used had been designed during the American Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. It basically asks the respondent to state the first 20 things that define him/her. Steck and McPartland used these statements to work out just how important race features in the lives of each university student, as compared to other social constructs. They called this "ethnic identity salience".

Steck and McPartland noted that whether we look at universities where white students vastly outnumber black students or at a university where white students do not vastly outnumber black students, one result is consistently found: This is that white students have a lower ethnic

identity saliency than do black students. Indeed, Steck et al. (2003) black students were almost three times more likely to list race in their first five statements than were white students.

We had speculated that as well as participants' race affecting how often they categorised photos by race and how often by gender, participants' gender might also be a factor. For instance, it might be the case that female participants have a stronger general tendency to categorise photos according to gender, as compared to how males categorised the photos. However, here, our results showed that our speculation was incorrect. In general, women and men categorised our photos in ways which were indistinguishable (i.e., exactly the same ways). Indeed, even when we looked at women's versus men's categorisations but for one participant race at a time, we saw that this null result still holds: There was a very mild tendency for black female participants to categorise photos by gender slightly more and for black males to categorise photos by race more, but this was not sufficient to drive an overall two-way interaction between participant gender and photographee category (gender v sex). Indeed, it was not even reliable in the context of the three-way interaction between participant race, participant gender and photographee category; which implies that the tendency in black participants described here did not differ from the evenly balanced percentages we observed for white participants.

In conclusion, the present results suggest that previous studies, such as McGraw et al. (1983, 1988) presented a misleading case for gender (sex) being more salient than race. Their research, being based purely on the opinion of white participants, should not be taken as representing a race-neutral finding. The findings here confirm McGraw's (1988) finding for white persons, but show that it is incorrect as a position of black persons; and hence it is unsound for any other race than white.

So black persons see race as particularly salient whereas white persons do not. This phenomenon in black people could be due to societal pressures which force black people to

recognise their skin colour and reinforce that they are different from an early age, and is maintained into adulthood. Reinforcement can then be maintained, not just by further genuine repetition of discriminatory practices faced by black people, but even when discrimination is perceived even though it had not been intended. Such contexts will include, among other things, recruitment equal opportunities forms found in almost all employment questionnaires. The result would be that skin colour can become even more of a key factor in non-white individuals' physical appearance (see Gomez, 2000; Montalvo & Codina, 2001).

It may well have been that the differences in photo categorisation in this study were caused, not by pure categorisation as hypothesised in the introduction, but rather by a combination of such categorisation alongside biases in actual perception of the stimuli. Indeed, there may even be differing perceptions by black participants and white participants (Massey & Denton 1993; Oliver & Shapiro, 1995; Wilson, 1997). Ahead of looking in detail at the thesis focus of mixed-race persons then, it is prudent to revisit the issue of biases in race categorisation (black v white), using a more experimentally robust design. It is to this that we now turn.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **Automatic Attentional Consequences of Race**

#### 4.0. Abstract

This study investigates ethnic similarities and biases using a variation on the Stroop Colour-Word attentional task. Basically, Stroop tasks report facilitation when two dimensions of a stimulus agree (a word spells out the same colour as a patch of colour itself - e.g., red word and red colour-patch); but interference when they index differently (e.g., red word but a blue colour-patch). Facilitation and interference are judged relative to a neutral condition, having no word dimension at all. Here, we replaced colour-patches with facial pictures of persons of differing colours. In the usual RT index, white and black participants (total N = 62) showed the standard contrasts between the 3 Stroop conditions for white pictures. However, for black pictures we found facilitation was increased, and more intriguingly we found reversed interference. Response-accuracy data added that white participants view black v white pictures using a more strict category structure than do black participants. One similarity was that the magnitude of interference to black pictures, from white persons was the same as shown from black persons. The profile of similarities plus differences are explained by two recently emerging theories of ethnic influences on Stroop performance (cognitive-depletion theory v double-consciousness theory).



#### 4.1. Background to the Study

In Chapter 3, we saw that the balance between stimuli which might be grouped by race versus by gender, tends to be seen differently by black participants compared to white participants. Agreeing with Fazio and colleagues (e.g., Fazio & Dunton, 1997; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton & Williams, 1995) we argued that the categorisation task we used probably tapped controlled processing rather than automatic processing. However, as Allport (1954/1979) argued, to some extent automatic processing might feed into controlled processing. Perception is largely an automatic process; hence Allport placed perceptual categorisation at the root of prejudice, with social experience then predisposing the way the categorised person is treated or thought of (i.e., the stereotype or attitude – Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Johnson, 2008; Olson & Zanna, 1993).

In this chapter, then, I investigate similarities or differences between (automatic) perceptions of white versus black photographs. As with the previous Chapter 3 though, I also investigate whether black participants show the same balance (i.e., perceptual biases) as do white participants. Once we have answers to these questions, we will be in a good position to investigate perceived categorisations and self-perceptions as these relate to mixed-race individuals. In short, we would be able to look at whether hypothesised ethnic biases are linked to the psychological construct of ethnic identity. To recap from Chapters 1 and 2, ethnic identity refers more or less to the strength and/or centrality of one's subjective association to any particular ethnic group (Gaines, Bunce, Robertson, Wright et al., 2010). It could prove useful to understand more about how other groups see a particular ethnic group, and how this relates to how that group sees itself.

Most research into perceptual ethnic bias concerns laboratory situations rather than real life situations (e.g., see Gong, 2008). However, the relatively small amount of research conducted within more ecologically valid contexts unfortunately can be difficult to

interpret unambiguously. For example, participants might simply have responded according to social desirability rather than their true beliefs during the study (Greenwald, McGhee & Schwartz, 1998; Obasogie, 2010). What is ideally required is a means (a task or paradigm) for securing responses whilst minimising any discomfort caused to participants who have kindly agreed to provide data on such a sensitive topic.

One possibility is to assess the automaticity of racial attitudes via Response-Time (RT) indexes (Fazio et al., 1995). Indeed, priming research has used RT with some success (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Towles-Schwen & Fazio, 2006). However, another potentially-suitable task is the Stroop task (Stroop, 1935; see also Eidels, Townsend & Algom, 2010; MacLeod, 1991). The basic Stroop task typically presents a stimulus dimension (e.g., a patch of colour) in the spatial context of a second dimension (e.g., a word spelling out a colour). When the meaning of the first dimension (e.g., "red") is different (i.e., incongruent) to the meaning of the second dimension (e.g., spells out the word "blue"), this causes conflict that can be indexed in terms of lengthened RTs for the first/colour dimension (Eidels et al., 2010). This "incongruity effect" (Wright & Wanley, 2003) is revealed when compared against the colour dimension in the absence of any word (neutral condition) and is even more pronounced against a word dimension that spells out the same thing as the colour dimension (e.g., "red" - the congruent condition).

The difference in RTs between neutral and incongruent condition is termed the "interference effect". The difference between neutral and congruent condition is the "facilitation effect" (MacLeod & MacDonald, 2000). Interference is typically far more pronounced than facilitation (although see Eidels et al., 2010 for qualification of this view). It remains even when participants were subjectively unaware that the word dimension even exists (MacLeod & Dunbar, 1988; Marcel, 1983). The robustness of interference notwithstanding, facilitation can be much larger than interference under some conditions, for example in children rather than adults (Wright & Wanley, 2003).

In a study of children, Rosen, Milich and Harris (2007) noted that in those more vulnerable to victimisation, the difference between an emotion-congruent and emotion-incongruent word on colour-patch naming, was greater as a function of whether the child's subjective fear of victimisation was greater. Detrimental effects on attention caused by fear of victimisation, might actually generalise to fear of ethnic discrimination (Bair & Steele, 2010). Indeed, Trawalter and Richeson (2006) found that even white individuals exposed to conflicting views regarding ethnicity subsequently showed greater interference on a Stroop task. This was the case even though the Stroop task was the basic colour-word task, having nothing itself to do with ethnicity.

In explaining such findings, Richeson and Shelton (2003), theorise that inter-racial social interaction causes any ethnic group to withhold its behaviours and even its thoughts, slightly longer than in other interactions. Then, the act of such suppression can subsequently carry over into other tasks that demand suppression of responses, including the standard colour-word Stroop task. Trawalter and Richeson (2006) refer to this effect as "Cognitive-Depletion".

Bair and Steele (2010) used a colour-word Stroop task and showed that black women exposed to a racist attitude expressed by someone with whom they are partnered for the experiment tend to show cognitive-depletion. However, Richeson and Shelton (2003) found that cognitive-depletion may affect white individuals more than black individuals after inter-racial interactions. Indeed, in white individuals, pro-white anti-black prejudice is associated with a greater degree of activation of the amygdala region of the brain, when exposed to pictures of black faces than white ones (Phelps et al., 2000). Richeson, Baird et al. (2003) then found that individuals most impaired on the Stroop task after interracial contact also showed higher activation in areas of prefrontal cortex involved in executive control, whilst viewing photographs of black persons.

As Stroop interference is distorted by black participants in the context of apparently racist views, or in white participants in the context of black persons, then maybe the attitudes (attentional sets) uncovered in white studies and black studies actually implicate one universal psychological mechanism (Allport, 1954/1979). The finding that even individuals blind since birth report perceptions of ethnic attitudes which not only coincide with those of sighted individuals but were even subjectively described as being "visual", lends some support to the universality view (Obasogie, 2010).

Against that interpretation, Reed and Gaines (1997) argue that the way inter-ethnic prejudice works is not in fact universal. They contend that Allport's (1954/1979) in-group/out-group conceptualisation of attitudes posited for explaining white prejudice against black persons, does not apply to how black attitudes work. Following DuBois (1921/1975) they proposed that a more adequate way of conceiving of inter-group attitudes is in terms of consciousness versus double-consciousness of the majority versus minority group respectively: Minority group double-consciousness refers to black persons seeing themselves as society claims to see them; but then additionally seeing themselves according to their own direct current and historical legacy of being black (see Chapter 1). The former is taken to be more positive and the latter more negative (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). A necessary outcome of Reed and Gaines' (1997) development of double-consciousness theory is that black persons are presumed to have a different attitudinal structure because they (but not white persons) have to internalise the conflict of double-consciousness. Bair and Steele's (2010) additional finding that those black individuals identifying more closely with being "black" exhibit greater cognitive-depletion after exposure to a racist partner than do those identifying as further away from the centralised black category, seems in line with this contention.

#### 4.1.1. Aims of the Present Study

The main aim here was to explore what can be learned about automatic perception of ethnicity by using a Stroop task. We expected that a close Stroop replication involving ethnicity was possible because of a small number of Stroop-like tasks which have involved parts of faces alongside, if not integral to, the Stroop stimuli. For example, although not directly concerning ethnicity, Conty et al. (2010) have recently demonstrated that merely presenting just the eye region of a face immediately above the Stroop stimulus, can affect Stroop RTs. Specifically, they found that the direction of gaze and the degree of openness of the eyes differentially affected Stroop times, particularly for the incongruity effect.

We wondered if our task of automatic perceptions would support Allport's (1954/1979) thesis of universality of attitudinal structure (i.e., no difference between how white v black participants perceive our stimuli), or support the thesis of differing attitudinal structures for black versus white individuals (Reed & Gaines, 1997).

We considered these issues whilst guarding against as many extraneous factors as reasonably possible. For example, the speed at which participants need to respond in a Stroop task, already helps avoid issues of social desirability of responses (Greenwald et al., 1998). Next, Towles-Schwen and Fazio's (2006) findings show that one does not need to rely on explicitly prejudiced individuals to uncover ethnic biases. Then, to help improve the generalisation of our findings, we worked with participants who self-disclosed as non-racist and were comfortable with both own and other ethnic groups.

Possible generalisation was further improved by working with participants of both genders, rather than only one gender (e.g., contrast Bair & Steele, 2010; Trawalter & Richeson, 2006). However, because of us finding no gender differences in Chapter 3, plus no gender differences found on previous Stroop tasks (see detailed review by MacLeod, 1991), we did not see it necessary to analyse our data according to gender. Finally, we

intended to assess white attitudes regarding same and other ethnicity but also black attitudes to same and other ethnicity, so that we might gain a more balanced view of both groups' perception of ethnicity.

## 4.2. Method

### 4.2.1. Participants

Participants were 62 undergraduates/graduates from a local university. Of these, 29 self-reported as "White" ( $M = 25.1$  years,  $SD = 5.3$ ), and the remaining 33 self-reported as of British-Caribbean or British-African parentage (hereafter denoted "Black" -  $M = 25.9$ ,  $SD = 4.8$ ). Each participant reported having no problems related to anomalous colour perception and having normal or corrected-to-normal visual acuity. There were 13 males and 16 females in the white group; and 16 males and 17 females in the black group.

### 4.2.2. Materials

The experiment was run within the SuperLab 2.0 programming environment. We used an IBM-compatible portable computer with a Pentium-M processor running at 2.4GHz and with a 17.1 cm high-resolution colour display. Responses were collected via a numeric keypad connected to a USB2.0 port.

The experiment rested on computer-presented pictures typifying the two target ethnic groups. The pictures were digitally-scanned head and shoulders colour photographs of individuals who self-reported as either black or white. Photographs were cropped to be of on-screen size 5 cm times 3 cm. They were easily identifiable exemplars of white and black persons, and were selected through piloting from a larger set of 80 candidate photographs (following Lewis, 2011).

We selected multiple (three) photographs of each gender within each ethnic category. These would form our target stimuli. However, we additionally included a further 12 photographs of individuals who self-reported as Asian, Mediterranean or of mixed-race involving at least one white parent (again half male and half female). Inclusion of this non-target heterogeneous ethnic "Brown" group was intended to reduce to 50% the

predictability of a participant encountering one of the two categories of primary interest (e.g., probability of seeing a white picture was now 25% instead of 50% - see Carter, Mintun & Cohen, 1995; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). This control was intended to reduce the obvious black-white divide (by introducing intermediaries - Gong, 2008) and also reduce the extent to which participants could predict/prepare a correct response to any given target trial in advance, based on the one or two preceding trials.

Once on the computer, pictures were presented on a light-grey background of fairly low intensity (Anes & Kruer, 2004). For each picture, the word "White" or "Black" was printed in light-yellow immediately below the picture and centred relative to it. The word was in a font equivalent to Times New Roman 32 point, and the distance between the word and picture was roughly equal to half the height of the print used for the word.

#### **4.2.3. Design**

We employed a mixed factorial design with three main factors. The first was Stroop-Condition with three levels corresponding to the incongruent, neutral and congruent conditions. The second factor was Participant-Group with two levels for white versus black participants. A third factor was Picture-Ethnicity with two levels for white versus black photographees. Measures of interference and facilitation were calculated from the condition data (Trawalter & Richeson, 2006).

#### **4.2.4. Procedure**

Participants were briefed on the nature of the task and how to make their responses (see Appendix B for ethical submission). They were told they would see each picture in a random order. Sometimes a picture would be shown accompanied by a word below it and sometimes there would be no word. Participants should not concern themselves with whether or not there was a word, and should just respond according to the picture. They



pressed a designated key (4 or 6 on the numeric keypad) to indicate the ethnic category of the picture (white or black). The keys differed for different participants but were fixed for any given participant. Note, participants could use either hand for the keys, but they did not use one hand for one key and the other hand for the other key. They were shown how to rock two fingers (e.g., first & third fingers) symmetrically about a key that was central to the two they had to use (e.g., second finger). Wright and Howells (2008) have previously used this response set and mode of responding in a computer-based task of adolescents' deductive reasoning, and Reinecke et al. (2011) have done so with an emotional Stroop task.

Participants were asked to make their responses as quickly as they can but not so fast as to make errors. The task was organised around three Stroop blocks. In each block, each specific intersection of Stroop-condition (3) by photographee identity (6) was presented twice. The resultant 36 target stimuli for each of our two target ethnicities were combined with 72 non-target stimuli (i.e., pictures of persons neither white or black) to form 144 targets and non-targets in each block in total. The stimuli comprising each of our three Stroop blocks were then randomised for each block.

In testing, the first trial began with a variable delay of between 500 and 1000 ms, with this then used for the inter-stimulus interval (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). This was followed by the first picture. The participant responded with the "4" key or the "6" key on a separate numeric keypad just as quickly as they could. Pressing one of these keys resulted in a new inter-trial break, and then the next picture was put up for a response. After all 144 trials were responded to once, there was a break in the procedure. The participant pressed the "0" key when ready to begin the second Stroop block. The third Stroop block was presented in the same way. This procedure took around 30 minutes to administer, including briefing, debriefing and inter-trial breaks.

### 4.3. Results

For working out the RT, we calculated the median RT of all 18 targets of each intersection of condition (3) with ethnicity (2), across all three blocks (i.e., we excluded distracters). We additionally worked out Stroop response-accuracy by awarding one mark for every correct response to a target for each specific condition, then dividing by repetitions (2) and blocks (3) in order to obtain accuracy scores out of 6 (3 males plus 3 females). The results are then organised into two sections. The first considers performance in the individual Stroop conditions. This is done for response-accuracy additional to RTs. The second section then considers Stroop Facilitation and Interference in the same way.

#### 4.3.1. Performance in Individual Stroop Conditions

Table 4.1 summarises accuracy data for white-pictures (white-pics). For ease of comparison with other Stroop papers and Chapter 3, all scores are presented as percentages. Responses were always above 93% and were quite similar for each condition. As scores were at or very close to 100%, we analysed the actual scores (not the percentages) using non-parametric tests. Non-parametric tests were preferable to parametric tests here because of being less adversely affected by asymptotic tendencies in a dataset. However, ahead of these tests, we conducted one Friedman test using the overall scores from white-pics versus black-pics (Table 4.1 v 4.2). This showed the overall levels for white-pics was significantly higher than for black-pics ( $N = 62$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $X^2 = 6.000$ ,  $p = 0.014$ ).

For the white-pics data only, a Friedman test showed that the small overall difference between the three conditions shown in Table 4.1 was not statistically significant ( $N = 62$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $X^2 = 1.464$ ,  $p = 0.481$ ). Table 4.1 also shows a slight tendency for white participants to respond "white" to white-pics around 3% more often than did black

participants. A Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, confirmed that this difference was marginally statistically significant ( $N = 62$ ,  $K-S Z = 1.347$ ,  $p = 0.053$ ).

Table 4.1. Response-Accuracy for White Pictures			
	Participants		
	White	Black	All
Congruent	97.3% (1.172)	93.6% (1.099)	95.4% (0.803)
Neutral	97.8% (0.887)	94.7% (0.831)	96.2% (0.608)
Incongruent	96.1% (0.936)	94.8% (0.877)	95.4% (0.641)
Overall	97.0% (0.732)	94.3% (0.686)	95.7% (0.502)

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are standard errors.

The data for black-pics are summarised in Table 4.2 and these were supported by analyses analogous to those used for white-pics. Table 4.2 shows a very slight tendency for performance to be higher in the congruent and incongruent condition as compared to the neutral condition. A Friedman test showed that, unlike for white-pics, the overall difference between the three conditions was statistically significant ( $N = 62$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $X^2 = 28.737$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). Table 4.2 also shows a tendency for white participants to report "black" to the black-pics, with around 5% higher accuracy than did the black participants. A Kolmogorov-Smirnov test confirmed that this difference was statistically significant ( $N = 62$ ,  $K-S Z = 1.638$ ,  $p = 0.009$ ).

Table 4.2. Response-Accuracy for Black Pictures			
	Participants		
	White	Black	All
Congruent	97.4% (1.420)	91.3% (1.331)	94.4% (0.973)
Neutral	91.5% (1.569)	89.2% (1.471)	90.4% (1.076)
Incongruent	95.9% (1.756)	91.9% (1.646)	93.9% (1.203)
Overall	95.0% (1.317)	90.8% (1.235)	92.9% (0.903)

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are standard errors.

We next turn to analyses of RT data. Here, we followed the protocol of including in our analyses only RTs for those responses that had been correct (see Wright & Howells, 2008 for comparisons between different RT measures). This was particularly important here, as we have already noted that the groups differed in how accurately they responded to the pictures. Table 4.3 summarises the data regarding white-pics, according to participant-group and Stroop condition. We used separate two-way ANOVAs, one each for white-pics and black-pics, in order to remain in line with our analyses for response-accuracy. Again, ahead of these ANOVAs, we compared the overall level of RT performance for white-pics versus black-pics (Table 4.3 v 4.4). As before, the advantage of white-pics was statistically significant ( $F(1, 61) = 11.271, p = 0.001, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.177, \text{Obs.Power} = 0.911$ ).

The tendencies in the white-pics data (Table 4.3) were analysed using a two-way ANOVA, with Stroop-Condition (three-levels) and Ethnic-Group (two levels) as the factors. In line with the more usual Stroop studies (e.g., see MacLeod, 1991; Wright & Wanley, 2003), RTs were fastest for the congruent condition, intermediate for the neutral condition and slowest for the incongruent condition. The overall difference between all three conditions was statistically significant ( $F(2, 120) = 14.387, p < 0.001, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.209, \text{Obs.Power} = 0.999$ ).

Turning to the difference between our participant groups, from Table 4.3 we see that the overall difference was only around 14 ms. This difference did not approach statistical significance ( $F < 1, \text{NS}$ ).

Table 4.3 does not show any systematic tendency for the small difference between our participant groups to get progressively larger as we go from congruent to neutral to incongruent condition (or vice versa). However, it could be said to suggest a tendency for the pictures having words beneath them (i.e., congruent and incongruent condition) to show only small participant group differences, with these in opposing directions, but the

condition having no word beneath the picture (neutral condition) to elicit a much larger difference between the groups. However, any such tendency towards a two-way interaction did not reach statistical significance ( $F(2, 120) = 1.596$ ,  $p = 0.207$ ,  $\text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.027$ ,  $\text{Obs.Power} = 0.332$ ).



Table 4.3. Response-Times (RT) for White Pictures			
	Participants		
	White	Black	All
Congruent	702 (26)	716 (24)	709 (18)
Neutral	704 (26)	740 (25)	722 (18)
Incongruent	774 (31)	767 (29)	770 (21)
Overall	727 (26)	741 (24)	734 (18)

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are standard errors.

A summary of RTs for black-pics is given in Table 4.4. These data were analysed in the same way as for Table 4.3. Although in several respects Table 4.4 echoes profiles shown in Table 4.3, there are some key differences. In one of these, across both participant groups, the incongruent condition showed considerably faster RTs than the neutral condition. In fact, this profile held also for each group considered on its own. Another interesting profile was that black participants showed a much faster neutral RT than might have been expected from the corresponding RT for white participants in Table 4.3. Notwithstanding these two departures from the expected profiles, the overall difference between the three Stroop conditions still bordered statistical significance ( $F(2, 120) = 2.806$ ,  $p = 0.062$ ,  $\text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.052$ ,  $\text{Obs.Power} = 0.543$ ).

Turning to comparisons between the two groups, the black participants gave RTs that were between 10 and 15 ms faster than the white participants in the three Stroop conditions. However, this tendency did not approach statistical significance ( $F < 1$ , NS). There was no tendency towards different condition profiles for black participants versus white participants, and this was echoed by a two-way interaction effect that was not statistically significant ( $F < 1$ , NS).

Table 4.4. Response-Times (RT) for Black Pictures			
	Participants		
	White	Black	All
Congruent	780 (35)	770 (33)	775 (24)
Neutral	794 (33)	780 (31)	787 (23)
Incongruent	755 (31)	741 (29)	748 (21)
Overall	776 (30)	764 (28)	770 (20)

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are standard errors.

### 4.3.2. Performance Regarding Facilitation and Interference

As noted earlier, two key phenomena are typically drawn in Stroop tasks – facilitation and interference. We calculated the facilitation effect in a way analogous to that for RT. Here, as larger response-accuracy magnitude indexes superior performance (note the opposite interpretation regarding RT), for response-accuracy we needed to subtract each neutral condition datum from its corresponding congruent condition datum. We summarise the resultant facilitation data according to participant-group and picture-ethnicity in the top half of Table 4.5, with an analogous summary for interference given in the bottom half of the Table. Although they appear distinct enough from each other, the response-accuracy values in Table 4.5 are necessarily quite small. Therefore, to assist in the appreciation of their meaning, we rescaled them to be in line with the percentage accuracy scores for the individual conditions.

Table 4.5 reveals a tendency towards higher facilitation for black-pics than for white-pics. As asymptotic tendencies were not a concern in this "relative analysis", we opted for parametric statistical tests. A two-way ANOVA for these data confirmed this difference was statistically significant ( $F(1, 60) = 9.654$ ,  $p = 0.003$ ,  $\text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.139$ ,  $\text{Obs.Power} = 0.864$ ). However, the overall tendency for white participants to show greater facilitation compared to black participants was not statistically significant ( $F(1, 60) = 1.400$ ,  $p = 0.241$ ,  $\text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.023$ ,  $\text{Obs.Power} = 0.214$ ).

Table 4.5 suggests an interaction between picture-ethnicity and participant-group, whereby white participants showed relatively high facilitation only for black-pics, which was nevertheless at least 2.5 times the magnitude of any other intersection of group and picture. By contrast, black participants showed no obvious differences according to picture-ethnicity. This tendency towards a two-way interaction between participant-group

and picture-ethnicity bordered on statistical significance ( $F(1, 60) = 3.474, p = 0.067,$

Partial  $\eta^2 = 0.055, \text{Obs. Power} = 0.450$ ).

Table 4.5. Facilitation and Interference for Response-Accuracy			
	Pictures		
	White	Black	All
Facilitation White Participants	0.5% (0.023)	5.9% (0.025)	3.2% (0.018)
Facilitation Black Participants	1.1% (0.021)	2.4% (0.023)	1.7% (0.017)
Facilitation All	0.8% (0.016)	4.1% (0.017)	2.5% (0.012)
Interference White Participants	-1.7% (0.022)	-5.1% (0.025)	-3.4% (0.018)
Interference Black Participants	0.1% (0.020)	-2.2% (0.024)	-1.1% (0.017)
Interference All	-0.8% (0.015)	-3.7% (0.017)	-2.2% (0.012)

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are standard errors.

We now consider the findings for the response-accuracy interference effect, as summarised in Table 4.5 (Bottom) and supported by a further two-way ANOVA. In terms of magnitude, Table 4.5 (Bottom) actually shows essentially the same tendencies for interference that we saw for facilitation. However, in contrast to facilitation which had been positive, here the interference effect was generally in the wrong direction. Note, an interference effect having negative sign is in essence a facilitation effect. From Table 4.5 we see that the magnitude of interference (i.e., ignoring its sign) was almost five times as high for black-pics compared to white-pics. Much like we saw for facilitation, this difference in interference was statistically significant ( $F(1, 60) = 7.350$ ,  $p = 0.009$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = 0.109$ , Obs.Power = 0.760).

For participant-group, Table 4.5 shows that white participants had just over three times the overall magnitude of negative interference shown by black participants. This difference was marginally statistically significant ( $F(1, 60) = 3.747$ ,  $p = 0.058$ , Partial  $\eta^2 = 0.059$ , Obs.Power = 0.478).

Table 4.5 shows an interesting interaction trend between picture-ethnicity and participant-group. There was a stark difference when each participant group was considering pictures depicting the other group. Black participants showed virtually no interference at all, with white participants showing the highest level of negative interference at over 5%. Indeed, the latter was some 50 times the magnitude of the former. However, by contrast with the marked difference outlined above, when each group responded to pictures depicting its own ethnicity, white participants' responses to white-pics showed similar interference compared to black participants responding to black-pics. The two above trends cancelled each other out, leaving a net two-way interaction that did not approach statistical significance ( $F < 1$ , NS).

Having analysed facilitation and interference in terms of response-accuracy, we did likewise for RTs. These facilitation data are summarised in the top half of Table 4.6 according to participant-group and picture-ethnicity, with an analogous summary for interference given in the bottom half of the Table. As before, our analyses were supported by two-way ANOVAs. Table 4.6 shows that the facilitation effect was essentially identical for white-pics and black-pics. This was confirmed by a main effect of picture-ethnicity that was not statistically significant ( $F < 1$ , NS).

Collapsed across picture-ethnicity, the amount of facilitation for RT shown by black participants was around twice that for white participants, although levels were low in both instances. However, the roughly 8 ms facilitation difference was not statistically significant ( $F < 1$ , NS).

Each participant group showed noticeably less facilitation for pictures of its own ethnicity than for pictures of the other ethnicity; a profile we had seen for response-accuracy. However, here, this tendency towards a two-way interaction was not statistically significant ( $F < 1$ , NS).



Table 4.6. Facilitation and Interference for Response-Time (RT)			
	Pictures		
	White	Black	All
Facilitation White Participants	2 (14)	14 (27)	8 (14)
Facilitation Black Participants	23 (13)	10 (26)	17 (13)
Facilitation All	13 (9)	12 (19)	12 (10)
Interference White Participants	69 (16)	-39 (18)	15 (12)
Interference Black Participants	26 (15)	-39 (17)	-6 (12)
Interference All	48 (11)	-39 (12)	4 (8)

Note: Numbers in parenthesis are standard errors.

Table 4.6 (Bottom) shows that collapsed across both picture-ethnicities, there was an overall tendency for white participants to show slightly positive interference but for black participants to show slightly negative interference. However, this overall tendency was not statistically significant ( $F(1, 60) = 1.440$ ,  $p = 0.235$ ,  $\text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.028$ ,  $\text{Obs.Power} = 0.219$ ).

Turning to consideration of the picture-ethnicities collapsed across participant groups, Table 4.6 (bottom) shows more or less the typical Stroop profile for white-pics but a stark reversal of that profile for black-pics (i.e., similar magnitude but reversal of sign). The overall difference in interference effect was statistically significant ( $F(1, 60) = 28.522$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ,  $\text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.401$ ,  $\text{Obs.Power} = 1.000$ ). A statistically non-significant two-way interaction effect confirmed that both participant groups had showed the same profile of positive interference for white-pics but negative interference for black-pics ( $F(1, 60) = 1.743$ ,  $p = 0.192$ ,  $\text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.015$ ,  $\text{Obs.Power} = 0.255$ ).

#### 4.4. Discussion

The response-accuracy data suggested that, whereas there was no overall difference between the three conditions for white pictures, there was a robust difference for black pictures. This difference in condition profiles for white versus black pictures lends some support to a claim made by Dixon (2008) that there is an overall difference in the ways white persons and black persons are typically perceived (see also Trawalter & Richeson, 2006). However, we note that the above differences may have been driven mainly by the neutral condition (i.e., having no distracter word dimension) which showed around 6% higher overall response-accuracy for white pictures.

When we considered response-accuracy according to participant group, white participants showed around 4% higher accuracy across pictures - both white faces and black faces. This might indicate superior overall ethnicity perception or lower distractibility. But there is an alternative interpretation: Black persons may self-report as "black", but if the social context requires further sub-categorisation, further terms are called into play, such as "dark-skin-black" or "light-skin-black" (Schaefer, 1988). In our data then, black participants may simply have been less definite about black/white categories or less inclined to pigeonhole black persons. Our finding that black participants responded some 3% lower for response-accuracy when viewing white pictures and this was closer to 5% when viewing black pictures, would seem to support our contention that black individuals saw the colour-boundary as more fuzzy (and less definite) than did white individuals. A tendency for white individuals to see more sharply defined ethnic categories has even been found in individuals who cannot see at all (i.e., blind since birth - Obasogie, 2010); which additionally suggests the phenomenon is conceptual rather than simply visual.

We found response-accuracy facilitation tendencies both regarding white pictures and also regarding black pictures, with the latter reliably greater than the former. Then, although there were no overall reliable differences between response-accuracy from white versus black participants, we did find a fairly robust interaction, driven by white participants showing far larger facilitation for black pictures than they did for white pictures, or than black participants did for either picture-ethnicity category. It is as though white participants tended to treat white pictures as though they were more default (Anes & Krueger, 2004). This default status could have emerged because of white individuals tending to have had less experience and social interactions with black individuals (Gong, 2008; Towles-Schwen & Fazio, 2006). This should lead to more concentration on the black pictures, perhaps especially when accompanied by the word black.

For response-accuracy interference, we found this to be over twice the magnitude of facilitation, and some four times the magnitude in black pictures compared to white pictures. However, its sign was positive for white pictures but negative for black pictures. Thus, particularly when the word dimension apparently conflicted with the black-pictures, black pictures seemed to be processed in a qualitatively different way to white pictures. Our conclusion here is supported by some recent brain imaging evidence. Cunningham et al. (2004) found that white participants presented with photographs of black persons showed heightened neural activity in brain regions sub-serving cognitive control. However, this did not occur when presented with photographs of white persons.

On a cognitive-depletion explanation of this finding, white participants may be cognizant of the difference between themselves and the black face, and consciously suppress any possible discriminatory perception (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). The suppression then carries over to the word dimension in the incongruent condition, resulting in the conflicting word itself being suppressed, and hence better response-accuracy to the picture-dimension (Richeson, Baird et al., 2003).

Our pretty much identical conclusion from response-accuracy individual conditions, for interference and for facilitation, which is that white participants responded out of line with the general profile when responding to black pictures; also fits well with double-consciousness theory. According to double-consciousness theory, white and black individuals should not be assumed to possess an identical perceptuo-attitudinal structure towards same versus other ethnicity (DuBois, 1921/1975; Reed & Gaines, 1997). In short, the response-accuracy data suggest that black versus white individuals to some extent perceive ethnicities in contrasting ways (Cunningham et al., 2004; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998).

Turning to RT, our RTs were longer for black pictures, regardless of the participants' ethnic category (see Tables 4.3 and 4.4 earlier). This finding is in line with Dovidio and Gaertner (1998, Experiment 1). Indeed, their Experiment 3 additionally found support for links to implicit measures of behavioural bias (e.g., RT was related to amount of spontaneous blinking at black participants). But our finding that black participants showed the same RT response bias as did white participants seems to support Allport's (1954/1979) claim that there are common (universal) social influences on both white and black individuals. These influences might stem from stereotypes in the media (Dixon, 2008; Obasogie, 2010), and cause both white and black groups to attend to black faces in a somewhat different way (generally slower) than they do to white faces.

On individual Stroop conditions for white pictures, we observed more or less a typical Stroop profile for each condition. Also, we observed pretty much identical RTs from white participants and black participants. The RT findings for white faces, then, support the view that in the incongruent condition, all participants were influenced by the written word, automatically and unconsciously resolving it to a level that triggered semantic/conceptual activation sufficient to interfere with colour-patch naming; which for us was the categorisation of photos (Kahneman, 1973; Liotti, Woldorff, Perez & Mayberg, 2000).

But our findings were rather different for black pictures. Firstly, we found a difference between congruent and neutral condition that was of a much more sizeable magnitude than we had seen for the white pictures. However, of even more note, we observed that the incongruent condition actually led to much faster RTs than the neutral condition, and even rivalled the congruent condition. This rather surprising finding runs contrary to standard colour-word Stroop tasks, but we also noted it in the response-accuracy data, and from both white participants and from black participants. Relevant to this finding, Eidels et al. (Experiment 3) found that we can promote the incongruent condition to be faster than the congruent condition, by manipulating the response set together with adjusting the salience of the colour versus word dimension. Our finding may therefore have been due to the black pictures in some respect having higher salience to our participants than did white pictures.

Turning to facilitation, this was generally small, and unlike for response-accuracy, there was no difference in facilitation RTs to white pictures compared to black pictures, or from white participants as compared to black participants.

By contrast with the response-accuracy data, we found no overall difference in interference between white participants and black participants. However, in agreement with response-accuracy, there was a stark difference in RTs for white versus black pictures. Although both were of equal magnitude, the interference for black pictures was in the opposite direction (i.e., of negative sign). This finding does mirror quite closely the negative interference effect we found in our response-accuracy data.

How can the stark reversal of sign for interference be accounted for in psychological terms? According to Trawalter and Richeson (2006) the Stroop task is solved via cognitive processes which are shared with other domains of functioning (e.g., social bias suppression - Conty et al., 2010; or heart-rate control - Mathewson et al., 2010). Here, and as noted earlier, perhaps the black pictures tended to make greater demands on information

processing resources (e.g., those required for suppression of possible prejudiced thoughts in order to remain non-prejudice), and this left rather little processing capacity for processing the word-dimension in the incongruent condition. The result would be that the word dimension does not get to exert any interference on the picture dimension.

But why exactly would this process operate only on black faces (not white faces)? Here, offering a statistical explanation, Eidels et al. interpreted their own profile as showing "that the observed RTE derived from the statistical advantage afforded by the presence of multiple target attributes, not from common processing of the colour and the word." (Eidels et al., 2010, p.143). To put this quote in more concrete terms, tasks can produce performance differences on a particular set of stimuli, when those stimuli have previously been experienced in a very disproportionate way to other stimuli used in the task. In the context of our present task, our finding of reverse interference only for black pictures, could therefore have been due to pre-existing statistical differences in participants' likelihood of observing a black person versus a white person right from birth to adulthood.

Our rather different findings for responding to black pictures compared to white pictures, partly differing findings from white participants compared to black participants as a function of picture ethnicity, and our partly differing findings for response-accuracy compared to RT, taken together, do seem consistent with the notion of double consciousness. For example, especially in terms of RTs, it would seem that black individuals as well as white individuals share the same racial stereotypes of black persons (Allport, 1954/1979); as indexed by Stroop interference (ignoring sign - Towles-Schwen & Fazio, 2006). This is the first consciousness, in which attitudinal structure is shared. However, when we consider the facilitation effect, we see that, even though it is smaller than interference, it is also more sensitive. Consequently, white participants are more prone to facilitation than black participants, especially in relation to viewing black pictures. This

is the second consciousness, in which the attitudinal structure is different for each group (Reeds & Gaines, 1997).

But we could also explain our findings in terms of cognitive-depletion theory. For instance, it would explain the common tendency of both black and white individuals to respond more quickly to black faces in the incongruent condition than in the neutral condition - cognitive capacity was required for processing the picture dimension, leaving no immediate spare capacity to process the word dimension, and so the word dimension could not have any effect whatsoever on the picture dimension. On cognitive depletion, Trawalter and Richeson (2006) found that giving participants instructions about avoiding racial issues when interacting with a black person, led to cognitive-depletion; whereas giving instructions about simply enjoying the interaction did not do so. It was interesting to learn that the giving of "no instructions" led to performance in line with the anti-racism instructions rather than the positive-interaction instructions. This would seem to suggest that the default mode for Trawalter and Richeson's (2006) participants (white women interacting with black women), was to be ethnically-cautious (Cunningham et al., 2004; Richeson, Baird et al., 2003).

I note that both cognitive-depletion and double consciousness may have a far more simple root cause: In Western societies generally, any individual (e.g., black or white) will tend typically to encounter, interact with, or even just observe, persons most of whom are white. This occurs from a very early age (Ramsey-Rennels & Davis, 2008). The mere exposure to particular ethnicities might be enough to cause both white individuals and black individuals to exhibit positive facilitation but negative interference both for response-accuracy and RT (see also Eidels et al., 2010). Crucially then, our finding of Stroop effects (both our positive and our reverse findings) may well indicate discriminatory processing but whether this processing is because of racist tendencies or because of actually avoiding being racist, cannot be determined at this time.



To conclude, one of the central purposes of our attentional system is to allow us to avoid the need to process every piece of information our senses bring us, to the same deep level of meaning. This is sometimes referred to as selective attention. But selection fulfils roles other than those of low level perception (e.g., of basic sounds or visual objects). It also is integral to how we select or deselect social stimuli. As such, selective attention may be relevant to the building up or avoiding of biases, for example, according to perceived membership of a particular social or other group. In this chapter, we found that in terms of the usual RT index of Stroop task performance, white individuals and black individuals show much the same response profile as each other. This supports a universality aspect of ethnicity perception. However, we also found that the direction of Stroop interference regarding black persons (black pictures) is the reverse of interference to white persons, although being of equal magnitude. When we turned to the much less used response-accuracy index of performance, we replicated the negative interference effect towards black persons. Also, both response-accuracy and RT indicated that white individuals show a greater advantage of the congruent word for black persons than for white persons (i.e., show greater facilitation).

One intriguing finding from the response-accuracy data that was not present in the RT data, was that white participants show much sharper categorisation of white versus black, than is shown by black participants. Further research is required to confirm whether this is due to white individuals tending more often to treat "black" as a homogeneous category but black individuals tending to treat it as more heterogeneous.

What is clear is that both from response-accuracy and RT data, white individuals to some extent perceive black persons differently to how they perceive white persons; a finding we already saw for controlled categorisations in Chapter 3. All these findings together may well signal difficulty with the category black, even to some extent by black persons. But

we need to also accept that our findings could have a simple statistical root, irrespective of whether this ends up being a meaningful difference particularly for white persons.

Now, having replicated the different ways black persons are perceived/categorised compared to white persons in this chapter and Chapter 3, and with the knowledge that mixed-race persons may well be perceived or even identify more as black than as white (see Chapter 1 and 2), we are finally in a position to ask mixed-race persons how they perceive themselves and how they believe white and black persons (i.e., their parental groups) perceive of them.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **Mixed-Race Identity in the Context of the Parental Races**

## 5.0. Abstract

An "Adult Identity Questionnaire" was developed, in order to assess racial identity both directly/explicitly and indirectly/implicitly. Upon giving this tool to white, mixed-race and black adults (total N = 138), we found that at one level of analysis, each group has its own identity. This is most pertinent to the question of whether there is such a thing as a "mixed-race identity". However, despite there supposedly being a similar number of black and mixed-race persons in the U.K. (0.6%), mixed-race persons were likely to have black friends but black persons were far less likely to have mixed-race friends; with both groups least likely to have white friends. The result is that, although mixed-race persons have a distinct identity, that identity is restricted because of only limited acceptance of mixed-race persons by black and white (i.e., their parental) groups. This may partly underlay the tendency for both white and black groups to continue referring to mixed-race persons using terms such as "half-caste", when mixed-race persons would wish to avoid that term. Actually, we also found that this group would prefer not to be called by any term that includes the word "mixed", even including "mixed-race" as used in this thesis. We look to explore the development of these findings in adolescence.

### 5.1. Background to the Study

Allport (1954/1979) argues that, although race may be gleaned primarily from the colour of a person's face (see Chapter 3 and 4), it is also linked to a set of internally held stereotypes and attitudes (e.g., see Monteith & Spicer, 2000). Our own findings suggest that, whereas black persons tend to automatically perceive white people in much the same ways as do other white persons (Chapter 4), white persons perceive of black people both automatically (implicitly) and explicitly (controlled processing) in different ways to how black people are perceived by other black persons (Chapter 3 and 4).

Dixon (2008) argued that differences in perception of black versus white people might to some extent derive from negative stereotypes about black people. On one such stereotype, Dixon found that we tend to associate black persons with anger and aggressiveness more than we do white persons. Regardless, now that we are aware that differences in perceptions towards white and black people are actually a reality (see also Trawalter & Richeson, 2006), we are in a good position to begin to look at how these groups perceive of mixed-race people. We can also now look at how mixed-race persons perceive themselves - is this as black, as white or as a distinct racial/ethnic category. As outlined in Chapter 2, previous research suggests that mixed-race people vary more than white or black persons in their racial identification (Harris & Sims, 2002; Tizard & Phoenix, 1993; Wilson, 1987).

A weakened way of talking about racial identity (e.g., with less intimation of "colour" - see Chapter 1), is to use instead the term "Ethnic identity". Thus it is the subjective understanding of being of a particular race, and identifying as similar to some people whilst being different from other people (Omi & Winant, 1994; Woodward, 1997). The social construct of ethnic (or racial) identity (i.e., individuals' self-categorisation and psychological attachment towards the ethnic groups to which they belong; Phinney, 1990)

has received considerable attention among American psychologists since the early 1990s (Verkuysten, 2005). By contrast, the study of ethnic identity in the United Kingdom is still in its infancy (Alexander, 2006). The U.K. empirical research that has been done, has been relatively small scale (e.g., Tizard & Phoenix, 1993, 1995).

Establishing one's own racial or ethnic identity is a significant part of an individual's psychological wellbeing in development. It seems related to a positive sense of self, educational achievement, and positive behaviours (Smith, Atkins, Connell 2003; Smith et al., 1999; Thomas, Townsend & Belgrave, 2003; Umana-Taylor, Diversi & Fine, 2002). Erikson's theory of ego psychology maintains that, during adolescence we each strive to achieve/maintain a stable identity (from identity confusion to identity achievement - Erikson, 1950, 1968). Marcia (1966, 1980) then extracted the themes of Exploration (i.e., "the sorting through of multiple alternatives"; Schwartz, 2001) and Commitment (i.e., "the act of choosing one or more alternatives and following through with them"; Schwartz 2001) from Erikson's writings. The resulting taxonomy gave four increasing identity statuses:

- 1, Identity diffusion (low Exploration + low Commitment);
- 2, Identity foreclosure (low Exploration + high Commitment);
- 3, Identity moratorium (high Exploration + low Commitment);
- 4, Identity achievement (high Exploration + high Commitment).

Drawing both on Erikson's (1950, 1968) theory and Marcia's (1966, 1980) taxonomy of identity status, Phinney (1990) developed a model of stages of ethnic identity development across the life span. Phinney combined identity diffusion with identity foreclosure, to give the "unexamined ethnic identity stage". Next, Erikson's identity moratorium and identity

crisis were combined to give the "identity search or exploration stage". Finally, the "identity achievement stage" was retained as the highest level of ethnic identity.

Erikson's, Marcia's, and Phinney's theories led to development of a tool capable of actually measuring ethnic identity - The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM - Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). This is a set of up to 20 questions (short versions are of 6 or 12 questions), each requiring a response on a Likert Scale. The responses can then be summed to give a quantitative measure of one's strength of ethnic identity and tell us which of Phinney's three stages has been attained.

However, although it is useful to gain a quantitative understanding of a person's identity in this way (e.g., Gaines, Robertson, Bunce & Wright et al., 2010), Rockquemore and Brunisma (2001b) argue that it is even more important to gain an in-depth understanding, and such an understanding will be more qualitative than quantitative.

### **5.1.1. Aims of the Present Study**

Following Rockquemore and Brunisma's (2001b) argument, I developed a questionnaire aimed at gaining a more in-depth understanding of identity, via asking about things such as the origin of our identity (e.g., our parents), the application of our identity (e.g., the friends we keep), and how we talk about our identity (e.g., the terms we do v do not prefer for talking about ourselves). Of primary interest, this "Adult Identity Questionnaire" allowed investigation of identity as relevant to mixed-race persons. But, as well as looking into the ethnic identity of mixed-race individuals about being mixed-race, it also looked into how white persons and black persons consciously categorise mixed-race as well as their self-categorisations.

## 5.2. Method

### 5.2.1. Participants

Participants were 138 individuals from local boroughs. The mixed-race group (N = 26) comprised individuals reporting one black parent and one white parent. The white group (N = 69), comprised white Europeans, predominantly English, Irish and Scottish but with a few British-born bilingual individuals who regarded themselves as English together with another European cultural heritage (usually with French, German and very occasionally Finnish or Spanish). The black group (N = 43) comprised individuals who were British with either African or Caribbean heritage; although this heritage was often from more than one generation ago (e.g., grandparents from Nigeria).

Mean ages were - white group 25.70 years (SD = 5.499), black group 25.90 years (SD = 4.957), and mixed-race group 26.09 years (SD = 5.064). The socio-economic status of each group was similar in terms of community but varied in terms of education/work background. However, considering the groups were racially diverse, we were satisfied that this variation was similar enough from any one group to the next. A summary of the educational background of each of our three groups is given in Table 5.1



Table 5.1. Percent of Respondents with highest level of education completed			
	Black	White	Mixed
GCSE's	6.98	13.04	19.23
A Level's	53.49	39.13	19.23
NVQ / GNVQ	4.65	5.80	19.23
HND	9.30	4.35	11.54
Bachelor's Degree	18.60	21.74	23.08
Master's Degree	4.65	13.04	0
Ph.D.	0.00	1.45	0
None	2.33	1.45	0

### **5.2.2. Materials**

The materials were the Adult Identity Questionnaire, which I developed for the specific purpose of finding out how mixed-race identity is similar or different from a black identity or a white identity. The full questionnaire tool is given in Appendix C but a summary of some of its features follows. The questionnaire was based around 50 questions. These asked about facts such as date of birth, gender and marital status. Questions then asked about the ethnicity of the respondent's biological parents and the ethnic identity the respondent him/herself has. We could then see how these related to each other. In order to establish a more complete ethnic identity for each respondent (note we cannot of course claim our measure to be absolute and exhaustive), we then asked questions about social identity, cultural influences, racial identity, how the respondent views his/her physical features, and how they identify themselves on application forms. These questions were augmented by questions about the ethnicity of persons who have had a significant influence on how the respondent developed their present sense of identity.

### **5.2.3 Design**

This study was based on a qualitative design and so parametric or non-parametric statistical tests were not appropriate here. We established percentages for each answer to questions or sub-questions, and then used these percentages to arrive at representations of white, black and mixed-race adults' responses, which could be directly related to each other in tables. These tables then served the basis of arriving at profiles for each group, across individual questions; and also for drawing out common themes which came out of comparing two or more tables of profiles.

#### **5.2.4. Procedure**

After being briefed about the nature of this study and signing the consent forms, each respondent was provided with a full questionnaire. Respondents either filled in the questionnaire for themselves or the researcher read out each question with the respondent giving a verbal response which was then written down on the questionnaire by the researcher. Questionnaires were filled in on a one-to-one basis, to ensure that the answers given had not been unduly influenced by a respondent's family, friends etc.

If a respondent wanted clarification or further information regarding any particular question being answered, then s/he was permitted to ask the researcher. The researcher would give details but would ensure that he was not leading the respondent towards or away from any particular answer. Questionnaires took between 30 minutes and 1 hour to complete.

### 5.3. Results and Discussion

Table 5.2 summarises responses to Question 4, which was about the nature of respondents' parental upbringing. Looking at respondents brought up by a single parent, white respondents had a very low percentage and black respondents had a percentage representing just over 1 in every three cases. However, although mixed-race respondents showed a similar percentage to black respondents for married parents, they now showed just over half the black respondents' percentage when it came to single parents.

The similarity between mixed-race and black respondents for married parents but sharp contrast regarding single parents is explained by mixed-race respondents being most likely of our three groups to have been brought up by two parents who are not married, adopted parents, or who were separated sometime during the respondent's childhood. The different peaks relative to the other groups for single parents, two parents married, and two parents additional to those married, is shown in Figure 5.2.

Table 5.2. Who were you brought up by?			
	Black	White	Mixed
One parent	34.88	5.80	19.23
Two parents married	48.84	78.26	46.15
Two parents not married	11.63	10.14	19.23
Two adoptive parents	0	0	3.85
Two foster parents	0	0	0
Two parents separated	0	5.80	7.69
Something else (Pls State)	2.33	0	0

Our findings here are consistent with the argument that parents of mixed-race children are overall just as likely as parents of white children to wish to bring up their child as a couple, but for some reason they face much greater pressures to avoid getting married. But, the fact that black respondents tended to be brought up by single parents most often, together with the tendency for highest non-responses for black respondents on this question, may be an indication that black persons tend more often to have come from broken homes.

Focusing on mixed-race, we do concede that our interpretation of the mixed-race data here is not the only possible interpretation, and thank one examiner for pointing this out. For instance the differences in marriage from these groups as compared to parents of white children, could conceivably be due to class or generational factors. Differences could also conceivably be due to individuals who attach high importance to social conventionality being both more likely to marry and less likely to choose partners of a different race to themselves.

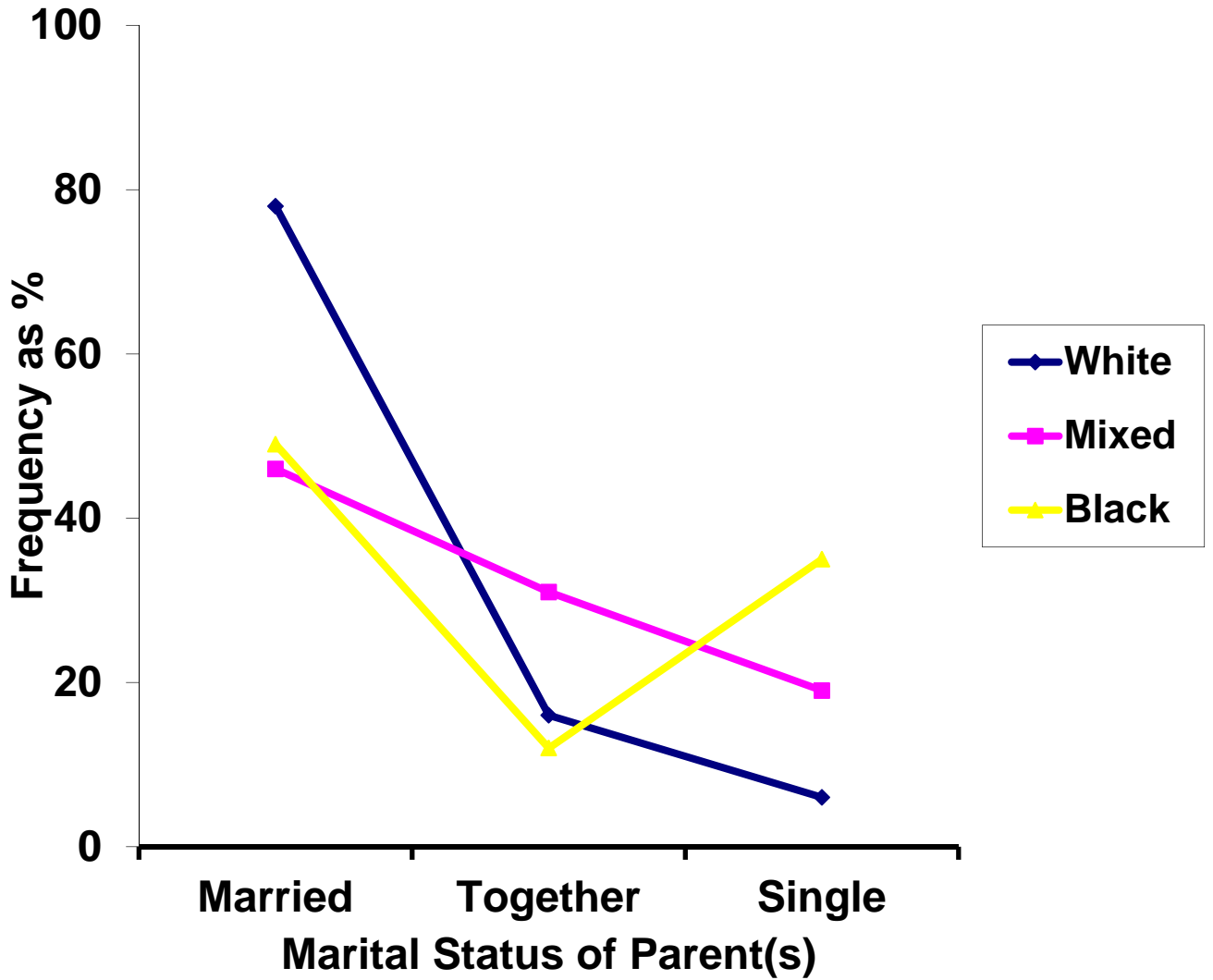
However, these alternatives do not challenge our own interpretation as much as might first seem. Regarding generational factors, there is a vast body of research which clearly shows that racism, and hence the refusal of most white persons to marry a black person or even have sex with a black person, was far more taboo as we go back through the generations, because for whatever reason this was thought to dilute the white race (Aspinall, 2003; Deleuze & Guattari, 1988; Fatimilehin, 1999; Phillips, Odunlami & Bonham, 2007; Song & Hashem, 2010).

Similarly, regarding social conventionality, these can themselves reflect or even promote racism. For example, in the U.S., the social convention that marriage or even sex between a black person and a white person was taboo, was both entrenched in society and indeed an act of law even throughout the 1970s (e.g., see Provine, 1973). Thus, people would have

little or no choice other than to place high importance on avoiding the so-called "mixing" of races. Keeping with the U.S., the laws prohibiting white persons from marrying a black person were not changed until 1980 (e.g., see Sundstrom, 2001).

I will say little about the U.K. here, apart from to point out that there is clear and factual evidence that following World War II, the stigma was so great that our own government sought to eject all the babies of black U.S. servicemen, attempting to take them away from their white mothers and send them "home" to their black fathers (see Phillips et al., 2007 plus papers recently released by the British National Archive and cited in Phillips et al., 2007). Some might well wish to remain blind to such details about the lengths that even governments have in the past considered regarding mixed-race. The present findings may simply reflect that although racism against black persons and their mixed-race children might not be as overt as in the past, we should not ignore the possibility that it might nevertheless continue in some guise and to some extent, no matter how subtly or how covertly. All things considered then, on balance we think that we are justified in preferring our original interpretation of the mixed-race data here - that mixed-race couples with children tend to face more pressures.

Figure 5.1. Graphical Representation of the Parental Contexts for the Three Groups





Question 6 asked respondents about how they categorised themselves in terms of racial identity. The responses are summarised in Table 5.3, according to three levels of categorisation that seemed to come out of our data. These were the viewing of one's racial identity at the general level (e.g., white), at the specific level (i.e., identifying with a specific white group that does not encompass the more general "white" - English or even European), or seeing the identity in terms of the U.K. (i.e., white British).

Table 5.3 shows that only a minority of each group considered themselves first and foremost "British"; and this is despite the fact that they had each been living in the U.K., for most if not all of their lives. It was unsurprising to note that white respondents considered themselves British more often than the other two groups. However, it was surprising to find that, even though mixed-race respondents in this study had a white parent, they tended to consider themselves British actually less often than the black respondents did.

The black respondents actually tended to avoid selecting the category "black", but 1 in 4 white respondents selected the "white" category (we had not provided a direct equivalent for mixed-race respondents to potentially select).

Table 5.3. How do you see yourself in terms of racial identity/ethnicity?			
	Black	White	Mixed
General	2.33	23.18	-
British	23.26	28.99	19.23
Specific	74.41	47.83	80.77

Most often, each group selected a racial identity that was specific. In the case of white respondents, they considered themselves first and foremost English or European rather than white or British; although the difference was not that large. In the case of black respondents, they considered themselves black African or Black Caribbean rather than black or British; and here, the difference was very stark. Interestingly, the mixed-race respondents selected a specific racial identity even more often than the black group, but the white group selected this over 25% less often than the other two groups. Here is an indication that mixed-race persons may need to settle on a specific racial identity far more than white persons, and hence more than one of their parents. Additionally, this need seems more pronounced even than their other (black) parent's need for a specific identity. This finding could be taken as supporting the (Tizard & Phoenix, 1993) contention that mixed-race persons have the most stark identity problems (e.g., are mixed-up).

Next, white respondents tended to select the most specific category almost as often as selecting both the other offered categories combined. By contrast, black respondents showed the converse profile, selecting the most general category (Black) only once from all 43 respondents. Mixed-Race respondents tended not to select the category equivalent to "British" for the black and white respondents. Instead, they opted for a more specific category 4 out of every 5 times. It seems whereas white respondents identified quite readily with the category white, black and mixed-race respondents seemed to need a more specific racial/cultural heritage and so tended to select the black "country of historical origin"; and this was even though they had typically not actually been born in that particular country themselves, and in most cases neither were both of their parents.

Upon establishing how respondents saw themselves by racial group, we asked them about how they describe their parents (Q10). The summary of these responses regarding mothers is presented in Table 5.4, with Table 5.5 doing likewise for fathers. In both Table 5.4 and Table 5.5, all three groups indicated a similar selection of the "general" category,

as we saw in Table 5.3 above. In Table 5.4, white respondents tended to select the general category "white" more than choosing either the British or the Specific categories. This profile across groups held for the British category, although each group selected this category more than 10% less frequently than they had done when thinking about respondents' own identity. The decrement was actually closer to 20% for black and mixed-race respondents with a black mother.

For the "specific" category, black persons selected this more than 9 out of 10 times, but white respondents were only around 9% higher than their percentage in Table 5.3 (which summarised their own identity).

For the mixed-race respondents, some of their mothers would be black whilst others would be white. This group therefore gave us a chance to see whether "respondents' mothers" demonstrate the same profile when the mother was black compared to when she was white. Table 5.4 is very intriguing on this point. Regarding selection for the general category (i.e., white or black), mixed-race respondents selected this general category equally regardless of whether the mother was white or black. However, the profile here resembled the profile we observed above from black respondents rather than for white respondents, and this was even the case when the mixed-race respondents' mother was white. Here, it is almost as though mixed-race respondents think about their white mother as though she had been reduced to being a black mother (i.e., taken on the social status of the "lower" parent - Rockquemore & Arend, 2002).

Turning to the British category, when the mother was black, mixed-race respondents selected this category roughly with the frequency that black respondents had done. But when the mother was white, unlike for the general "white" category, they now selected British with a similar frequency to what white respondents had done for their mother. Now

then, we were observing a more expected profile, with being British more important for white mothers than for black mothers.

When it came to the most specific category (e.g., English), this category was selected almost 6 times as often when the mother was white than when she was black. This contrast could be an indication that the country of birth (e.g., England) or the historical country of origin (e.g., Nigeria) is played down when the mother was black, but is over-emphasised when the mother was white. Two things stand out about this contrast. First, mixed-race respondents responding about their white mothers actually selected the specific category even more often than we saw for white respondents about their white mothers. It is as though mixed-race persons may need to give a definite identity, not simply to themselves, but to their origins (e.g., Irish mother, Finnish mother, English mother, etc.). Second, the profile for black versus white mothers shown by mixed-race respondents was actually the reverse of the profile shown by black respondents for their black mothers versus white respondents for their mothers.

Table 5.4. Biological mother's racial identity/ethnicity				
	Black	White	Mixed Black	Mixed White
General	2.33	24.64	0	3.85
British	4.65	17.39	3.85	19.23
Specific	93.02	57.97	11.54	61.54

Concerning black fathers, Table 5.5 summarises Question 11, and shows that for black respondents and white respondents, the profiles across the three categories was pretty similar to their responses about their mothers. However, for mixed-race respondents there were two stark departures from the profile we saw regarding mothers. First a similarity - as with mixed-race respondents' mothers, when they were responding about their fathers, they selected the "general" category least often and this was very close to zero (actually only one such response across their black mothers and white mothers). However, when we look at selection of the British category, we see that this category was selected about the same as for mothers when talking about black fathers, but for white fathers it was almost never selected (less than one-fifth of the percentage we had seen for white mothers in Table 5.4). Thus, this was a reversal of what we saw for the British category from our mixed-race respondents talking about their mothers. Things were even more stark for the final of our three categories - "specific". Now there was again a reversal but it was even more pronounced for mixed-race respondents thinking about their fathers in terms of the specific category, than we had seen when they had been thinking about the British category.

We have presented the above contrast graphically in Figure 5.2, to illustrate the reversal for black v white mothers compared to black v white fathers in the specific category (see Figure 5.2 Top). Figure 5.2 would seem to suggest this for the mothers of mixed-race respondents. It seems respondents attributed a high "specific" racial identity to the mother if she is white but a very low specific identity if she is black. But for fathers, respondents indicated a low "specific" racial identity if he was white and now a very high "specific" racial identity if he is black (see Figure 5.2 Bottom). What is particularly interesting here, is that we appear to have uncovered two types of parents of mixed-race persons: If the mixed-race person has a white mother and a black father, as is found in almost 60% of black-white mixed-race cases in the U.K. (Fatimilehin, 1999; Song, 2010b), then both parents actually are perceived to have shown to the child a very strong and specific sense

of racial identity. However, when the parents of the mixed-race child were a white father and a black mother, it would seem that both parents now led the child to perceive them as having a very low sense of specific racial identity; and in fact this is not then replaced by some other high sense of racial identity - not British and not "general" either.



Figure 5.2. Top - Magnitude of Specific-Identity Reported by Mixed-Race

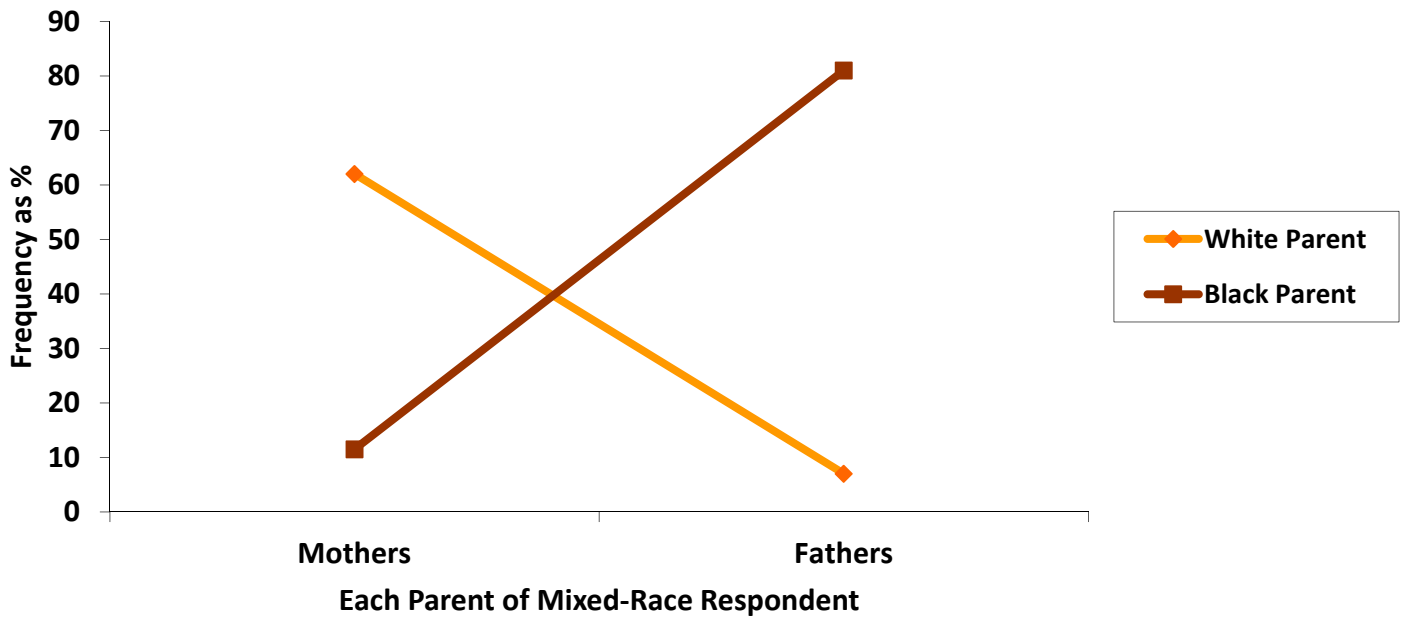
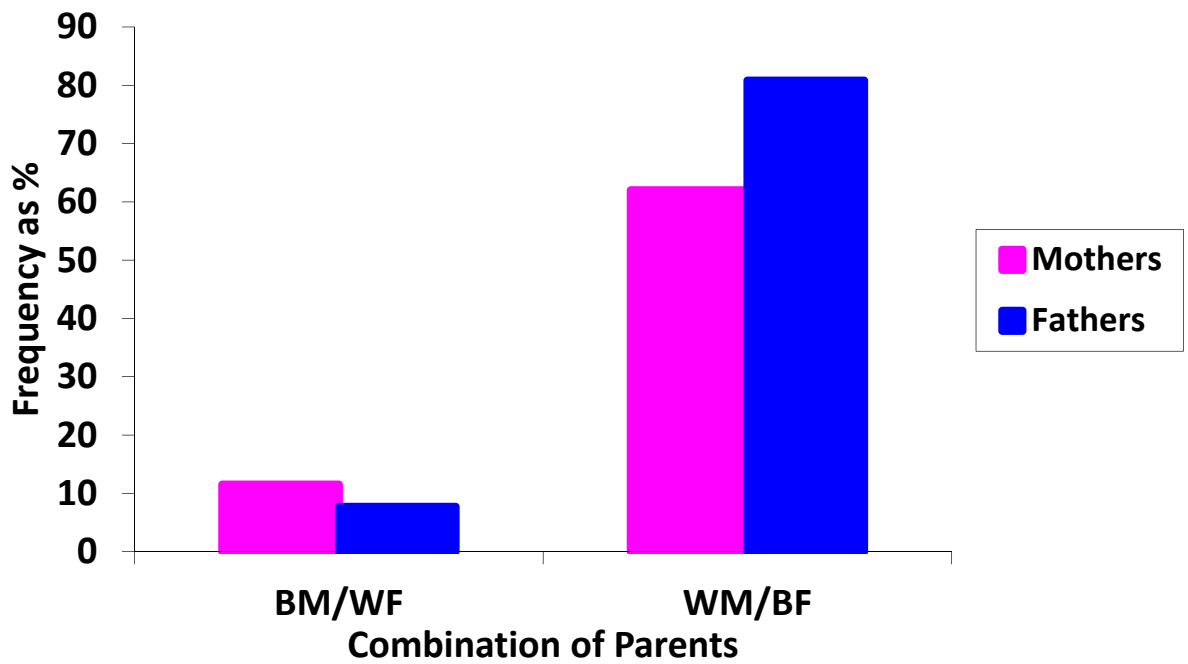


Figure 5.2 Bottom - Percentage of "Specific-Identity" that Mixed-Race Persons Reported for their Parents



Note: B=Black, W=White, M= Mother, F=Father

Table 5.5. Biological father's racial identity/ethnicity				
	Black	White	Mixed Black	Mixed White
General	4.65	21.74	0	3.85
British	6.98	17.39	3.85	3.85
Specific	88.37	60.87	80.77	7.70

Question 19 asked respondents about how they thought the children of mixed parental races should identify. Respondents had to select from a list of seven possible responses and a summary of the resultant data is presented in Table 5.6. The possible responses ranged from holding that mixed-race persons should identify as black, through mixed-race persons having a variety of mixed-race identities, and finally to identifying as white. From Table 5.6 we see that there are several similarities but also some interesting differences between the three groups. First, only a small minority of any group thought that mixed-race persons should identify as either as white or as black. Interestingly, the tendency was for a small percentage of black respondents to hold that mixed-race persons should identify as black, and a small minority of white respondents maintaining they should actually identify as white; but in each case, mixed-race respondents indicated that no mixed-race individual should identify as either white or as black.

Next, we turn to what the majority of each group indicated. Black respondents were not over 50% on any option, but their highest response was that mixed-race persons should identify as mixed-race but have a choice about how they identify as black, white or mixed-race (37%). Black respondents also tended to hold that mixed-race persons are mixed-race but should identify as black (28%). So it is clear that black respondents believed that mixed-race persons should identify either as black or else in any way they see fit, perhaps depending on factors such as the social situation or their parental background (Song, 2010a, 2010b).

Turning to white respondents, they selected two options equally. They maintained mixed-race persons are mixed-race and should identify that way (30%). However, a similar percentage of white respondents instead maintained that mixed-race persons should not have to identify that way (30%). It might seem then that white respondents tended to hold contradictory or mutually incompatible views on mixed-race identity. However, in the case of the latter response, we must ask the question of why then the white respondents did not

simply opt for the response most chosen by the black respondents (that mixed-race persons should identify as they liked). The implication from white persons choice here, together with the option they did not choose, is that by saying mixed-race persons should not have to identify that way, what they mean is not that "mixed-race" people should not have to be bound by being of any particular race (positive), but rather they were saying that mixed-race people really have no race (negative). By arguing this way, we see that actually, the two most dominant white responses were not incompatible after all: The first says mixed-race persons are mixed-race so are not of either black or white race; and the second actually does likewise, saying mixed-race persons really cannot claim to be of any particular race. Note, however, although we believe our interpretation here might well be the most parsimonious, we do acknowledge that further research is required in order to be more definitive about this issue.

The mixed-race group selected one highest choice which was the same as one of the black group's choices, and their other highest choice was the same as one of the white group's choices. This implies that mixed-race persons do not have two sets of views (a dual heritage) but rather half of a black view and half of a white view (i.e., a mixture of views). Their highest response was that mixed-race persons have the choice of how they identify themselves (black, mixed-race or white), as they see fit. This was the only value in Table 5.6 that was over 50% (actually at nearly 58%). The second highest choice by mixed-race respondents that mixed-race person's are mixed-race and should identify themselves that way (23%). This had been the joint highest selection by white respondents. Although no mixed-race respondents said mixed-race individuals should identify as either black or as white, nearly 8% of them said that mixed-race persons are mixed-race but should identify as black; with 0% stating the same thing for the category mixed-race and white.

Table 5.6. Interracial relationships are increasing in the U.K. Choose a statement that best describes your opinion about the children of those unions			
	Black	White	Mixed
They are black and should identify themselves that way.	4.65	2.99	0
They are mixed-race, but they should identify themselves as black.	27.91	2.99	7.69
They are mixed-race and should identify themselves that way.	13.95	29.85	23.08
They shouldn't have to define themselves that way.	13.95	29.85	7.69
They are mixed-race, but they should have a choice of how they identify themselves (as b, mx or w).	37.21	17.91	57.69
They are white and should identify themselves that way.	0	4.48	0
They are mixed-race, but they should identify themselves as white.	2.33	1.49	0

Another way of seeing how mixed-race persons see themselves is to look at their friendship groups. Table 5.7 summarises responses to Question 27, which was on the percentage of each group whose childhood friendships were mostly or almost entirely (i.e., predominantly) with members of its own group or the other two groups. Table 5.8 then summarises for Question 26 in the same way but this time for current friendships in adulthood. Inspection of Tables 5.7 and 5.8 reveal that each group tended to have an increased percentage of friends from the other two groups, as its participants went from childhood to adulthood. This said, the pattern is much the same in both tables.

Table 5.7. What was the racial make up of your closest friends when you were growing up?			
	Black	White	Mixed
Predom Black	60.47	1.45	26.92
Mostly Black	16.28	1.45	26.92
Predom Mixed-Race	0	0	11.54
Mostly Mixed-Race	4.65	4.35	0
Predom White	6.98	13.04	15.38
Mostly White	9.30	65.22	3.85
Something else (Pls state)	2.33	14.49	15.38

Table 5.8. What is the racial make up of your closest friends today?			
	Black	White	Mixed
Predom Black	55.81	0	26.92
Mostly Black	18.60	2.90	19.23
Predom Mixed-Race	0	1.45	15.38
Mostly Mixed-Race	4.65	5.80	3.85
Predom White	2.33	18.84	7.69
Mostly White	2.33	49.28	3.85
Something else (Pls state)	16.28	20.29	23.08



A combined and simplified summary of the general profiles averaged across respondents' childhood and adulthood is given in Table 5.9. This clearly shows that black and white respondents reported having only around 5% mixed-race friends. However, mixed-race respondents reported 50% of friendships with black persons but only 15% of friendships with white persons. In a sense then, mixed-race individuals seem to implicitly favour a black identity over a white identity. However, an additional thing to note is that these friendships do not seem to be reciprocated very much.

	Black	White	Mixed
More Black	75.58	2.90	49.99
More Mixed	4.65	5.80	15.38
More White	10.47	73.19	15.38
More Other	9.30	17.39	19.23

We saw above that black persons and mixed-race persons have rather few white friends and vice-versa, but in the latter case with white persons tending to have even fewer mixed-race and black friends. One possible explanation of this is that the most prevalent (white) group, tends to hold mixed-race and black persons in disfavour. To look at this issue, Question 29 asked how often respondents have experienced discrimination. The results for this are shown in Table 5.10, with a simplified summary given in Figure 5.3. From Table 5.10, we see that although no group experienced constant discrimination, around one in five black respondents experience frequent discrimination. However, a greater proportion of black respondents reported experiencing discrimination but only sometimes (35%); with mixed-race respondents also reporting this category most of all (23%). By contrast with both of these percentages, around 70% of white respondents reported that they have never experienced discrimination.

Table 5.10 Q29. Have you personally ever experienced discrimination or hostility because of your colour, race or ethnicity?			
	Black	White	Mixed
Yes, I have constantly experienced this type of discrimination.	2.33	2.90	0
Yes, I have frequently experienced this type of discrimination.	20.93	1.45	11.54
Yes, I have often experienced this type of discrimination	16.28	4.35	15.38
Yes, I have sometimes experienced this type of discrimination	34.88	1.45	23.08
Yes, I have occasionally experienced this type of discrimination	16.28	8.70	15.38
No, I have rarely experienced this type of discrimination	4.65	11.59	19.23
No, I have never experienced this type of discrimination	2.33	69.57	15.38

Figure 5.3 represents the data from Table 5.10 in simplified form, and this shows that discrimination increases as we move from white to mixed-race to black persons, and decreases as we move from white to mixed-race to black persons. In both cases, mixed-race individuals seem intermediate between black and white.

Figure 5.3 - A Simplified Summary Regarding Experience of Discrimination or Hostility because of Race

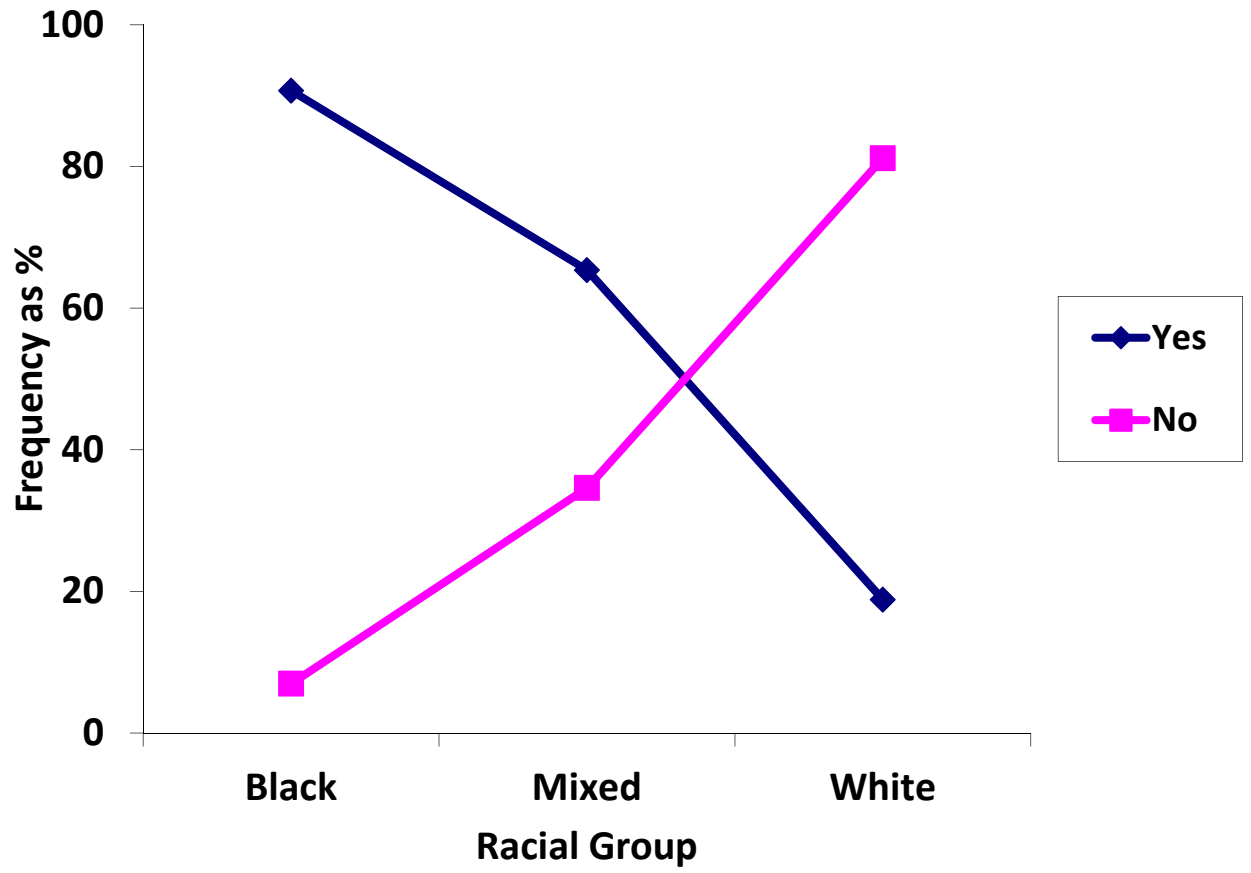


Table 5.11 (Q29(b)) sheds some light on exactly where respondents experienced the discrimination which they had stated in Question 29(a). It shows, for example, that some of the discrimination experienced by black respondents actually came from other black persons. Also, white respondents reported that they experienced a similar level of discrimination from black persons, as we saw for black-on-black discrimination. However, the amount of discrimination from black persons that was experienced by mixed-race respondents was higher than for the other two groups.

Of most note, Table 5.11 shows that whether we are looking at white respondents, mixed-race respondents or black respondents, the group which was reported as being the perpetrator of the discrimination tended to have been the white group.

Table 5.11. Q29

If yes, what was the racial identity of the individual(s)

	Black	White	Mixed
Black	6.98	8.70	11.54
White	74.42	11.59	57.6
Something else (Pls State their racial identity)	2.33	0	0

Note: Columns refer to race of the respondents and rows refer to perpetrators of the reported discrimination.



Question 33 asked about what respondents consider their identity to be. Options included several black, mixed-race and white identities but we have combined them into a total for each of black, white and mixed-race in the following three tables. Table 5.12 summarises these in terms of social identity, with Table 5.13 doing so for cultural identity and Table 5.14 doing this for identity according to respondents' physical features. The first thing to note is the striking similarity between the three tables. This tells us that generally speaking, respondents tended to treat social identity, cultural identity and features-identity as equivalent to each other. We could, therefore, consider them to each index a more general form of "ethnic identity" or "racial identity".

When we look at Tables 5.12, 5.13 and 5.14 in terms of how concentrated each group's identities were, we see that black respondents invariably had a black identity and white respondents invariably had a white identity. Mixed-Race respondents mostly had mixed-race identities, but where this was not the case their identity was almost always black and almost never white. Indeed, across all the 11 options that contributed to each of the three identities (i.e., 33 items in total), mixed-race respondents only selected a white identity on one single occasion. Again then, it would seem that, if a person does not have a mixed-race identity, that mixed-race person will have a very much greater tendency toward a black identity than a white one.

	Black	White	Mixed
Black Identity	97.68	0	7.70
White Identity	0	98.55	0
Mixed Identity	0	0	92.31

Table 5.13. Summary of Respondents' Cultural Identity			
	Black	White	Mixed
Black Identity	100	0	15.39
White Identity	0	95.65	3.85
Mixed Identity	0	0	80.77

Table 5.14. Summary of Respondents' Physical Appearance Identity

	Black	White	Mixed
Black Identity	97.67	0	15.38
White Identity	0	95.65	0
Mixed Identity	0	0	84.61

Another way of assessing ethnic identity but without necessarily having to ask directly, is to simply ask people how comfortable they feel with different groups. Along these lines, Question 40 asked each respondent to indicate which group they feel most comfortable with. The results are summarised as a percentage of each group's responses, in Table 5.15. Black respondents indicated that of the six options offered, they felt most comfortable with other black persons. Almost half of black respondents gave this response. As indicated by the percentages, the black group's second preference was for feeling most comfortable in diverse groups (33%). Mixed-race respondents selected the "diverse groups" option most of all (31%), but the percentage doing so was actually lower than for the corresponding selection by black respondents. The mixed-race group indicated "black persons" as their second choice. Thus, both these groups selected the same two options in their first two preferences, although in reverse order to each other.

The white group's selections were particularly illuminating. This group's first preference was to reject the question altogether. Thus, 48% of this group chose the option "race is not the most important factor". Although this is a very desirable answer on political/ideological grounds, all groups notice "race" as a social entity even though "race" has little biological reality. It is possible that rather than demonstrating the strategy outlined here, the white group simply thought primarily in terms of their own race, playing down the significance of other races (even though the question mentions the race often seen as at the opposite pole to "white"). On that strategy, as white persons probably think of themselves in terms of being "white" very little indeed, this might account for why they indicated that race was simply not an issue for them. The fact that the white group selected "white" at only 17%, could well support either of the two possible explanations offered here.

Turning to the second preference given by the white group, this was the same as the black group's second preference and the mixed-race group's first preference - i.e., most comfortable with diverse groups of diverse individuals (20%). Note, however, that a very

much smaller percentage of the white group selected this option compared to its selection by the mixed-race and black group.

Table 5.15. Q40. What group of people would you say you feel most comfortable being around?			
	Black	White	Mixed
I am most comfortable with black people	46.51	0	26.92
I am most comfortable with white people	0.00	17.39	11.54
I am equally comfortable with black people and white people	11.63	10.14	11.54
I am most comfortable with M-R people	2.33	1.45	15.38
I am most comfortable in diverse groups of people of varying races and ethnicities.	32.56	20.29	30.77
Race is not the most important factor that determines my comfort level.	6.98	47.83	3.85

So far we have seen that black persons have a black identity, mixed-race persons a variety of identities ranging from mixed-race to black, and white persons have a white identity. But it might be that one or more of these groups did not tend to choose this identity actively but rather felt forced to adopt this identity. In order to get a look at this issue, Question 41 asked respondents to indicate how they feel about their racial identity. This question permitted the responses, black, white, race is meaningless, something else. A summary of the responses is given in Table 5.16. To begin with the easiest case, 91% of black respondents indicated that they consider themselves exclusively black. The remaining 9% of this group checked the statement that "race is meaningless, I do not believe in racial identities". It is difficult to explain how almost one in ten persons in this group, which the preceding sections suggest is aware of discrimination against it on the basis of "race", can hold that race however is meaningless.

Turning to the white group, only 28% of this group indicated that they consider themselves exclusively white. This stands in stark contrast to the preceding sections, which clearly show this group invariably holds a white identity. Some 10% of white respondents indicated "something else". Examination of the actual responses showed that those respondents selecting this option, almost all wrote a comment that reduces to the statement "I had not been taught anything about race when growing up". The majority of the white group (59%) indicated that race is meaningless. Although this is more or less in line with what we saw for this group in Table 5.15 (the group each respondent feels most comfortable being around), it is in stark contrast with this group's social, cultural and features-identity, as well as how they indicated they see themselves (see Table 5.12, 5.13 and 5.14).



Table 5.16.

Q41. Which of the following statements best describe how you feel about your racial identity?

	Black	White	Mixed-race questions	Mixed
I consider myself exclusively black.	90.70	0	I consider myself exclusively black.	3.85
I consider myself exclusively white.	0	27.54	I consider myself my other race (not black or mixed-race).	0
Race is meaningless, I do not believe in racial identities.	9.30	59.42	Race is meaningless, I do not believe in racial identities.	0
Something else (Pls state)	0	10.14	Something else (Pls state)	84.62

The mixed-race respondents refused to give an answer to this question about 10% of the time. This was the highest non-response rate observed for any question and any group (non-responses were otherwise below 5%). Indeed, it was much higher than the roughly 4% of respondents who indicated that they feel their racial identity is exclusively black. However, a clear majority (almost 85%) indicated that they consider themselves something else other than simply black or white. We suspected this had resulted from this group not being offered the potential response "mixed-race" in this question, and so we collected additional information and constructed a further summary out of the comments this group made when responding to Question 41.

Table 5.17.	
Q41. Which of the following statements best describe how you feel about your racial identity?	
For mixed-race people only	
	Mixed
I consider myself exclusively black.	3.85
I sometimes consider myself black, sometimes my other race, and sometimes mixed-race depending on the circumstances.	0
I consider myself mixed-race, but I experience the world as a black person.	50.00
I consider myself mixed-race.	34.62
I consider myself my other race (not black or mixed-race).	0
Race is meaningless, I do not believe in racial identities.	0
Something else (Pls state)	0

The additional data on mixed-race respondents is presented in Table 5.17. From Table 5.17 we see that, even though only around 4% of mixed-race respondents considered themselves to be exclusively black, another 50% of this group felt that they experienced the world as a black person, even though they consider themselves to be mixed-race. A further 35% considered themselves mixed-race with no additional clarification included. Thus, the 85% of mixed-race respondents who had indicated "something else" in Table 5.16, had all done so in order that they could state they are mixed-race. Mixed-Race then, is clearly a real identity distinct from white or black.

But in what way should we refer to this mixed-race group. Question 50 offered respondents 10 alternative terms that people today might feel comfortable using to refer to being of mixed-race. Table 5.18 shows the percentage of respondents who opted for each term. A few respondents offered two terms (around 5% of them) and we accepted this for this particular question.

Table 5.18.

Q50. This research is looking at Identity, please answer a question on people who are mixed-race (two races). Which of the following terms of mixed-race do you prefer?

	Black	White	Mixed
Half Caste	67.44	31.88	11.54
Mixed Parentage	2.33	0	76.92
Mixed-Race	6.98	5.80	0
Dual Heritage	4.65	0	0
Mixed Heritage	2.33	1.45	0
Multiracial	0	0	0
Mixed Origins	2.33	15.94	0
Something else (Pls specify term)	18.60	36.23	3.85
No preference	0	0	3.85
I never think about it	0	0	0

Surprisingly, 67% of black respondents indicated that we should refer to mixed-race persons using the term "half-caste". This is actually a highly derogatory term (see Chapter 2 for discussion), but it would seem that many black persons may not have realised its historical meaning. In appearing to endorse this term, then, the black group seem not only to be implicitly casting mixed-race individuals out in to a racial space laying somewhere between black and white races, but they also seem to be unwittingly reinforcing "white" and "black" as alternate higher versus lower castes respectively. Less than 7% of the black group endorsed any of the alternative labels for mixed-race persons, with a higher percentage (19%) indicating that they would prefer some other term rather than any of the ones documented. Interestingly, no black respondent checked the term "I never think about what term to use".

The white group indicated "something else" 36% of the time. In each case of giving this response, the respondent would be asked to give his/her alternative preferred term. No white respondent offered up such a term. Almost as high a percentage of white respondents as indicating "something else", indicated "half-caste" (32%). This is very much lower than the percentage that had been found for this term from the black group, and would seem encouraging.

Finally here, turning to the mixed-race group itself. This group showed a very clear preference for the term "mixed-parentage" (77%). The next highest percentage was for "half-caste" (12%). The clear preference for the term mixed-parentage, suggests that mixed-race persons would rather that less attention is paid to "what race or races are in them", and more attention to the origins of their "raciality" (Fatimilehin, 1999; Quillian & Redd, 2009). Surely it is better to simply observe that a child has, say, a black parent and a white parent, than to force the child to endure a term that places them in some kind of void between two socially constructed "races" or "castes".

Questions at the end of the questionnaire (Q51 and Q52) asked respondents whether there are any terms which they would like avoided - "any terms you find offensive or would not like to see on official forms". Some participants requested to state two terms, and we accommodated this wish. This wish was never made for white respondents, made only by a few black respondents but made by around 20% of mixed-race respondents.

Interestingly, the black group, who had selected "half-caste" as the preferred term 67% of the time, now said "Yes" (i.e., there is at least one term that should be avoided) 70% of the time (i.e., 3% higher). Not only this, when they were asked which term(s) they felt most offensive, in 53% of cases, it was the very same term "half-caste". A further 8% of this group actually found the term "mixed-parentage" offensive (contrast with what mixed-race respondents said below). It would seem then that black persons tend to feel obliged to use the term half-caste, but they simultaneously seem not at all happy that they must use it.

Although we feel our conclusion here relatively sound, in so far as the black group most often indicated they used the term half-cast and yet simultaneously they mostly said that this same term was offensive, we do concede that there may be alternative explanations than the one offered here. Our conclusion may therefore be considered speculative, although we would point out that any alternative explanation would have to imply that the black people, rather than the wider society in which they live, are the cause of this apparent conflict regarding the term half-cast: In short, we would have to maintain that black people use this term because of deliberately intending to offend. Throughout this thesis, I have ensured that it is not necessary to make such a claim about white people today, and so I am reticent to intimate it regarding black people.

Only 17% of white respondents said that any terms at all were offensive. Some 15% (i.e., all but one of these responses) were that the term "half-caste" was offensive.

Some 70% of the mixed-race respondents indicated that some terms were offensive. When asked which ones, 78% of mixed-race respondents (i.e., even many of those who had not said they find any terms offensive before now) said that they found the term "half-caste" offensive. It was very interesting to note that, additionally to disliking the term half-caste, 19% of mixed-race respondents disliked the term "dual-heritage", 12% disliked "multiracial" and 19% disliked mixed-race, mixed-origins and mixed-heritage. The only term that had zero citations here was "mixed-parentage". Yet this had been among the terms that black respondents had indicated should be avoided.

Clearly then, black persons as well as white persons, would ideally become more aware that in using terms such as "half-caste", they are (perhaps unwittingly) being highly offensive to mixed-race persons. However, additionally, mixed-race persons do not generally advocate any terms for their description, if those terms include the word "mixed"; unless the term is "mixed-parentage". Although because of the title of this thesis, I am obliged to use the term "mixed-race" for the duration of the reports, I do acknowledge that a much more appropriate term is one such as "mixed-parentage".



#### 5.4. General Discussion

We wanted to investigate adults within three groups (white, mixed-race and black) on their understanding of their own racial identity; and also their views regarding mixed-race persons. But the main focus of this chapter was about /or what ethnic identity do mixed-race people perceive themselves to be. The bulk of this discussion will therefore be the latter, although we also discuss some intriguing findings regarding the former.

Even before we noted findings regarding subjective racial identity and attitudes by/towards other groups, we noted that white respondents tended to be brought up by two parents, with black respondents brought up by one parent and mixed-race respondents mid way. This might be our first indication that being mixed-race, is some vague blend of black and white, rather than a distinct racial category (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Rockquemore & Arend, 2002). But we still have to explain why these differences might occur in the first place: One possibility is that black families face greater social or even economic pressures than the average white family (Demo & Hughes, 1990). For example anecdotal evidence suggests the "glass ceiling" for black workers occurs earlier than for white women with whom the term is most often associated. However, we are yet to come across any psychological research on this issue.

Our present findings on discrimination may lend some support to the above argument. When we looked at experience of racial discrimination, mixed-race respondents were again between the levels indicated by black and white respondents. Of interest here, most experienced-discrimination towards any of our "three" groups came from the white group (Monteith & Spicer, 2000; Towles-Schwen & Fazio, 2006).

This all said, when asked about how they feel about their racial identity quite directly, the white group overwhelmingly said "race is meaningless", rather than something more like "I consider myself exclusively white". This is a very curious intimation: It would imply that

white persons know very well that race is not a real (biologically-founded) entity (Obasogie, 2010; Sundstrom, 2001), and yet most of the discrimination experienced by black or mixed-race respondents, was reported to come from white respondents.

Concerning identity more specifically, it was surprising to find that, even though mixed-race respondents in this study had a white parent, they tended to consider themselves British actually less often than the black group did. Most often, each group selected a racial identity that was specific. White respondents considered themselves English or European rather than white or British; but the differences were not that large. By contrast, black respondents considered themselves black African or black Caribbean rather than black or British; and this tendency was stark compared to selecting the sole category "black".

Mixed-race respondents tended to indicate a surprisingly clear racial identity and racial origins. For example, concerning stating their parental identities, they tended to select a specific racial identity, rather than generic identity (Quillian & Redd, 2009; Rockquemore & Arend, 2002); and furthermore they did so even more than did the black group.

As found in other studies (e.g., Fatimilehin, 1999; Steck, Heckert & Heckert, 2003), we found that white respondents do not think of themselves in terms of their race (being white), but black respondents did do so much more often. This is consistent with the notion that white persons have low racial salience and black persons have high racial salience (Steck et al., 2003). For black respondents, they tended to see themselves as "black plus a specific origin", for example Black-African, rather than just "black". Black respondents were most comfortable either when in a group of other black persons or when in a diverse group.

However, for white participants, although they were more comfortable with the sole term "white", they tended even more often to choose a term that did not also contain the word "white". They saw themselves as for example, Irish, Finnish, and so on (Aspinall, 2003).

Thus, they seemed to see country of origin as mutually exclusive of race; and they seemed to have thought more in terms of their country of origin than their race (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Phinney, 1990). This all said, we note that even in these cases, the respondents tended to have one parent from say Ireland but the other parent was English - and yet they tended to opt for the non-English national identity. This finding is curious and would require future research to clarify. White respondents were also interesting in that they preferred not to state which groups they feel most comfortable in, although the questions on friendship groups indicated that they have almost exclusively white friends.

Now, for mixed-race respondents, they tended to select first and foremost, a distinct mixed-raced identity; and did so more often than the black group. But further questions showed that they did not opt for the term mixed-race as used in this thesis. Instead, they tended to opt for the term "mixed-parentage". In doing this, they do not deny they are mixed-race. Rather, they note that there is really no such thing as mixed-race, because race itself is an artificial phenomenon (Sundstrom, 2001; see also Chapter 1). In essence, they are intimating that, if we want to think in terms of race, then mixed-race persons are no more or less than the product of their parents. Indeed, this is true of all so-called pure races too. When asked about which group they feel most comfortable with, mixed-race respondents indicated this was either racially-diverse groups or black groups. This, suggests an implicit identity that is somewhere between central (diverse) and black (e.g., see Aspinall 2003; Davis, 1991; Rockquemore & Arend, 2002). Indeed, when asked directly about friendship groups, mixed-race respondents reported having mostly black friends, and fewer mixed-race than white friends.

Concerning how/where a specific race is seen by other races, it was assumed that white participants would be more likely to place mixed-race people into the black category (Morrison, 2004). But actually, they tended to respond that mixed-race persons should just accept that they are mixed-race and should avoid thinking in terms of being black or white.

Thus, at least on this index, white respondents seemed to accept mixed-race as a distinct racial category. However, we noted that this may actually have reflected a reluctance to place mixed-race into one of the two parental categories for race, rather than acknowledgement of mixed-race per se.

Next, many assume that black participants see mixed-race persons more as white than as black (Song, 2010b; Sundstrom, 2001). But for black respondents we found that they reported mixed-race persons should identify either as mixed-race or as black, but should not be forced to identify as either of these by other persons - it is their own choice.

Consistent with the idea that at the explicit level mixed-race people would seem to have their own identity, and this identity is more black than white overall (Fatimilehin, 1999), we found that mixed-race respondents, themselves, believed they should identify as black, white or mixed-race as they see fit (agreeing with black respondents). When mixed-race respondents did not do this, then they held that they are mixed-race (agreeing with white respondents). However, further questioning revealed that these same mixed-race respondents tended to report that they were forced to experience the world as a black person, even though they are of mixed-parentage rather than black. This interpretation is at odds with Franklin and Madge (2000), who argue that many mixed-race persons see themselves as white, as more white than black, or as equally white and black.

Previous research suggests that mixed-race persons are more successful at holding diverse friendship groups (i.e., have friends from many races - Quillian & Redd, 2009). However, our findings are clear on this issue. Mixed-race persons tended to have more than three black friends for every one white friend. This may be seen as diverse in that it spans all three groups, but it is by no means balanced, especially when we take into account that in the U.K., there is less than one black person for every 80 white persons (Aspinall, 2003; Berrington, 1996). Perhaps this could explain Fatimilehin's (1999) finding

that mixed-race persons tend to have lower self-esteem than white persons, but similar to black persons: They experience similar racially-relevant challenges as black persons through being in the same social situations as black persons. Note, previous research has found that self-esteem tends to be lower and is more closely intertwined with racial identity for black persons than for white persons (Demo & Hughes, 1990).

Perhaps part of the reason for mixed-race persons tending to have lower self esteem, might be due to having to put up with derogatory terms for their racial identity (most notably "half-caste" - see Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Tizard & Phoenix, 1993). Concerning acceptable terms, both white and black respondents showed a significant tendency towards using the term half-caste (Aspinall, 2003). However, whereas white respondents seemed to be completely impervious to the fact that mixed-race persons find this term understandably insulting, black respondents seemed well aware that the term is derogatory, and yet they showed the highest tendency to use it. This situation was very curious, and ideally requires future research.

To conclude, our findings confirm that mixed-race persons do have a specific racial identity. However, at the same time, they are aware that they experience the world as black persons, because this is how they tend to be seen by their parental races. The result is that both black and mixed-race groups are similar and are closer in terms of group behaviours and thoughts about the world from perspectives of racial, ethnic and cultural identity.

Our findings also offer a possible explanation of why race is avoided a lot by the white group. On the one hand, most people that white persons will ever encounter will be other white persons (DuBois, 1935; McIntosh, 1988). On the other hand, the best way of avoiding actively thinking about the subjective experiences that mixed-race and black persons might have to endure, is to avoid thinking about race at all.

But are mixed-race young adults mixed up? In most respects the answer is "No".

They have a clear sense of who they are and how they want to be referred to (i.e., as of "mixed-parentage"). But they are forced to be closer to a black identity because, although they mix with white persons as well as black persons, white persons do not mix with mixed-race persons.

Finally, mixed-race persons may be like black persons and white persons, and have a desire to integrate with other mixed-race persons. However, it may be that they simply find too few mixed-race persons in their social environment, and hence have to mix predominantly with the black group as a second choice. However, it is important to note that our findings are regarding young adults. The next thing to do is to attempt to determine which of these phenomena are robust not just in adulthood but also in childhood, and which are formed sometime between childhood and adulthood (i.e., in adolescence).

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **Mixed-Race Ethnic Identity in Adolescents and its Relationship to Measures of Self-Esteem and Self-Concept**

## 6.0. Abstract

59 white, black and mixed-race individuals were given a shortened version of the Adult Identity Questionnaire from Chapter 5. They were also given a scale for measuring self-esteem and a second scale for measuring self-concept. Findings showed that during adolescence, mixed-race children have an increased tendency to opt for white friends and to have a white identity, as compared with what we found for this group in Chapter 5 (a tendency towards a black identity). However, none of our three groups showed significantly lower levels on overall self-esteem or self-concept. We found that one factor from the self-esteem scale (stress management) predicted to some extent racial identity score, with two factors from the self-concept scale also doing so (physical features concept and relationship with father). But the strongest factor in a person's general level of racial identity was the ethnic group to which they had already been assigned (probably at birth). We conclude that there is a tendency for mixed-race identity to undergo continual gradual change from middle childhood, through adolescence, before settling down nearer to a black identity by early adulthood. The result is a tendency for their adult identity to be nearer to their childhood identity than to their adolescent identity.



### 6.1. Background to the Study

Some claim that there is a "natural progression" stemming from racial differences between black and white people, for example in intelligence (Rushton, 2008), criminal disposition (Caetano & McGrath, 2005) or mental stability (e.g., psychopathy – Lynn, 2002). However, others point out that this so-called natural progression could just as readily be reflecting an interpretation bias stemming from cultural/experiential opportunities, or even implicit social injustice (Bergerson, 2003; Fagan & Holland, 2002). For example, Brown, Williams, Brown and Seller (2000) found that experience of racism was predictive of high psychological distress and lower levels of subjective wellbeing.

Now, unions between people of different races (most notably black and white persons) are sometimes termed "mixed" (Chapter 2; see also Phinney, 1996). But these mixed unions may not be class-blind, but rather they tend to involve women of lower socio-economic status partnering up with men of higher status (Kalmijn, 1993; Rockquemore & Arend, 2002). U.S. data concur with this finding and show that it contrasts with American-Indian unions (showing no race times gender interaction) and Pacific-Islander unions (showing the reverse of the black profile - Kalmijn, 1993). So once again, we arrive at the same possible interpretation - even in "love", there may be implicit social inequalities, and perhaps particularly involving black people. One question is, "To what extent might this reality impact on the children of mixed-couple relationships?"

In a study with 7-16 year-olds, Franklin and Madge (2000) found only 11% of children used the term mixed-race, and there was a greater tendency to be indeterminate about racial category. Our own Chapter 5 closely concurred as regards the percentage preference for the identity "mixed-race", although the full range of identities was not reflected by mixed-race respondents.

A more detailed look at Chapter 5 showed that on the one hand during quite direct questioning, adults who are of mixed-race did mostly tend to state having their own racial identity distinct from the identity of each of their white versus black parental groups (they just tended not to call it mixed-race). However, on the other hand, indirect questioning revealed that they feel pressured towards having a black identity.

We do note that in so far as other interpretations are possible, our interpretation here can be thought of as speculative (we thank an examiner for pointing this out). But on that very issue, it is highly important to appreciate that there are a vast number of studies which have reached similar conclusions from very direct data coming from mixed-race individuals (e.g., Fatimilehin, 1999; Jones, 1990; Katz & Treacher, 2005; McBride, 1996; Rockquemore & Arend, 2002; Scales-Trent, 1995; Williams, 1995).

Returning to our point, interestingly, although this pressure is experienced as coming from black persons as well as white persons, black persons tend to feel obliged to use terminology for mixed-race that is felt to be derogatory (i.e., "half-caste"), and do so far more than do white persons.

It could be argued that placing mixed-race persons in this somewhat contradictory (implicit v explicit identity) situation, could well be the cause of wide variation or even ambiguities into their racial/ethnic identity (Steck, Heckert & Heckert, 2003; Tizard & Phoenix, 1993). Perhaps this is part of the reason why, much like their black counterparts, mixed-race individuals have a higher tendency for educational underachievement (Robinson, 2001), and why they are grossly over-represented in school exclusions, in the care system and in the criminal justice system (Caetano & McGrath, 2005; Morrison, 2004).

Gaines et al. (1997) argue that these outcome-tendencies actually result from mixed-race persons having two slightly different social parenting models (one from each parent), with

the result that the individual ends up with an indeterminate culture. But the problem may lay just as much with the environment outside the family as with parents, for example the mixed-race child being constantly categorised by society in a different way to their own self-category (Phinney, 1996). Many theorists have argued that this should be expected to lead to social-identity problems, lowered self-esteem, and delinquent behaviour (Robinson, 2001; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002).

Consistent with both Gaines et al. (1997) and Phinney (1996), we saw in Chapter 5 that white respondents tend to think of mixed-race persons as black and that black respondents tend to think of them as either black or half-caste. It would seem then, that mixed-race persons are externally pressured away from the full range of possible racial identifications; in short, they are pressured away from ever identifying in terms of the white parent - i.e., not to think of themselves as white. According to Bergerson (2003) and Rockquemore and Arend (2002) this denial of the full range of possible identities is because being white is about historical cultural acceptance rather than colour as such. This leads to some minority racial groups implicitly reasoning that, as they know they cannot enjoy those privileges, they really should not call themselves white even if they might pass as white (see also Bonilla-Silva & Glover, 2004; Morrison, 2004; Robinson, 2001; Rockquemore & Arend, 2002; Song, 2010a).

Perhaps mixed-race individuals never ever select a white identity. On that issue, Wilson (1987) reported that mixed-race 6-9 year-olds identified themselves as white nearly twice as often as identifying as black (see also Bergerson, 2003; Rockquemore, 1998). For instance, Rockquemore (1998) found that middle-class mixed-race individuals tended either to regard themselves as white, as of different races depending on social situation or rejected the construct of race altogether.

However, in the Wilson (1987) data, unlike our mixed-race adults in Chapter 5, almost 50% of mixed-race children rejected both a white and a black identity; instead choosing the term half-caste. Different to this still, Stephan and Stephan (2000) interviewed a much larger sample and found that 89% of mixed-race individuals regarded their racial category as changing depending on social context. Clearly what is required here is additional evidence regarding the racial identity of mixed-race individuals at some point during their childhood.

### **6.1.1. Aims of the Present Study**

The present research aimed to address the above issues and to help constructively stimulate a more empowered U.K. debate which can lead to improvement in the situation of particularly this minority group within our society. We relied again on the questionnaire tool devised for assessing mixed-race, white and black participants' notions of their own identity and the identity of the other groups. However, additionally, we attempted to produce U.K. data on possible links between particularly mixed-race identity and the self-esteem of mixed-race participants. This was done via two additional esteem-relevant tests given to each participant (see below).

Using these two sets of tools, we aimed to investigate whether the picture we found for mixed-race adults in Chapter 5, is the same for persons in late childhood (adolescence). Specifically, we wondered whether we would replicate the finding that mixed-race persons really do not tend to identify as white. We also wondered whether the picture we obtained from our open-ended questions would give us the same answers regarding which group has stronger or weaker racial identity, as an identity score that comprised of several identity-relevant questions. Finally, we wondered whether mixed-race adolescents have similar or weaker self-esteem, and whether their self-esteem is associated with their strength of identity.

## 6.2. Method

### 6.2.1. Participants

These were a total of 59 adolescents between 14 and 18 years-old. Their mean age was 16.7 years. The adolescents were all drawn from after-school classes or community centres of a major U.K. city. As with the Adult Identity Questionnaire study reported in Chapter 5, we sampled three broad groups - White, Mixed-Race and Black. The white group had a mean age of 16.6 years ( $SD = 0.927$ ), and it comprised 29 respondents, 13 boys and 16 girls. The black group had a mean age of 16.9 years ( $SD = 0.645$ ), and comprised 22 respondents, 11 boys and 11 girls. The mixed-race group had a mean age of 16.8 years ( $SD = 0.948$ ), and comprised 8 respondents, 4 boys and 4 girls. We did not ascertain data on academic achievement. However, we confirm that respondents from each of the three groups attended the same range of schools (6 schools in all).

### 6.2.2. Materials

For the materials, we took the Adult Identity Questionnaire tool used in Chapter 5 and adapted it so that it was appropriate for respondents who were adolescents. We needed to take into account here that youngsters are likely to have shorter attention spans than the young adults of Chapter 5. Shortening this questionnaire would also make way for the additional esteem-relevant tools. The new shorter version (the Adolescent Identity Questionnaire), now contained 38 questions instead of the 52 questions of the adult version (see Appendix E).

To assess aspects of psychological functioning, we incorporated two other questionnaire tools. The first was the Burnett Self Scale (BSS – Burnett, 1994), which was devised originally by Marsh (1990). Briefly, the BSS had sub-scales for the following: 1) Physical Appearance Self-Concept - How positively or negatively a person sees their own physical

appearance and how they think others see them. 2) Physical Ability Self-Concept - same as "1" but looks at what one thinks about what one can and cannot do (e.g., in education or social interaction). 3) Peer Relations Self-Concept - How a person feels they manage different types of interactions with friends and other influential people. 4) Relationship with Mother Self-Concept - What one thinks regarding their past and present relationship with the mother. 5) Relationship with Father Self-Concept - What one thinks regarding their past and present relationship with the father. 6) Reading Self-Concept - What one thinks about ones reading ability. 7) Mathematics Self-Concept - What one thinks about ones maths abilities. 8) Learning Self-Concept - What one thinks about ones overall ability to learn new things. 9) Global Self-Esteem Self-Concept - Ones overall self esteem.

We also used the BarOn EQ-i YV(S) questionnaire for assessing self-concept subcomponents related to relationships (BarOn & Parker, 2000). The BarOn EQ-H comprised five sub-scales. These were as follows: 1) Intrapersonal - How one relates to and thinks about one's self. 2) Interpersonal - How one relates to and thinks about others with whom one has interacted. 3) Stress management - How one manages typical and non-typical stressful contexts and situations. 4) Adaptability - How flexible or tolerant a person is plus how they accommodate a variety of situations. 5) Positive Impression - How positive are the assumptions the person brings to social interactions and how positively does the person wish to portray him/her self.

### **6.2.3. Design**

The design was mainly qualitative, with aspects of quantitative methodology too. The qualitative aspect was similar to what we had used in Chapter 5 for the Adult Identity Questionnaire, but slightly reduced because of reporting space constraints. The quantitative

aspects used both comparisons of means (two-way Analysis of Variances) and predictive analyses (linear regression).

#### **6.2.4. Procedure**

The procedure was the same as that used in Chapter 5 (see Appendix F for ethical submission). However, in terms of time taken to complete the tool, the current tool (Adolescent Identity Questionnaire) was around one-third shorter than that used in Chapter 5 with adults. This made way for inclusion of the BarOn EQ-i:YV(S) and BSS psychometric tools.

The adolescents were tested either in their school or in a community centre close to their home. In the former case the school gave consent for testing and in the latter case the child first took home a consent form for the parents to sign and then the child was permitted to take part. Most participants were between 14 and 17 years-old, but a few participants were 18 years-old, in which case they gave their own informed consent.

Upon consenting to take part and having any questions they wanted to ask answered, participants first completed the Adolescent Identity Questionnaire, followed by the BarOn EQ-i:YV(S) and BSS questionnaires with the latter two given in random order. Each questionnaire was filled in on a one-to-one basis, either by the participant him/herself or by the researcher giving questions verbally and writing the answers in as spoken by the participant. The participant chose which of these two methods was used. Once finished, the participant was debriefed and they could ask any questions they wished. The entire process took around 45 minutes, including briefing, debriefing and any questions.

### 6.3. Results

As with the Adult Identity Questionnaire, it was not feasible to analyse all 38 questions, because of space limitations of each chapter. However, we do present many of the findings which relate to those drawn out in Chapter 5 (qualitative analyses). This chapter then goes on to present a summary and analysis of the three groups in terms of their scores on sub-scales of the two psychometric tools; including how these relate to our three groups and all participants' ethnic identity for their own group.

#### 6.3.1. Qualitative Analyses

To begin with the Adolescent Identity Questionnaire, we first analysed Question 6 which was on which identity the respondents primarily see themselves as (see Table 6.1). We categorised the responses into three categories - general, British, or specific. The first thing to note was that 13% of the mixed-race group did not respond with an answer that fit our summary. This percentage represents 1 of our 8 respondents in that group, and this person indicated that they primarily have a white identity. Turning to the general category, only 9% of the black group indicated this category, compared to 24% of the white group. This shows that neither black children or white children wish to primarily identify using the general category for their respective group. However, it is also noteworthy that the black group tended to avoid the general categorisation far more than the white group.

Perhaps the biggest contrast here was in the use of the middle category - British. Here, a sizable majority of the black group were happy to regard themselves as British, but only 17% of white respondents wished to do so. The mixed-race respondents were near midway between the white and the black group. The opposite tendency was found for the specific category, although this time the range was considerably reduced. Mixed-race adolescents were again between black and white, although much closer to the white group (8% lower).



Table 6.1. Q6 How do you see yourself in terms of racial identity/ethnicity?			
	Black	White	Mixed
General	9.09	24.14	-
British	68.19	17.24	37.50
Specific	31.82	58.62	50.00
White (Mixed-Race)	-	-	12.50

Questions 7 and 8 asked about the respondents' mothers' and fathers' identity, and these are summarised in Tables 6.2 and 6.3 respectively. For mothers, Table 6.2 shows that the black group and the white group gave their mothers essentially the same percentage for the general category as they had done for the respondents' own identity. Interestingly, in our data there turned out to be no mixed-race respondents with black mothers (and by implication none with white fathers). However, it was interesting to note that the mixed-race respondents responded very close to the black group in how they judged the identity of their mothers, even though for mixed-race respondents these mothers were each white rather than black.

Regarding giving their mothers a British identity, the tendency we observed was for the white group to show the lowest tendency to do so. Just over one in four black respondents ascribed the British identity for their mothers, but the mixed-race respondents did this most of all, around 10% higher than the black group. For the specific identity, each group ascribed at 50% or higher, but the mixed-race group did so lowest and the black group did so highest. So the black group saw themselves in terms of a British identity but saw their mothers in terms of a more specific identity.

Table 6.2. Q7 What is your biological mother's racial identity/ethnicity?				
	Black	White	Mixed Black	Mixed White
General	9.09	24.14	0	12.50
British	27.27	17.24	0	37.50
Specific	63.64	51.72	0	50.00

For fathers, all three groups tended to avoid using the general category. However, mixed-race respondents were the group that used it least. It was noted that the white group used this category with only about half the percentage compared to what this group had reported for their mother.

Black adolescents tended to use the British category more than the other two groups, with mixed-race and white adolescents reporting a similar percentage to each other. For the specific category, all three groups showed a percentage that was above 50%, however, the mixed-race group was much higher than the other two groups, with those groups quite close to each other.

Table 6.3. Q8. (AIQ is Q11.) What is your biological father's racial identity/ethnicity?				
	Black	White	Mixed Black	Mixed White
General	13.64	20.69	12.50	0
British	31.82	24.14	25.00	0
Specific	54.54	51.73	62.50	0

Question 16 asked respondents about which group their closest friend belonged to. This shows that black adolescents tend not to have a mixed-race closest friend, but are more likely to have a white closest friend and most likely to have a black closest friend. The white group showed exactly the reverse of this profile, which was not unexpected. However, it was interesting to note that white adolescents had a higher percentage of black best friends compared to black adolescents regarding white best friends. For mixed-race respondents, this group was equally likely to have a black best friend as a mixed-race best friend. However, this group was two to three times more likely to report having a best friend who was white.

Table 6.4. Q16. (AIQ is Q26.) What is the racial make up of your closest friends today?

	Black	White	Mixed
Predom Black	13.64	3.45	0
Mostly Black	50.00	10.34	12.50
Predom Mixed-Race	0	0	12.50
Mostly Mixed-Race	4.55	3.45	0
Predom White	0	17.24	37.50
Mostly White	9.09	41.38	25.00
Something else (Pls state)	18.18	24.14	12.50

A similar question was asked in Question 17, but this time it asked about the friends the respondent had at primary school. The profiles in Table 6.5 are in virtually every way very close to those in Table 6.4. However we note one important difference. It seems that the best friendships are more polarised in childhood (Table 6.5) than they are in adolescence (Table 6.4). This interpretation is supported both by the black group in Table 6.5, which reported a higher percentage of black friends at the expense of white friends; and also by the reverse of this profile in the white group. The fact that the black group and the white group here were completely independent of each other, and yet they both evidenced exactly the same profile (a favour towards its own group), reduces the likelihood that either profile was accidental. This self-group favouritism was even demonstrated by the mixed-race group to a degree, although here the closest friends remained mostly or virtually always white.



Table 6.5. (AIQ is Q27.) What was the racial make up of your closest friends when at primary school?

	Black	White	Mixed
Predom Black	27.27	6.90	0
Mostly Black	27.27	3.45	12.50
Predom Mixed-Race	0	0	0
Mostly Mixed-Race	0	3.45	25.00
Predom White	13.64	17.24	25.00
Mostly White	18.18	55.17	25.00
Something else (Pls state)	13.64	10.34	0

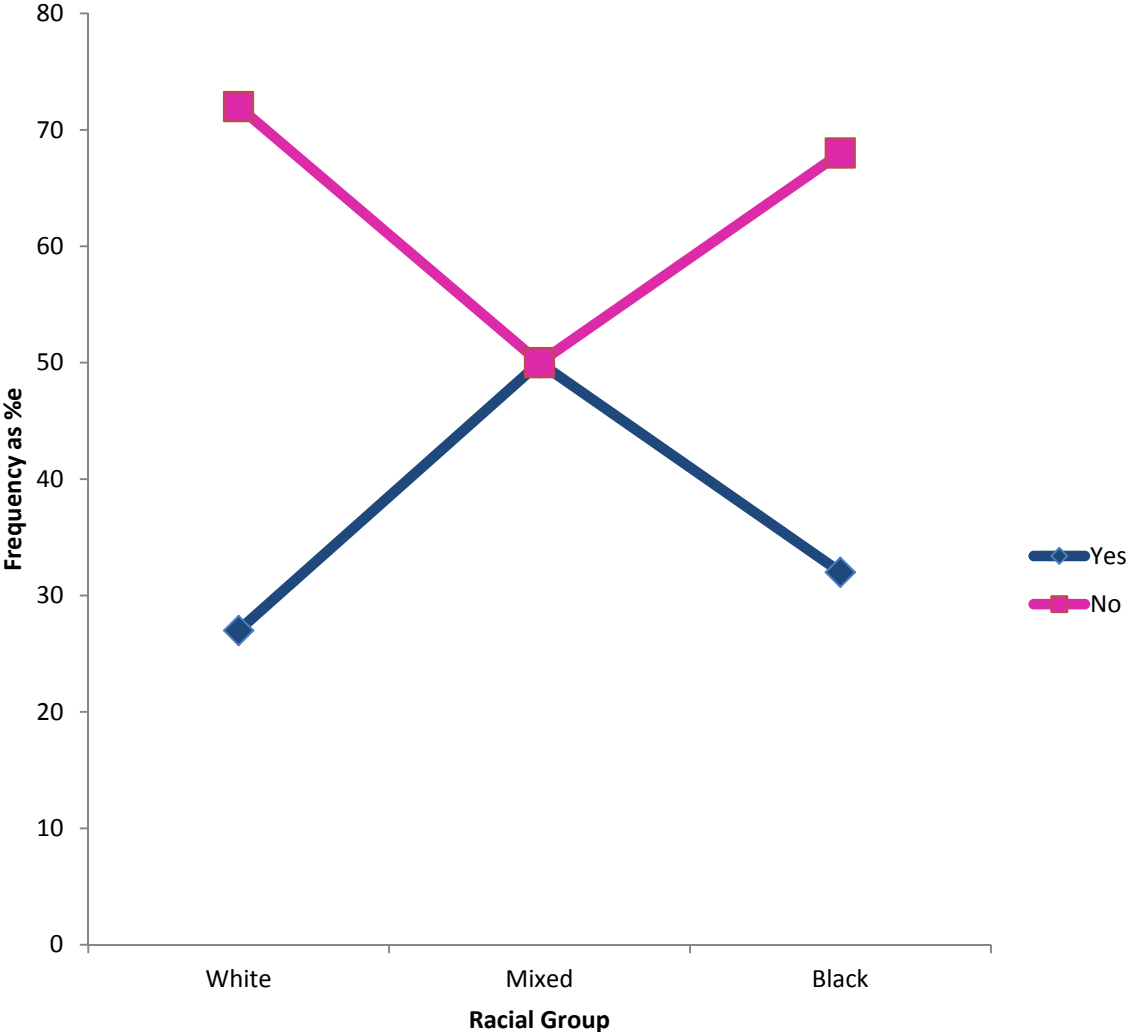
Next, Question 19 asked about whether the respondents had experienced discrimination. The results are presented in Table 6.6. Table 6.6 shows that both the black group and the white group tend to experience discrimination only rarely. The more frequent types of discrimination were each experienced relatively little. However, things were a little different for the mixed-race respondents. This group tended to report that it did face discrimination although this was on an occasional basis. "Occasional" was presented as a "Yes" and "Rarely" was presented as a "No"; and so it would seem that mixed-race adolescents perceive discrimination is more of a problem to them than to black or white adolescents. To make this point more directly, we simplified the table and presented the findings graphically in Figure 6.1. Figure 6.1 confirms that mixed-race respondents feel discriminated at least occasionally, more than the other groups. Interestingly, black adolescents reported a lower level of discrimination, and in fact it was similar to the overall level reported by white respondents.

Table 6.6.

**Q19. (AIQ is Q29.)** Have you personally ever experienced discrimination or hostility because of your colour, race or ethnicity?

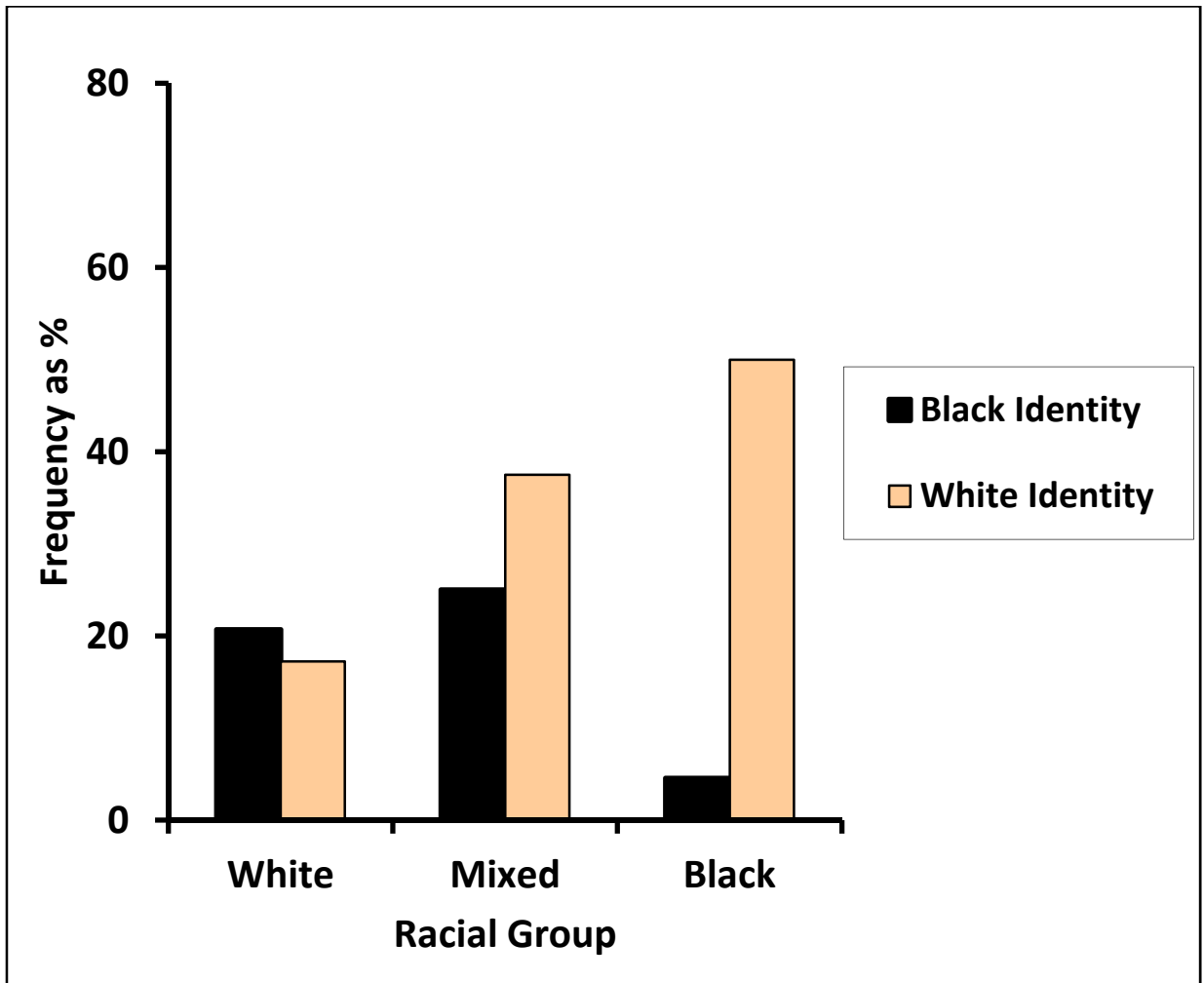
	Black	White	Mixed
Yes, I have constantly experienced this type of discrimination.	0	0	0
Yes, I have frequently experienced this type of discrimination.	4.55	3.45	0
Yes, I have often experienced this type of discrimination	4.55	0	0
Yes, I have sometimes experienced this type of discrimination	4.55	10.34	0
Yes, I have occasionally experienced this type of discrimination	18.18	13.79	50.00
No, I have rarely experienced this type of discrimination	45.45	34.48	37.50
No, I have never experienced this type of discrimination	22.73	37.93	12.50

### 6.1. Simplified Summary of Discrimination Experienced by Each Group



Question 19 also asked respondents to indicate the group which had discriminated against them. The findings are presented in Figure 6.2, and relate to percentages of the entire group rather than just that proportion who had said yes. Figure 6.2 shows that black adolescents and mixed-race adolescents felt discriminated against mostly by white persons (50% and 38% respectively). However, each of these two groups also reported virtually no discrimination from its own group (black - 5%, mixed-race - 0% use of the "something else" category). It is important to acknowledge that both mixed-race and white respondents reported a fairly high amount of discrimination from black persons (white - 21%, mixed-race - 25%). Also, white respondents reported a similar percentage of discrimination from other white persons (17%) as from black persons.

Figure 6.2. Identity of the Race Discriminating Against Each Group



Question 22 asked about the respondents' social identity, cultural identity and features-identity. We have provided a simplified presentation in terms of the three identity categories (White, Mixed-Race, Black) and done so for social, cultural and features identity in Tables 6.7, 6.8 and 6.9 respectively.

Table 6.7 summarises for social identity. This shows that black respondents invariably had a black identity and white respondents a white identity. Importantly, although the mixed-race respondents mostly reported having a mixed-race social identity, this group reported a white social identity some 25% of the time but never reported a black social identity.

Table 6.7. A Social Identity			
	Black	White	Mixed
Black Identity	100	0	0
White Identity	0	100	25.00
Mixed Identity	0	0	75.00



We summarise for cultural identity in Table 6.8. This shows that the profile for cultural identity almost exactly mirrored the ones we saw for social identity. The one very slight departure was that for cultural identity (Table 6.8), 7% of the adolescents elected not to give a response. However, the remaining 93% indicated a white cultural identity. Concerning the mixed-race group, it was intriguing to observe that 75% of them indicated a "mixed-race cultural identity". It is not clear whether this reflects the emergence of a mixed-race culture promoted by two parents neither of which was mixed-race themselves (see Table 6.2 and 6.3), or whether the respondents here simply interpreted "cultural identity" as completely equivalent to "social identity".

Table 6.8. Cultural Identity			
	Black	White	Mixed
Black Identity	100	0	0
White Identity	0	93.10	25
Mixed Identity	0	0	75

Turning to features-identity, this is summarised in Table 6.9. Table 6.9 shows that 95% of the black group have a black features identity. A further 5% of this group have a mixed-race identity. This latter percentage probably reflects that a minority of black children might see themselves as having a skin colour that might be perceived by some as typifying mixed-race persons over and above black persons. The white group reported 93% for having a white features-identity, exactly mirroring the profile they had shown for cultural identity. The mixed-race group mostly indicated having mixed-race features (88%), with a further 12% reporting a white features-identity.

Table 6.9. Physical Appearance Identity			
	Black	White	Mixed
Black Identity	95.46	0	0
White Identity	0	93.10	12.50
Mixed Identity	4.55	0	87.50

Another way of assessing respondents' identity is to look at their current friendship groups. To this end, Question 30 asks what group of people the respondent feels most comfortable being around. The responses are summarised in Table 6.10. From Table 6.10 we see that the black group gave their highest percentage response for the option "most comfortable with black people"; but also gave exactly the same percentage for "race is not the most important factor that determines my comfort level". In each case the percentage response was just over 36%.

The white group gave their highest response to "race is not the most important factor..." at 45%. This group's second preference was for "I am equally comfortable with black people and white people" at 31%. The fact that the white group did not tend to find the company of other white adolescents particularly comfortable, may be related to this group's high reporting of facing discrimination from other white persons.

For the mixed-race group, 50% of this group indicated that race is not the most important factor to them. Another 38% said that they were "equally comfortable with black people and white people". What is worth noting here, is that none of our three groups indicated a non-zero percentage for feeling most comfortable with any race other than their own race; but only the mixed-race group never stated that its respondents feel most comfortable with persons who are themselves mixed-race. It is as though mixed-race persons would prefer not to have to compartmentalise themselves, and also would rather be in a friendship group that is multi-ethnic and is not at all concerned with the mixed-race identity.

Table 6.10.

**Q30. (AIQ is Q40.)** What group of people would you say you feel most comfortable being around?

	Black	White	Mixed
I am most comfortable with black people	36.36	0	0
I am most comfortable with white people	0	10.34	0
I am equally comfortable with black people and white people	18.18	31.03	37.50
I am most comfortable with mixed-race people	0	0	0
I am most comfortable in diverse groups of people of varying races and ethnicities.	9.09	17.24	12.50
Race is not the most important factor that determines my comfort level.	36.36	44.83	50.00

Question 31 asked respondents to choose one or more statements that best described how they feel about their racial identity. Table 6.11 shows that 82% of black adolescents considered themselves exclusively black and around 14% considered that "race is meaningless" to them. Of interest though 4% said they consider themselves as either black or as mixed-race depending on circumstances. This finding is curious given that the 4% of individuals had a completely black identity in every way apart from features-identity being mixed-race. This finding indicates that black persons, who believe their features are mixed-race, will tend to embrace "mixed-racedness" if their features will support this view. We noted earlier that the converse was not found, but we saw instead that mixed-race persons who might pass as white will tend 12% - 25% to opt for white identities.

Like black respondents, the white respondents only checked three categories. This group never reported considering itself "exclusively white". Instead, 45% said that "race is meaningless, I do not believe in racial identities". A further 38% reported "something else". When we reviewed the comments that respondents who checked this latter option made, these were very revealing. Nearly 4% of such respondents had checked "something else" meaning that they would not have to check "exclusively white", but then in their comments they wrote exactly "exclusively white". A further 11% of white respondents did not wish to check "exclusively white" but in their comments they stated the white country of nationality of one of their parents (usually England). Therefore, again, there was no good reason why these participants did not see fit to indicate "exclusively white". These 15% of white responses might well indicate some dissatisfaction with being white or even being a little snobbish about being identified with a general white group - wishing to be dissociated from "generic white". Alternatively, it may simply be that this percentage was apprehensive or simply did not wish to come across as in any sense racist in the slightest, and so tried to find a more subtle way of indicating a "white identity" without using the phrase "exclusively white". Our latter interpretation is quite consistent with the fact that

most white respondents who did not check any of the active options and instead checked "something else", did not then go on to make any comment at all. It is as though the "something else" category was for them a way of refusing to be drawn on a definite answer.

Turning to the mixed-race group, we start by looking at what this group did not say. No mixed-race respondent considered themselves to be black or indeed to be white. Also, none said that they experience the world as a black person despite being of mixed-race. These said, no mixed-race respondent attempted to avoid giving an active answer. Regarding the active answers, these were very varied. Some 38% of mixed-race adolescents said that "race is meaningless" to them. Presumably these persons were saying that they do not wish to consider themselves as of any particular race, because race should not be the means of forming an identity. But we already saw earlier, that most of these individuals consider themselves to have a mixed-race social identity, cultural identity and even features-identity; with the remainder considering themselves to be "white" in terms of most of these identities. A further 38% of responses were split equally between their statements: "I consider myself exclusively white", "I consider myself exclusively my other race rather than either black or mixed-race" and "I consider myself exclusively mixed-race". The first two of these three are really just two alternative ways of saying "white", one just being less direct than the other. Interestingly, 25% of mixed-race adolescents refused to give an answer to this question, not wishing to indicate actively but also not taking up the option of saying "something else" and supplying a clarifying comment.



Table 6.11.

**Q31. (AIQ is Q41.)** Which of the following statements best describe how you feel about your racial identity?

	Black	White	Mixed
I consider myself exclusively black.	81.82	0	0
I sometimes consider myself black, sometimes my other race, and sometimes mixed race depending on the circumstances.	4.55	0	0
I consider myself mixed-race, but I experience the world as a black person.	0	0	0
I consider myself exclusively white.	0	0	12.50
I consider myself exclusively mixed-race.	0	0	12.50
I consider myself exclusively my other race (not black or mixed race).	0	3.45	12.50
Race is meaningless, I do not believe in racial identities.	13.64	44.83	37.50
Something else (Pls state)	0	37.93	0

The final part of the questionnaire asked about terms used for referring to mixed-race. Question 38 asked "Which of the following terms for mixed-race do you prefer?". Table 6.12 shows that all three groups most preferred the term "mixed-race" (white - 62%, mixed-race - 75%, black - 59%). Of particular note, the mixed-race group seemed to most prefer this term; with the white and black group very similar to each other.

Interestingly, none of our three groups ever showed any preference at all for the term "mixed-parentage", or "mixed-heritage". No respondent from any group ever reported that they have "no preference" for any particular term, which made it curious that around 5% of the white respondents, 13% of the mixed-race respondents and 18% of the black respondents did not actually give any response at all.

The second preferences of the three groups were highly illuminating. The white group opted for "half-caste" 14% of the time. We learned in Chapter 2 and Chapter 5 that this should be seen as a highly demeaning term which intimates a legitimating of the concept of a caste system. The second response of the black group was far more positive. This group selected "dual heritage" around 9% of the time (this group only selected half-caste 4% of the time). The second response from the mixed-race group was just as constructive as the black group's choice, selecting "multiracial" around 13% of the time. This group never indicated any other choices apart from the two noted here. Although it would clearly have been beneficial to ask our adolescent respondents about terms they find particularly offensive, we had determined that such a question might potentially be more upsetting to these young participants than they were to our adults in Chapter 5. Therefore, we decided to forego asking this question.

Table 6.12.

**Q32. (AIQ is Q42.)** Which of the following best describe your physical appearance?

	Black	White	Mixed
I look black and most people assume that I am black	77.27	0	12.50
I look white and most people assume that I am white	0	0	0
My physical features are ambiguous; people assume that I am black mixed with something else.	9.09	0	62.50
My physical features are ambiguous; people do not assume that I am black	4.55	3.45	12.50
I physically look white, I could "pass".	0	51.72	12.50
Something else (Pls state)	0	41.38	0

### 6.3.2. Quantitative Analyses

Having analysed the Adolescent Identity Questionnaire, attention is now turned to the more quantitative findings from that questionnaire, plus from the two pre-existing psychometric questionnaires. Many of the items on the Adolescent Identity Questionnaire were not just intended to contribute to qualitative data but also to contribute to an overall "strength of ethnic identity score" for each respondent. These questions were Q6, Q16, Q17, Q18 (black only), Q20 (white only), Q21, Q22a, Q22b, Q22c, Q24, Q28, Q29, Q30, Q31, Q32, Q35, and Q37.

It is generally useful to compute a measure of internal reliability (Cronbach's Alpha) for new scales; however, this was inappropriate in the present case for the following four main reasons. First, some of the questions included, had made the same contribution from different groups, but at the same time these questions had to be different because mixed-race respondents needed to be asked using a different question to black and white respondents. When not all questions are included in the same way, Cronbach's Alpha is unsafe. Second, Cronbach's Alpha should normally only be used where each item can take a range of values, for example where a Likert Scale had been used to gain answers to each item. This criterion was violated in the present study, because we looked at frequencies of choosing categories rather than ordinal data.

Third, although not intended for this purpose, Cronbach's Alpha could sometimes be justified when all items have the same Yes/No type responses, but this criterion was also violated here. Finally, in any case, Cronbach's Alpha simply does not apply to categorical data, where there are more than two categories. This violation was the case here, with almost all of the items included in our scale failing the criterion for valid inclusion.

In short, it was not appropriate to use Cronbach's Alpha, the standard measure of internal reliability. Nevertheless, our scale was intuitive and showed construct validity in so far as

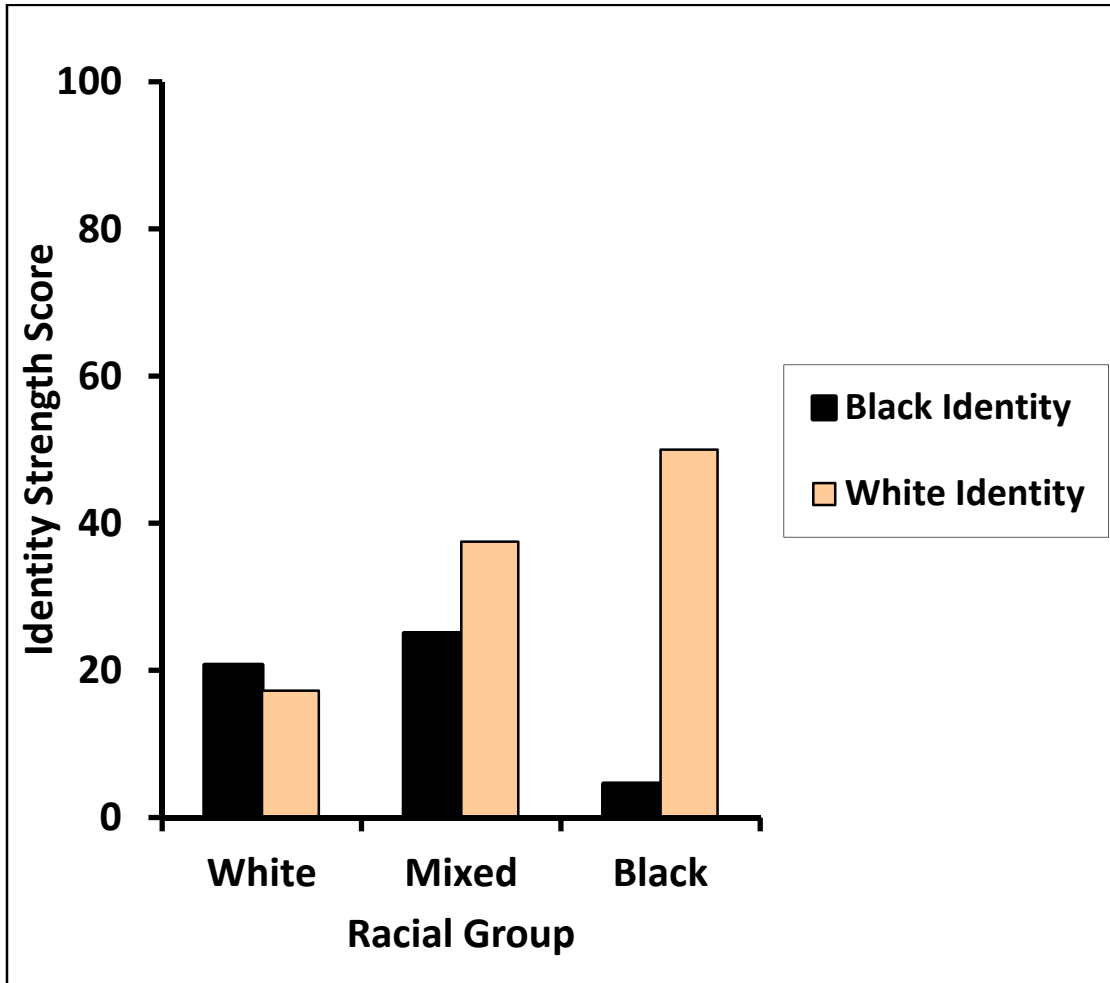
each item was about the intended construct of identity; and also face validity in so far as each item seemed to target the specific aspect of identity it was intended to target. The concerned reader will note that the analyses below, confirm the applicability of our questionnaire.

Now, from our questions (items), we were able to compute each respondent's score on each of the three identity categories relevant to this study - white identity, mixed-race identity and black identity respectively. Because the white group's identity scores and the black group's identity scores were out of 16, but the mixed-race group's scores were out of 15 (we could not find a direct analogue of Q21 and Q18 for this group), we divided each participant's scores by the total number of contributing questions and then multiplied by 100 to get a percentage for each participant of each group, which could then be directly compared between any groups. Our primary interest here was with the mean strength of identity for each group when thinking about itself (i.e., own group ethnic identity). Data on this issue are presented graphically in Figure 6.3.

From Figure 6.3 we see that the group with the highest own-group identity was the black group. However, it was intriguing to note that even for this highest identity, the percentage level was closer to 50% than it was to 100%, signalling that ethnic identity is never really all that strong. Own-group ethnic identity was weaker for the white group but weakest of all for the mixed-race group. We did a two-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) on these data. the factors were group and gender. We additionally entered exact ages at the time of test as a covariate (making this an ANCOVA). This confirmed that the overall difference in own-group ethnic identity between our three groups (white, mixed-race & black) was statistically significant ( $F(2, 52) = 7.734, p = 0.014, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.229, \text{Obs.Power} = 0.938$ ). Gender was not a statistically significant main effect ( $F(1,52) = 1.620, p = 0.209, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.030, \text{Obs.Power} = 0.239$ ); there was no significant interaction between

group and gender ( $F < 1$ , NS). Age was not a significant covariate ( $F < 1$ , NS). Because of this analysis, it was decided to leave gender and age out of the remaining analyses.

Figure 6.3 Strength of Own Identity for Each Group



This figure shows a large difference between the own-group identity of black versus mixed-race persons during mid adolescence. It also shows that the white group had an own group identity that was much weaker than the black group, although much stronger than the mixed race group.

Our data, however, offer more than just our main target (own-group identity), also offering us a chance to estimate the strength of each participants' identity as regards each of the other two groups (e.g., mixed-race participants' black identity and their white identity additional to their mixed-race identity). A summary of these data are presented in Table 6.13. This table confirms that each of our three groups identified most strongly with "its own group" (see diagonal starting top-left for values and Figure 6.3 for relative magnitudes).



Table 6.13. For 3 Groups and 3 Identities				
Identity	White Group	Mixed Group	Black Group	Overall
White	55.402 (2.330)	24.167 (4.437)	8.485 (2.676)	29.351 (1.894)
Mixed	5.911 (1.652)	46.429 (3.146)	9.416 (1.897)	20.585 (1.343)
Black	5.287 (1.751)	10.000 (3.334)	65.455 (2.010)	26.914 (1.423)
Overall	22.200 (0.885)	26.865 (1.685)	27.785 (1.016)	25.617 (0.719)

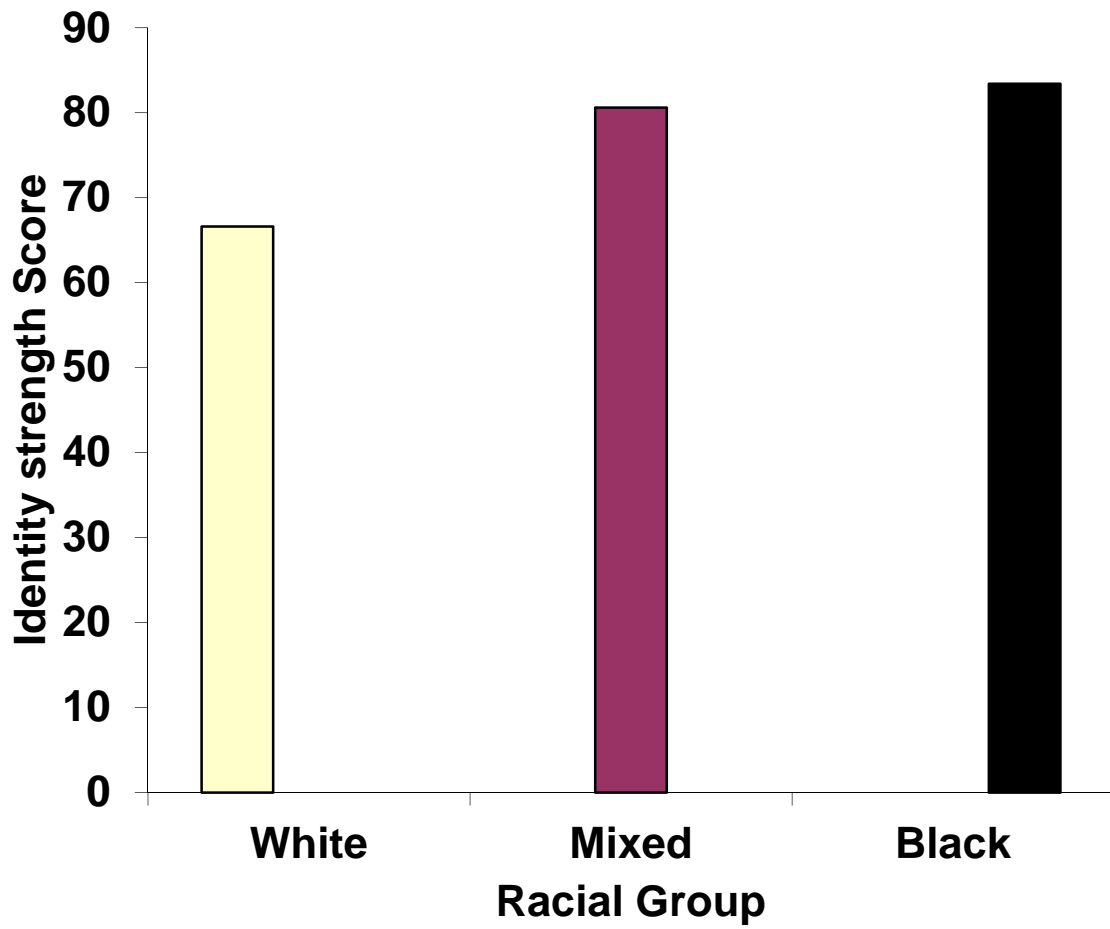
Note: The numbers in parenthesis are standard errors.

Aside from what is already shown in Figure 6.3, Table 6.13 shows four other interesting trends. First, generally speaking, the extent to which any given group rejected the ethnic identity of one of the other two groups was pretty much the same as its rejection of the other of the two groups. For example, the black group rejected a white identity to within 1% of its rejection of the mixed-race identity. The same was true concerning the white group's rejection of the two non-white identities. However, when it came to the mixed-race group, its rejection of a black identity was of similar percentage magnitude to what we saw for the white group and for the black group; whilst its rejection of a white identity was far weaker.

Second, the tendency we observed was that the mixed-race group's acceptance of a white identity was actually around 2.5 times as strong in percentage terms, compared to its acceptance of a black identity. In other words, the mixed-race group tended not to reject a white identity as firmly as its rejection of a black identity. Furthermore, its acceptance of a white identity was the strongest acceptance we saw for non-own-group acceptance, across all three groups.

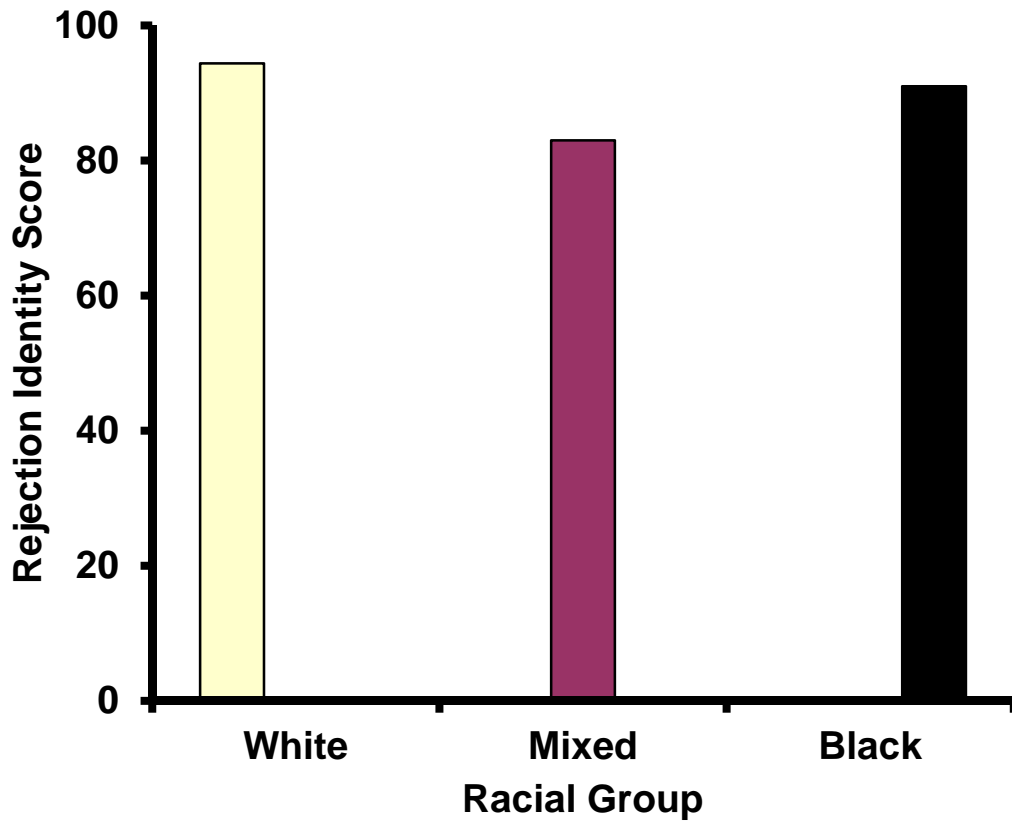
Third, we can get an overall idea of each group's global identity score, by averaging or summing its own-group identity score plus its identity score for each of the other two groups. Table 6.13 contains the averaged scores, and Figure 6.4 contains the sums of the three percentages for each group. As is most readily seen from Figure 6.4, whilst the black and mixed-race groups' global identity score were very close to each other (the black group's identity score being the higher of these two), the white group's global identity score was considerably lower than the other two.

Figure 6.4. Cumulative Global Identity Strength for each Group



Finally here, from Table 6.13, we see that the white group rejected the ethnic identities of the other two groups, far more sternly than either of the other two groups had rejected their non-own-group identities; with the mixed-race group showing greater overall acceptance (non-rejection) of non-own-group identities out of all three groups. Figure 6.5 presents the converse of acceptance (i.e., rejection), by subtracting each group's mean acceptance of non-own group identities from the 100% acceptance level. This confirms that the mixed-race group were least rejecting in nature overall.

Figure 6.5. Summary of Mean Rejection of Non-Own Group Identities



A two-way ANOVA was done on these data. This confirmed that the overall magnitude difference in global ethnic identity was statistically significant ( $F(2, 112) = 9.880, p < 0.001, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.150, \text{Obs.Power} = 0.982$ ). Table 6.13 showed that the most desirable identity was a white identity, followed by a black identity, with a mixed-race identity the least desirable across our three groups. This trend was statistically significant ( $F(2, 56) = 8.869, p < 0.001, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.241, \text{Obs.Power} = 0.965$ ). The overall tendency for each group to favour an own-group identity but simultaneously to disfavour non-own-group identities to rather different extents, was confirmed by a statistically significant two-way interaction between Racial\_Group and Identity\_Type ( $F(4, 112) = 170.505, p < 0.001, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.859, \text{Obs.Power} = 1.000$ ).

Now that we know a little more about own-group identity, we can turn to whether being a member of one or other group has an effect on wider psychological functioning. This is where the two psychometric tools come in. The mean scores for each of the subscales of the BarOn EQ-i:YV(S) are summarised in Table 6.14, with this done for the BSS in Table 6.15. Each table was supported by its own two-way ANOVA using racial-group and subscale. The ANOVA for the BarOn EQ-i:YV(S) scale showed that there was no overall difference between our three groups ( $F < 1, \text{NS}$ ). Quite understandably, there was a difference between sub-scales, although this is of little relevance here, telling us more about the scale parity than our participant groups ( $F(4, 224) = 7.611, p = 0.000, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.120, \text{Obs.Power} = 0.997$ ). Of more direct relevance here, any tendencies shown in Table 6.14, for the groups to differ in rank depending on which sub-scale was being considered, was not statistically significant ( $F(8, 224) = 1.663, p = 0.109, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.056, \text{Obs.Power} = 0.721$ ).

Table 6.14. For 3 Groups and BarOn EQ-i:YV(S)				
BarOn Scale	White	Mixed	Black	Overall
Intrapersonal	15.034 (0.372)	15.125 (0.707)	14.727 (0.427)	14.962 (0.302)
Interpersonal	13.724 (0.337)	14.375 (0.641)	13.136 (0.387)	13.745(0.274)
Stress Management	14.724 (0.367)	15.125 (0.699)	15.727 (0.422)	15.192 (0.298)
Adaptability	13.931 (0.472)	13.250 (0.899)	13.955 (0.542)	13.712 (0.384)
Positive Impression	14.724 (0.497)	15.750 (0.946)	16.591 (0.570)	15.688 (0.404)
Overall	14.428 (0.213)	14.725 (0.405)	14.827 (0.244)	14.660 (0.173)

Note: The numbers in parenthesis are standard errors.

Turning to the BSS scale, again we found that any overall group differences were not statistically significant ( $F < 1$ , NS). Also as before, the difference between the sub-scale scores was statistically significant ( $F(8,440) = 7.533$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ,  $\text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.120$ ,  $\text{Obs. Power} = 1.000$ ); but the two-way interaction was not statistically significant ( $F < 1$ , NS).



Table 6.15. For 3 groups and Burnett Scale				
Burnett Scale	White	Mixed	Black	Overall
Appearance	14.750 (0.457)	13.125 (0.854)	14.636 (0.515)	14.170 (0.366)
Ability	14.036 (0.802)	14.000 (1.501)	14.773 (0.905)	14.269 (0.642)
Peer Relationship	15.679 (0.445)	16.875 (0.832)	16.091 (0.502)	16.215 (0.356)
Relationship to Mother	16.393 (0.626)	16.250 (1.171)	16.409 (0.706)	16.351 (0.501)
Relationship to Father	14.357 (0.939)	11.875 (1.756)	14.818 (1.059)	13.683 (0.752)
Reading	13.750 (0.678)	16.250 (1.268)	15.045 (0.765)	15.015 (0.543)
Maths	11.964 (0.798)	12.125 (1.492)	11.909 (0.900)	11.999 (0.639)
Learning	14.929 (0.497)	15.125 (0.930)	14.455 (0.561)	14.836 (0.398)
Self-Esteem	14.857 (0.392)	13.625 (0.733)	15.068 (0.442)	14.517 (0.314)
Overall	14.524 (0.327)	14.361 (0.612)	14.801 (0.369)	14.562 (0.262)

Note: The numbers in parenthesis are standard errors.

Our final analyses here were about relating the sub-scales of the two psychometric tools, to each participant's own-group identity score. We wondered whether one or more item from the two psychometric scales would be predictors of strength of own-group identity. We therefore aimed to take the three items from a scale, that were on face value most related to identity. There was 100% agreement between myself and my supervisor as to which items were best candidates. For the BarOn scale, these were: 1) Interpersonal - Ones identity is expected to vary with the ways we have interacted with other people. 2) Intrapersonal - Our identity is expected to vary with the ways we relate to ourselves. 3) Stress management - Our identity may to some extent be a source of stress and therefore the degree to which we need to employ stress management strategies might be a predictor of strength of identity. From the Burnett scale, we used: 1) Physical appearance self-concept - What one thinks of their physical self might relate to identity. 2) Relationship with mother self-concept - This captures the implied importance of the mother from chapter 5 and the qualitative part of this chapter. 3) Relationship with father self-concept - Same as for mother.

These six variables were entered into a linear regression using the simultaneous-entry method. We did not include any other variables in the model for two reasons. First, it is desirable to keep the number of predictors to a manageable level, and we thought six should be about right. Note, a more scientific method of achieving this is to have SPSS decide for itself, which variables to use in the model and which ones to omit - the Backward-stepping method serves this purpose. However, we were advised to opt for the present method. Our chosen method means the ratio of participants to predictors is about 10:1 which is acceptable (the minimum advisable ratio is 5:1 and the optimum is 20:1). So we were above the minimum ratio.

The second way of keeping variables to a minimum was to leave out any variables we have already tested and which were found not to relate to own-group identity. Our

preliminary analyses here (see above) showed that neither gender or age were statistically significantly related to own-group identity, and so these were not entered into the regression model here. Also, there was no need to include a participant's group in the regression, because this should already be quite well captured by the included variables from our two scales (e.g., BarOn Intrapersonal, Burnett physical appearance - see Brown, 1996). In this regression, the dependent variable was the participants' own-group identity score.

The regression model  $R$  was 0.971 and this model was statistically significant ( $F(6, 52) = 141.843, p < 0.001$ ). Thus, this model accounted for more than 94% of the variability in own-group identity scores ( $R^2 = 0.942$ ).

This said, within this significant model, only one predictor from the BarOn EQ-i:YV(S) or BSS psychometric tool, was statistically significant. This was Physical Appearance Self Concept (BSS). Its standardised Beta Coefficient was 0.665 ( $p = 0.004$ ). All the remaining five predictors gave  $p$  values of greater than 0.100, with relationship with father being the best of these (Beta = 0.175,  $p = 0.124$ ). A complete summary of the regression model is given in Table 6.16.

It would seem then, that strength of ethnic identity is adequately explained by a person's thoughts about their own appearance, with greater consciousness (and perhaps positive feelings) related to increased identity scores.

Table 6.16. Regression on own identity using 6 items from the 2 scales				
	Beta	Part	Partial	P
<b>BarOn Sub-Scales</b>				
Stress Management	-0.147	-0.023	-0.095	0.494
Intrapersonal	0.150	0.023	0.095	0.493
Interpersonal	0.188	0.023	0.095	0.493
<b>Burnett Sub-Scales</b>				
Physical Appearance	0.665	0.101	0.389	0.004
Relationship with Mum	-0.050	-0.009	-0.036	0.796
Relationship with Dad	0.175	0.052	0.212	0.124

#### 6.4. General Discussion

Firstly, taking our present findings together with those from Chapter 5, leads to the view that friendships are quite polarised during childhood (as recollected by 16 year-olds - this chapter), and then become progressively integrated during adolescence; only to become more polarised again during early adulthood (as reported by 25 year-olds - Chapter 5). Also, during adolescence, mixed-race persons tend to have more white friends than black friends; but during early adulthood this has changed so that mixed-race persons now have more black friends than white friends. It may well be as Cooney and Radina (2000) conclude - "peer acceptance is considered a particularly pervasive problem for multiracial children, especially teens" (Cooney & Radina, 2000, p. 434); with mixed-race adolescents finding it necessary to switch from one friendship group to the other and then back again.

Another difference from Chapter 5 was that in contrast to studies such as Santos, Dogra, Neve and Dalgarrondo (2010), we found in the present study, that the group of adolescents that reports experiencing the highest amount of discrimination was not black but was the mixed-race group (Morrison, 2004). Song (2010a) found from interview evidence that this discrimination can even come from other mixed-race persons and sometimes even from mixed-race persons who are the siblings of the discriminated person. But Chapter 5 suggested that for adults it is black persons rather than mixed-race individuals that face the highest discrimination.

However, when we looked at where the discrimination faced by each of our groups reportedly comes from, surprisingly the mixed-raced and white groups reported that most discrimination comes from black persons; and these two groups reported this at a higher level than the black group reported discrimination from the white group.

Mixed-race adolescents tended to have a mixed-race identity (in terms of social, cultural and physical features). Black and white individuals tended to do likewise. But if a mixed-

race adolescent did not have a mixed-race identity, then that identity would be white and never black (Rockquemore & Arend 2002; Song, 2010b; see also Wilson, 1987). Note however, one black person reported being black but having a features identity that is mixed-race.

It was interesting to note that, whereas black adolescents felt most comfortable in the company of other black persons, white adolescents did not feel most comfortable with other white persons but rather they felt most comfortable with diverse groups or equally with black/white persons. Just as intriguingly, mixed-race adolescents reported a similar profile to what was reported by white adolescents (Bonilla-Silva & Glover, 2004); with neither of the mixed-race group's first two preferences reported feeling most comfortable with other mixed-race persons (Franklin & Madge, 2000). More surprisingly still, unlike the white group or the black group, the mixed-race group never reported any preference at all for other persons of mixed-race in any of their responses.

When asked to state how they feel about their own identity, each group responded positively towards its own identity (Tizard & Phoenix, 1993). However, a minority of the mixed-race group felt white, and a small minority of black adolescents felt mixed-race. This is in contrast with Bergerson (2003) and Rockquemore and Arend (2002) but it is in line with Rockquemore (1998) and Wilson (1987) who suggested that ethnic minority groups welcome any opportunities to rise out of their default group and be seen as of the next group up.

When asked about which term they preferred for denoting mixed-race, none of the adolescents of any of the three groups opted for the term "mixed-parentage" which had been preferred by mixed-race adults in Chapter 5. Instead, mixed-race participants in the present chapter, seemed happy to use the term "mixed-race". It is as though mixed-race

adolescents have not yet reached a mature (adult-like) view regarding their identity or positive versus negative terms for that identity.

Of course, we would have preferred to have tested this interpretation directly using a longitudinal design. However, consistent with this interpretation, the quantitative analysis of the derived "strength of identity score", indicated that, although the black adolescents' black identity is most strong as expected (Steck et al., 2003), the group with the weakest own-identity score was not the white adolescents but it was the mixed-race adolescents (Bonilla-Silva & Glover, 2004). This finding contrasts with Phinney and Alipuria (1996), who found that ethnic identity was identical between two distinct racial groups when using the MEIM (African-American v American-Asian). Note, when we looked at global identity score instead of just own-group identity score, we saw a different picture; with white adolescents rather than mixed-race adolescents now exhibiting the weakest global ethnic identity.

Although the mixed-race group showed the weakest own-identity-score, this mixed-race group nevertheless showed strongest adherence to a mixed-race identity compared to a black or white identity. This is a conflicting picture, suggesting that mixed-race adolescents feel more mixed-race than they feel black or white; but the mixed-race identity they have is nevertheless very weak relative to the identity held by either white or black persons.

Further evidence for a somewhat confused ethnic identity for mixed-race individuals (e.g., see Tizard & Phoenix, 1993), comes from our finding that, whereas black and white adolescents tended to reject each of the non-own-group identities with roughly the same strength, mixed-race adolescents rejected a black identity far more strongly than they rejected a white identity (Bonilla-Silva & Glover, 2004). Mixed-race adolescents in this study, then, did not wish to identify as black (Song, 2010a).

Regarding our index of self-esteem and of self-concept, in line with Phinney and Alipuria (1996) comparison of mono-ethnic versus multi-ethnic groups, we saw no reliable differences between our three groups in either case (contrast Robinson, 2001). When we entered six subscales from the two scales into an exploratory regression, we found that the only clear and reliable predictor was a person's concept of their own physical appearance (Burnett subscale). However, it is important to note that, although not reliable predictors in their own right, the other five sub-scales from our two scales, made a clear contribution to the overall regression model. Indeed, whereas the Beta value for the appearance sub-scale was just over 0.65, the overall model housing all six predictors accounted for over 90% of the variance in our own-identity scale. Clearly, further research with a larger sample is needed to determine whether the other five BarOn and Burnett sub-scales do in fact make a unique contribution to ethnic identity as we measured using our own-group index.

In conclusion, our present findings suggest that racial identity of white, mixed-race and black persons may actually be the same in adulthood (Chapter 5) as it was in middle childhood (present chapter); but during adolescence, racial identity is altered for a number of years before reverting to the child/adult profile. During adolescence, mixed-race persons seem to wish to distance themselves from the black parental race and instead adopt a range of identities mostly mixed-race but also white. The reader who finds our interpretation here speculative is pointed to previous research which has reported more direct evidence in favour of our interpretation (e.g., Fatimilehin, 1999; Song, 2010a; Sundstrom, 2001).

Now, returning to our point, accepting that our present findings are correct, the latter tendency for mixed-race persons to be more rejecting of a black identity than of a white identity, is the minority rather than the majority tendency; and a small minority of black adolescents also (although to an even lesser extent) seem to prefer to be of a lighter skin category. It must be stressed though, that due to highly restricted access from schools (the Baby P case was of course very much in every school's mind and this is understandable



and reasonable), we were only able to achieve a relatively small sample of mixed-race adolescents, and so we must be slightly cautious about generalising our mixed-race findings. However, we have had this chapter read by a small number of mixed-race and black persons, and all agreed that the findings and conclusions seem plausible.

In terms of self-esteem and self-concept, there seemed no reliable differences between white, mixed-race and black adolescents. but importantly, in our regression analysis, the person's conception of their own appearance made the only unique contribution to predicting strength of racial identity. Then, in our Anova analyses, a person's racial grouping was a very robust factor for a person's own-group identity and also for their global identity. This raises the very real possibility that one's racial group (which a person is almost certainly given at birth) is directly linked to a person's concept of his/her physical appearance; and so these might well be interchangeable. It is hoped future research can focus specifically on this issue. But what it could mean is that racial identity may well be largely outside the scope or control of the individual; simply deriving from one's grouping at birth, which is denoted largely by ones physical appearance.

As a final note, the reader who remains reticent to consider these findings convincing, should note that the qualitative findings, although merely frequency counts, are nevertheless very sharp. Also, the quantitative findings, where they show differences, these differences both add to the qualitative findings, plus these differences are of the highest statistical robustness. Considering the relatively small sample size here, we believe this quite impressive.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **Automatic Perceptions of Mixed-Race**

### 7.0. Abstract

Most research into mixed-race relies on only explicit measures (usually self-reports) in order to determine how mixed-race individuals see themselves. The present research assessed implicit (automatic) perceptions of mixed-race, using a variant of a well known task of attention/perception - the Stroop task. Here, white, black and mixed-race adults (N = 92 in total), completed a Stroop task where they had to respond to pictures of mixed-race faces, categorizing the photographs as either white or black (two-alternative forced choice). It was found that white participants' and black participants' key-presses placed mixed-race photographs near the centre of black and white; but each group place them on its own side of the centre point. By contrast, mixed-race participants place the photographs nearer to the black end of the continuum than to the centre point which had been favoured by the white and black groups. For RT data, mixed-race participants responded midway between the response times of white and black participants. We conclude that at the conscious level, mixed-race persons have a very specific perception of the mixed-race identity which is more black than white, but at the unconscious level their perception is now approximated by the average of being black and white.

### 7.1. Background to the Study

Chapter 1 made the case that being black happens to carry the most negative connotations both from a white perspective and from a subjective black perspective (i.e., black being the least positively thought of race (Santos, Dogra, Neve & Dalgarrondo, 2010), and the converse for white (Steck, Heckert & Heckert, 2003). We then saw from Chapter 4 and also Chapter 3, that black persons are both perceived automatically and categorized explicitly in a different way to white persons. Where does this leave mixed-race persons?

Some argue that mixed-race adults have a different sense of self-identity to the ethnicities that would be represented by their parents (e.g., black and white ethnicities). In support of this view, Aspinall (2003) reviewed the U.K. 2001 census data, and found that mixed-race respondents overwhelmingly tended to use the newly introduced "mixed-race" categories (see Aspinall, 1996 for a review of the consultation and research behind this introduction), as opposed to simply citing one or other of their parental races.

My two previous chapters, however, seem first to dispute this and then actually to raise something of a paradoxical situation: Chapter 5 found that the identity that mixed-race young adults adopt more than any other is "black". But then Chapter 6 found that mixed-race adolescents do not identify in that way at all - instead preferring either a unique "mixed-race" identity or else a "white" identity (Rockquomore & Arend, 2002; Song, 2010a; Sundstrom, 2001; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002).

In line with Chapter 6 on adolescents, of the 23 teenagers of mixed parentage studied by Fatimilehin (1999), 43% spontaneously described themselves with a term which denoted being multi-racial, and the term most often used was mixed-race. However, in line with our Chapter

5 here, Fatimilehin (1999) found that, as older adolescents were sampled in the research (above 16 years old), they increasingly opted for an identity closer to black. With these findings in mind, it should not be all that surprising to learn that Fatimilehin found that the greatest number of these participants (actually 52%) opted for a term for only one race, and this was always the racial category "black" (actually "African-Caribbean" - see also Tizard & Phoenix, 1993, 1995).

So the paradox that comes out of comparisons between Chapters 5 and 6, is actually echoed in at least one set of published studies. But it is one thing to note an apparent paradox; and completely another thing altogether, to try to offer a solution to that paradox. The first step in resolving this paradox is to seek to verify whether the finding for mixed-race adults still holds, when investigated using a paradigm capable of assessing their automatic (i.e., internal) perceptions of being mixed-race. We therefore returned to using the Stroop task we used in Chapter 4.

The apparently paradoxical findings aside, the questionnaire tools used in studies such as those outlined above were either qualitative only and hence were highly explicit measures (e.g., Monteith & Spicer, 2000), or else were at least partly qualitative but still relied on explicit measures (e.g., Rockquemore & Arend, 2002; Chapters 5 and 6). Relying solely on explicit measures is of course highly valuable. However, it can also increase the likelihood that participant groups may have withheld their true attitudes/beliefs and instead simply stated in the questionnaires exactly what they thought the research wanted to hear.

For example, participants might simply respond according to social desirability rather than their true beliefs during the study (Greenwald, McGhee & Schwartz, 1998; Obasogie, 2010). It

is important to realise that a participant would not necessarily have to have employed such a strategy deliberately, but might deploy it because such a strategy might already be part of a wider strategy for dealing with race issues in his/her everyday life (e.g., overcompensation - Lewis, 2011). Such issues are potential factors in much of the research based around any study designs which allowed participants to consciously decide what they would and would not tell the researchers. One purpose of the present experiment, therefore, was to see if we might get an indirect look at the ethnic identity of mixed-raced individuals in a way that might be less susceptible to social desirability, social acquiescence or overcompensating (faking good – Greenwald et al., 1998; Obasogie, 2010).

To an extent, unconscious aspects of ethnic identity derive from the rituals of everyday life that constitute commonsense, including hegemonic notions of how race is (or is not) part of the social order (Hall, 1996). To get an indirect look at ethnic identity, we therefore used the concept of automatic attention, just as we had done in Chapter 4. However, this time, we asked mixed-race participants to categorise other people who were much like themselves.

### **7.1.1. Aims of the Present Study**

As well as looking into the ethnic identity of mixed-race individuals about being mixed-race, this experiment also looked into how black people and white people automatically and unconsciously perceive of people who are of mixed-race. We first wondered whether white persons or whether black persons would tend to see mixed-race as nearer one side or other of the polar dimension. We could then assess how mixed-race persons see mixed-race, and place their categorisation in the context of black and white persons' categorisations.

## 7.2. Method

### 7.2.1. Participants

These were 92 participants from two university cohorts of England, who did not take part in any other study here. The sample mean age was 23.1 years ( $SD = 3.7$ ). It was divided into three groups according to an individual's self-reported racial group and parental group. This gave a group we could label White (Caucasian -  $N = 30$ ,  $M = 23.1$ ,  $SD = 3.3$ ), a group we labelled Black (of British African and/or British Caribbean parental descent -  $N = 31$ ,  $M = 23.7$ ,  $SD = 3.6$ ), and a group that identified as Mixed-Race (dual parentage with one parent who was white and the other black,  $N = 31$ ,  $M = 21.8$ ,  $SD = 4.5$ ). Although gender differences are not of interest in Stroop research (MacLeod, 1991), we balanced these three groups as far as possible for gender.

### 7.2.2. Materials

The materials were selected from the same 80 photographs used in Chapter 4; but with the addition that mixed-race photos were now included and of central importance. We used 6 mixed-race digitised photographs, three male and three female. Each was shown a total of 8 times within a given block, twice each for each of four Stroop conditions (see below for conditions). Thus, there were 48 mixed-race presentations per block.

A number of distracters were also used, based on a total of 6 black photographs, white photographs and mixed-race photographs of volunteers who did not have a black parent (1 male and 1 female exemplar for each of these 3 groups). The 6 distracter photographs were presented in the same way as the experimental stimuli, making another 48 presentations in all. Neither the non-black-with-white - mixed-race photographs nor the black and white

photographs were required for the current experiment. These were intended only to prime the entire colour-space regarding ethnicity plus reduce the extent to which participants could anticipate/prepare a correct response to any given target trial in advance of that trial being presented. Data involving these photographs were discarded.

There were four Stroop conditions. One of these presented each photograph in isolation - the Neutral-none condition. The other three conditions presented each picture accompanied by a word (see Chapter 4 for details of word-picture spacing). One of the conditions involving a word used a word unrelated to the picture following arguments set out by Wright and Wanley (2003). The neutral word selected here was arbitrary and we settled on "Crane". This can be termed the Neutral-Word condition. The two remaining conditions utilised a word that represented one of the polar ethnic categories (white and black).

The stimuli and conditions were repeated in each of three blocks, stimuli being presented in a new random order for each block. Each block comprised 96 pictures in total. However, each block primarily differed from the other two in terms of the instructions participants had to follow (open choice categorisations, categorise mixed-race using the key reserved for white, and categorise mixed-race using the key reserved for black pictures).

### **7.2.3. Design**

This experiment used a mixed factorial design, with dependent measures of Key-Press and Response-Time (RT). One independent measure was between-subjects and was the group to which a given participant belonged (White, Mixed-Race or Black). The remaining independent measures were within-subjects and were Instructions Set and Stroop Condition. Every Stroop Condition was used with every Instructions Set to give 12 combinations in total.



#### 7.2.4. Procedure

The procedure was similar to Chapter 4, and so was conducted under the same ethics approval as that chapter (Appendix B). There was only one main alteration: In the first of three blocks, participants categorised mixed-race stimuli as either black (e.g., key 4) or white (e.g., key 6), as they wished (open choice format). In block 2, they were asked to categorise mixed-race stimuli using the key for white. Then, in block 3, they categorised using the key for black.

In blocks 2 and 3, Stroop task response-accuracy was calculated by awarding 1 mark for every correct response (a response consistent with the categorisation instructions). However, in block 1, the actual response was not so important. Here, we ensured our data would be in line with blocks 2 and 3, by awarding a 1 for black and a 0 for white. The means would then tell us if our presumption had been justified or not.

After sitting the three blocks, participants were debriefed. The entire procedure (all three blocks) took around 40 minutes to administer, including briefing, debriefing and inter-trial intervals. Response-accuracy and RTs were calculated as in Chapter 4.

### 7.3. Results

The key-press data are summarised in Table 7.1a and 7.1b. Table 7.1a contains main effects and two-way interactions. Table 7.1b then contains the final two-way interaction which is between Condition and Instructions, plus the three-way interaction between participant Group, Condition and Instructions. Tables 7.1a and 7.1b were supported by a three-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), which was carried out to determine which of the differences in Table 7.1a and 7.1b were statistically significant. This was a mixed model analysis with one between-subjects factor (participant group) which had three levels for white, mixed and black participants. It then had two within-subject factors. One of these was Instructions with three levels (for blocks with no guidance v respond White v respond Black). The other within-subject factor was condition which had four levels (for Neutral with no word v congruent with word Black v Neutral with a word present v incongruent with word White). It should be noted that technically the congruent condition was a second incongruent condition, because black does not mean the same as mixed-race. However, on the assumption that participants would generally see mixed-race pictures as more black than white (e.g., under the one-drop rule), the incongruent condition with the word black is more congruent than the incongruent condition with the word white. For this reason it is referred to as congruent here.

Table 7.1a. Main Summary From the Key Press Data				
	Participant Group			
	White	Mixed	Black	All
Instructions xO	52.175 (1.775)	65.850 (2.475)	62.875 (1.675)	60.300 (1.150)
Instructions xW	35.900 (1.900)	35.650 (2.650)	35.625 (1.800)	35.725 (1.250)
Instructions xB	55.025 (1.750)	62.55 (2.425)	58.80 (1.650)	58.800 (1.125)
Neutral-None	50.150 (1.625)	56.875 (2.250)	54.650 (1.525)	53.900 (1.050)
Congruent-Black	41.750 (1.175)	48.975 (1.625)	46.175 (1.100)	45.650 (0.775)
Neutral-Word	49.275 (1.575)	55.800 (2.175)	53.875 (1.475)	52.975 (1.025)
Incongruent-White	49.600 (1.425)	57.075 (1.975)	55.075 (1.350)	53.925 (0.925)
Overall	47.700 (1.350)	54.675 (1.875)	52.450 (1.250)	51.600 (0.875)

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. Instructions xO = participant chooses own criteria, xW = must categorise Mixed-Race as White, xB = must categorise Mixed-Race as Black.

From Table 7.1a it can be seen that the three groups gave rather similar overall key-presses across the three Instructions sets and four Stroop conditions. However, there was a slight tendency for White participants to view Mixed-Race pictures as slightly more White than Black and for Black participants to view Mixed-Race pictures as slightly more Black than White. It was intriguing to note that the Mixed-Race participants tended to view Mixed-Race pictures as even more Black than the Black participants did (Table 7.1a). Although these group differences appeared quite small, the ANOVA confirmed that they were nevertheless statistically significant ( $F(2, 74) = 5.590, p = 0.005, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.112, \text{Obs.power} = 0.843$ ).

Table 7.1a shows that when Instructions were to press the White key for Mixed-Race pictures, the participants did follow the instructions to press the key for White whenever they came across a stimulus of a Mixed-Race person; and in the block where they were instructed to now categorise Mixed-Race pictures as Black, they did about as well at pressing the key for Black again as instructed. In the block where they were instructed to categorise Mixed-Race pictures as they wished and so could press either key depending on their own criteria, participants tended overall to press the key for Black more than the key for White. The difference between mean key-presses for the different Instructions was statistically significant ( $F(2, 148) = 202.945, p < 0.001, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.730, \text{Obs.power} = 1.000$ ).

Turning to the conditions, Table 7.1a shows that key-presses were similar in the neutral condition having no word and the incongruent condition (with the word White). It was as though the word white beneath the photograph, rendered essentially no meaning (i.e., the same as no word at all). But key-presses were almost evenly split between Black and White keys in the neutral condition having a word. Even more curiously, in the congruent condition with the word Black, participants tended actually to press the White key slightly more than they

pressed the Black key. It was as though they were reacting against the word black. The difference between these four conditions was statistically significant ( $F(3, 222) = 88.318, p < 0.001, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.510, \text{Obs.power} = 1.000$ ).

For the first of our two-way interactions, the key-presses for White versus Black tended to differ for the participant groups, as the Instructions changed. Specifically, although key-presses for Instructions where they must press the key for White for Mixed-race pictures appeared very constant, as we get from Block 1 (Instructions Open) to Block 3 (Instructions to press Black key for Mixed-race), the difference between key-presses for White versus Black got progressively bigger. Note, these differences were smallest for the White group, followed by the Mixed-race group, with this difference biggest for the Black group. This interaction between Instructions and Group was found to be statistically significant ( $F(4, 148) = 5.324, p < 0.001, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.116, \text{Obs.power} = 0.969$ ).

We next turn to the two-way interaction between Group and Condition. Here, each of the three groups tended to show a similar profile to the other groups regarding the four conditions. We already know there is an overall difference between the conditions because of our reported main effect of condition; and thus this difference between the conditions must hold for each of our three groups in turn. This profile meant that there was no statistically significant two-way interaction between group and condition ( $F < 1, \text{NS}$ ). In other words, each of our three racial groups responded in much the same ways as the other two groups, in each condition in turn; such that the differences between conditions for each group was about the same.

Table 7.1b. Key Press Data Involving Both Condition and Instructions				
	Participant Group			
	White	Mixed	Black	All
Neutral0 xO	53.500 (2.050)	64.050 (2.850)	63.600 (1.925)	60.375 (1.325)
Neutral0 xW	35.275 (1.875)	36.800 (2.625)	35.325 (1.775)	35.800 (1.225)
Neutral0 xB	61.675 (2.500)	69.750 (3.450)	65.000 (2.325)	65.475 (1.625)
Congruent xO	53.525 (1.950)	68.050 (2.700)	61.500 (1.825)	61.025 (1.275)
Congruent xW	35.550 (2.150)	33.325 (2.975)	35.100 (2.000)	34.650 (1.400)
Congruent xB	36.200 (1.200)	45.550 (1.675)	41.950 (1.125)	41.225 (0.775)
Neutral-WD xO	51.325 (2.000)	66.275 (2.800)	62.850 (1.875)	60.150 (1.300)
Neutral-WD xW	35.625 (2.275)	35.550 (3.175)	35.850 (2.125)	35.675 (1.475)
Neutral-WD xB	60.850 (2.350)	65.550 (3.275)	62.875 (2.200)	63.100 (1.525)
Incongruent xO	50.350 (1.975)	65.000 (2.725)	63.525 (1.850)	59.625 (1.275)
Incongruent xW	37.125 (2.000)	36.900 (2.800)	36.275 (1.875)	36.750 (1.300)
Incongruent xB	61.350 (2.025)	69.325 (2.825)	65.400 (1.900)	65.375 (1.325)

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. Instructions are given by xO = Participant chooses own criteria, xW = Must categorise Mixed-race as White, xB = Must categorise Mixed-race as Black. Neutral = Neutral Stroop condition with picture but no word, Neutral-WD = Picture accompanied by a non-colour word.

In our final two-way interaction here which is between Instructions and Condition, for the neutral-none, neutral-word and incongruent conditions, participants tended to respond with the key-press for Black more for the block with Instructions-Black than in the block with Instructions-Open. Also, the difference between these two instructions increased with condition, from Neutral-none, to Neutral-word and finally to the Incongruent condition. Yet in each of these three conditions, Instructions-Open versus Instructions-Black key-presses each tended to be for the word Black. However, for the Congruent condition, where the Mixed-race picture was accompanied by a word and the word was Black, the participants now tended to respond with the key-press for White more than the key-press for Black. The tendency for the Instructions-Open versus Instructions-Black difference to alter with condition, together with the tendency for this difference to be completely reversed for the Congruent condition only, led to a statistically significant two-way interaction between Instructions and Condition ( $F(6, 444) = 89.555, p < 0.001, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.514, \text{Obs.power} = 1.000$ ).

Concerning the possible three-way interaction between group, Instructions and Condition, Table 7.1b shows that there was no systematic change. This was confirmed by an interaction effect that was not statistically significant ( $F < 1, \text{NS}$ ).

The key-press data showed that, as well as an overall difference between our three groups (White, Mixed-race and Black), clear differences also emerged when we considered how they responded from each Instructions set to the next. Basically, White participants report (through their key-presses) that Mixed-Race persons are very slightly more White than Black, with the opposite tendency shown by Black participants. But Mixed-race participants seemed to see things differently to both the White and the Black participants; viewing Mixed-race as even

more Black than viewed by Black participants. We discuss this further later on. For now, we turn to the Response-Time (RT) data to see if these data can add or alter anything found so far.

The RT data are summarised in Table 7.2a and 7.2b, in a way similar to what we did for the key-press data. As with the key-press data, the tendencies shown in Tables 7.2a and 7.2b were supported by a three-way mixed-model ANOVA. Table 7.2a shows that the White group tended to take longer to give their responses, with the Black group responding fastest of the three groups. The Mixed-race group tended to respond midway between the other two groups. It is as though the mixed-race RTs represented the midway point of the white versus black RTs. However, although appearing to represent a clear trend, this difference did not approach statistical significance ( $F < 1$ , NS).



Table 7.2a. Main Summary From the Response-Times				
	Participant Group			
	White	Mixed	Black	All
Instructions xO	1053 (57)	943 (80)	871 (54)	956 (37)
Instructions xW	862 (31)	890 (44)	867 (29)	873 (20)
Instructions xB	796 (32)	770 (45)	760 (30)	775 (21)
Neutral-None	854 (36)	853 (50)	804 (34)	837 (23)
Congruent-Black	904 (40)	830 (56)	819 (38)	850 (22)
Neutral-Word	882 (34)	842 (48)	827 (32)	851 (26)
Incongruent-White	974 (47)	946 (65)	883 (44)	934 (30)
Overall	903 (37)	868 (52)	833 (35)	868 (37)

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. Instructions xO = Participant chooses own criteria, xW = Must categorise Mixed-race as White, xB = Must categorise Mixed-race as Black.

The RTs generally sped up from Instructions-Open to Instructions-White to Instructions-Black. The differences between Instructions were around twice the differences found between the three groups (Table 7.2a). This led to a main effect that was statistically significant ( $F(2, 148) = 32.224, p < 0.001, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.303, \text{Obs.power} = 1.000$ ). It is tempting to take this as indicating that participants generally took longest to respond when left to categorise the Mixed-race pictures for themselves (Block 1) and were most comfortable when instructed to categorise the pictures as Black (Block 3). However, as the Instructions sets were given in the same order for each participant, that conclusion is necessarily confounded because the faster times could just as well reflect participants becoming more comfortable with the experiment or getting faster with practice. We do note, therefore, that we cannot be definitive about the cause of faster times from this main effect alone.

Turning to the conditions, on the standard Stroop effect, we would expect RTs to get larger from the neutral-none condition, through the congruent, neutral-word and finally incongruent conditions. Note, the neutral-none condition is placed ahead of all the other three conditions here, because when there is no word, we did not expect that race would feature much in the task compared to any other condition (including congruent condition). As photo identification would now not need to engage word-processing at all, and as the word-process would necessarily have engaged double processing of race at some level (i.e., of the photo and additionally of the word), it is reasonable to predict the neutral-none condition should be responded to faster than the congruent and incongruent conditions. This profile was generally what we found and the overall main effect of Condition was statistically significant ( $F(3, 222) = 19.511, p < 0.001, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.209, \text{Obs.power} = 1.000$ ).

We now turn to our two-way interactions. First, we consider the interaction between Instructions and Group to keep good continuity with what we did with the key-press data. We had some ambiguity in our possible interpretation of the speeding up from Instructions-Open (block 1) to Instructions-black (block 3). From Table 7.2a we see that the White group showed a 257ms spreading from Instructions-Open to Instructions-Black, which contrasts starkly with the Black group who showed a difference of only 111ms between these Instructions sets. The Mixed-race group fell mid-way but were around 20ms closer to the profile shown by the Black group than by the White group (difference = 173ms). The overall interaction between Instructions and Group was found to be statistically significant ( $F(4, 148) = 4.443, p = 0.002, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.107, \text{Obs. power} = 0.932$ ). We can put the general speeding up from Block 1 to Block 3 down to practice effects (although we think unlikely); however, we cannot put the different amounts of speeding up by the three groups down to practice. White participants it seems, are sped up far more by being instructed to press the key for Black in Block 3, as compared to Black participants who are not sped up much at all; and Mixed-race participants fall mid-way between the other two groups. It is as though white participants were more comfortable when allowed to categorise mixed-race persons as black. Note, we of course concede that some might regard the interpretation here as unwarranted or even as mere speculation, and that some would find other alternatives both possible and preferable. We ourselves would argue that it is relatively safe to conclude that the instructions were the main cause of the Block effect and not spurious effects such as practice. Actually, our interpretation here is in stark contrast with what we concluded for the key-press data: White participants on the one hand find it disproportionately more comfortable to respond Black to Mixed-race pictures when told this is fine to do compared to a condition where they must decide for

themselves what to do. But on the other hand, White participants simultaneously tend to avoid pressing the key they were instructed to press (the Black key), instead breaking the instructions and pressing the Black key and White key equally often. We discuss possible reasons for this later.

We next turn to the two-way interaction between Group and Condition. Here, the three groups tended to show a subtly different profile to the other groups regarding the four conditions. Specifically, although all groups tended to take longest to respond to the incongruent pictures, the White group showed a similar level of difficulty with the congruent pictures which were the ones accompanied by the word Black; with the Mixed-race and Black groups treating the latter pictures in a similar way to how they treated the two neutral conditions. However, because the longest RTs for any given group were within around 100ms of the shortest RTs for that group but the RTs for each group were generally offset by around 50ms compared to the other two groups, the subtle difference we noted was not sufficient to result in a statistically significant two-way interaction between group and condition ( $F(6, 222) = 1.059, p = 0.388, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.028, \text{Obs.power} = 0.415$ ).

We now turn to our final two-way interaction between Instructions and Condition. From Table 7.2b we see that the difference between the RTs of a given Instructions set altered depending on which condition we were looking at. To put it in the most simple terms, the range (for mean of Instructions sets) for the neutral-word condition was smallest (63ms), followed by the neutral-none condition (135ms), with the Congruent condition much larger at 183ms and the Incongruent condition largest of all at 341ms. This two-way interaction effect was statistically significant ( $F(6, 444) = 15.197, p < 0.001, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.170, \text{Obs.power} = 1.000$ ). As with the interaction between Instructions and Group, the current interaction

between Instructions and Condition shows that the difference between the three Instructions sets cannot be put down simply to block practice effects, because that effect varies depending on which specific condition we are considering.

Table 7.2b. Response Times Data Involving Both Condition and Block				
	Participant Group			
	White	Mixed	Black	All
Neutral0 xO	944 (52)	910 (72)	813 (49)	889 (34)
Neutral0 xW	843 (38)	917 (53)	846 (36)	868 (25)
Neutral0 xB	776 (35)	732 (49)	753 (34)	754 (23)
Congruent xO	1097 (68)	883 (94)	872 (63)	951 (44)
Congruent xW	838 (35)	808 (48)	853 (32)	833 (22)
Congruent xB	777 (37)	797 (51)	732 (34)	768 (24)
Neutral-WD xO	953 (50)	878 (69)	789 (47)	873 (32)
Neutral-WD xW	854 (33)	878 (46)	869 (31)	867 (21)
Neutral-WD xB	838 (38)	769 (54)	822 (36)	810 (25)
Incongruent xO	1217 (81)	1101 (112)	1012 (76)	1110 (27)
Incongruent xW	913 (41)	955 (58)	902 (39)	923 (27)
Incongruent xB	792 (35)	781 (49)	734 (33)	769 (23)

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. Instructions are given by xO = Participant chooses own criteria, xW = Must categorise Mixed-race as White, xB = Must categorise Mixed-race as Black.

Concerning the possible three-way interaction between Group, Instructions and Condition, as with the key-press data, Table 7.2b shows that there was no systematic change in RTs by a combination of Group, Block and Condition. This was confirmed by an interaction effect that did not approach statistical significance ( $F(12, 444) = 1.228, p = 0.261, \text{Partial Eta}^2 = 0.032, \text{Obs.power} = 0.701$ ).



#### 7.4. Discussion

The focus of this chapter was about which ethnic group and/or what ethnic identity do mixed-race people perceive themselves to be. In contrast to Chapters 5 and 6 which approached this issue by using self-report questionnaire designs (see also Monteith & Spicer, 2000; Quillian & Redd, 2009; Rockquemore & Arend, 2002; Song, 2010b), in this chapter it was decided to build on the paradigm introduced for perception of white versus black persons found in Chapter 4; and use the Stroop task from attentional research (Eidels, Townsend & Algorn, 2010; MacLeod, 1991; Wright & Wanley, 2003). In this chapter, therefore, we got to look at how mixed-race persons tend to see "being mixed-race", via their perceptions of other people who might be categorised (and who did self-categorise) as being of mixed-race.

Before discussing how mixed-race people saw being of mixed-race themselves when using this task, we consider how black persons and white persons saw mixed-race people. Basically, for key presses (explicitly choosing one category or the other), white participants tended to see mixed-race people as slightly more white than black, and black participants saw them as more black than white. So, as in Chapter 3, it seems that black and white individuals to some extent perceive ethnicities in contrasting ways (Cunningham et al., 2004; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). Nevertheless, both groups judged mixed-race people as very close to the centre point instead of very close to their own ethnic group. At the very least, this indicates that the effect or bias is relatively slight, although still evident (Morrison, 2004).

If white and black participants saw mixed-race as a near-"averaged category", then how did actual mixed-race participants see being mixed-race? The answer seems to be that mixed-race people tend to see themselves as more black than white (see also Morrison, 2004; Fatimilehin,

1999 and contrast Rockquemore & Arend 2002; Tizard & Phoenix, 1993, 1995); but additionally they see themselves as even more black than the black participants saw them. This finding is consistent with the idea that at the explicit level mixed-race people would seem to have their own identity, and this identity is more black than white overall (Fatimilehin, 1999). Our conclusion here is generally in line with theorists such as Quillian and Redd (2009), Rockquemore and Arend (2002) and Song (2010b), although these theorists had stressed that mixed-race persons would occupy identities at "both" sides of the white-black continuum rather than tending to only one side as found here.

The RT findings add to the key press findings, by telling us whether each of the three participant groups had lesser or more difficulty pressing the key for their chosen categorisation of mixed-race people. As before, it is good to start with the white and black participants. There was a clear trend for white participants to take almost 100ms longer to give their responses compared to black participants. Mixed-race participants were roughly midway between black and white participants; which could be taken as suggesting that being mixed-race leads to a perception of mixed-race which is a balanced blend of the black conception of mixed-race and the white conception of mixed-race (see Bowles, 1993; Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson & Harris, 1993; Mahtani, 2002; Rockquemore & Brunnsma, 2002; Root, 1992; Zack, 1996). Clearly this stands in contrast to our earlier finding that mixed-race persons identify as closer to black according to their actual key presses.

However, the fact that mixed-race participants were roughly midway between black and white participants on RT, plus the fairly large variation as shown by the standard errors, meant that the overall difference between our three groups here was not reliable. Thus, again, this basic RT comparison seems to be slightly at odds with the key-press findings, in now

indicating that mixed-race persons have a conception of mixed-race that is indistinguishable from either the black or the white conception of mixed-race. It is as though mixed-race persons see themselves both as having a distinct identity (key-press findings) but also as a fairly equal balanced blend between their two parental identities (here White v Black - RT findings).

How can it be that on the one hand both black persons and white persons see mixed-race as a blend of white and black; and yet mixed-race persons seem to accept this blend but also have a very specific and unique identity, placing themselves located nearer to the black end of the white-black continuum than their placement by white and black persons (Aspinall, 2003)? Rather than trying to answer this question right now, I would like to note that this represents a discrepancy that the mixed-race person may well be implicitly aware of. If so, it could actually be the basis of claims and findings about the impact of being mixed-race on identity-relevant psychological phenomena such as a person's self-esteem (Brown et al., 2000; Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002; Whaley, 1993).

Following the more basic analyses, we analysed the difference between white, mixed-race and black groups in a more detailed way that was also less easy to fake-good or overcompensate (Lewis, 2011). We looked at how each group varied in both key-presses and RT from open responding, to categorising mixed-race as white, to categorising mixed-race as black. Now we showed up the group differences for both key-presses and RTs. For key presses, we found marked differences in instruction set according to group. The white participants showed very little difference between instructional sets and the black participants showed the greatest difference between instructional sets. For RT, it was found that the change of instructions again had a very marked impact. Specifically, this led to large variation for how

fast white participants responded from one instructional set to the next, but had a much smaller impact on how black participants responded. This is in line with our finding in Chapters 3 and 4, that white persons and black persons respond to race in differing ways - here we extend it to automatic perceptions of mixed-race.

Our finding that white participants were most consistent in giving the same response in each of the three instruction sets but were markedly affected in how long it took to give those responses, whereas black participants showed the reverse of this profile, could indicate that white participants simply had better concentration in all three instruction sets compared to black participants but this concentration had a detrimental impact on white participants RTs (cognitive depletion - Trawalter & Richeson, 2006). However, we believe that it is highly unlikely that white participants kept concentration for their key presses but lost concentration in the speed of giving those very same key presses. A more likely explanation is that white participants decided to respond in what they thought was an acceptable way (not judging mixed-race people to be more black than white), but then this conflicted with their true belief and this conflict took extra time to overcome before they could give their response (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). Black participants may well have used exactly the same strategy. But for black participants, this strategy did not cause the same degree of conflict as white participants showed, meaning that black participants could overcome any conflict quicker and so respond quicker.

Returning to our focus on mixed-race participants responses as a function of instructional set, both for key-press data and RT data, mixed-race participants responded roughly midway between white and black participants, although slightly closer to black participants overall. In their overall views then, mixed-race people seem to see being mixed-race as slightly weighted

more towards black than white. Our conclusion here seems in line with Santos et al. (2010), who found that black persons in Brazil share a cultural identity with Brown persons (Brown including mixed-race as studied here), but both black and brown persons differed markedly in cultural identity from white persons. However, our conclusion appears slightly at odds with Aspinall (2003), who offer the view that mixed-race persons increasingly tend to reject depictions of their identities as simply “black”.

Turning briefly to the four conditions of our Stroop task, The typical Stroop finding is for RTs to get longer from the congruent condition, through the neutral conditions, and finally to the incongruent condition (MacLeod, 1991; Wright & Wanley, 2003). This was generally what we found for RT. This finding can be interpreted as follows: The word black did render its condition as congruent, but the effect of this word was no less than in the neutral-word condition. Thus, "black" was so readily accepted that it was essentially seen as the same as any non-related word. On the other hand, the word White was seen very differently in the context of our mixed-race photos. Here, it led to very much longer RTs than any of the other conditions. This is a clear demonstration that, across our three groups, our mixed-race photos were seen as in conflict with being white but not at all in conflict with being black. In other words, our mixed-race images tended overall to be seen as black, at least in terms of the more standard RT index anyway (Rockquemore & Arend, 2002).

To conclude, we approached the question of how mixed-race persons see being of mixed-race, in a unique way using an adaption of the Stroop paradigm we introduced in Chapter 4. Not only did this permit us to find out how mixed-race persons perceive of being mixed-race, but it also permitted us a direct look at how white persons and black persons see mixed-race people. Dealing with the latter issue first, we found that across all key-press analyses, white

persons tend to report seeing mixed-race people as about midway between black and white; although the more in-depth key-press analyses clearly showed that white persons become overly consistent (i.e., possibly ignoring the instructions for categorising as black) when asked to go from open choice categorisation, to forced-choice categorising of mixed-race as white, and finally to forced-choice categorising of mixed-race as black. Although black persons see mixed-race people as near the centre of black and white, they tend to see them more as black than white, and respond a little better in following the instructions for categorising mixed-race.

However, mixed-race persons report viewing mixed-race as nearer to the black end of the continuum than to the centre point between black and white. On complex conjunctions of key-press indices with condition and instructional set indexes though, mixed-race persons give responses about mixed-race which are roughly midway between black and white. They also do so for RT indexes, suggesting that their unconscious perception of mixed-race might be discrepant with their most basic conscious reports. It seems that at the conscious level, they see being mixed-race not just as more black than white, but also more similarly to how black persons see it than how white persons see it.

When it comes to overall RTs indices, with RT being more indicative of unconscious interpretations, mixed-race and black and white groups do not converge on a single view: Mixed-race persons have an unconscious/automatic identity that is midway between the parental groups. But when we consider mixed-race categorisations by mixed-race persons, alongside these categorisations by black persons and white persons, the overall picture is that mixed-race is seen as consistent with being black and at the same time is seen as inconsistent with being white. Hopefully, this finding will prompt future research using the Stroop task, to uphold (or indeed refute) the conclusions offered here.

## CHAPTER 8

### Conclusions: Bringing it all Together

A reason for this thesis was that in the U.K., strikingly little research has been conducted into how mixed-race persons develop their (racial) identity. As we will see later in this chapter, this is partly due to schools tending to shy away from research on race/ethnicity, for whatever reason. My own interest in this area grew from three main directions. First, in my work within the Social Services dealing mainly with adolescents that the schooling system finds too difficult for inclusion, I noted that more of these young persons are of mixed-race than I would have anticipated. Second, during my Joint Honours undergraduate degree in Psychology with Sociology, I had already developed a keen interest in racial identity from both perspectives. Perhaps this was itself largely due to the third factor, which is that I would describe myself as within the category "mixed-race".

### **8.1. Background to the Thesis**

In this thesis, I took the approach of using both Qualitative and Quantitative methods in addition to literature research, in order to be able to get the richest interpretations available out of the data collected for each study. Thus, Chapters 1 and 2 were literature reviews. Then, Chapter 5 was qualitative only, with Chapters 3, 4 and 7 being quantitative, and Chapter 6 being jointly qualitative and quantitative. Below, I first briefly summarise what was learned from each chapter, before presenting my own theoretical perspective on how the mixed-race identity is shaped from childhood to early adulthood. Limitations of the research and some potential future applications and directions are then briefly discussed, before ending with some concluding remarks.



## 8.2. Overview and Evaluation of the Studies

### 8.2.1. Chapter 1 Introductions to Race and Identity

Given that the focus of this thesis was mixed-race, I could have begun by conducting a study on mixed-race persons straight away. But without a good appreciation of the "facts" about "race", any answers given by mixed-race respondents would have been difficult to interpret. For example, it could have been that mixed-race persons tend to hold some views about their race which are actually unfounded. To look at this another way, mixed-race (as studied here) concerned persons with one white parent and the other parent being black.

To get a fuller appreciation of what mixed-race respondents were telling us, we needed to first have an adequate appreciation of what it is to be white, and to be black (i.e., understand the parental races). Chapter 1, then, was essential to a firm grounding in this research. It offered definitions of key terms and labels, such as "black", "ethnicity", "identity", and perhaps of most importance "race". We learned that, rather than reducing to a biologically inspired taxonomy or in any meaningful sense representing gradations of humans by mother nature, race is something of a fallacy (especially when we try to speak of "pure" races). It originates or becomes of great significance at a particular point in world history; seeming to be a social extension of the types of favour/disfavour that were already present within Western societies (e.g., the "Class" system of England) and Eastern societies (e.g., the "Caste" system of India).

Briefly put, races of African origin were soon pushed to the bottom of the racial ladder and denied any real means of getting off the international socio-economic "bottom rung". This was to some extent formalised across especially Western countries by the rule of hypodescent (one discernable -drop of black blood and you are considered "black"). The result was that black becomes the opposite race to white, and stays that way to today. The experience of suppression (perhaps nowadays reduced to "covert" suppression), is a

perceived stigma of being black and potentially has psychological ramifications to global worth (one's "identity").

### **8.2.2. Chapter 2 Being of Mixed-Race**

Although extremely little research regarding mixed-race identity has been conducted for U.K. populations, much of the research generated out of the U.S. seems relevant to the psychology and sociology of mixed-race in this country. In Chapter 2, I focussed on research from both countries to see what answers we get regarding mixed-race identity. As part of this, we even considered the changing ways in which mixed-race has been seen within U.K. and U.S. censuses of particularly the last 2 decades or so. We also noted that, in order to begin the task of "positioning" a mixed-race identity, it is necessary to give more consideration of a "white identity" than we had space for in Chapter 1. This allowed us, among other things, to realise just how "default" being white might be. However, we also took a brief look at some of the great historical achievements which have been done by people of mixed-race.

But, although all this allowed us to reach an initial placement of mixed-race as "between black and white", and also to learn quite a bit about the changing ways in which mixed-race has been seen progressively over the years in the U.K. and U.S., no single answer came through above any other about how mixed-race individuals actually identify for themselves. Instead, we saw that they may identify as white, black, mixed-race although often not using that term, as no race, as more than one race, as a blend of races, or even as being "above" the social construct of race. As well as not being able to pin down any "main" mixed-race identity, we began to wonder whether such an identity might be dynamic and alter over time, rather than being fixed from an early age. We also began to

see exactly why it is that some theorists believe that being of mixed-race carries increased risks to one's identity and this is mediated by psychological factors such as self-esteem.

### **8.2.3. Chapter 3 On the Subjective Reality of Race and its Salience**

Chapter 3 introduced the construct of "racial salience". Broadly speaking, this refers to the extent to which we attend to race as opposed to any one of several other aspects of a person that was simultaneously available to us. Past literature already established that a person's gender is highly salient, and far more so than is race, both in childhood and adulthood. However, we noted that past studies have generally not included anything like a representative sample of black participants - if any at all. And so, using well-balanced participant group numbers and using colour photographs depicting two races and two genders, we constructed a direct comparison between gender and race. We considered only the parental races (black v white), because one aim was to establish whether the view offered in Chapter 1, that race was a social reality even though it has little objective scientific reality, was correct or was itself a fallacy.

In contrasting race with gender, we expected to find that race was of higher salience than gender, both for black participants and for white participants. However, we actually found that, whilst this is true overall, it is driven almost entirely by an effect stemming from black persons. Indeed, white participants, if anything, tended to show the opposite profile to black participants. Therefore, we already have evidence that white persons and black persons do not see race in the same way. We then intimated the difficulties associated with settling on a definite conclusion: Were white participants simply pretending not to see race in order to appear politically-correct; or were black participants far too preoccupied with race? There were ways of justifying either interpretation. But instead of following either

route right now, we first noted that Chapter 3 was about "controlled processing" of different races; but what we now needed was a study that showed us whether people's "automatic processing" of the polar races gave us the same answer as did Chapter 3.

#### **8.2.4. Chapter 4 Automatic Attentional Consequences of Race**

Not being fully satisfied that we now had an adequate understanding of how race is seen by white persons and by black persons (e.g., Chapter 3), we set about improving our understanding in two key respects. First, rather than looking at race rather indirectly, by observing participants' placement of the balance (salience) between race and gender, we decided to look at race as directly as possible. Second, whereas Chapter 3 had given us an understanding of participants' responses when they have time to consider political correctness before they choose to respond (controlled processing), we were now interested in getting access to how participants perceive race when they have not had time to consider what they do and do not wish to disclose (automatic processing). To do this, we made use of a very well-known cognitive task of attention - the Stroop Task. We again used photographs of persons of different races but these were now digitised onto computer. We asked white and black participants to indicate the racial category that each photo belonged; under three quite standard experimental conditions. The conditions differed in terms of whether a word was presented beneath the photo, and if so, whether the word said "black" or "white". Standard Stroop tasks find that, even though participants are instructed to ignore the word, the meaning of the word nevertheless impacts on the task of responding according to the focal stimulus (for us the photo). This works not only for the accuracy with which participants can respond to the stimulus, but also for the length of time they take to do so.

We found that, for our "ethnic stimuli", black photos were processed somewhat differently to white photos, in that the typical Stroop profile for response-accuracy only emerged robustly for black photos (congruent word best and incongruent word worst). Concerning differences according to participant groups, we found that white participants saw a more stark difference between the black photos and the white photos. We also found evidence that white participants treat white photos as more default than black photos, having greater difficulty with the latter. But for RT, we were quite surprised to learn that black photos were now processed at the same speed by black participants as by white participants. Both groups processed them more slowly than they processed white photos, suggesting they had greater difficulties giving accurate responses for black faces than for white faces. But when we compared the three conditions, we now found that, for black stimuli only, the condition-contrast that should have produced interference (incongruent condition minus neutral condition), actually led to facilitation rather than interference. This means that for some reason, both groups found it relatively easy to reject the word "white" only when it had accompanied the photo of a black person. Our interpretation was that "white" is so default, that the word white is automatically dismissed when the picture is black - because the black photo can never be white.

Chapter 4 then, told us that being "white" really is automatic and is seen as default even by black persons. Armed with the knowledge that white is perceived as positive both at the controlled (conscious) level and also at the automatic (unconscious) level, we could now move on to considering the issues specifically surrounding mixed-race.

### **8.2.5. Chapter 5 Mixed-Race Identity in the Context of the Parental Races**

Having learned about how white persons and black persons perceive of race (and the distinction between the black race and the white race in particular) in Chapters 3 and 4, it

was time to look at mixed-race perceptions. Also, as Chapters 2 and 3 were based on quantitative research, it was time to add a qualitative aspect to the research. This was done by developing a semi-structured interview/questionnaire tool for learning about how mixed-race persons actually experience mixed-race. This tool was called the Adult Identity Questionnaire, and it had to be semi-structured in order to make it possible to directly compare the collected data from each participant. As well as working with mixed-race respondents, the questionnaire was made applicable to white persons and black persons. This allowed us not only to additionally look at the experienced identity of these two groups, but also allowed us a look at how black persons and white persons see mixed-race.

The Adult Identity Questionnaire asked adults of mean age around 25 years, about many aspects of identity, including things such as where we might get much of our identity from (e.g., our parents), how we use our identity (e.g., the friendship groups we have), how our physical appearance relates to our identity, and even how we talk about our identity (e.g., the terms we do v do not prefer people to use when referring to us). Some findings were in line with previous research. For example, black respondents showed a stronger racial identity than did white respondents. Also, mixed-race respondents reported a wider variety of identities than either white respondents or black respondents. But at odds with some recent studies, not a single mixed-race respondent intimated having a white identity.

However, several findings were perhaps more unexpected than that. One of these was that white respondents reported experiencing racial discrimination to a similar level as did black respondents, and mixed-race respondents actually reported far more discrimination than black respondents. Another interesting finding here was that mixed-race respondents intimated that they see the strength of their white mother's identity as strongly as black respondents see their mother's identity strength. It is as though mixed-race white mothers are seen as deferring to part-black. Yet another finding was that the mixed-race respondents themselves, saw their identity mostly as "mixed-parentage" but at the same

time they felt pressured by non-mixed-race persons towards seeing themselves as black. Overall, the mixed-race identity as gleaned from this study, was one closer to black than to white.

### **8.2.6. Chapter 6 Mixed-Race Ethnic Identity in Adolescents and its Relationship to Measures of Self-Esteem and Self-Concept**

Having tested our questionnaire tool on young adults, it was time to test it on younger persons. Constraints of the schooling system limited the numbers of participants we could work with and also limited the age range we could work with. We settled on 14 to 18 year-olds. As some theorists have claimed links between psychological phenomena such as self-esteem with racial identity, we decided to investigate this for ourselves. But, because self-esteem related tests would require us to test each respondent for even longer than we tested the adults in Chapter 5, we decided to shorten our Adult Identity Questionnaire and make the remaining questions slightly more relevant to younger participants. We called the resulting tool the Adolescent Identity Questionnaire.

Giving this tool to the same three groups as in Chapter 5, we found some interesting differences. One key difference was that mixed-race adolescents showed a much stronger affinity with a white racial identity than a black identity. Also, whereas mixed-race adults had not wanted to be called "mixed-race" but wanted to be termed mixed-parentage, in Chapter 6 the mixed-race adolescents actually did want to be termed mixed-race and never at all wanted to be termed mixed-parentage.

The Adolescent Identity Questionnaire permitted the calculation of an own-race identity score, rejection of other identity score, and a global identity score. Contrary to previous research, for own-identity, it was mixed-race adolescents, not white adolescents, who

showed the weakest identity. Also, mixed-race adolescents rejected a black identity more than they rejected a white identity. However, in line with previous research, we found that in terms of a global identity, it is white participants not mixed-race participants who showed the weakest racial identity.

Inclusion of the sub-components of two self-esteem related psychometric tools, revealed that one's physical features, stress-management abilities and relationship with one's father, combined, predict one's own-group identity score. However, racial category, which is a factor outside the belief-system of the participant, is the strongest predictor of identity.

### **8.2.7. Chapter 7 Automatic Perceptions of Mixed-Race**

There seemed a discrepancy between findings from Chapter 6 and findings from Chapter 5: Although mixed-race persons in both studies most favoured a specifically mixed-race identity, they saw mixed-race differently to each other (mixed-race v mixed-parentage). Moreover, adolescents seem to slightly favour a white identity but young adults if anything favoured a black identity. What was required was a further study to corroborate one view or the other. This was one reason for the final study in Chapter 7. This study also addressed the fact that we had both qualitative and quantitative data regarding black and white perceptions of race, but for mixed-race persons we had almost exclusively qualitative data (Chapters 5 and 6 only). Additionally, perceptions of whiteness and blackness had been approached from a controlled processing angle but also from an automatic processing angle, but mixed-race had not had this done.

Chapter 7 addressed all these issues in a single study. It used the Stroop task from Chapter 4, but modified it so it was now appropriate for assessing automatic perceptions of mixed-race by white, black and mixed-race persons. It was found that white participants



and black participants saw mixed-race as slightly to their own side of the centre point. By contrast, mixed-race participants saw mixed-race as very much nearer the black end than seen even by the black participants.

Whereas the responses given can still be manipulated slightly if a participant wishes to hide their true views; the speed of their responses cannot be manipulated. These RTs showed a different picture to the response accuracy data, with black participants responding fastest, indicating greatest ease with the construct of mixed-race and white participants responding slowest. Of most interest here, the mixed-race participants were exactly at the midpoint of black and white for some RT indexes but nearer the black end for other RT indexes. These findings together support Chapter 5, suggesting that mixed-race persons tend to perceive mixed-race as a specific racial group but simultaneously see it as closer to black than to white. We address the contrast between this interpretation and Chapter 6 in the next section.

### 8.3. Towards a Theory of Mixed-Race Identity

So what does the research conducted here tell us about the psychology of mixed-race (mixed-race identity)? Well, as the research progressed, it quickly emerged that we cannot gain a full understanding of mixed-race identity, unless we consider how mixed-race is perceived by the parental races (here white and black) as well as perceptions from mixed-race individuals themselves. White persons and black persons were therefore included in every study, an inclusion which turned out to be highly revealing.

A social psychological perspective tells us to anticipate that our identity is largely shaped by the society in which we live. In the U.K., that society is made up mostly of white persons. Indeed, black (being of mainly African/Caribbean descent) persons are among the smallest populations in the country. There may be less than 600,000 black persons in the U.K. (Berrington, 1996). No surprise then that the bulk of the cultural experience that black ethnic minorities experience in this country will be white. In the context of the Stroop experiment constituting Chapter 4, Eidels, Townsend and Algom (2010) note that a huge difference in the "statistical likelihood" of encountering a particular type of stimulus (here we are taking "people" to be potential stimuli), can lead to bias effects. The point made by Eidels et al. (2010) is that these biases may not stem from differences in "meaning" of the stimuli, but rather may be the natural result of gross inequalities of experiences (encounters with each group type). For this thesis, this theory would predict the kinds of biases we have seen from white participants in each of the five studies conducted here. White persons tend to perceive whiteness as the default race (Chapter 4), keep almost exclusively white friends (Chapters 5 and 6), and yet play down the importance of race (Chapters 3, 5 and 6). But in some respects black persons do likewise, although tending to do so via opposing what white persons do rather than by agreeing with what white persons do. For example, black persons see being black as non-standard (Chapter 4) but may be overly focussed on it (Chapter 3), leading to them reporting

keeping fewer white friends than white persons report keeping black friends (Chapters 5 and 6).

Black persons and white persons tend to see mixed-race quite similarly but also in different ways in some respects. For example, black persons see mixed-race as slightly more black than white but white persons see it as more white (Chapters 5 and 7). But when we look at some of the statements each group adheres to (see Chapters 5 and 6), we see that white and black persons may appear to be doing the same thing (although kind of in reverse) but actually there are very different thought processes behind what they are doing: Black persons see mixed-race as more black because of a slight tendency to hold to the view that mixed-race persons experience the world as a black person. By contrast, white persons tend to see mixed-race people as slightly more white, because they do not want to be seen as pushing mixed-race persons unduely into the black camp (Chapters 5, 6 and response-accuracy data from Chapter 7). It is almost as though the existance of mixed-race persons really does pose a problem for society (Rockquemore, 1998).

But how does this all affect mixed-race people themselves? The contrast between Chapters 5 and 6 seems to support the view that they are caught between two races; and are therefore in a sense changeable in their racial identity (i.e., a bit mixed-up - Tizard & Phoenix, 1993). Here, their conscious responses placed being mixed-race far more towards the black end of the race dimension than they were seen even by the black group (a black identity - Fatimilehin, 1999; Morrison, 2004). But when we took an unconscious/implicit index instead, mixed-race persons now simply indicated mostly being nicely midway between white and black (look at overall RTs in Chapter 7). Was this identity confusion (Erikson, 1950, 1968; Bonilla-Silva & Glover, 2004)? Mixed-race persons parents may unwittingly instil into their child such a confused identity, as a result of intimating two different (and opposing) conceptions of that child's race (Gaines et al., 1997). Chapters 5

and 6, when taken together, appeared to repeat this identity confusion view. But actually, there is an alternative explanation, which we turn to presently.

Phinney's (1990) model of stages of ethnic identity development puts forward three main stages across the lifespan: These are stage of unexamined ethnic identity, exploration stage, and identity achievement stage. From childhood to adulthood, the child is moving from one stage towards the next. Now whereas Chapter 7 clearly shows that mixed-race persons are not completely settled in their identity by age around 25 years (the mean sample age), the contrast between Chapters 6 and 5 is consistent with people moving from stage 1 to stage 2, or from stage 2 to stage 3, in the 10 years from our adolescents of Chapter 6 to our adults of Chapter 5. It is more likely that 25 year-olds have begun on their final identity journey; and so we would argue that Chapter 6 was seeing mainly adolescents during Phinney's identity exploration stage, and Chapter 5 was seeing mainly adults in the identity achievement stage.

This explanation is all well and good, but it does not account for why in the exploration stage Chapter 6's mixed-race adolescents were favouring a white identity (Franklin & Madge, 2000; Song, 2010; Wilson, 1987), but Chapter 5's mixed-race adults were favouring a black identity (Davis, 1991). Before going on, it is important to re-state that, for mixed-race respondents, they tended to select first and foremost, a distinct mixed-raced identity; and did so more often than the black group. But further questions in Chapter 5 showed that mixed-race adults who were apparently in the identity achievement stage, did not opt for the term mixed-race as used in this thesis. Instead, they tended to opt for the term "mixed-parentage". It appears that they have noted there is really no such thing as mixed-race, because race itself is an artificial phenomenon (see Chapter 1).

In Chapter 5, when asked about which group they feel most comfortable with, mixed-race adults indicated this was either racially-diverse groups or black groups. Above we

took this as suggesting an implicit identity that is somewhere between central (diverse) and black (e.g., see Aspinall, 2003). Indeed, when asked directly about friendship groups, mixed-race respondents reported having mostly black friends, and fewer mixed-race than white friends. But clearly Chapter 6 showed that mixed-race adolescents, apparently in Phinney's stage of identity exploration, felt very differently to the adults of Chapter 5.

Perhaps the reason for mixed-race adolescents being more in touch with their white parental identity in Chapter 6, but during adulthood they will become more in touch with their black parental identity, is down to not just Phinney's (1990) "exploration" but also down to "opportunities" for meaningful social interaction with highly diverse groups.

During adolescence, mixed-race persons as well as black and white persons, are still in pre-16 education. Specifically, our adolescents of Chapter 6 were still mainly in secondary schooling. During this time, they will be taught lessons in highly integrated groups, and so will continually interact with white persons as well as black persons. Indeed, reflecting the general ratios of different racial groups in the U.K. generally, schools will provide vastly more opportunities for mixed-race individuals to socially interact with white persons compared even to all other racial groups combined. Note, mixed-race children at school, though, will tend to encounter fewer mixed-race persons at this time (when there were around 600,000 black adults in the U.K. there were around 300,000 mixed-race persons - Aspinall, 2003); and this might explain why Chapters 5 and 6 found that mixed-race adolescents do not really tend to have friends who are mixed-race.

The curious finding that mixed-race adolescents, when recapping their friendships during the early school years, indicated they had favoured black persons (and by implication had a more black identity), as compared to their adolescent years, actually fits in with this theory. Before they had begun school, the experience they developed about their own race and other racial groups was provided by their parents rather than their own choices. As Chapter

5 showed, mixed-race adults have a more black identity than a white identity. And therefore, the identity provided to the child will also be more black than white. Indeed, our interpretation here even explains why even in Chapter 6 itself, our adolescent participants signalled that they had moved from a more black identity during middle childhood, towards a more white identity by middle adolescence: This would be expected because during the early school years, the child will still be influenced by social groupings imposed pre-primary school plus imposed by their parents (perhaps especially the black parent). Chapter 6 showed up a tendency (although not fully reliable) for adolescents generally, to develop an identity that was influenced by the father more than by the mother. In our Chapter 6, all mixed-race participants had a father who was the black parent rather than the white parent. Thus, during pre-school, we should expect that the mixed-race child will be especially in touch with their black heritage.

Once they have left school, mixed-race persons, like their white and black counterparts, will no longer be constrained by the educational system, into marked integration with white, black and other diverse racial groups. Instead, they will enter the workplace and begin adult relationships centring around things such as pubs and clubs. At work, the numbers of individuals with which any person must integrate is far fewer than was the case during secondary schooling. In adult social environments, white persons will tend towards friendship groups of white persons, and likewise black persons will have black friendship groups (Quillian & Redd, 2009). Thus, mixed-race persons will find fewer opportunities to be in groups which are as diverse yet as integrated as they had done during their school years. The result will be that mixed-race persons end up with predominantly black friendship groups, whereas during schooling the groups would have been predominantly white and much more diverse.

So, there is a shift in the mixed-race racial identity from more black during early childhood, to more white during adolescence, to more black during adulthood. To put it

another way, the tendency of adolescents towards a white identity found in Chapter 6, might not be due to Phinney's stage of exploration but may have a far simpler explanation: It simply reflects the fact that the mixed-race person at this time has no choice but to experience greater social interactions with white adolescents. Indeed, they would experience predominantly white teachers too, as well as all aspects of a predominantly white sub-culture. These external environmental influences are enough to explain our finding that mixed-race adolescents tended toward a white identity and rejected a black identity (Chapter 6). Similarly, we do not need to account for the apparent shift in mixed-race identity from adolescence to adulthood in terms of Phinney's stage of identity achievement. It is simply that the mixed-race person at this time has not much choice other than to socially interact with black persons (Harris & Sim, 2002).

The overall conclusion of this thesis, then, is that yes white groups and black groups see mixed-race persons in slightly contrasting ways and this might to some extent cause the mixed-race identity to be more varied than either the white identity or the black identity. But there is a greater and more basic influence on the mixed-race identity. It is simply the racial makeup of the social groups of which the mixed-race individual finds themselves a part. In order to settle on exactly what "the mixed-race identity" is, we must first find a long term situation wherein the mixed-race person has the total freedom to socially interact with both the parental groups to whatever extent s/he wishes. Indeed, this should include the freedom to interact with non-parental races too. But from the research I have conducted for this thesis, the only real conclusion is that unlike white persons or black persons, mixed-race persons have a highly changeable racial identity. Yes this could be taken as "mixed-up". But it is better to take it as indicating a much greater challenge to the mixed-race person during childhood and adulthood, than to the black or white person.

Having presented so much bad news, I think I should offer at least the "route" to a solution to identity issues in mixed-race individuals (especially in childhood). It is simple.

Parents should seek to provide their children with as many opportunities to experience other races as possible, and from as early an age as possible. I note that this runs counter to Gaines' et al.'s (1997) claim that having two different parental models contributes to a confused mixed-race identity. Instead, I am implying that the child receives only one model comprising whatever both parents offer - and that model is likely to be more rich and fruitful the more diverse the parental contributions; as long as both contributions are constructive contributions.

Next, the educational system should ensure that minority groups are well represented in their schools, and should provide more opportunities especially for children to sample non-white cultures during the school years. Note, the converse, which is that white persons should be given greater opportunities to interact socially on an equal footing to ethnic minorities. But most of all, our society should encourage people to feel more free than at present, to integrate fully with especially white groups in post-16 education and into all niches of adulthood (e.g., social clubs, sporting opportunities, working environments, promotions etc.). Why is this most important to do? Because it is these adults who will go on to have children, and it is those children who need to have been given good experience of other racial groups by the time they have started school.



#### 8.4. Limitations of the Research

This thesis took on a big project and only had limited time to do the research. Therefore, there will be some limitations caused by this. One general limitation was the size of some of the samples. The best instance of this comes from Chapter 6, where there were only 8 persons in the mixed-race adolescent group (around one-quarter of the number we had for the white and black groups). However, as briefly explained in Chapter 6, it was difficult to see how a much larger mixed-race sample could have been obtained during the period of the research. When approving social psychological research like mine, schools have to be very mindful of the length of time they allow their children to be out of class for. In this case, it was up to about an hour, and this was a long time for say a 14 year-old adolescent to concentrate.

On top of this, there was the Baby P case which was in the media's mind, every parent's mind and of course the schools' mind too. Baby P was more than a mere letter. His real name was Peter Connelly and he died in August 2007 at age 2 years, following poor treatment at home and missed opportunities to pick this up by a plethora of child-health-related professions. Due to public reaction, it was natural for there to be reflection upon who can reasonably have access not only regarding infants but also adolescents too. An impact in this research was extreme caution in the school system. Most schools refused to allow anyone in to work with their children, even if like myself they had valid Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) checks to an advanced level. For example, a number of schools which had already agreed to take part in the adolescent Identity Questionnaire study, now withdrew their permissions during the time when the Adolescent Identity Questionnaire was being developed and piloted (which took around 1.5 years altogether).

Additionally, due to the rather sensitive nature of the research, aiming to investigate mixed-race identity in the U.K., most of the schools I approached to take part in that study

simply declined; because of the study focussing on mixed-race. So again, schools became less likely to give permission for many of their children to take part in the research. But now that this research has shown that potentially-valuable findings can come from research of this kind, it is hoped that a major research council can be persuaded to fund a more formal continuation of this line of research. For example, obtaining a much larger sample for the adolescent Identity Questionnaire for all three groups covered in this thesis, and also for further groups not covered here (i.e., who are not white, black or mixed-race-white/black), could lead to a much better and more accurate understanding of mixed-race identity than provided here. Such a continuation could also lead to much better understanding of how each race in the U.K. population sees each "other race" here.

There are some other limitations within this thesis. One of these concerns the racial salience study conducted in Chapter 3. Because of wanting to obtain around 300 participants for good generalisation, we had to trade in length of time needed per participant. As a result, each photograph set used in this study was only shown once. What should have happened is that each of the 12 photographs should have been shown paired with two other photographs, in every one of the 220 possible threesome combinations that combined two races with two genders (around 55 cases). However, this was not feasible in a study based on hardcopies, partly because of the extremely high costs that would be associated with producing so many high gloss prints. It is partly for this reason that Chapter 4 moved to the use of a computer presentation design, although time limits now meant that the Chapter 3 study could not be redesigned and repeated.

In Chapter 5, we took around one year to develop and pilot the Adult Identity Questionnaire with 52 questions, many of which required multiple answers/responses, but then we only analysed around half these questions. Although respondent numbers were adequate in this chapter, we would have been able to use the available time better by testing more people on fewer questions. Note, this lesson was applied to the following

study (Chapter 6) with adolescents, but even though the questions were reduced to 38 instead of 52, some of these questions again could not be analysed because of the length implications to the results section (which were already the longest in this thesis).

In Chapter 6, ideally, the adolescent sample would have been much larger. This study really needs to be replicated in a number of schools with a total sample of around 200. As well as allowing validity checks on the questionnaire tool (not possible with only 8 respondents), it would also offer the advantage of allowing the researchers to look at additional issues. An example of such issues include whether the proportion of mixed-race pupils at the various schools has an impact on the responses given in the questionnaire on a school by school basis, when the schools have different racial compositions.

Finally here, a potential limitation of the Stroop study conducted for Chapter 4, was that each participant was only tested once on it. If it had been possible to test them twice (on a different stimulus set), the data collected would have been more stable and we would have had stronger statistical confirmations of robust findings and stronger statistical refutation of non-robust findings. Thus, we could have had even more confidence in the overall findings from Chapter 4. Note, however, given that a second study with the Stroop task reported the same curious finding for mixed-race stimuli as had been reported for black stimuli in Chapter 4 (see Chapter 7), it is believed that the tendency for black/mixed-race photos to be responded to more quickly when the word "white" is written beneath them than when the word is "black", is already proven as a robust finding.

### 8.5. Potential Applications + Future Directions

This research can be used as a basis for the Department of Education & Families to look at their terminology in relation to children who are the result of unions between parents of different races. In particular, it could conduct its own research into terms for mixed-race, which are accepted by all age groups of mixed-race persons.

On an experimental note, Chapter 5 centred on adults of mean age around 25 years. From it I concluded that the tendency for mixed-race persons to be biased away from being seen as black in adolescence, is completely reversed in adulthood so they now do not wish to be seen as white. But why should identity development stop there? Perhaps there is further development of the mixed-race identity from young adulthood to middle age, and even from middle age to old age. Future research should ideally look at this issue.

Another interesting line of research could be to conduct a study that concentrates on whether the identity of mixed-race people is different when they grew up with a white mother and black father, as compared to when they have a black mother and white father. Chapter 5 showed some intriguing tendencies about these sub-groups, but what is really needed is a larger scale study than could be conducted by a single researcher as part of a fairly broad programme of research. In order to ensure the most robust findings possible, such a study should focus strictly on this issue - having only mixed-race respondents.

Next, the main contrast between Chapter 6 (adolescents) and Chapter 5 (adults) led me to conclude that mixed-race adolescents move closer towards a black identity as they become adults. But my conclusion here was done on the basis of a retrospective study (Chapter 5) plus an adolescent study (Chapter 6). The conclusion could have been tested more directly but only if a longitudinal methodology is used. I would argue that it is important that such a longitudinal study is undertaken in the U.K., but this study would of course need to extend beyond 3 years.

Finally, it is possible to argue that participants' individual race-related identity might have influenced the results especially for the Stroop experiment reported in Chapter 7, and therefore that this might have been a confound of this experiment. On this issue, we had already seen in Chapter 6, that the strength of adolescents' ethnic identity tends to differ according to their race (or them being mixed-race). In Chapter 7 then, each group would in principle have had a mean identity score associated with it, meaning that we might have used identity instead of racial category, but we did not have to use both together in the first exploratory study of this kind. That kind of issue is for future studies.

It was for this reason that I did not seek to take a measure of racial identity for Chapter 7 and use it as a covariate in the Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). Had I done that, its main contribution could only have simply been to dilute the differences between the three groups (black, mixed and white), because racial identity must by definition be part of what it means to be black, white or whatever. Moreover, in turn, that procedure could only have reduced the interesting effects Chapter 7 showed up between black, mixed-race and white participants. But a purpose of this thesis was to show up differences, not to then see what manipulations can be used in order to maybe make those differences go away. My note to one side, a future study might very well wish to test if my prediction here is correct, although such a study would not be relevant to the rationale behind the present thesis, nor to present interpretation of the Stroop experiments I reported in Chapters 4 and 7 in view of the rationale of the thesis. In short, such a Covariate ANOVA could extend the present findings rather than directly challenging them.

## 8.6. Concluding Remarks

It is hoped that the reader agrees that the two theoretical chapters in my thesis plus the five empirical chapters and the present concluding chapter, begin to redress the great imbalance between ethnicity research and other general research domains (such as research on age, gender or disability). For example, at present we know relatively little about how being mixed-race is perceived by white persons or by black persons. But we also know even less about how being mixed-race is perceived by mixed-race persons themselves. A lot of research has been done in the U.S., but extremely little has been done in the U.K., perhaps especially with regard to mixed-race from adolescence to adulthood.

I believe I have made but a start at redressing the research imbalance. But I also hope I have presented mixed-race as nothing to be feared: Not an ill-advised crossing of races or an abomination of God-given human categories, but simply the product of unions which are as natural as any other unions.

As a Final Caveat, at the beginning of this thesis, I set out the case that persons of mixed-race, who have a black parent and a white parent may be in many ways in a state of confusion regards their identity (Chapter 2); and that this group may face the most serious such disadvantage compared to any other so called race or mix of two races. In doing this, I drew on what I see as the indisputable fact that black persons tend to be seen, whether explicitly (Old-Fashioned Racism - Aspinall, 2003) or implied by ones behaviours (Modern Racism - Bonilla-Silva, 2001) as the lowest of the human races, with white persons tending to be seen as of the highest race (Chapter 1). Then, Chapter 2 discussed the tendency for mixed-race to tend to be grouped with being black (e.g., the one-drop rule in the U.S.). In framing in this way, I was well aware that some might well take issue with this framing and indeed with this thesis. But I believe that the breadth of research in this thesis, although two of the samples would ideally have been larger to allow more certainty

(Chapters 5 & 6), is such that, if we take all theoretical and empirical chapters together, this breadth does tell us important things about being of mixed-race (black-white). It also allows some comparisons to be made regarding mixed-race perceptions versus perceptions of mixed-race by black and white persons.

Now, however, it is time to acknowledge that, black-white mixed-race persons may be at particular disadvantages within society, but this does not mean that other mixed-race groups do not exist, or are not also at a significant disadvantage within society. As Song (2010a) points out, mixed-race groups such as White-Indian or Black-Chinese also exist and such persons may also have to go through significant race-related identity issues from childhood to adulthood.

Mixed-race can even be considered a particular instance of "mixed-culture", in so far as the parents of mixed-race children may indeed come from different cultural backgrounds. When framed in that way, it becomes evident that there are other mixed-cultures which may experience disadvantage. For example, [half-jewish.net](http://half-jewish.net) is a support website for persons of mixed heritage where one parent or grandparent is Jewish. It exists because such mixed persons do not "have a voice within their society", as compared to the voice of their parental groups. Similarly, persons of mixed English-Irish or Catholic-Protestant parentage may be seen as facing particular cultural identity issues (see Ignatiev, 1995; Morrison, 2004) and so on. But although it is quite right to say that such persons and groups are worthy of being included in research such as conducted in the present thesis, they were not the focus of the present research for good reason.

As discussed in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, the first thing we notice about a person is typically their "colour" (Alibhai-Brown & Montagu, 1992; Brown, 2006). We can notice this from hundreds of feet away with the naked eye, and noticing this, together with the way we think and feel about a person of such a colour may cause us to behave in a certain

way (e.g., cross the street, keep our children just that bit closer to us...). Yes, it is true that such behaviours can be caused by religion or other things. But race is both different and more salient at a distance. Therefore, although hiding race within another construct called "culture", can facilitate other groups not primarily discerned by race (note, Jewish persons are in the racial group "Caucasian" and hence are classed as white, as are Irish Catholics and Protestants!), this simultaneously plays down the importance of race. In particular it plays down the particular and largely unique set of disadvantages faced by persons who are either black or of mixed-race black-white, which I discussed at some length in Chapters 1 and 2.

One further note regarding mixed-race versus mixed-culture is that in say England, surely we all have the same "British culture", whether we are white, black, Asian... yes, some groups also have a parallel culture (e.g., Nigerian), but this is not a replacement for the British culture, it simply runs in parallel: It is better regarded as an additional culture and not a replacement culture. What we need to do is embrace the fact that people may have more than one culture, despite being of the same nationality but the main culture should ideally be considered to be that of the country a person was born into and still lives. What I am saying is that it may be claims about us having "different cultures", when actually we share a common culture, that may lay at the heart of alienating of certain groups within British society; and in turn this may contribute or even push (marginalise) certain persons towards extremist doctrines.

Now, having made the case that it was completely legitimate for this thesis to have focused only on mixed-race and within that, to focus only on one mixed-race group (black-white mixed-race), I hope that other theses will focus on other mixed-race groups, mixed-religions, on mixed-cultures and mixed-language (children of parents speaking different languages). Indeed, I leave it for others to do so. But regarding the present thesis, it



fulfilled its remit which was perception and identity regarding "mixed-race black-white" individuals.

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## **APPENDIX A**

### **Approved ethics submission for Chapter 3**

#### **CHAPTER 3 – On the Subjective Reality of Race and its Salience**

## **APPENDIX B**

### **Approved ethics submission for Chapter 4**

#### **CHAPTER 4 – Automatic Attentional Consequences of Race**

## **APPENDIX C**

### **Draft Adult Identity Questionnaire (Chapter 5)**

#### **CHAPTER 5 – Mixed-Race-Race Identity in the Context of the Parental Race**

## **APPENDIX D**

### **Approved ethics submission for Chapter 5**

#### **CHAPTER 5 – Mixed-Race-Race Identity in the Context of the Parental Race**

## **APPENDIX E**

### **Draft Adolescent Identity Questionnaire (Chapter 6)**

#### **CHAPTER 6 – Mixed-Race Ethnic Identity in Adolescents and its Relationship to Measures of Self-Esteem and Self- Concept**

## **APPENDIX F**

### **Approved ethics submission for Chapter 6**

#### **CHAPTER 6 – Mixed-Race Ethnic Identity in Adolescents and its Relationship to Measures of Self-Esteem and Self- Concept**