A NEW "WHAT ABOUT THE CHILDREN" QUESTION: EXAMINING THE

EXPERIENCES OF SECOND-GENERATION BLACK-WHITE MULTIRACIALS

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ABSTRACT

A NEW "WHAT ABOUT THE CHILDREN" QUESTION: EXAMINING THE

EXPERIENCES OF SECOND-GENERATION BLACK-WHITE MULTIRACIALS

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For four decades, scholars have analyzed the experiences of individuals on the nexus of

multiple racial categories to understand racial identity and racial boundaries. However,

most of the research on how Multiracials navigate racial lines is limited to first-

generation Multiracials. To my knowledge, there has yet to be a qualitative study on how

those in the second-generation of racial mixing racially identify and are identified by

others (reflected race). I argue that including second-generation multiracials provides

new insights to our understanding of racial identities and boundaries through interviews

with 99 second-generation Black-White Multiracials. I find that second-generation

Multiracials have higher Multiracial categorizations in Article 1 on racial categorizations

and few are exclusively viewed as Black in Article 2 on reflected race. Additionally, I

find that they experience racial imposter syndrome, or feeling like a racial fraud, as a

result of not being in the first-generation of racial mixing in Article 3. My dissertation

reveals the necessity of including the monoracial parent's background when looking at

generational status as racial categorizations, reflected race, and racial imposter syndrome

differ between those with a monoracial White parent and those with a monoracial Black

parent. I argue that these findings point to a shift in widening of Whiteness and narrowing of Black boundaries.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The Multiracial population is one of the fastest-growing groups in the United States. Corresponding with this escalation in those who identify as Multiracial, scholarship on this population has increased over the last three decades (Telles & Sue 2009), with researchers employing the racial identity of Multiracials as an indicator of racial group boundaries and the salience of race as a social identity. However, this is mostly limited to those within the first generation of racial mixing. To my knowledge, there has yet to be a qualitative study focused on how those in the second-generation of racial mixing racially identify and are identified by others racially (reflected race). My research objective is to assess if and how second-generation Multiracials provides new insights to our understanding of racial identities and boundaries.

This research addresses three core gaps in the racial identity literature. First, scholarship is primarily limited to first-generation Multiracials (exception see: Daniel 1992, Bratter 2007, Song 2017 and Morning & Saperstein 2018). Second, the literature that does examine the role of generational locus of mixing with racial categorization does not distinguish between the monoracial parents' racial background. Finally, most research ignores multiple dimensions of identity. Rather than assuming that how one racially identifies to others or on forms (public racial category) is in alignment with their personal racial identity or how they are viewed by others (reflected race), I include contested identity and develop a theoretical understanding of racial imposter syndrome, or feeling like a racial fraud. I discuss how I fill these three gaps below.

1

First, scholars have consistently argued that identity options are especially constrained for Multiracials with Black ancestry, particularly away from Whiteness, as a result of the legacy of hypodescent. However, this literature primarily restricts the definition of Multiracial to include those with presumably unmixed parents who are socially designated and self-identify as being from differing racial groups. If there is something novel about mixing in the twenty-first century, it is likely we will see that in the identity choices of second-generation Multiracials, or individuals who have at least one Multiracial parent (Song 2017).

To conceptualize Multiraciality in a way that is consistent with historical understandings (Shih & Sanchez 2009) and significant for the shifting racial diversity, I advance the term "second-generation" Multiracial (Song 2017) to denote those who have one parent who is Multiracial and another who is monoracial. For instance, while most Black Americans also have White racial backgrounds (Daniel 1992), I use "second-generation" to imply that the Black parent of the Multiracial had one Black parent and one White parent. Therefore, those in this category would have one Black grandparent and three White grandparents. The term "second-generation" Multiracial is therefore not to imply a biological transfer of race but to denote the space in which these individuals occupy: the product of two generations of interracial marriage.

Although 15% of Black-White Multiracials are in the second-generation of racial mixing, compared to 13% of first-generation (Morning & Saperstein 2018), researchers have only recently begun looking at how second-generation Multiracials identify and are identified by others (for an exception see: Daniel 1992). Bratter (2007) found that

compared to having two parents of different monoracial groups, having a Multiracial parent decreased the likelihood of identifying a child as Multiracial, with the racial overlap between parents becoming the racial classification of the child (Bratter 2007). Prior qualitative research on second-generation Multiracials found the rule of hypodescent constrained identity options as they felt intragroup pressure to identify as Black (Daniel 1992). However, in one of the first qualitative UK studies of classification of Multiracial children by Multiracial parents, Song (2017) finds that around 65 percent of Multiracial parents said they would label their child as Multiracial depending on the overlap of the parents' racial background, the child's appearance, and how familiar the parents were with their different racial backgrounds.

Thus far, only one study has examined how generational distance may influence self-racial identification. Morning and Saperstein (2018) used the Pew Survey of Multiracial Adults to create the first estimates of the generational breakdown of the Multiracial population and found a negative relationship between identifying as Multiracial and generational distance. They found that for Black-White Multiracials 66% in the first-generation identified as more than one race, more than double the 31% in the second-generation; however, they did not distinguish between the monoracial parent's racial group. It is probably that those with one White monoracial parent identify differently than one Black parent, whether because of parental racial overlap, reflected appraisals, or a genetic perception of race.

To address this gap, this dissertation explores a topic that is relatively underdeveloped in the sociological literature, second-generation Multiracials and their

identity formation. Research on Multiracials occasionally includes racial self-identification, but it does not focus on when personal self-identification contradicts external identification (reflected race) or how the Multiracial person categorizes themselves to others (contested identity). There are a few key implications of including different elements of identity and second-generation multiracials. By disentangling the variety in identities a Multiracial person may have through in-depth interviews, this research integrates contested identities into racial identity formation and the theory of reflected appraisals. Examining second-generation Multiracials provides important clues to the transmission of racial identification and the future of Multiracial identification. Moreover, changes in Multiracials' identity choices from a legacy of hypodescent could potentially change the racial demography of the United States. Ultimately, a greater understanding of Multiracials' experiences offers insight into the permanence of racially stratified systems (Bratter 2018).

THE STUDY

This study focuses on Black and White Multiracials for various reasons. First, the historical construction of Whiteness has always been in opposition to Blackness (Vera & Feagin 1995; Ignatiev 2012). Today, the social cleavage between Blacks and Whites remains wider between Whites and other minority groups (BoBo 2004). Whites, Latinos, and Asians all had low rates of intermarriage with Blacks; moreover, Latinos and Asians were more likely than Blacks to marry Whites, suggesting the social boundaries are weaker between Whites and non-Black minorities than between Whites and Blacks (Fu 2007). Therefore, the identity patterns and experiences of this group are uniquely able to provide insights into potential shifts in the racial hierarchy. Additionally, a majority of

Multiracial scholarship on first-generation Multiracials has been on Black-White Multiracials (Strmic-Pawl 2014). By limiting the sample to those of Black-White mixtures, we can compare findings to the ample data on first-generation Multiracials to better understand the role of generational status.

THE SAMPLE

Qualitative research allows for the socially constructed nature of race to be at the forefront due the researcher's ability to the focus on the process of creating meaning (Denzin & Lincoln 2008). This dissertation is based on 99 in-depth interviews with second-generation Multiracials ages 18-30 from 2016-2020. Within these interviews, 39 respondents have one Black-White parent and one Black parent, and 60 respondents have one Black-White parent and one White parent. This is consistent with marriage patterns: a majority of self-identified Black-White Multiracials (54.1%) marry Whites, with Black (23.2%) as the second most common (Miyawaki 2015). To examine how second-generation Multiracials may impact the racial landscape, it makes sense to limit my study to these two groups.

RECRUITMENT

I recruited cases for this analysis in the United States through University classroom visits, social network sites, and snowball sampling. Key demographic information for the cases is included in Table 1 for those with a monoracial White parent and Table 2 for those with a monoracial Black parent.

Table 1. Multiracials with Monoracial White Parent Key Demographics

Name	Sex	Age	SES	Education	Region of Origin	White Mother	Predominately White High School	Live with Black Parent
Alyssa	F	21	Middle	Some	W	Yes	Yes	Yes
Andrew	M	28	Middle	BA	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Ashley	F	18	Working	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ava	F	28	Poor	BA	W	Yes	Yes	No
Baker	M	25	Middle	BA	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Betty	F	30	Upper	PhD	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Brandon	M	18	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Brooklyn	F	18	Working	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Bryan	M	20	Upper Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Caitlyn	F	30	Poor	BA	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Cara	F	19	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Charlotte	F	25	Upper Middle	Some Graduate	W	No	Yes	Yes
Chastity	F	18	Lower Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Chelsea	F	21	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	No
Claire	F	22	Lower Middle	BA	S	No	Yes	Yes
Cole	M	18	Upper Middle	Some	NE	No	No	Yes

Conor	M	19	Upper Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Dawn	F	21	Upper	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Derek	M	30	Poor	BA	S	No	Yes	Yes
Diamond	F	24	Working	BA	W	Yes	Yes	No
Emily	F	20	Upper	Some	W	Yes	Yes	No
Emma	F	29	Lower middle	Grad	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ethan	M	18	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Finn	M	27	Lower Middle	Some	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Garret	M	19	Lower Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hannah	F	18	Working	Some	S	Yes	Yes	No
Jake	M	23	Middle	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jayla	F	27	Upper	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jonathan	M	30	Upper Middle	BA	S	No	No	Yes
Joseph	M	21	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Katie	F	21	Upper Middle	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kayla	F	24	Middle	College	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kendra	F	20	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kevin	M	21	Middle	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lexus	F	28	Working	Some	S	No	No	No
Lia	F	25	Middle	Graduate	NE	Yes	No	Yes

Liz	F	26	Upper	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lydia	F	28	Upper	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Mark	M	30	Upper	College	NE	Yes	No	No
Martin	M	21	Upper	Some	S	Yes	No	No
Matthew	M	18	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Max	M	20	Upper	College	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Megan	F	18	Upper	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Michael	M	18	Upper Middle	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Naomi	F	19	Middle	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nathan	M	27	Lower Middle	Graduate	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Nicole	F	20	Working	Some	MW	Yes	No	No
Octavia	F	19	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Olive	F	24	Poor	BA	W	Yes	No	Yes
Patricia	F	18	Lower Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Penelope	F	26	Middle	BA	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Robin	F	20	Upper Middle	Some	W	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sandra	F	30	Poor	College	NE	No	No	Yes
Sarah	F	19	Upper Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Savannah	F	20	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Stephen	M	24	Middle	BA	NE	Yes	No	Yes

Suraya	F	23	Poor	BA	MW	No	Yes	No
Tara	F	29	Upper	Grad	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Tina	F	27	Lower Middle	BA	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Triston	M	20	Upper	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Victoria	F	19	Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes

Table 2. Multiracials with a Monoracial Black Parent Key Demographics

Name	Sex	Age	SES	Educa-	Region of	Black/ White	Predo minate	Live with

				tion	Origin	mother	-ly White High School	biracial parent
Ace	M	20	Middle	Some	NE	No	No	Yes
Amaya	F	30	Upper Middle	Grad	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Angela	F	27	Working	Grad	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
April	F	27	Middle	Grad	S	Yes	No	Yes
Asia	F	18	Upper Middle	Some	W	Yes	Yes	Yes
Bale	M	19	Upper	Some	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Brittany	F	24	Working	College	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Candice	F	30	Upper Middle	College	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Corbin	M	19	Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Damien	M	20	Upper Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	No
Daris	M	18	Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Destiny	F	18	Working	Some	S	No	No	Yes
Doug	M	18	Upper Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Earl	M	26	Upper	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Ellen	F	28	Upper	College	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Evelyn	F	25	Middle	College	NE	No	No	No
Giselle	F	18	Upper	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Imani	F	23	Poor	College	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Isabella	F	24	Middle	College	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Janelle	F	19	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Jeremy	M	20	Upper Middle	Some	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Joanna	F	28	Upper	Grad	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jocelyn	F	19	Working	Some	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Keanna	F	26	Working	Grad	MW	Yes	No	Yes
Laronnd-a	F	22	Working	College	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lysate	F	28	Middle	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Malik	M	20	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Mallory	F	21	Working	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Marcus	M	29	Working	College	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Moniqu-e	F	22	Upper	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Morgan	F	27	Working	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Ron	M	28	Working	Grad	S	Yes	No	Yes
Sadie	F	27	Working	Grad	SE	No	No	Yes
Silas	M	21	Lower Middle	Some	MW	No	No	Yes
Will	M	30	Middle	Grad	S	Yes	Yes	No
Tayller	F	24	Upper Middle	BA	NE	No	Yes	No
Willow	F	29	Lower Middle	Grad	S	Yes	No	Yes
Vera	F	26	Upper Middle	Grad	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Violet	F	27	Upper Middle	BA	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes

A majority of respondents currently live in the Northeast where recruitment took place, which is correlated with higher identifications as Multiracial (Brunsma 2006). Still there is some variation in the regions of the United States where they were raised, with many of those with a monoracial Black parent growing up in the south. A significant portion of those with a monoracial White parent attended a predominately White high school, while only half the sample of those with a monoracial Black parent did. In most circumstances, the respondent lived with both their Multiracial Black- White parent and White parent.

For both groups, the sample leans towards more women. This could be because women are more likely to participate in interviews and engage in self-disclosure than men (Robinson 2014).

INTERVIEWS

In-depth interviews provide a closer examination of the overlapping and sometimes conflicting meanings Multiracials attach to their racial identity, illuminating a potential shift in the meaning of race and racial categories in the US. The audio-taped interviews included open-ended questions around the formation of their racial identity, how salient race is to their sense of self, and interpretations of how they are seen racially. Questions ranged from feelings of inclusion or inclusion with Black and White peers, experiences with discrimination, racial composition of their peer group, and conversations around race with parents or siblings. I also asked questions on how often respondents actively think about their racial identity and in what context are they more or

less likely to think about race. Interviews varied between 45 minutes and 2 hours, taking

an average of one hour. After completion, they were transcribed.

I delineated three facets of racial identity: public racial categorization (expressed

racial identity to others), racial self-concept (personal racial identity that is held

internally), and reflected appraisals (perceived racial group by outsiders) (Harris & Sim

2002; Brunsma 2005; Khanna & Johnson 2010). Including these multiple dimensions of

racial identity is more consistent with the lived reality of race. An overview of public

categorization, self-concept and reflected appraisals of this sample is included in table 3

for respondents with a monoracial White parent and table 4 for those with a monoracial

Black parent.

Table 3. Multiracials with a Monoracial White Parent Identity Patterns

Name	Public Categorization to Others	Internal Self-Concept	External Perception: Reflected Appraisals
Alyssa	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Andrew	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Ashley	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Ava	Multiracial	Multiracial	Part-Black; White
Baker	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Betty	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Brandon	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Brooklyn	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Bryan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White

Caitlyn	White; Multiracial	White; Multiracial	White
Cara	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Charlotte	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous
Chastity	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Chelsea	White	White; Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Claire	Multiracial	White; Multiracial	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous
Cole	White; Multiracial	Transcendent	Ambiguous; White
Conor	Multiracial; Black	Transcendent	White
Dawn	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Derek	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Diamond	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Emily	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Emma	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Ethan	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Garret	White; Multiracial	White; Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Hannah	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous
Jake	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Jayla	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Jonathan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Joseph	Black	Black	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous
Katie	Multiracial	Multiracial; Black	Ambiguous; White
Kayla	Multiracial	Multiracial; Black	Ambiguous; White

14

Kendra	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Kevin	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Lexus	Hispanic	Hispanic	Ambiguous; White
Lia	Multiracial; Black	Multiracial; Black	White
Liz	White	White	White
Lydia	Multiracial	Multiracial	White; Ambiguous; Black
Mark	Black	Black; Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Martin	Black	Black	White
Matthew	Multiracial; Black	Black	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous
Max	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous
Megan	White	White	White
Michael	White; Multiracial	White	White
Naomi	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Nathan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Nicole	Multiracial; Black	Black	White
Octavia	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Olive	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Patricia	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Penelope	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Robin	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Sandra	White	Multiracial	White
Sarah	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White

Savannah	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Stephen	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Suraya	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; Hispanic; White
Tara	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Tina	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Triston	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Victoria	Multiracial	Multiracial	White

Table 4. Multiracials with Monoracial Black Parent Identity Patterns

Name	Public Categorization	Internal Self-Concept	External Perception: Reflected Appraisals
Ace	Black; Multiracial	Multiracial; Black; Jamaican	Black; Part-Black
Amaya	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous Non-Black
Angela	Black	Black	Dominican; Black
April	Black	Black	Ambiguous; Part-Black
Asia	Black	Black	Black
Bale	Black	Black	Black
Brittany	Multiracial	Multiracial	White; Ambiguous; Black
Candice	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Corbin	Black; Multiracial	Multiracial	Black; Ambiguous
Damien	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; Part-Black; Black
Daris	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black; Multiracial
Destiny	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black
Doug	Black	Black	Black
Earl	Black	Black	Black
Ellen	Black	Black	Ambiguous; Part-Black
Evelyn	Black; Multiracial	Black; Multiracial	Ambiguous; Black

Gizelle	Black	Black	Black
Imani	Multiracial	Biracial Caribbean	Ambiguous; Black
Isabella	Black	Black; Multiracial	White; Ambiguous
Janelle	Black	Black	Black
Jeremy	Black; Multiracial	Multiracial	Part-Black; Ambiguous
Joanna	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Jocelyn	Black	Black	Black
Keanna	Black	Black	Black
Laronnda	Black	Black	Black
Lisette	Black	Black	Ambiguous
Malik	Black	Black	Black; Dominican
Mallory	Multiracial; Prefer Not to Respond; Black	Transcendent	Black; Ambiguous
Marcus	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Monique	Black	Black	Black
Morgan	Black	Black	Black; part-Black
Ron	Black	Black	Black
Sadie	Black	Black	Ambiguous; Part-Black
Silas	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black; Ambiguous
Will	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black
Tayller	Multiracial; Black	Multiracial	Part-Black

Willow	Black	Black	Black
Vera	Multiracial; Black	Multiracial	Part-Black
Violet	Black	Black	Black

Public categorization is the racial category (or categories) a person identifies as when answering to a person or on a formal document what their racial group(s) membership is (Brunsma 2005). In order to measure the gamut of racial categorization, respondents answered how they typically categorize themselves on formal documents and to peers or strangers. I found that most respondents categorized themselves consistently between documents and individuals. Nevertheless, there was variability at times; in these situations where individuals answer differently between forms and individuals, I included two racial groups. I use the term "Multiracial" to encompass when an individual identifies as Multiracial, "Mixed," "Biracial," "a quarter White," "a quarter Black," "half-White," or "half-Black."

Measuring racial internal self-concept required multiple open-ended questions on strength of each racial identity and feelings of belonging to different racial groups, such as how strongly each respondent identified as White, Black, and Multiracial, if they "feel" like they are more one race than the other, and how close they feel to members of different racial groups. Respondents were also asked how core their racial identity was to their overall sense of self. Transcendent identity consists of those who do not select, but rather "transcend," a racial categorization (Rockquemore 1998) through identifying for

instance as "American," "human" or raceless. I coded both races if an individual shifts

between more than one racial group.

DATA ANALYSIS

I took a paradigmatic approach through the data collection process to examine

common themes between the interviews (Polkinghorne 1995). After each interview, I

wrote a memo (Charmaz & Belgrave 2012) so I could later use thematic coding to create

themes from the 99 memos. Next, I used Nvivo to line-by-line code the transcribed

interviews (Corbin & Strauss 1990). I then used the patterns from the coded interviews

to generate following themes: (a) racial categorization, (b) reflected appraisals (c) racial

self-concept (d) feelings of inclusion (e) feelings of exclusion (f) racial imposter

syndrome (g) definitions of racial groups.

LIMITATIONS

This study was limited by individuals who would self-identify as having a

Multiracial background and volunteer to discuss their experiences. Even with specifying

one did not have to identify as Multiracial, likely those who value their Multiracial

identity would volunteer, therefore skewing the data to primarily Multiracial

identifications. It is therefore also very likely I missed those who identify monoracially

and hold a strong stigmatized understanding of their White or Black ancestry (for

example, one respondent with a monoracial White parent had a step-sibling who also fit

the study, but said she knew she would not participate because she does not acknowledge

her Black ancestry).

This research was also limited to individuals who have one Multiracial parent and one Black or White monoracial parent. While this allows for the opportunity to understand the variation between having a Black parent and a White parent for second-generation Multiracials it does not allow for a full understanding of the impact on generational status on racial identity formation. Future research should include individuals who have two Multiracial parents or a monoracial parent that does not share a racial background with their partner.

Moreover, most of those who had a monoracial White parent were of middle or upper-class. This may have influenced their reflected appraisals as literature has shown that reflected appraisals are influenced by class, with those who wear high-status clothing are more likely to be perceived as White (Freeman et al. 2011) and higher class individuals being identified as "Whiter" (Telles 2002; Saperstein 2006). Moreover, most respondents grew up in predominately-White contexts; literature has shown that those who are isolated from marginalized communities develop a "culturally White" identity (Kilson 2001; Twine 1996). Future research on second-generation Multiracials should intentionally seek out class and neighborhood racial demographic variation among participants.

Finally, having almost double as many women (64) than men (35) may skew the data in a few ways. First, first-generation Black-White women are more likely to identify as Multiracial; therefore, the data may be biased to Multiracial categorizations (Davenport 2016). Second, it may impact the high number of reflected appraisals as non-Black because women are less likely to be perceived as Black than men (Young et al.

2020). Thirdly, some research has indicated imposter syndrome, or feeling like a fraud, is more common in women (Harvey & Katz 1985; Kumar & Jagacinski 2006). Thus, this sample may have higher rates of racial imposter syndrome, feeling like a fraud in one's racial identity, as a result of having more women.

ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

Scholars commonly use the racial categorization of Multiracials to assess the boundaries around racial groups (Liebler 2016). Article one demonstrates how second-generation Multiracials' identity choices points to the rise in Multiracial identifications. Quantitative data on second-generation Multiracials (Bratter 2007; Morning & Saperstein 2018) would suggest I would find few respondents racial categorize themselves as Multiracial and many identifying as the race of their parental overlap (White for those with a monoracial White parent and Black for those with a Monoracial Black parent) more frequently. However, Multiracial is the modal racial categorization for second-generation Multiracials with monoracial White parents. While Black is the predominant identification for those with a Monoracial Black parent, more identify as Multiracial then previous studies would suggest. This may point to a Multiracial dividend effect (Curington et al. 2015) where Multiracial is a preferred identity status.

Article two examines a second facet of racial identity: reflected race, or what racial group Multiracials are perceived as by outsiders. Through looking at second-generation Multiracials' reflected race, I find a shifting legacy of hypodescent where it applies to some Multiracials and in some contexts, but not others. If hypodescent still created a broad phenotypic understanding of Blackness, we would expect all respondents

to receive Black reflected appraisals. However, Black reflected race are much less common for those with one White parent than those with one Black parent. Multiracials with a Black parent may receive contrasting reflected appraisals as Black from White racial group members and as Multiracial from Black peers, particularly if they were raised in a predominately Black area. Multiracials with a White parent may be seen as White by White peers based on their appearance, but then accepted as Multiracial or Black by Black peers once they disclose their racial background. For members of this group, White racial group members may consider them Black or White depending on the context. By looking at second-generation Multiracials, a group historically received reflected appraisals exclusively as Black but now often receives reflected appraisals as non-Black, this data indicates where racial boundaries may be shifting.

When a Multiracial person's reflected appraisal and racial identity conflict, racial imposter syndrome may occur. Article three theorizes this phenomenon of racial imposter syndrome, or feeling like a racial fraud. I define racial imposter syndrome as persistent self-doubt or anxiety connected to one's racial identity or authenticity, and as feeling fraudulent even when receiving racial acceptance. I find feeling inauthentic in one's racial identity is most common for those with essentialist or biological constructions of racial categories and those whose phenotype is not prototypical of their selected racial identity. I also find that this phenomenon occurs more often in those with a monoracial White parent than those with a monoracial Black parent. I argue racial imposter syndrome is an important element for understanding racial identity and group boundaries as examining why someone feels that they do not belong in their chosen racial group

informs us about the meanings people assign to racial groups and the boundaries they perceive around them.

One implication of this research is that generational status must be considered when examining the experiences of Black-White Multiracials: Article 1 reveals an increase in Multiracial categorization; Article 2 indicates less exclusive Black reflected race; Article 3 illuminates how racial imposter syndrome can arise from not being in the first-generation of racial mixing. A second implication is the importance of separating parental racial background. Racial categorization, reflected race, and racial imposter syndrome patterns differ based on if the Multiracial respondent has a Black or White monoracial parent. Finally, this work has implications for potential shifting racial boundaries. That those with a monoracial White parent are primarily viewed as White (Article 2) and develop racial imposter syndrome when they do not identify as White because they perceive they are expected to (Article 3) demonstrates that the White boundary may be widening to accept them as in-group members. However, Article 1 shows that many of these individuals actively reject this identification. This work also shows that while those with a monoracial Black parent perceive access to Blackness, individuals with a monoracial White parent do not perceive access to an authentic Black identity.

ARTICLE 1: "IT'S SEXY TO NOT BE WHITE:" RACIAL CATEGORIZATION CHOICES IN SECOND-GENERATION BLACK-WHITE MULTIRACIALS

INTRODUCTION

As the number of Multiracial individuals has increased, scholars have hypothesized where they will be positioned in the social terrain in the future. While some researchers do not believe that diversification of the United States will transform the Black-White divide (BoBo 2004), others have used Multiracial identification choices to assess how Multiracials may destabilize the United States racial hierarchy. However, most of this research on Multiracials is limited to those within the first-generation of racial mixing. This article expands sociological knowledge of where Multiracials are located on the United States' social terrain through focusing on second-generation Multiracials' racial categorization choices and how salient their racial identity is through looking at the variation in meanings of racial groups.

Some previous research has suggested the identity patterns of first-generation Multiracials indicate a shift to a Black/non-Black divide where Black racial group members continue to be marginalized and "experience chronic alienation and powerlessness in the social order" (O'Brien 2008: 12). This research argues that non-Black racial groups are able to increase their racial status in a way that Black Multiracials cannot based of findings that White-Black Multiracials have lower identification rates as Multiracial or White than other Multiracial groups that (Waters 1999; Bean & Stevens 2003; Qian 2004; Gallagher 2004; Yancey 2006; Lee & Bean 2007). To understand if this projected divide is occurring, we cannot limit the analysis to those within the first-

generation of racial mixing and need to look at the children of Multiracials, or second-generation Multiracials (Song 2017).

Other scholars argue that the United States is entering a tri-racial hierarchy with a widening White group, an Honorary White middle ground that approximates the privileges of Whiteness, and a collective Black category of darker-skinned minorities (Bonilla-Silva 2004; Horton 2006; Bonilla-Silva and Embrick 2006). Some researchers consider the growing number of Black-White Multiracials who identify as Multiracial instead of exclusively as Black to indicate a weakening of the one-drop rule (Roth 2005; Campbell 2006) and an indication of Multiracials not entering what Bonilla-Silva (2004) refers to as the collective Black. Bonilla-Silva (2007) suggests most Multiracials will fall into the Honorary White Category and some lighter-skinned Multiracials will be in the White group.

Understanding if Multiracials will join a White, Honorary White or collective Black status requires looking at the identification choices of Multiracials of different generational statuses and phenotype, while also understanding the meanings they associate to different identities. Currently, theorists hypothesize Multiracial identification in two main ways. Some interpret Multiracial as a minority identity and therefore see the one-drop rule as still salient, while others view Multiracial as a non-Black identity and therefore refuting the one-drop rule (Brunsma & Rockquemore 2002; Campbell 2006). How Multiracials make meaning of this identity is an important consideration, but has not yet been explored. Whether or not Multiracials consider Multiracial to be a Black or non-White identity will inform the debate on this divide.

Through 99 interviews of second-generation Black-White Multiracials, I find that many identify as Multiracial, more than literature would expect. Multiracial is the modal response for those with a Monoracial White parent. While Black is the predominant identification for those with a Monoracial Black parent, more identify as Multiracial then previous studies would suggest. This may point to a Multiracial dividend effect where Multiracial is considered to be more socially desirable than other racial groups (Joseph 2013) and a preferred identity status for Multiracials over White or Black (Curington et al. 2015). To understand why Multiracials may prefer a Multiracial identity and if there is something gained by identifying as Multiracial, I include a discussion of the meanings Multiracials give to racial groups.

THEORY

Identity Patterns

One conceptual framework to answer where Multiracials are on the United States social terrain is through examining the patterns of racial identification. I take an ecological approach to analyzing the racial identity development of second-generation Multiracials. Originated with Root (1992), this theoretical approach has been the most common used by scholars of Multiraciality over the last two decades (Sanchez, Shih, Wilton 2014). In contrast to other theoretical approaches, the ecological approach allows for multiple racial identity options available to Multiracials, rather than concluding that there is only one ideal racial identity outcome for Multiracials (Root 1992). This ecological approach also allows more focus on the contextual factors than only the identity outcome (Rockquemore 1999). This approach also incorporates notions of

privilege and oppression by paying attention to individuals' perceived impact of larger

social and political contexts in how identity is experienced (Rockquemore 1998).

An ecological approach is preferable for a multitude of reasons. First, the

approach considers racial identity formation to be dynamic, or unable to be fit in a stage

model of linear progression to a healthy identity. It also treats racial identity as context-

bound, including the potential for fluidity of racial identification or having multiple,

different racial identities depending on the context (Rockquemore 1999). This approach

is informed by intersectionality theory, acknowledging the the various interactions of

multiple factors and their differing effects at particular moments in a Multiracial person's

life (Wijeysinghe & Jackson 2012).

Rather than promote one identity choice over another, the ecological approach

allows for the possibility for Multiracials to hold different racial identities depending on

the situation (eg. Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002; Hitlin, Brown & Elders 2006). It

also allows for Multiracials to not identify with a racial group at all (eg. Daniel 2001). In

using this approach, I am assuming that there is not an ideal racial identity outcome for

Multiracials, and that identity development is neither predictable nor linear.

Rockquemore's (1998) patterns of ideal types are frequently used typology in

assessing racial identity options: a singular **monoracial identity** refers to those who

identify either as exclusively Black or exclusively White. Many Multiracial people still

identify as only one race (Herman 2004; Campbell 2007). The **transcendent identity**

consists of people who do not select, or rather "transcend" a racial categorization. People

who shift between identifying as Black, White, and Multiracial are labeled as having a **protean identity,** also referred to as a "chameleon" racial identity (Choudhry 2010), a "malleable" racial identity (Sanchez, Shih, & Garcia 2009), or a "situational" identity (Rockquemore 1998). Those who identify exclusively as Multiracial are termed to have a **border identity** (Rockquemore 1998). Rockquemore and Brunsma (2001) have since revisited these options and separated border identity into **validated** and **unvalidated** border identities due to the interactional process of identity formation. Validated refers to those who identify as Multiracial and believe they experience the world as a Multiracial person. Unvalidated refers to Multiracials who identify as Multiracial but experience the world as a Black person (Rockquemore & Brunsma 2001; Townsend, Markus, & Bergsieker 2009). However, this is limited in applicability for Multiracial groups because it doesn't include those who have unvalidated identities because they experience the world as a White person or those who may have an unvalidated monoracial identity. It also does not acknowledge the different meanings of Multiracial within this category.

Protean was originally conceptualized as the "protean" ability to cross between cultural contexts and boundaries (Lifton 1993; Rockequmore 1998). However, this article argues that there are salient differences between those who switch between Black and Multiracial identities and White and Multiracial identities. Daniel's (1996) rendition of the functional integrative identity is similar to this argument. In the functional integrated identity subtype, individuals identify with both communities but feel a stronger orientation to and acceptance with one racial group. However, this neglects to include individuals within the protean category that do not identify at all with their other racial

group e.g., identify as White and Multiracial, but not at all as Black or as a person of color.

Nevertheless, research limited to these identity patterns is only examining one dimension of identity. Racial group membership is a result of internal and external definitions (Jenkins 1994). As such, Rockquemore, Brunsma and Delgado (2008) have since expanded the ecological theory to shift from a "Multiracial identity" perspective to an "identities of Multiracials" perspective. "Multiracial identity" often is defined as personal identity, but this is limited because it does not encompass all of how identity is operationalized (Brubaker & Cooper 2000). An "identities of Multiracials" approach separates one's personal identity (racial self-concept), from how others perceive the Multiracial person's race (reflected appraisals), with how the individual chooses to identify in different contexts (public racial categorization). Personal identity refers to someone's racial self-concept; they may choose to share this with others or not. The racial category individuals select on forms or how they categorize themselves to others is their racial categorization. How others view someone racially is the reflected appraisal they receive or their racial identification.

Second-Generation Identity Patterns [1]

Hypodescent has historically characterized the racial self-concept, reflected appraisals and public racial categorization of Black-White Multiracials (Hollinger 2003). This "one-drop rule" originated during enslavement where Multiracial children, often the product of rape, were classified as Black to increase the number of enslaved persons and

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[1] Content warning: Rape.

maintain White racial "purity" (Daniel 1996; Davis 1991). For some states, physical

appearance was used to define Blackness (Wright 1995), while others used essentiality

biological measures of having at least one Black great-grandparent[2] (Zach 1993). After

the Civil War, hypodescent was then enacted into federal law. Multiracials who had one

grand parent who was Black (and the rest who were White) were defined as "quadroons"

based primarily on having a more phenotypically White physical appearance than their

first-generation Multiracial counterparts (Higginbotham & Kopytoff 2003; Snipp 2003).

Even after *de jure* hypodescent was outlawed, the one-drop rule's boundaries around

Whiteness have been socially maintained since as a cultural norm (Blassingame 1972;

Jones 2000).

Scholars have just started examining how generational status may impact how

Multiracials categorize themselves racially (for an exception see: Daniel 1992) even

though more Black-White Multiracials are in the second-generation of racial mixing

(15%) than the first-generation (13%) (Morning & Saperstein 2018). Limited qualitative

scholarship in the 1990s that studied the experience of second-generation Multiracials,

often referred to as "multigenerational," felt constrained by intragroup pressure to

categorize themselves as Black (Daniel 1994). Most of the succeeding research on the

growing population of second-generation Multiracials is quantitative. However,

qualitative data is needed in order to understand whether and how the meaning of racial

groups is changing.

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[2] This varied by state. In some states before the Civil War when laws became more restrictive, there are cases of people with a Black grandparent being considered White (Davis 2006).

In one qualitative study, Bratter (2007) found that compared to having two parents of different monoracial groups, having a Multiracial parent decreased the likelihood of identifying a child as Multiracial, with the racial overlap between parents becoming the racial classification of the child. However, in one of the first qualitative studies of classification of Multiracial children by Multiracial parents in the United Kingdom, Song (2017) finds that around 65 % of Multiracial parents said they would label their child as Multiracial depending on the overlap of the parents' racial background, the child's appearance, and how familiar the parents were with their different racial backgrounds. While these studies are helpful in understanding that generational status influences parental identification of children, Multiracial children's personal identity does not always align with how their parents categorize them.

Thus far, only one published study has examined how generational distance may influence self-racial identification. Morning and Saperstein (2018) used the *Pew Survey of Multiracial Adults* to create the first estimates of the generational breakdown of the Multiracial population and found a negative correlation between identifying as Multiracial and generational distance. They found that for Black-White Multiracials 66% in the first-generation identified as more than one race, which is more than double the 31% in the second-generation. However, they did not distinguish between those with a monoracial Black parent and those with a monoracial White parent. It is reasonable to assume that those with one White monoracial parent identify differently than those with one Black parent, whether because of parental racial overlap, phenotype, or a biological

perception of race. My research seeks to address this current gap in the literature by disaggregating Black and White monoracial parents.

DATA AND METHODS
Data Collection

The research questions my study aimed to answer are: how do second-generation Multiracials racially identify (in multiple dimensions of racial identities) and 2) how does this compare between monoracial parents' racial group? To analyze this, I conducted in-depth interviews from 2016-2020 with 99 second-generation Multiracials who had either one Black grandparent and three White grandparents or one White grandparent and three Black grandparents. Of these interviews, 39 respondents have one Black-White parent and one Black parent, and 60 respondents have one Black-White parent and one White parent. This sample of second-generation Multiracials is a significant group to evaluate potentially shifting racial boundaries and meanings of racial groups because Black and White are on opposite ends of the United States racial hierarchy (Waring 2013).

I recruited cases used in this analysis through University classroom visits in the Northeast, posting on various social network sites, and snowball sampling. In an effort to achieve a sample of interviewees that held a range of categorization choices, I avoided language indicating I was recruiting "Multiracial" participants which may have biased my data towards only those who categorize themselves as Multiracial. Instead, I specified I was recruiting volunteers who had one parent who was Black-White and another who was Black or White.

Interviews were an average of an hour, but ranged from 45 minutes to over two hours. I asked a range of open-ended questions on various topics from facing discrimination, being in primarily Black or White contexts, and talking about race with family members and friends. I also asked for the racial composition of their neighborhoods, schools, friend groups, and romantic relationships. Additionally, I inquired how salient the respondent's race was to their sense of self, how frequently they considered their race and in what contexts they thought of it.

I delineated racial identity in three ways in my data collection: public racial categorization, racial self-concept, and reflected appraisals (Harris and Sim 2002; Brunsma 2005; Khanna 2010). This ensured that I would not be using racial identity as an all-inclusive concept that ignored one facet in preference of another.

This article focuses on public categorization, or the racial category or categories a person identifies themselves as when asked on a form or by an individual for their racial identity (Brunsma 2005). I asked respondents how they categorize themselves on formal documentation and to strangers or peers to assess public categorization. Often, interviewees gave consistent categorizations between individuals and formal documentation. Though, sometimes Multiracial respondents would categorize themselves as one race on documentation and another way to individuals. When this occurred, I listed two races. I also listed two races when the respondent would between racial groups.

I used "Multiracial" for as a term for individuals who had some version of Multiracial such as "biracial," "mixed," "a quarter White/Black," "half-White/Black," "quadroon[3]."

In order to assess reflected appraisals, I first asked respondents how they believe others classify them racially. Next, I asked each respondent to describe which of their phenotypic features they believe individuals use to code them as a specific racial group. Additionally, I wrote my perceptions of the phenotypic appearance of the interviewee.

For racial self-concept, I used a range of open-ended questions to examine their internal racial identity. This included questions on how close they feel to Black peers, White peers and Multiracial peers and if they feel a stronger sense of belonging with one group more than the others. I asked how strongly they identified as Black, White and Multiracial and to include explanations for their answer. I also asked them directly for their internal racial identity. Some respondents elected not to choose a race, instead saying they identify as "American" or a "human." For these individuals, I used Rockquemore's (1998) term "transcendent" because they "transcend," a racial categorization (Rockquemore 1998). If a respondent shifted between racial groups, I included multiple races.

Data Analysis

I created memos after each interview (Charmaz 2006) in order to take a paradigmatic approach where I could look for similarities throughout the interviews (Polkinghorne 1995). Next, I produced numerous themes through thematic coding. Then,

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[3] Three respondents use quadroon as their preferred categorization (one has 'quadroon' tattooed on them), although the term has not been commonplace for over a century (Higginbotham & Kopytoff 2003).

I put the transcripts in Nvivo so I could use line-by-line coding to interpret the data (Strauss and Corbin 1990) and group the themes (Roulston 2010). I found four key themes: (a) phenotype, (b) racial categorization, (c) definitions of racial groups, (d) racial self-concept. Table 1 and Table 2 break down key demographics.

Table 1. Multiracials with Monoracial White Parent Key Demographics

Name	Sex	Age	SES	Education	Region of Origin	White Mother	Predominately White High School	Live with Black Parent
Alyssa	F	21	Middle	Some	W	Yes	Yes	Yes
Andrew	M	28	Middle	BA	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Ashley	F	18	Working	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ava	F	28	Poor	BA	W	Yes	Yes	No
Baker	M	25	Middle	BA	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Betty	F	30	Upper	PhD	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Brandon	M	18	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Brooklyn	F	18	Working	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Bryan	M	20	Upper Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Caitlyn	F	30	Poor	BA	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Cara	F	19	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Charlotte	F	25	Upper Middle	Some Graduate	W	No	Yes	Yes
Chastity	F	18	Lower Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes

Chelsea	F	21	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	No
Claire	F	22	Lower Middle	BA	S	No	Yes	Yes
Cole	M	18	Upper Middle	Some	NE	No	No	Yes
Conor	M	19	Upper Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Dawn	F	21	Upper	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Derek	M	30	Poor	BA	S	No	Yes	Yes
Diamond	F	24	Working	BA	W	Yes	Yes	No
Emily	F	20	Upper	Some	W	Yes	Yes	No
Emma	F	29	Lower middle	Grad	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ethan	M	18	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Finn	M	27	Lower Middle	Some	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Garret	M	19	Lower Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hannah	F	18	Working	Some	S	Yes	Yes	No
Jake	M	23	Middle	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jayla	F	27	Upper	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jonathan	M	30	Upper Middle	BA	S	No	No	Yes
Joseph	M	21	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Katie	F	21	Upper Middle	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kayla	F	24	Middle	College	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Kendra	F	20	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kevin	M	21	Middle	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lexus	F	28	Working	Some	S	No	No	No
Lia	F	25	Middle	Graduate	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Liz	F	26	Upper	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lydia	F	28	Upper	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Mark	M	30	Upper	College	NE	Yes	No	No
Martin	M	21	Upper	Some	S	Yes	No	No
Matthew	M	18	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Max	M	20	Upper	College	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Megan	F	18	Upper	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Michael	M	18	Upper Middle	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Naomi	F	19	Middle	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nathan	M	27	Lower Middle	Graduate	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Nicole	F	20	Working	Some	MW	Yes	No	No
Octavia	F	19	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Olive	F	24	Poor	BA	W	Yes	No	Yes
Patricia	F	18	Lower Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Penelope	F	26	Middle	BA	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Robin	F	20	Upper Middle	Some	W	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sandra	F	30	Poor	College	NE	No	No	Yes

Name	Sex	Age	SES	Educa-	Region	Black/	Predo	Live
Sarah	F	19	Upper Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Savannah	F	20	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Stephen	M	24	Middle	BA	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Suraya	F	23	Poor	BA	MW	No	Yes	No
Tara	F	29	Upper	Grad	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Tina	F	27	Lower Middle	BA	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Triston	M	20	Upper	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Victoria	F	19	Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes

Table 2. Multiracials with a Monoracial Black Parent Key Demographics

Name	Sex	Age	SES	Educa-	Region of	Black/ White	Predo minate	Live with

				tion	Origin	mother	-ly White High School	biracial parent
Ace	M	20	Middle	Some	NE	No	No	Yes
Amaya	F	30	Upper Middle	Grad	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Angela	F	27	Working	Grad	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
April	F	27	Middle	Grad	S	Yes	No	Yes
Asia	F	18	Upper Middle	Some	W	Yes	Yes	Yes
Bale	M	19	Upper	Some	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Brittany	F	24	Working	College	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Candice	F	30	Upper Middle	College	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Corbin	M	19	Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Damien	M	20	Upper Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	No
Daris	M	18	Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Destiny	F	18	Working	Some	S	No	No	Yes
Doug	M	18	Upper Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Earl	M	26	Upper	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Ellen	F	28	Upper	College	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Evelyn	F	25	Middle	College	NE	No	No	No
Giselle	F	18	Upper	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Imani	F	23	Poor	College	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Isabella	F	24	Middle	College	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Janelle	F	19	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Jeremy	M	20	Upper Middle	Some	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Joanna	F	28	Upper	Grad	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jocelyn	F	19	Working	Some	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Keanna	F	26	Working	Grad	MW	Yes	No	Yes
Laronnd-a	F	22	Working	College	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lysate	F	28	Middle	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Malik	M	20	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Mallory	F	21	Working	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Marcus	M	29	Working	College	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Monique	F	22	Upper	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Morgan	F	27	Working	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Ron	M	28	Working	Grad	S	Yes	No	Yes
Sadie	F	27	Working	Grad	SE	No	No	Yes
Silas	M	21	Lower Middle	Some	MW	No	No	Yes
Will	M	30	Middle	Grad	S	Yes	Yes	No
Tayller	F	24	Upper Middle	BA	NE	No	Yes	No
Willow	F	29	Lower Middle	Grad	S	Yes	No	Yes
Vera	F	26	Upper Middle	Grad	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Violet	F	27	Upper Middle	BA	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes

In an effort to control for cohort differences, I narrowed my sample to individuals between 18-30 years old. Each respondent has some college education or has earned an

advanced degree, with most of them attending Predominately White Institutions. Most of those with a monoracial White parent attended a predominately White high school, while only half the sample of those with a monoracial Black parent did. Overall, the respondents skew middle and upper class for both groups, which could be anticipated because of the recruitment focus on college and university campuses. While a majority of respondents currently live in the Northeast, there is some variation in the regions of the United States where they were raised, with many of those with a monoracial Black parent growing up in the south. Most of the respondents grew up with their Multiracial Black-White parent.

Table 3 describes respondents' public racial categorization, racial self-concept, and reflected appraisals for those with a monoracial White parent, and Table 4 depicts this for those with monoracial Black parents.

Table 3. Multiracials with a Monoracial White Parent Identity Patterns

Name	Public Categorization to Others	Internal Self-Concept	External Perception: Reflected Appraisals
Alyssa	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Andrew	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Ashley	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Ava	Multiracial	Multiracial	Part-Black; White
Baker	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Betty	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Brandon	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White

Brooklyn	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Bryan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Caitlyn	White; Multiracial	White; Multiracial	White
Cara	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Charlotte	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous
Chastity	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Chelsea	White	White; Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Claire	Multiracial	White; Multiracial	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous
Cole	White; Multiracial	Transcendent	Ambiguous; White
Conor	Multiracial; Black	Transcendent	White
Dawn	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Derek	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Diamond	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Emily	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Emma	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Ethan	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Garret	White; Multiracial	White; Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Hannah	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous
Jake	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Jayla	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Jonathan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Joseph	Black	Black	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous

Katie	Multiracial	Multiracial; Black	Ambiguous; White
Kayla	Multiracial	Multiracial; Black	Ambiguous; White
Kendra	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Kevin	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Lexus	Hispanic	Hispanic	Ambiguous; White
Lia	Multiracial; Black	Multiracial; Black	White
Liz	White	White	White
Lydia	Multiracial	Multiracial	White; Ambiguous; Black
Mark	Black	Black; Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Martin	Black	Black	White
Matthew	Multiracial; Black	Black	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous
Max	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous
Megan	White	White	White
Michael	White; Multiracial	White	White
Naomi	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Nathan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Nicole	Multiracial; Black	Black	White
Octavia	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Olive	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Patricia	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Penelope	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Robin	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White

Sandra	White	Multiracial	White
Sarah	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Savannah	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Stephen	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Suraya	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; Hispanic; White
Tara	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Tina	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Triston	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Victoria	Multiracial	Multiracial	White

Table 4. Multiracials with Monoracial Black Parent Identity Patterns

Name	Public Categorization	Internal Self-Concept	External Perception: Reflected Appraisals
Ace	Black; Multiracial	Multiracial; Black; Jamaican	Black; Part-Black
Amaya	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous Non-Black
Angela	Black	Black	Dominican; Black
April	Black	Black	Ambiguous; Part-Black
Asia	Black	Black	Black
Bale	Black	Black	Black
Brittany	Multiracial	Multiracial	White; Ambiguous; Black
Candice	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Corbin	Black; Multiracial	Multiracial	Black; Ambiguous
Damien	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; Part-Black; Black
Daris	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black; Multiracial
Destiny	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black
Doug	Black	Black	Black
Earl	Black	Black	Black
Ellen	Black	Black	Ambiguous; Part-Black
Evelyn	Black; Multiracial	Black; Multiracial	Ambiguous; Black

Gizelle	Black	Black	Black
Imani	Multiracial	Biracial Caribbean	Ambiguous; Black
Isabella	Black	Black; Multiracial	White; Ambiguous
Janelle	Black	Black	Black
Jeremy	Black; Multiracial	Multiracial	Part-Black; Ambiguous
Joanna	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Jocelyn	Black	Black	Black
Keanna	Black	Black	Black
Laronnda	Black	Black	Black
Lisette	Black	Black	Ambiguous
Malik	Black	Black	Black; Dominican
Mallory	Multiracial; Prefer Not to Respond; Black	Transcendent	Black; Ambiguous
Marcus	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Monique	Black	Black	Black
Morgan	Black	Black	Black; part-Black
Ron	Black	Black	Black
Sadie	Black	Black	Ambiguous; Part-Black
Silas	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black; Ambiguous
Will	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black
Tayller	Multiracial; Black	Multiracial	Part-Black

Willow	Black	Black	Black
Vera	Multiracial; Black	Multiracial	Part-Black
Violet	Black	Black	Black

While there is variation in how Multiracials in this sample believe outsiders racially perceive them: most (52) of those with a monoracial White parent mention (52) instances where they were confused as a White racial group member. Twenty-six respondents indicate others consistently identify them as White racial group members. Of those with a monoracial Black parent, none are seen consistently as White and four are sometimes considered White.

Quantitative data on second-generation Multiracials (Bratter 2007; Morning & Saperstein 2018) would suggest these respondents would identify as Multiracial less and their parental overlap (White for those with a monoracial White parent and Black for those with a Monoracial Black parent) more frequently. While this is true for those with a monoracial Black parent in terms of exclusive Black identities, over a third (16) identify as Multiracial sometimes. Identifying with parental overlap does not hold true for those with a monoracial White parent: only four identify exclusively as White, and a majority of respondents (37) identify exclusively as Multiracial. Understanding why a Multiracial identification is so prevalent necessitates examining how individuals perceive inclusion and exclusion within racial groups.

FINDINGS

To my knowledge, there has yet to be a study on how second-generation Black-White Multiracials racially identify that examines the implications of parental racial background. I find differences between the identification of second generation Multiracials who have a White monoracial parent and those who have a Black monoracial parent, as visible in Table 5. These data demonstrate the need to separate parental racial background when examining generational status. I also find higher amounts of identification as Multiracial than previous quantitative studies examining second-generation Multiracials.

Table 5. Racial Categorization by Parental Racial Background

	White	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Black; Multiracial	Black	Total
Monoracial Black Parent	0	0	9	7	23	39
Monoracial White Parent	4	10	37	4	5	60
Total	4	10	46	11	28	99

Below I discuss the difference in Black, White, Multiracial racial categorization between second-generation Multiracials with a Black monoracial parent and a White monoracial parent. Within the discussion, I use interviewee data to hypothesize why Black categorization is higher for respondents with a monoracial Black parent, why White categorization is low for both groups and why Multiracial categorization is highest for those with a monoracial White parent.

Black Categorization

The Multiracials I interviewed with a monoracial Black parent identified exclusively as Black or Black and Multiracial at a greater proportion than those with a monoracial White parent. The modal racial categorization for those with a monoracial Black parent was Black. Well over half of respondents exclusively identified as Black (23/39) and over ¾ths of respondents (30/39) sometimes or always identified as Black. This is a stark difference to the less than 1/10th of those with a monoracial White parent who identify as Black exclusively (5/60), and 9/60 of those who do at least sometimes. Below I discuss how individuals with a monoracial White parent suggest their non-Black phenotype prohibits access from categorizing themselves as Black because they do not confront the extent of material discrimination that dark-skin Black people face. Then I argue that the race of the monoracial parent influences perceptions of the anti-Black discrimination that Multiracials encountered.

Anti-Black Discrimination

For some, a Black identity is connected to skin-tone, where dark-skin is considered "authentically Black" (Williamson 1980). Most of those with a monoracial White parent who do not identify as Black point to their phenotype, particularly because their appearance shields them from anti-Black discrimination. Claire says,

> [I have] dark skin, but not so dark that in White situations people are uncomfortable around me…. I'm not Black in terms of how I've been treated. I'm not going to face the same injustices that Black people face so it would be appropriating if I only identified as Black.

Not having to encounter as frequent and as extreme forms of anti-Black racism was mentioned by most respondents for why they do not identify as Black. This is true,

even when they have recounted multiple experiences where they experienced anti-Black racism either because someone knew their familial background or because someone coded them as Black. Suraya, who cried earlier in the interview from remembering a high school teacher's microaggression, notices this coding as she shares how she constructs her multiracial identity.

> I've thought about what race means a lot, a ton, and I'm like, is it an experience? In which case, I'm super-duper White. Like I can't say that I feel like I've been the victim of racial brush and even though [pauses] I'm just thinking of the things that I've described to you. [Pauses.] That would count, but when I think of so much worse things like the people who are very obviously Black with dark skin have gone through that I haven't because I can pass physically – so, it's actually experience – like I just feel like I've lived this very White life.

The privileges of looking ambiguous or White lead many to believe they cannot hold an authentic Black identity because an authentic Black experience is considered one with frequent discrimination (Daniel 1992; Mercer 2000). The lack of phenotypic access to identifying as Black holds true for those who express desire for identifying as Black. Katie shares:

> Being Black is the best thing about me. I just don't want to get into a long complicated thing every day about my identity and if I identify as Black. I don't want to have to have a conversation explaining that I'm part Black, or that my dad's Black, so I just say I'm Biracial. I'm not going to get older and look Blacker. When your phenotype doesn't match your soul, that's being Biracial.

Identity of Monoracial Parent

How a Multiracial categorizes themselves racially is significant because it creates or severs opportunities for belonging (Bettez 2010). Whereas no one with a monoracial Black parent identified not at all as Black, some with a White parent reported not feeling at all close to Blackness. Within those with a White parent, some who identified somewhat with Blackness expressed feeling guilt for identifying with Black when their

51

lived experience was White. This emotional labor was not seen in those with a

monoracial Black parent regardless of whether they had a non-Black phenotype.

Some of those with a monoracial Black parent who identify as Black do not comment on their phenotype. Instead, many respondents express their identity as Black as a given, demonstrating assumed phenotypic access. Many point to having two Black parents for why they identify as Black. Earl, who has a monoracial Black parent, says:

It's just the idea that both my parents are Black, and I think that's just kind of the perspective I had when I was growing up. It didn't really seem like I was somebody who was Mixed Race or Biracial…my dad's Black, my granddad's Black, my mom's dad is Black, so I think I just had a ton of African American men in my life and that just made it easy to identify that way, whereas it just my mom's mom, who is from the Barbados and is White so that just seems like always smaller thing that I didn't really think it had an effect on me. So, it just was, I just think I just saw that as I have Black parents, I'm Black, that's how I'm going to see myself.

While those with a monoracial White parent saw not encountering discrimination as a barrier to identifying as Black, those with a monoracial Black parent also draw on experiences with discrimination for why they identify as Black. However, not everyone who identifies as Black or who faces discrimination is viewed by others exclusively as Black. For instance, Candice, who says she is "inadvertently passing" every time she leaves the house, shared a story to explain why she identifies as Black very strongly:

I mean honestly, I feel like – and it's so horrible - but I feel like every time someone has called me the 'N' word, I mean it happened out in front of our house, by some kids in the neighborhood, I mean every time it's happened, my first thought was like, I always think about the people who have mistreated us, or made assumptions that life is so much easier for light-skinned people, and I

always think, "If this doesn't make me Black, I don't know what does." You know this skin of mine that people think carries so much privilege – and I'm sure it does, but this skin does not shield me from the sting of that word.... I've just always had a very strong sense of the fact that I am Black and also a strong awareness of that the world is not going to perceive me as Black or appreciate the fact that I am Black. I still feel that way.

Candice and Suraya have similar phenotypes, but their monoracial parents have different racial backgrounds. Candice cited her experiences with discrimination as validating her Black identity. Suraya recounted more instances of discrimination throughout the interview, yet viewed it as outliers to her primarily White coding. While most respondents with a monoracial White parent also draw on non-Black reflected appraisals for mediating their identification with Blackness, those with a monoracial Black parent mention their light-skin privilege and reflected appraisals that are sometimes not-Black, yet still identify as Black. This suggests it is not just phenotype but also generational status, and parental racial background, that matters.

White Categorization

The difference between individuals with a monoracial White parent and a monoracial Black parent are most apparent in categorization as White. No individuals with a monoracial Black parent categorized themselves as White. Notably, almost a quarter (14/60) of respondents with a monoracial White parent categorized themselves as White exclusively or some of the time. Below I discuss how those with a monoracial Black parent do not perceive phenotypic access to a White identity. Then I highlight why individuals with a monoracial White parent who have phenotypic access reject White identities because of a stigma associated with Whiteness.

A recent trend in research on White identity has shifted from the emphasis on invisibility and privilege to a focus on Whiteness as a situated, complex social identity whose meaning is imparted by the particular context in which actors are located (Mcdermott & Sampson 2005). This is highlighted in Multiracials who alternate between White and non-White identities (Rockquemore & Brunsuma 2002). Significantly, no Multiracials with a monoracial Black parent identified as White at any time during my interviews. Jeremy summarizes the main explanations as to why:

> "Just because,1. I'm definitely not White passing, and 2. I mean, I didn't get the benefits of being White, and I wasn't treated like I was White."

While many respondents say they do not have as much in common with their White peers compared to their Black counterparts, those who feel connected to White racial group members still do not identify as White. Joanna shares:

> "Even though I may connect with them [White people] more often socially, they're still to me and I'm sure to them too, a very clear difference because I'm obviously not White no matter how much we connect or may have things in common."

Joanna sharing that she is "obviously not White," reiterates a phenotypic divide between her and her White friends. Although those with a monoracial White parent may have more phenotypic access, of the 60 respondents with a monoracial White parent, only four exclusively identified as White. This is less than literature would predict due to phenotype, privileges of Whiteness, and parental overlap.

Some do not identify as White because they construct White as an unmarked identity (Feagin & Sikes 1994) with any Black racial background as precluding membership (Harris 1993). Ashley who has blonde hair and blue eyes said:

"I'm not White. When I think of 'White,' I think of someone who is 100% from Germany... When I got my ancestry test results back it said I was only 13% African, but somebody who is White is like my boyfriend, who just had a bunch of different European things."

Although Ashley may have phenotypic access, she doesn't identify as White because she employs a definition of White purity. While some utilized the one-drop rule for their boundaries around White, others rejected an identity as White because of a stigmatization of Whiteness. Lia, who identifies as a Multiracial Person of Color shared:

Even though I look very White, I've never identified as White. My [Black-White] father always said, 'Nothing good ever came from identifying as White'."

Lia acknowledges she has had access to Whiteness from her phenotype and even suggests her identifying as White would be a probable assumption based on reflected appraisals. Still, she received socialization from her Multiracial parent of White as an undesirable status. Thus, she reverses the dominant appraisal as White as a preferred identity option because of the historical stigma of Whiteness in families of color. The positive rearticulating of a non-White identity is consistent with work on the racial socialization of parental messages of racial pride within Black families (Lesane-Brown et al. 2010). These findings provide further evidence that suggest White identities are not

necessarily preferred for part-Black people (Storrs 1999; Khanna & Johnson 2010),

indicating a trend away from White identities for part-White Multiracials.

Multiracial Categorization

Curington et al. (2015) coined the phrase "Multiracial dividend effect" to refer to

the phenomenon of Multiracials being preferred to White and non-White monoracial

online daters. I use "Multiracial dividend effect" to imply Multiraciality has an elevated

status, partially resulting from external desirability and perceived cachet. The Multiracial

dividend effect in identity choices would be individuals selecting Multiracial more than

monoracial identity options.

Below I discuss how these findings may point to a Multiracial dividend effect.

First I find that including individuals who switch between multiple racial categories

indicates higher rates of Multiracial categorizations. Then I discuss why individuals say

they identify as Multiracial: exclusion from other racial groups and external desirability.

Switching

Within those with a monoracial Black parent, almost a quarter (9/39) categorized

themselves as Multiracial exclusively. When I include those who switched between

Multiracial and Black, this jumps to over 4 out of every 10 responses (16/39). My data is

higher than Morning and Saperstein's (2018) findings of around 30% of second-

generation Multiracials identifying as more than one race. This suggests that quantitative

research estimating the size of the Multiracial-identified population may be

underestimating it through only capturing one specific time, rather than in this study,

which shows that many Multiracial respondents switch back and forth between Black and Multiracial.

Just as those with a monoracial Black parent, including those who switch between a Multiracial and another identity drastically increases the amount of Multiracial identifications: 51 out of 60 identified as Multiracial at least some of the time. For those with a monoracial White parent, 37 out of 60 identified exclusively as Multiracial, which looks more similar to Morning and Saperstein's (2018) finding of first-generation Multiracials identifying as more than one race 65% of the time. It could be that many, while not all, of the Multiracial parents identify as Black. Therefore, those with a monoracial Black parent often have two Black identified parents and are socialized as Black (although not all of them keep this identity into adulthood). For instance, Asia, who has a monoracial Black parent says she identifies very little as Multiracial, "'because I don't consider my [Multiracial] mom to be White, but then I also I'm aware of the fact that there is a significant portion of me that's Caucasian."

On the other hand, those with a monoracial White parent may have a Black- and a White-identified parent. Therefore, these respondents identify as the product of an interracial union and as such, identify as Multiracial. This could be why those with a monoracial White parent more closely resemble the patterns of first-generation Multiracials in high Multiracial identifications. For instance, Cole says: "I always put African and White. That's just the truth."

Exclusion

57

Many suggest that they identify with Multiracial because they feel more closely connected with Multiracial people or they feel excluded from both Black and White groups. Daris says he identifies strongly as Multiracial because:

"…On one hand, you got White people, they're like, "Oh, you see, no, he's a Black kid." And then you got Black people, they're like, "Yeah, he's a mixed kid, he's got ties with the White community." So, it's definitely a feeling of like, "Hmm, not quite belonging here." So, I would say that was the main thing that would define me as an individual."

Imani, who also has a monoracial Black parent, says this dual exclusion is what connects Multiracials to each other.

"…It's kind of like the nod that Black people give each other in the street; it's kind of like Biracial people can kind of give the same nod, because it's like we don't feel like we fit in with White people and we don't feel like we fit in with Black people. White people for sure know we ain't White. And Black people, some of them accept us, and then some are kind of more harsher to us. It's like you can't win."

This construction of Multiracial as exclusion from both groups is repeated throughout interviews of people with a monoracial Black parent who identify as Multiracial.

External Desirability
In addition to perceiving Multiracial as best representing their multiple racial backgrounds, some respondents with a monoracial White parent share that their Multiracial identity was developed at a young age through either having multiple cultures within the home or through direct conversations. Lydia shares,

"My mom, so this was maybe around third or fourth grade and around this time there is this whole idea of the melting pot. So my mom would say things to me and my siblings like, "You all are the changing face of America." And she would say, "One day, everyone is going to be multiracial like you all. You all are truly the changing face of America," she would say."

This connotation of cachet surrounding a Multiracial identity was echoed by some Multiracials as an explanation for they felt more confident in their identification choice as Multiracial. A select few explicitly chose Multiracial for its external desirability. Suraya shares,

"We're at an age where it's cool and sexy to be *something* – it's just cool to be mixed, and it's like sexy to be not White."

While those with a monoracial Black parent describe Multiracial as fetishized throughout their childhood and adolescence, Suraya and other Multiracials with a monoracial White parent, describe a shift to Multiracial being exoticized only in their adulthood. This connotation of Multiraciality as attractive and desirable has been demonstrated in various studies (Root 2001; Sims 2012; Waring 2013), but to my knowledge has not been shown in prior studies as a factor for why individuals select a Multiracial identity. While it was not common, this study found some individuals opted into a Multiracial identity due to the external desirability of Multiraciality.

LIMITATIONS

One of the limitations of this research is including only individuals who would elect to talk about their Multiracial background in-depth. Although I made efforts in recruitment to indicate participants who identify monoracially should volunteer, those

who prioritize their Multiracial background were more likely to participate. This likely led to data that had significantly more Multiracial categorizations. Concurrently, it is also probable I would have less monoracially-categorized respondents who attach stigmas to their White or Black racial background; for instance, one interviewee with a monoracial White parent had a relative who fit the demographic requirements of the sample, but the respondent said the relative would never volunteer because she hides her Black racial background.

Additionally, having a sample of all college educated Multiracials may have impacted the findings of this research. First, individuals with a college education are more likely to categorize themselves as Multiracial (Rockquemore & Brunsma 2001; Roth 2005). Second, research on first-generation Multiracial students shows that many of them develop a stronger Black identity in college (Clayton 2020). For those with a Monoracial White parent, this could be toward a Multiracial identity because they do not perceive access to Blackness. Therefore, future research should include Multiracial individuals who did not attend college.

DISCUSSION
This article contributes two main findings to the sociological literature on Multiracial identity. First, Multiracial as a racial categorization does not seem to be declining with generational distance from the first interracial marriage, potentially because of Multiracial holding a preferred identity status. Second, there are significant differences in racial categorization patterns between Multiracials with a monoracial White parent and those with a monoracial Black parent. This finding demonstrates the

need to differentiate between parental racial background when looking at second-generation Multiracials. Scholars have previously found that those in the second-generation of racial mixing are less likely to identify as Multiracial than their first-generation counterparts; however, this study finds that this is not always true. The first key finding is that individuals who have one monoracial Black parent more often identify exclusively as Black, but Multiracials with a monoracial White parent identify as Multiracial more than previous studies of first-generation Multiracials. The second key finding is that low Multiracial categorization patterns for second-generation Multiracials with monoracial Black parent are only visible when not including those who switch between a Black and Multiracial identity.

Moreover, there was a salient difference in identifying as White or Black between those with monoracial White and Black parents, further pointing to the need to disaggregate groups when looking at the role of generational status. That some of those who have a monoracial White parent identify as Black or Black and Multiracial but no Multiracial with a monoracial Black parent identifies as White is significant. This could suggest that boundaries around Whiteness remain robust and highly policed in alignment with the legacy of hypodescent (Liebler 2016). It could also indicate a stigmatization of identifying as White within part-Black individuals (Storrs 1999; Khanna & Johnson 2010).

Another difference is while both describe Black as encountering anti-Black racism, those with a monoracial Black parent point to the times where they experienced racism as to why they are considered Black. Although those with a monoracial White

parent often also have experiences with racism, those are considered "one-off" as opposed to daily occurrences of those with darker skin. This points to a need for research on racial stratification to construct a more multifaceted categorization scheme (Bratter 2018). Thus, while the constructions of Black between some members with monoracial White or monoracial Black parents may have been similar, identification and feelings of being an authentic group member based on encountering discrimination was mediated by the racial identity of the monoracial parent.

Overall, these findings of second-generation Multiracials primarily identifying as Multiracial could suggest that the United States is trending to a tri-racial hierarchy where Honorary White is a middle ground for between an expanding White category and the collective Black, as predicted by Bonilla-Silva (2007). However, this study complicates Bonilla-Silva's (2007) hypothesis in a few ways. First, Bonilla-Silva (2007) suggests some light-skin Multiracials will join the White group, but I find that few Multiracials join the White group. Some who are appraised as White actively reject identifying as White despite having the option, potentially due to the Multiracial dividend.

Second, Bonilla-Silva (2007) suggests most Multiracials will fall into the Honorary White category, neglecting the possibility of Multiracials joining the collective Black. This is partially because often within academic research and society, Multiracials are non-critically assumed to be of a lighter-skin complexion (Davis 2010; Herring, Keith & Horton 2004), and that anyone with dark-skin is monoracial (Strmic-Pawl 2014). However, this research shows some Multiracials with a monoracial Black parent who have dark-skin identify as Multiracial and many with light-skin identify as Black.

CONCLUSION

I find that Multiracial categorizations do not decline in the second-generation of racial mixing, particularly for individuals with a White monoracial parent who are more likely than first-generation Multiracials to identify as Multiracial. This article reveals much is still to be learned in investigating the how generational status interacts with important factors contributing to identity like phenotype, experiences with discrimination, and parental socialization. Future research should look at the correlation between frequency of encountering discrimination and identifying as Black for second-generation Multiracials. A deeper understanding of the meanings Multiracials make of their identity and the barriers they perceive around racial groups will allow a more complete analysis of the shifting racial hierarchy, where Multiracials fit into the racial configuration, and how they may be changing racial boundaries. While this article shows that the race of the monoracial parent is a significant mediating factor in racial categorization choice, future research should include individuals with two Multiracial parents in order to obtain a fuller understanding of the role of parental race and assess the range of second-generation Multiracial experiences.

ARTICLE 2: "IT FEELS NICE TO BE SEEN FOR WHO I AM:" REFLECTED RACE IN BLACK-WHITE SECOND-GENERATION MULTIRACIALS

INTRODUCTION

Hypodescent is the categorization of a person with more than one racial background according to whichever race is deemed of lower status (Hollinger 2003). Often conflated, the "one-drop rule" is a form of hypodescent where any amount of Black racial background or "drop of Black blood" categorizes an individual as Black (Hickman 1997, 1163). The one-drop rule has historically characterized the racial classification and identity of Black-White Multiracials (Davis 1991). This "one-drop rule" was created during enslavement when Multiracial children, often the products of rape, were classified as Black to increase the number of enslaved persons and maintain White racial "purity" (Daniel 1996; Davis 1991).

Even after de jure hypodescent was outlawed, the one-drop rule's boundaries around Whiteness were socially maintained as a cultural norm in order to maintain White supremacy (Blassingame 1972; Jones 2000). Research on first-generation Multiracials have argued that the legacy of hypodescent constructs the social norms surrounding Black phenotypes, creating a broad phenotypic understanding of Black racial group members (Russell et al. 1992; Khanna 2016). This broad phenotypic understanding of Blackness leads to a reflected race, or the race a Multiracial believes they are classified as, of Black. A reflected race of Black may lead to an identity of Black, also known as reflected appraisals or the process of Multiracials developing a racial identity based off of

how they are racially seen by others. However, understanding the legacy of hypodescent in reflected race necessitates looking more closely at the second-generation of racial mixing.

The first study in the 1990s on the experience of the children of Multiracials or second-generation Multiracials found that the rule of hypodescent constrained their identity options and they felt intragroup pressure to identify as Black (Daniel 1994). However, most of the succeeding research on the growing population of second-generation Multiracials focuses on personal identification and does not discuss reflected race, how an individual is racially identified by outsiders, because part-Black Multiracials are often assumed to be viewed by others as Black because of a legacy of hypodescent (Khanna 2012). This growing research on second-generation Multiracials also does not include perceived (in)validation, or if reflected race conflicts/aligns with how a Multiracial person racially identifies themselves. If the role of hypodescent is changing in how Multiracials are viewed by others, it may also lead to more invalidating reflected races and inconsistent reflected appraisals.

Analyzing the reflected races of Multiracials can be used to evaluate the rigidity or permeability of racial boundaries and hypodescent. By looking at second-generation Multiracials with a monoracial White parent, a group who has historically received reflected races and identified as Black but now receives reflected races as non-Black, this data indicates where racial boundaries may be shifting. Including second-generation Multiracials with a Black parent further informs us about the boundaries around

Blackness and of Multiraciality. Incorporating both of these groups provides insight into how generational status interacts with reflected race and reflected appraisals.

If hypodescent created a broad phenotypic understanding of Blackness, we would expect all respondents to receive Black reflected races. However, through in-depth interviews with 99 second-generation Black-White Multiracials, I found a shifting legacy of hypodescent. Overall, my findings suggest Black reflected races are much less common for those with one White parent than those with one Black parent. Multiracials with a Black parent may receive reflected races as Black from White racial group members, but as Multiracial from Black peers, particularly if they were raised in a predominately Black area. Multiracials with a White parent may be seen as White by White peers based on their appearance, but then accepted as Multiracial or Black by Black peers once they disclose their racial background. For members of this group, White racial group members may consider them Black or White depending on the context. This article finds that it is necessary to separate generational status and parental racial background when analyzing reflected races for Multiracials.

THEORY
Reflected Race

Reflected race is how a person believes they are racially categorized by others (Roth 2016). Reflected race pulls from the theory of reflected appraisals which is the idea that racial identiy forms from internalizing how someone believes they are racially seen by others (Sims 2016). Reflected appraisals assumes Multiracials will calibrate their self-identification to resemble how they are racially viewed by others (Russell et al. 1992;

Townsend, Markus, Bergsieker 2009), while reflected race does not assume identity is impacted. Reflected appraisals proposes that others interact with Multiracials based on their appearance as members of certain racial groups. Therefore, in an effort to maintain internal and external consistency, these interactions result in the multiracial person constructing a racial self-concept consistent with others' racialization (Khanna 2004, 2011).

Reflected race includes two distinct yet understudied dimensions: appearance-based and interaction-based (Roth 2016). Appearance-based reflected race is the race someone is categorized as based on phenotype and other noticeable markers like clothing or hairstyle. Interaction-based reflected race is the race someone is categorized with once more information is disclosed after interactions, like details on their family members or statements about their racial background (Roth 2010). Most research that includes reflected race does not distinguish appearance-based from interaction-based (Roth 2016).

Scholars have argued the legacy of hypodescent constructs the social norms surrounding Black phenotypes, which creates a broad phenotypic understanding of Blackness (Russell, Wilson, and Hall 1992; Khanna 2010). For instance, Waters (1996) argued that a non-Black identity, such as multiracial or White, will not be validated by others if the person looks Black, according to dominant social norms (Waters 1996). Subsequently, scholars argued that White phenotypical traits, such as pale skin, blue or green eyes, and straight hair do not conflict with perceptions of Black people (Khanna 2010). However, while it is frequently cited, within multiracial scholarship, that Black-White Multiracials believe others understand them to be Black, these claims are generally limited to samples of first-generation Black-White Multiracials (Townsend, Markus, and

Bergsieker 2009).

Sociologists claim most part-Black Multiracials receive a Black reflected race even while social-psychology experiments that have shown second-generation multiracials receive different reflected races than first-generation multiracials. For instance, Ho et al. (2010) found in multiple experiments that first-generation Multiracials were less likely to be labeled White and more likely to be labeled Black than their second-generation counterparts who had one Black grandparent. In Sanchez, Good, and Chavez's (2010) experiment on blood quantum, they found that, when controlling for phenotype, Multiracials with a monoracial Black parent were more likely to be categorized as Black (than those with a White parent) and considered to have a more prototypically Black experience.

Although the theory of reflected appraisals assumes Multiracials would shift their identity to their presumed race, Saperstein and Penner (2014) found self-identity and interviewer classification impacted racial identification to similar degrees. The researchers suggested the need for future research to develop more comprehensive theories to provide insight into the role of reflected race. Various researchers have answered this call by addressing how Multiracials understand their reflected race. Paragg (2017) found that the external racial gaze is a constant presence for Canadian Multiracials, and they develop "ready narratives" for moments when they are questioned because of their ambiguous appearance. Sims (2016) also found that her US And UK Multiracial respondents from various racial backgrounds would reflect on the race they were considered, sometimes questioning their own identities when it conflicted. This

study furthers this work on meanings through asking: what meanings do second-generation Multiracials attach to their reflected race as Black or non-Black? This article focuses on how reflected race as Black or non-Black interacts with feelings of inclusion and exclusion in other racial groups.

Phenotype and Reflected Race

In a racialized social system, people use various phenotypic characteristics such as skin color, eye shape, hair texture, body type, and lip shape to determine how to racially categorize others (Omi & Winant, 1994). The one-drop rule has always been connected to phenotype. For some states, physical appearance was used to define Blackness (Wright 1995), while others used biological quantitates of having at least one Black great-grandparent[4] (Zach 1993). After the civil war, Multiracials with one grandparent who was Black (and the rest who were White) were defined as "quadroons." This definition was based primarily on having a more phenotypically White physical appearance than their first-generation Multiracial counterparts (Higginbotham & Kopytoff 2003; Snipp 2003).

Skin color is the most commonly used physical characteristic for categorizing someone in racial groups (O'Hearn 1998; Foy et al. 2017). This is true even for monoracial groups. Lighter-skinned Black monoracial individuals are less likely to believe others categorize them as Black, while darker-skinned Black monoracial individuals are more likely to believe people categorize them as Black (Gonlin 2020).

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[4] This varied by state. In some states before the Civil War when laws became more restrictive, there are cases of people with a Black grandparent being considered White (Davis 2006).

Hair texture and hairstyles have also been found to significantly influence how someone is racially perceived (Maclin & Malpass 2001; Khanna & Johnson 2010; Feliciano 2016; Sims, Pirtle, & Johnson-Arnold 2020).

DATA AND METHODS
Data Collection

This article focuses on how second-generation Multiracials are racially perceived by outsiders. The objective is to understand how generational status interacts with reflected race in order to understand if hypodescent still creates a broad phenotypic understanding of Blackness. The research questions addressed by this study were: 1) what reflected race do second-generation Multiracials receive? 2) how do they make meaning of their reflected race and 3) how do their reflected race impact feelings of inclusion and exclusion in other racial groups? To answer these inquiries, I conducted in-depth individual interviews from 2016 to 2020 with 99 second-generation Multiracials who had either one Black grandparent and three White grandparents or one White grandparent and three Black grandparents. Of these interviews, 39 respondents had one Black-White parent and one Black parent, and 60 respondents had one Black-White parent and one White parent. The experiences of second-generation Multiracials are vital to help analyze meanings of racial groups and shift racial parameters, given Black and White designations are completely opposed in the United States racial hierarchy (Waring 2013).

The cases used in this analysis were recruited in the United States using collegiate social networking platforms, classroom visits, and snowball sampling. To acquire a

sample of respondents whose identity decisions varied, subjects were asked to participate if they had one parent who was Black-White and another who was White. I inquired this to the participants, instead of asking they, more broadly, were identified as multiracial.

Respondents were asked open-ended questions regarding overall topics about their interactions with different racial groups, experiences in predominately Black and White settings, experiences with discrimination, race-related discussions at home, racial patterns in friendships and relationships, perceptions of how they are treated racially, and personal identity. They were also asked how often they think about their race, in what situations they do, and how important their race is to their overall identity. The interviews were audio-recorded and each lasted between 45 minutes and 2 hours. They were later transcribed verbatim.

As a measure of reflected race/external identification, I indicated the physical appearance of each respondent and asked them to discuss how they are perceived by others. I also asked each respondent to describe which of their phenotypic features codes them as one race over the other, given people often make racial classifications based on physical attributes.

Data Analysis

During the data collection process, I wrote memos about the interviews (Charmaz 2006). I analyzed commonalities across the data using a paradigm approach (Polkinghorne 1995). Thematic coding was used to develop several themes. I then reviewed the transcripts using Nvivo and performed line-by-line coding to organize, label

and analyze the data (Strauss & Corbin 1990). Next, I lumped the themes according to the patterns revealed from the codes (Roulston 2010). The following themes were generated: (a) reflected race, (b) feelings of inclusion, (c) feelings of exclusion, (d) invalidation. Table 1 and Table 2 below provide key demographics.

Table 1. Multiracials with Monoracial White Parent Key Demographics

Name	Sex	Age	SES	Education	Region of Origin	White Mother	Predominately White High School	Live with Black Parent
Alyssa	F	21	Middle	Some	W	Yes	Yes	Yes
Andrew	M	28	Middle	BA	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Ashley	F	18	Working	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ava	F	28	Poor	BA	W	Yes	Yes	No
Baker	M	25	Middle	BA	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Betty	F	30	Upper	PhD	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Brandon	M	18	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Brooklyn	F	18	Working	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Bryan	M	20	Upper Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Caitlyn	F	30	Poor	BA	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Cara	F	19	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Charlotte	F	25	Upper Middle	Some Graduate	W	No	Yes	Yes
Chastity	F	18	Lower Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes

Chelsea	F	21	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	No
Claire	F	22	Lower Middle	BA	S	No	Yes	Yes
Cole	M	18	Upper Middle	Some	NE	No	No	Yes
Conor	M	19	Upper Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Dawn	F	21	Upper	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Derek	M	30	Poor	BA	S	No	Yes	Yes
Diamond	F	24	Working	BA	W	Yes	Yes	No
Emily	F	20	Upper	Some	W	Yes	Yes	No
Emma	F	29	Lower middle	Grad	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ethan	M	18	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Finn	M	27	Lower Middle	Some	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Garret	M	19	Lower Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hannah	F	18	Working	Some	S	Yes	Yes	No
Jake	M	23	Middle	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jayla	F	27	Upper	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jonathan	M	30	Upper Middle	BA	S	No	No	Yes
Joseph	M	21	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Katie	F	21	Upper Middle	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kayla	F	24	Middle	College	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Kendra	F	20	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kevin	M	21	Middle	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lexus	F	28	Working	Some	S	No	No	No
Lia	F	25	Middle	Graduate	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Liz	F	26	Upper	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lydia	F	28	Upper	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Mark	M	30	Upper	College	NE	Yes	No	No
Martin	M	21	Upper	Some	S	Yes	No	No
Matthew	M	18	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Max	M	20	Upper	College	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Megan	F	18	Upper	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Michael	M	18	Upper Middle	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Naomi	F	19	Middle	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nathan	M	27	Lower Middle	Graduate	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Nicole	F	20	Working	Some	MW	Yes	No	No
Octavia	F	19	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Olive	F	24	Poor	BA	W	Yes	No	Yes
Patricia	F	18	Lower Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Penelope	F	26	Middle	BA	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Robin	F	20	Upper Middle	Some	W	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sandra	F	30	Poor	College	NE	No	No	Yes

Sarah	F	19	Upper Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Savannah	F	20	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Stephen	M	24	Middle	BA	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Suraya	F	23	Poor	BA	MW	No	Yes	No
Tara	F	29	Upper	Grad	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Tina	F	27	Lower Middle	BA	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Triston	M	20	Upper	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Victoria	F	19	Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes

Table 2. Multiracials with a Monoracial Black Parent Key Demographics

Name	Sex	Age	SES	Educa-tion	Region of Origin	Black/ White mother	Predominate-ly White High School	Live with biracial parent
Ace	M	20	Middle	Some	NE	No	No	Yes
Amaya	F	30	Upper Middle	Grad	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Angela	F	27	Working	Grad	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
April	F	27	Middle	Grad	S	Yes	No	Yes
Asia	F	18	Upper Middle	Some	W	Yes	Yes	Yes
Bale	M	19	Upper	Some	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Brittany	F	24	Working	College	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Candice	F	30	Upper Middle	College	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Corbin	M	19	Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Damien	M	20	Upper Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	No
Daris	M	18	Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Destiny	F	18	Working	Some	S	No	No	Yes
Doug	M	18	Upper Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Earl	M	26	Upper	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Ellen	F	28	Upper	College	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Evelyn	F	25	Middle	College	NE	No	No	No
Giselle	F	18	Upper	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Imani	F	23	Poor	College	NE	Yes	No	Yes

Isabella	F	24	Middle	College	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Janelle	F	19	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jeremy	M	20	Upper Middle	Some	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Joanna	F	28	Upper	Grad	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jocelyn	F	19	Working	Some	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Keanna	F	26	Working	Grad	MW	Yes	No	Yes
Laronnd-a	F	22	Working	College	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lysate	F	28	Middle	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Malik	M	20	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Mallory	F	21	Working	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Marcus	M	29	Working	College	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Moniqu-e	F	22	Upper	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Morgan	F	27	Working	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Ron	M	28	Working	Grad	S	Yes	No	Yes
Sadie	F	27	Working	Grad	SE	No	No	Yes
Silas	M	21	Lower Middle	Some	MW	No	No	Yes
Will	M	30	Middle	Grad	S	Yes	Yes	No
Tayller	F	24	Upper Middle	BA	NE	No	Yes	No
Willow	F	29	Lower Middle	Grad	S	Yes	No	Yes
Vera	F	26	Upper Middle	Grad	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Violet	F	27	Upper Middle	BA	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes

The ages of the respondents varied from 18 to 30, to consider generational differences among the cohorts. Each respondent had some college education or earned a bachelor's degree. Most of those with a monoracial White parent attended a predominately White high school. However, only half of the sample of those with a monoracial Black parent attended a mostly White high school. The sample of respondents identified as middle and upper class for both groups, which was expected given the recruitment efforts targeted college and university campuses. Though the majority of the respondents lived in Northeast at the time, there were some differences in the regions of the United States where they were raised. Particularly, many of the respondents with a monoracial Black parent grew up in the South. In most scenarios, the respondent lived with both their Multiracial Black-White parent and White parent.

Table 3 below describes the respondents' public racial categorizations, racial self-concepts, and reflected race for those with a monoracial White parent. Table 4 demonstrates this same information for those with monoracial Black parents.

Table 3. Multiracials with a Monoracial White Parent Identity Patterns

Name	Public Categorization to Others	Internal Self-Concept	External Perception: Reflected Appraisals
Alyssa	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Andrew	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Ashley	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Ava	Multiracial	Multiracial	Part-Black; White
Baker	Multiracial	Multiracial	White

Betty	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Brandon	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Brooklyn	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Bryan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Caitlyn	White; Multiracial	White; Multiracial	White
Cara	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Charlotte	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous
Chastity	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Chelsea	White	White; Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Claire	Multiracial	White; Multiracial	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous
Cole	White; Multiracial	Transcendent	Ambiguous; White
Conor	Multiracial; Black	Transcendent	White
Dawn	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Derek	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Diamond	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Emily	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Emma	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Ethan	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Garret	White; Multiracial	White; Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Hannah	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous
Jake	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Jayla	Multiracial	Multiracial	White

Jonathan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Joseph	Black	Black	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous
Katie	Multiracial	Multiracial; Black	Ambiguous; White
Kayla	Multiracial	Multiracial; Black	Ambiguous; White
Kendra	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Kevin	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Lexus	Hispanic	Hispanic	Ambiguous; White
Lia	Multiracial; Black	Multiracial; Black	White
Liz	White	White	White
Lydia	Multiracial	Multiracial	White; Ambiguous; Black
Mark	Black	Black; Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Martin	Black	Black	White
Matthew	Multiracial; Black	Black	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous
Max	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous
Megan	White	White	White
Michael	White; Multiracial	White	White
Naomi	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Nathan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Nicole	Multiracial; Black	Black	White
Octavia	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Olive	Multiracial	Multiracial	White

Patricia	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Penelope	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Robin	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Sandra	White	Multiracial	White
Sarah	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Savannah	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Stephen	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Suraya	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; Hispanic; White
Tara	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Tina	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Triston	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Victoria	Multiracial	Multiracial	White

Table 4. Multiracials with Monoracial Black Parent Identity Patterns

Name	Public Categorization	Internal Self-Concept	External Perception: Reflected Appraisals
Ace	Black; Multiracial	Multiracial; Black; Jamaican	Black; Part-Black
Amaya	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous Non-Black
Angela	Black	Black	Dominican; Black
April	Black	Black	Ambiguous; Part-Black
Asia	Black	Black	Black
Bale	Black	Black	Black
Brittany	Multiracial	Multiracial	White; Ambiguous; Black
Candice	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Corbin	Black; Multiracial	Multiracial	Black; Ambiguous
Damien	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; Part-Black; Black
Daris	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black; Multiracial
Destiny	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black
Doug	Black	Black	Black
Earl	Black	Black	Black
Ellen	Black	Black	Ambiguous; Part-Black
Evelyn	Black; Multiracial	Black; Multiracial	Ambiguous; Black

Gizelle	Black	Black	Black
Imani	Multiracial	Biracial Caribbean	Ambiguous; Black
Isabella	Black	Black; Multiracial	White; Ambiguous
Janelle	Black	Black	Black
Jeremy	Black; Multiracial	Multiracial	Part-Black; Ambiguous
Joanna	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Jocelyn	Black	Black	Black
Keanna	Black	Black	Black
Laronnda	Black	Black	Black
Lisette	Black	Black	Ambiguous
Malik	Black	Black	Black; Dominican
Mallory	Multiracial; Prefer Not to Respond; Black	Transcendent	Black; Ambiguous
Marcus	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Monique	Black	Black	Black
Morgan	Black	Black	Black; part-Black
Ron	Black	Black	Black
Sadie	Black	Black	Ambiguous; Part-Black
Silas	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black; Ambiguous
Will	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black
Tayller	Multiracial; Black	Multiracial	Part-Black

Willow	Black	Black	Black
Vera	Multiracial; Black	Multiracial	Part-Black
Violet	Black	Black	Black

Below I discuss the differences in reflected race in detail by monoracial parent's race. Then I discuss contextual differences where I find the one-drop rule still impacts reflected race and situations in which it no longer does. I conclude with an examination of reflected appraisals, or how individuals internalize their reflected race.

FINDINGS

Reflected Race by Monoracial Parent

Overall I find distinct differences in being viewed as White or Black between those with a monoracial White parent and those with a monoracial Black parent. Table 6 below indicates that a majority of those with a monoracial White parent (52/60) reported being seen as White, either exclusively or some of the time.

Table 6 Reflected Race by Monoracial Parent

	White	Ambiguous and White	Ambiguous	Ambiguous and Part-Black/Black	Black	Total
Monoracial White Parent	26	26	4	4	0	60
Monoracial Black Parent	0	4	3	15	17	39
Total	26	30	7	19	17	99

Victoria one of the Multiracial respondents who has a monoracial White parent and believes other people view her as White. She describes her reflected race, what physical features lead her to being coded as White, and what groups of people identify her as part-Black:

> "I've noticed most White people assume that I'm White. My [Black-White] dad taught me when I was younger that Black guys can always tell when a girl's part-Black, if they like to date Black girls. Because I have a little bit wider nose than normal, like I guess a normal angular nose would be more pointy. And my eyes are pretty dark brown, and a lot of White people that I see have lighter eyes. If I'm wearing my hair down, most White people think that I have a perm, but most Black people can tell that it's natural hair. So, I guess just like the people that have been around more African Americans, they can tell that I am, but if they haven't, then, I just look White."

Although Victoria mentions that Black people and people who have interacted with Black people can tell she is Multiracial, she considers her appearance-based reflected race to be White. While 26/60 of those with a monoracial White parent are exclusively seen as White, none of those with a monoracial Black parent being coded exclusively as White and only 4/39 report ever being considered White. Sadie, who has a monoracial Black parent, uses the one-drop rule to explain why:

"Typically, when people have said that I'm White, it was out of malice and basically saying that I'm not Black enough for being Black. But as far as what comes with the White experience in those privileges, I don't feel like I receive those same privileges that White people have, and when you are out in the world, even if you're lighter skinned, you're still Black… We have a one drop rule, so even though people may say that those things are Jim Crowian or not, I just feel like that's still very much so true today."

Sadie describes how even though people may know she is White, she is not viewed as a White person because of the one-drop rule creating a reflected race as Black for light-skin Black people.

The disparity in White reflected race is paralleled in the difference in Black reflected race. None of those with a monoracial White parent are consistently exclusively perceived as Black and only 4/60 are sometimes perceived as Black or part-Black. When asked what race people see her as, Kendra who has a monoracial White parent, shares:

"Um, just some kind of ethnic, like people would never guess that I'm at all Black - from people I don't know anyway. I always make people guess. But like I get South American a lot or people think I'm just a White person who goes tanning a lot or Greek Italian I get all the time. I've gotten Hawaiian as ridiculous as that is. Just like some kind of ethnic thing, most likely South American or Spanish."

Kendra exemplifies that while many in this group may not be viewed as Black or part-Black, they may still be viewed as non-White. This is much lower than their

counterparts with a monoracial Black parent where 15/39 are seen as ambiguous part-Black. Damien, who has a monoracial Black parent, describes what this looks like:

> "I'm literally in the perfect blend of my parents together. My mom is brownish, I have her nose and light freckles, but you can't really see unless you really get close to me. Then I have basically a good portion of my dad's face. I have the same nose as him, but it's smaller. I don't know if we have the same lips, maybe mine is just like a different color, like pink and red… If I'm standing next to him, people will be like, "Oh, you look just like your dad." But if I'm next to her, "Oh, you look just like your mom." So, it's like… everybody at least knows I'm half Black like that, and it's just like whatever somebody else picks, it's either Black or White, Black and Hispanic or Belizeans on the rare occasion."

If we include those who are exclusively seen as Black, a majority of those with a monoracial Black parent (32/39) are considered Black all or some of the time. This is more consistent with the last three decades of data on (first-generation) Multiracials who are viewed as Black. Still significant is that less than half (17/39) are viewed exclusively as Black. This could be why individuals who historically would have identified as Black are increasingly identifying as Multiracial (Khanna 2011), because receiving inconsistent reflected race leads to a Multiracial identification (Sims 2016).

Overall, these findings indicate differences in reflected race by the monoracial parent's race. Per the theory of reflected appraisals, this will lead to varying interactions where individuals with a monoracial White parent may be more likely to be interacted

with as though they are White and individuals with a monoracial Black parent may be more likely to have interactions where they are considered Black.

Within these groups, I found those with a monoracial Black parent who grow up in predominately Black areas are more likely to perceive reflected race as "not-exclusively Black" based primarily on interactions with Black individuals. Most in this group perceive that White individuals categorize them as Black. I also found, for those with a monoracial White parent, that regardless of an ambiguous or White reflected race, they are often accepted as White in-group members by White individuals based on interaction and appearance. As Victoria mentions, individuals in this group may receive appearance-based reflected race as part-Black by Black individuals. Even when these Multiracials are not seen as Black based on their appearance, they may receive an updated interaction-based reflected race as Multiracial or Black by Black individuals, once their part-Black background is known through interactions.

Multiracials Sometimes Considered as Black

There are contexts in which Multiracials in both groups are viewed as Black. For those with a monoracial Black parent, this is often because of phenotype or their appearance-based reflected race. For individuals with a monoracial White parent (MWP), it is occasionally their appearance, but usually interaction-based reflected race by Black people as part-Black.

MWP: Black appearance-based reflected race by Black peers

Black racial group members are more likely to perceive Multiracials as non-White than Whites. For instance, Ava believes she is seen primarily as White. In discussing why being Multiracial is difficult because she doesn't look visibly mixed she says:

"I've had Black people that have asked me, they've been like, "You're something, what is it?" then I tell them, and they were like, 'I knew it.' And that feels nice to be seen for who I am."

However, this does not necessarily indicate a Black reflected race. For example, Sarah, who has medium-toned skin and straight hair, said her Black peers "know that I'm some weird ethnic mix, but they don't know what."

MWP: Black interaction-based reflected race by Black peers
Still, the asking of one's racial background can provide the opportunity for an interaction-based acceptance as Black. Later Ava adds:

"I definitely think when I'm surrounded in a room full of more diversity, I wish I looked more ethnic, so that I felt more accepted instead of having to pull out a photo of my dad and having to prove it. It's like every time I say it, I have to go into this long story of what I am, how many percentage I am, and like, "Here's a picture of my dad." and it's like I wish I didn't have to do that. I wish you could just look at me and be like, "Oh, she gets it. She's part of it.""

Once Ava and individuals in this group disclose their racial background, most report that they feel accepted as in-group members. This can mean that they are

simultaneously considered in-group members by Whites and Blacks, alike. Katie, an aid at a pre-school, illustrated what this can look like. She said,

> In the morning, a White preschool teacher was saying to me that 'all Black children behave this way,' as if she was talking to a White person. At lunch, the Black principal was referring to [air quotes gesture] 'our ancestors.' This shit happens to me every day.

Her story is similar to other Multiracials in the ambiguous reflected race category, which attests that Black racial group members are more likely to perceive Multiracials as non-White than Whites. While most of those with a monoracial White parent do not believe they have an appearance-based reflected race as Black, many report that they are accepted as in-group members once their racial background is known.

Monoracial Black Parent: Black appearance-based reflected race

Multiracials with a monoracial Black parent (MBP) report a consistent identity more than those with a White parent, particularly when they identify and are identified as Black. This could be because the legacy of hypodescent still influences this group of Multiracials through creating a phenotypic understanding of Blackness that is primarily dark skin (Khanna 2010). Some of those with consistent identities draw on their reflected race for the primary factor in their Black identity. As an example, when Lisette's White grandmother would tell her to remember that she was part-White, her response was:

> "The world doesn't see us that way." whereas she doesn't understand it. She just says, "No, this is your heritage; this is what you're mixed with. This is who are

you too." But I would say, "Grandmother, when I go to school, they don't see that. It's still the same thing, no matter where I go."

Lisette developed a Black identity based on her reflected race. However, this shows how even those with a reflected race as Black may have an interaction reflected race as Multiracial from certain people in their family or peers. Earl repeats that he selects Black instead of Multiracial because of his reflected race:

"I don't really look mixed in any way shape or form, so I don't think I had to deal with anything that comes with that… everyone always assumes I'm just African American, and that's pretty much it."

While some respondents do not believe they look Multiracial, others illuminate that when they refer to reflected race, they mean how White people view them. Jocelyn reiterates this,

"No one believes my grandma's White because of my skin tone... I've been like treated my whole life like [I'm Black] like how people approach me and talk to me like no one thinks I'm mixed, unless—other Black people who look at my hair tell me I'm mixed."

The phasing behind "no one thinks I'm mixed" except "other Black people" illuminates an important insight into who decides what physical attributes are significant and the bounds around racial groups. Because White people do not consider her mixed because of her skin tone, she is not Multiracial even though Black people can assume her Multiracial ancestry from her hair. Malik echoes that even though he has hair that may

lead some people to ask him if he is Mixed, he primarily considers his appearance

exclusively as Black.

> "I have a different texture of hair. But other than that, I look Black, I look brown
>
> skin, only thing about me—is my hair more of—you see 'Boy Meets World?'
>
> You remember young Cory Matthew, how curly his hair was? That's exactly how
>
> my hair is… it's just really a lot of big curls through my head... My mom always
>
> said when you look in the mirror, what do you see? You see Black kid right? You
>
> Black. End of discussion.'"

These examples also indicate that having a phenotypically visible Multiracial

ancestry does not preclude being identified by others as Black or ultimately considering

oneself to have a Black phenotype. Keanna says,

Multiracials Considered as non-Black

I find there are situations in which both groups are not considered exclusively

Black. For individuals with a monoracial White parent this may be based on their

appearance-based and interaction-based reflected race from White peers. For those with a

monoracial Black parent a non-exclusively Black reflected race is more commonly

limited to Black peers.

MWP: Non-Black appearance-based reflected race

Although the legacy of hypodescent suggests that rigid boundaries around the

purity of Whiteness would lead ambiguous reflected races to be categorized as non-

White, some research indicates that White is commonly utilized as a "default" racial

category when the racial group of someone is unknown (McDermott and Samson 2005).

Kevin, who has a monoracial White parent, believes his medium skin makes his reflected race consistently ambiguous, shared:

> "I just feel like typically a lot of people know I'm a little bit different but they don't know what it really is, so a lot of times people will just assume that I'm White."

When Kevin says "a little bit different," he is referring to being a little bit different from White people. "White as default" explains how those who report an ambiguous appearance often find themselves racially categorized as White. Thus, even those with an ambiguous reflected race may be treated as and accepted as White.

MWP: Non-Black interaction-based reflected race by White peers

Those with a monoracial White parent also point to instances where White people do not view them as Black even with the knowledge of their Multiracial identity. Sarah shares,

> "My classmates know [I'm part-Black] but some of them obviously forget. Even after I tell them about it, they don't think about how that may have any kind of impact. You can see me and know I'm a quarter Black and still forget about it," she laughs slightly, "because I don't look like that's what I am… My [Black-White] dad always said I should be mad when people say I don't look Black, but it doesn't because I don't."

Some respondents recount White peers viewing individuals as non-White and then revoke this categorization based on context. Naomi has a monoracial White parent

and has light brown skin and brown hair, and says her "life has been defined by the fact that she is non-White." When she began sharing that she was Black at her predominately White middle school, she said she automatically became the Black friend and encountered racist jokes. However, this identity was contextually contested.

> "I've corrected my [White] friends who have said the n-word, and they're like 'Oh, since you're a quarter Black you get to decide what I say?' I took Black Lives Matter out of my profile because of the crap I got for it. This guy I used to be involved with tweeted 'lol you're like 25% brown' and that really, really stung."

While Black organizers online shared her pro-Black posts, affirming her Black identity, White friends policed the Black boundary. For those with a monoracial White parent, White group members may change their assessment of their racial belonging depending on the context, particularly if there is a perceived benefit to identifying as Black, such as affirmative action, or if there is perceived access to issues around Blackness such as talking about Black rights.

This is different than what psychology research has argued using experiments on perceptions of resource scarcity. Krosch and Amodio (2014) discovered that their predominately White, non-Black respondents, were more likely to categorize Multiracial targets as Black when they perceived a zero-sum competition between White and Black racial groups. The perception of Black advances equating White losses triggered the use of hypodescent. Rodeheffer et al. (2012) found in an experiment that White targets would

94

categorize Black-White Multiracials as Black when resource scarcity was made salient. However, in some ways, this dissertation is consistent with members of high-status groups creating more rigid boundaries when their advantaged standing is threatened: except, for now, it is Blackness that is being more exclusively defined.

MBP: Non-exclusively Black appearance-based reflected race by Black peers

Those with a monoracial Black parent believe White peers are more likely to classify them exclusively as Black, while Black individuals are more likely to see them as not-exclusively Black. This is consistent with prior surveys (Brunsma & Rockquemore 2001) and experimental studies (Roberts & Gelman 2015) of individuals with ambiguous physical appearances that found Black racial group members see nuances within skin-tone and other attributes. Thus, those who grow up in predominately Black contexts recount more reflected race as not-exclusively Black or part-Black. This is consistent with Brunsma and Rockquemore's (2001) suggestion that Multiracials evaluate their own phenotype based on the context-specific racial majority group. For instance, Lisette said,

> Among the Black community, when you have a darker skin tone or a fairer skin tone, you're treated differently. So, even in the Black community, I'm looked at as different than someone who has darker skin, has kinky hair. It's hard because you almost feel bad for looking this way or having this type of hair texture and saying, 'Yeah, I'm pro-Black.' And they say, 'Oh, well, you say that you're pro-Black, but you have that kind of hair and that kind of skin.' So, it was definitely hard growing up too; that's why we would always just say what we were mixed with and where our grandmother was from, almost like we had too.

Some respondents who report they are only seen as Black, still recount situations where they are asked if they have any White heritage, particularly by Black group members. Just like those who say they receive non-exclusively Black reflected race, this group points to skin tone and hair as key indicators. Violet shares that when people talk about her hair,

"I had to explain to people like, "Oh, OK, my grandmother is White that's really why my hair is curly." So, it was kind of annoying just to do… they still press for that answer, they're like, "Oh, who's White in your family? Are you and your family mixed? Are you …?" And I'm brown-skinned so just based on my skin tone, no, you can't tell that my grandmother is White, but it's always really just about my hair. And then, I feel like they just press, so I just kind of say, "Yeah, my grandmother is White." And then it's always like, "Oh, that's why." And I'm kind of like, "OK, whatever." And I feel like it's really honestly only Black people who ever do that. White people never."

In this study, hair and skin color were discussed by both men and women. This is somewhat different than Sims (2016) who found that women were more likely to point to their hair texture as leading people to question their race and men pointed to their skin tone. This was exemplified by Daris who said White people code him as light-skinned Black but Black people view him as mixed because of his hair. He said,

 If you're a lighter-skinned person, and your hair isn't kinky, kinky, kinky, they're going to immediately pick you as something mixed or something non-White

about you. That's an immediate identifier. There's a thing in the Black

community, quote and unquote good hair. Good hair is like non-kinky hair, it's

visibly curled hair, so it's like, 'Oh, you know, you can wear hair like that you got

good hair, you're probably mixed.' So, I will say that's one of the identifiers as

well as being lighter complexion. And for White people, it's a lot more binary.

It's like if you're not White then you're 'other.' If you're not White-passing,

you're something else.

Thus, even though someone may believe they have a reflected race as Black to

White peers, they may be seen as Multiracial within the Black community. The racialized

dissecting of phenotype through isolating specific attributes signifies a disruption of the

expectation of monoraciality (Newman 2019).

Reflected Appraisals: Meaning Making of Reflected Race

When social identities are pertinent to individuals, they prefer to be perceived by

others in the same way they think of themselves (Barreto & Ellemers 2002; Lemay &

Ashmore 2004; Cheryan & Monin 2005). I use the term emotional labor to describe when

Multiracials feel distress over not holding a consistent racial identity with their reflected

race or when they find it invasive to have to justify their racial identity because of a

conflicting reflected race (Williams 1996; Tatum 1997).

Monoracial Black Parent

Those with a monoracial Black parent who identify as Black but are not exclusively viewed as Black may express deep sadness for not looking exclusively Black. Tayller, who identifies as Black and Multiracial, said:

Sometimes being perceived as light-skinned or mixed, I feel like I'm betraying the Black community by not knowing [the experiences of darker skin people], so like ask the questions that I don't understand. I feel like I don't have a sense of belonging in the Black community… A lot of studies have shown that Black people are more likely to gravitate towards other Black people when they see them in a room, and I don't know if I should do that because I don't know if I can relate to a lot of experiences that other Black people have had. I feel like if my phenotype were darker I would.

For members of this group that identify as Black, they may experience distress when individuals assert they are not exclusively Black through asking questions about their racial background because of their pehnotype. Malik shares how his Black identity is sometimes contested by people asking him if he is Multiracial:

"When people ask me if I'm mixed or something, I be like 'I'm Black, I'm 100% Black, that's all. People tell me 'you gotta be more than that,' well my dad's African and Jamaican, my mom's Black, so I'm Black. It's just… it is what it is… I think it's an ignorant question. Like 'what you mixed with' what are you talking about? Does that matter what anything? I don't feel like it's a relevant question at all. Like, do it matter if I'm mixed with something or not? Do you know me? Do

you see me? Chill… don't… I take offense to certain questions like that.
Honestly, I don't know why. I just do. Cuz if you're asking questions like that, I
feel like, personally, I feel like I'm Black that's it. That's all I gotta say. That's
the best way I can answer that question for you."

Some scholars have argued that contesting one's reflected appraisal signifies a
blurring of racial boundaries (Bailey, Loveman, & Muniz 2013). Others have suggested
that this denotes a change in racial boundaries (Vargas & Kingsbury 2016). Keanna
echoes Malik's selective disclosure when her identity is contested, adding that this
decision is a political statement for her because of her phenotype.

"I feel like people ask me sometimes how I identify because they see me as
something other than Black or just curious, and so in those conversations, I would
say that I am Black to sort of register how proud I am of my identity, and also to
take away the assumptions that people who look like me have to be something
other than Black, so that's really irritating... whenever I was having a
conversation I stand very firmly in my Blackness, so people don't have the
opportunity to just scrap that sense of like, 'No, I am Black'."

Like Paragg (2017) finds, respondents develop ready narratives for when their
identity is questioned because of their reflected race. Marcus grew up as only one of two
folks in his school who were also fair-skinned and said that made him conscious of
looking different than other people. He has had interactions where people have said he

cannot identify as Black because of his phenotype. In recalling a recent invalidating interaction he said,

> "I came to learn when talking to friends about this that there is a hostility around claiming the Black identity for folks who fit the standard phenotype of American Black folks who directly descended from slaves in the South. But my family line has also descended from slaves but from folks who were immigrated from Caribbean countries. So, it made me feel a little different and I guess brought me back to feelings I had in school when I felt different from other folks."

Racial invalidation is rooted in an essentialized construction of racial groups (Rockquemore & Laszflorry 2003). Like those with a monoracial White parent, some in this group pointed to their reflected race as non-Black which mediated their strength of identification. Ellen combined class with her reflected race. She said,

> I guess it sounds bad, but I think there's isn't a typical Black experience in America, and I think a lot of people think that there is, but I don't think that I have been through or see some of the challenges that most Black people in America have had to face, and because of that I think that it puts me in a different category of Black – it won't make sense because if I think about what every Black person would have experience – and there's no one Black experience in America, but I think I grew up with light skin privilege, and with a background that made me not necessarily identify as Black for a really long time. So, then now, even though I identify as Black, and I will always identify as Black, I don't right now feel like I

strongly identify as Black, but I also feel like I don't strongly identify as anything, so I'm kind of in this weird position.

However, unlike those with one Monoracial White parent who cite their light skin privilege as mediating their identification with Black, Ellen still considers herself Black. Thus, reflected race does not appear to be the complete story to internalizing interactions. There is an importance to having a Black parent in perceived access to identifying as Black regardless of phenotype.

Cheryan and Monin's (2005) study on identity denial found that when individuals who feel a high sense of belonging to their racial group feel excluded from the group, they engage in efforts to assert their membership. April recounts her peers placing light-skin stereotypes on her and that she could not identify as Black because of her phenotype:

> "I would get told a lot that I thought I was better than the Black people because of my fair skin or because of my hair, and so I just remember thinking – just trying to fit in with them." She says her skin tone has still played a role as an adult. "So, moving to 'high school,' I had my group of friends, and most of them were Black, but I can remember several times almost getting into fights with other Black females that did not like me because of my skin color, and they didn't like that I hang out with Black people or they didn't like that I identified with Black because they didn't think I looked Black enough."

Contested identity primarily takes place for individuals with a monoracial Black parent in predominately Black spaces. However, I find that invalidation or acceptance of

a Black identity depends on the monoracial parent's race. Interestingly, those with a monoracial White parent tend to report more acceptance as in-group members from Black group members. While those with a monoracial Black parent who have a Black identity receive a reflected race as Black by White peers, those with a monoracial White parent are more likely to receive invalidation of a Black identity from White groups.

Some respondents those with a monoracial White parent replicate the desire to be accurately identified visible in those with a monoracial Black parent. For instance, Nicole perceives her reflected race as making her unable to identify as Black,

> "I know life would be more difficult in a lot of ways, but I always say that if there was a way to make my skin darker that was not tanning, I would do it so I wouldn't have to explain myself so much…People are never going to accept what they're not going to accept, but for myself, I feel like I would be able to feel like who I am."

Individuals in this group with an orientation toward Blackness and identification as a person of color experience distress when they receive inaccurate reflected races. This is distinct from those with a monoracial parent who do not identify as a person of color. This group does express emotional labor at being inaccurately identified. Ashley says:

> "I don't mind that people never know what I am. It gives me this unique situation where people just assume me to be whatever they want me to be. I wish sometimes I wouldn't get questioned but overall it doesn't bother me when people don't know exactly what I am."

Multiracials in this group have different reactions to not receiving a Black or part-Black reflected race based on their orientation to Blackness.

LIMITATIONS

Representative samples of Multiracial people are difficult to construct because Multiracials are currently a numerical minority and are also not randomly distributed throughout the United States (Renn 2000; Root 1992). This study leans toward the Northeast. Of respondents with a monoracial White parent 32 were raised in the Northeast and 20 of those with a monoracial Black parent were. For a more thorough examination of the legacy of hypodescent, future research should focus on second-generation Multiracials in the south where the legacy hypodescent is considered to be stronger (Rockquemore & Brunsma 2002).

Moreover, most of those who had a monoracial White parent were of middle or upper-class. This may have influenced their reflected race as literature has shown that reflected race is influenced by class, with those who wear high-status clothing are more likely to be perceived as White (Freeman et al. 2011) and higher class individuals being identified as "Whiter" (Telles 2002; Saperstein 2006). Future research on second-generation Multiracials should intentionally seek out class and neighborhood racial demographic variation among participants.

Additionally, this study asked respondents for their reflected race from White and Black individuals, although the reflected race that part-Black people receive by others have been shown to depend on circumstances. For instance, when Black respondents encounter racism, they more often classify ambiguous faces as Black (Gaither et al. 2016;

Ho et al. 2017). White respondents in experimental studies that perceived that the racial status quo was under threat were more likely to engage in hypodescent (Ho et al. 2013; Krosch & Amodio 2014; Chen et al. 2018). Because this work is focused on the meanings that individuals attach to their reflected race, the fluidity of reflected race can illuminate when appraisals are important and how individuals interact with inconsistent reflected race.

DISCUSSION

This article looks at reflected race and the internalization or rejection of reflected race. First, this work contradicts previous studies that claim most part-Black Multiracials receive an appearance-based reflected race as Black. Through including those in the second-generation of racial mixing, I find that while this is consistent for those with a monoracial Black parent (17/39 are seen as exclusively as Black and 32/39 receive a reflected race as Black all or some of the time), it does not fit the experiences of those with a monoracial White parent (0 are consistently exclusively perceived as Black, 4/60 are sometimes perceived as Black or part-Black). This represents a shift in the historical impact of the one-drop rule on reflected race. I also find that implied in scholarship, and many respondents', assumption of reflected race is a focus on the White gaze. For individuals with a monoracial Black parent who believe they are exclusively viewed as Black, many point to experiences being seen as Multiracial by Black peers. Individuals with a monoracial White parent who believe they are seen as White or non-Black ambiguous may still be seen as part-Black by Black racial group members.

In addition to differences in reflected race, the monoracial parent's background also impacts internalization of reflected race. While recent research has begun to analyze how Multiracials understand their reflected race, this is to my knowledge the first study that incorporates generational status in the analysis. I argue that separating out monoracial parent background is important when analyzing the different meanings individuals attach to a reflected race as part-Black. Generally, those with a monoracial White parent find Black peers asking if they are Multiracial to be validating, while those with a monoracial Black parent feel invalidated when asked.

CONCLUSION

Historically, sociopolitical issues have, directly and indirectly, lead to shifts in racial categories (Chen et al. 2018). For instance, because of the free status of Black people at the start of the 20th century and the increase in ambiguous Multiracial people, there had to be more restrictive definitions of racial categories to maintain the racial hierarchy (Anderson 2021). Now, affirmative action has created a new presumed material value in non-Whiteness produces an incentive for non-Black individuals to identify as Black (Beydoun & Wilson 2017). This has lead to the boundaries around who is Black to be more vigilantly policed (Brubaker 2016).

White supremacy has historically maintained its power by changing the boundaries around racial groups to preserve White supremacy. Since enslavement, individuals with a Black grandparent and any visible Black features received an appearance-based and interaction-based reflected race as Black (Wright 1995; Davis

2006). Part-Black Multiracial people no longer consistently being considered Black must function to maintain White supremacy.

The one-drop rule was invented to strengthen the racial hierarchy; it ensured that having a part-White racial background or looking White was not enough to obtain the privileges of Whiteness in a Black-White racial dichotomy. A change in how phenotypic or contextual information is used to racially categorize a person indicates a change in racial boundaries (Vargas & Kinsbury 2016). Now, through disallowing part-Black Multiracials access to the Black category, White supremacy can create a larger intermediary buffer between White and the Collective Black (Bonilla-Silva 2006). This seems to point to the United States moving from a binary hierarchy to a colorism triracial hierarchy, where phenotype is becoming more salient (Daniel 1996).

ARTICLE 3: "I FEEL LIKE A FRAUD:" RACIAL IMPOSTER SYNDROME IN SECOND-GENERATION BLACK-WHITE MULTIRACIALS

INTRODUCTION

While research on imposter syndrome, or self-doubt despite one's qualifications, has increased significantly over the last few decades (Bravata et al. 2020), there has yet to be serious scholarly consideration of imposter syndrome in regards to one's racial identity to my knowledge. In this article, I argue that racial imposter syndrome is necessary Multiracial racial identity. I use in-depth interviews to examine "racial imposter syndrome:" persistent self-doubt or anxiety connected to one's racial identity or authenticity, and as feeling fraudulent even when receiving racial acceptance. I argue this is an important element for understanding racial identity and group boundaries as examining why someone feels like a racial fraud or that they do not belong in their chosen racial group informs us about the meanings people assign to racial groups and the boundaries they perceive around them. As such, studying those on the nexus of racial boundaries provides a unique opportunity to analyze racial imposter syndrome and the role racial imposter syndrome has in Multiracial identity development.

First, I build off literature on imposter syndrome to further develop the concept of racial imposter syndrome. Then, I discuss who experiences racial imposter syndrome from my interviews with 99 second-generation Multiracials, or those with one parent who is Multiracial and another who is either Black or White. This sample of second-generation Multiracials is a crucial group to analyze racial imposter syndrome because Multiracial is commonly restricted to first-generation "biracials" in society and academic

107

literature (Morning & Saperstein 2018) so they may feel like they are not an authentic member of any racial group. I find feeling inauthentic in one's racial identity is most common for those with essentialist or biological constructions of racial categories and those whose phenotype is not prototypical of their selected racial identity.

After using Multiracial experiences to understand racial imposter syndrome, I employ racial imposter syndrome to understand more fully Multiracial identity. I accomplish this through disaggregating imposterism by parental racial background. I find that it occurs more often in those with a monoracial White parent than those with a monoracial Black parent. I conclude with hypothesizing why those with a monoracial White parent may feel like a racial fraud more often. First I suggest it could occur from the burden of holding White-assumed privileged (Burke & Kao 2013). Many individuals frame a guilt in their privilege from looking White as prohibiting them access to an authentic part-Black identity, which they characterize as facing anti-Black discrimination. Second, I find that women point to fears of being seen as "Blackfishing," a phenomenon of non-Black individuals pretending that they are Black (Gawronski 2019), because of their non-Black observed race. This furthers work on theorizing the role of reflected appraisals. Individuals acknowledge the external racial gaze (Paragg 2017) but unlike how previous research on Multiracials has found (Khanna 2012), they do not internalize how they are viewed by others and change their identity.

THEORY

Imposter Syndrome

The foundation for the concept of racial imposter syndrome comes from "imposter syndrome" or self-doubt despite one's credentials (Griffin, Ward, & Phillips 2014). This was first coined by Clance and Imes (1978) who used the term "imposter phenomenon" to refer to the behaviors of high-achieving women who had persistent self-doubt and anxiety connected to internalizing their success. They described imposter phenomenon as an internal, interpersonal phenomenon of feeling like a fraud or an "imposter" in a role. Women in their study with high imposter syndrome attribute their success to external circumstances, like getting lucky or assistance from others, rather than their capabilities; therefore, they retain feeling fraudulent even when they achieve recognitions or accolades (Clance & Imes 1978). At a group level, imposter syndrome may impact an individuals ability to feel accepted or like they belong in a particular group (Gardner & Holley 2011).

While most research on imposter syndrome is in psychology related fields, it impacts sociological theorizing in a few crucial ways. First racial imposter syndrome sheds light into current theorizing around identities. The theory of reflected appraisals, or the idea that individuals create their identity through internalizing how they are viewed by others, is commonly used to understand how individuals form identities (Khanna 2012). However, including imposter syndrome reveals where individuals may not completely internalize how they are seen by others or their acceptance in groups. Thus, examining racial imposter syndrome answers the call to develop more comprehensive theories into the role of reflected appraisals (Saperstein & Penner 2014).

Imposter syndrome is also related to inequality and holding a marginalized position (Dua 2007; Stockfelt 2018). When an individual holds an oppressed identity, they are more likely to feel imposter syndrome (Harvey & Katz 1985). This is particularly common when there is a context where one group is predominate; for instance, if there is a profession where most people are White then a Black person who is underrepresented in the role will be more likely to feel imposterism (Friedman, O'Brien & McDonald 2021). Non-hegemonic individuals may question their abilities and feel like frauds. Consequently, at a personal level, being aware of minority status can increase feelings of imposter syndrome (Austin et al 2009). While there has been less work on the social environments that lead to the development of imposterism (Cohen & McConnell 2019), at a social level, looking at imposter syndrome can help scholars reveal the racial structures and gendered rituatals that determine who (is made to) feel that they do not belong (Ray 2019; Brockman 2021).

In addition to examining who experiences imposter syndrome, research has also examined how individuals manage feelings of imposter syndrome. Those with strong levels of imposter syndrome engage in extraordinary amounts of impression management (Hutchins 2015), putting high levels of pressure on themselves to succeed to uphold their imagined façade to not be "found out" (Parkman 2016). Another common response is self-deprecation (Kolligian & Sternberg 1991), downplaying success (Dancy 2017), and self-sabotage (Cowman & Ferarri 2002).

Racial Imposter Syndrome

While there has been a recent increase in articles on imposter syndrome (Bravata et al. 2020), there has yet to be a published peer-reviewed study of *racial* imposter syndrome to my knowledge. In one of the first media stories on racial imposter syndrome, National Public Radio (NPR) defines it as feeling 'fake' or inauthentic in some part of one's racial background (Donella 2017). I further this definition by drawing on literature's conceptualization of imposter syndrome as a persistent feeling. Thus, I am using racial imposter syndrome to indicate an internal, interpersonal phenomenon of persistent self-doubt and anxiety connected to one's racial identity or racial authenticity.

Individuals high in racial imposter syndrome feel fraudulent even when they receive acceptance as an in-group member. Imposter syndrome is more common in non-hegemonic individuals within hegemonic groups, for instance women in male-dominated field or black individuals in a predominately White field (Harvey & Katz 1985). As such, I hypothesize that racial imposter syndrome will be most common for those who are not prototypical phenotypic members of their selected racial group.

I find two themes in who experiences racial imposter syndrome. Most commonly, racial imposter syndrome arises when someone has a phenotype that is not prototypical of their selected racial identification (eg. being viewed by others White but identifying as Multiracial). It is also common for those who have essentialist definitions of racial groups. This may look like assuming Black and White are discrete categories; therefore, one cannot identify authentically as Black if one has a White relative). It may also look like having narrow cultural definitions of racial groups. Individuals with this view may

feel like a racial fraud if they identify as Black but do not engage in stereotypical Black culture.

DATA AND METHODS

Data Collection

The research objective behind this article is how does racial imposter syndrome further our understanding of Multiracial identity. To accomplish this, I ask to main research questions: 1) how do those with one Black-White parent and one either White or Black parent describe their experiences with racial imposter syndrome and 2) what contexts or beliefs encourage or trigger imposterism? To answer this, I completed in-depth interviews from 2016-2020 with 99 second-generation Multiracials who had either one Black grandparent and three White grandparents or one White grandparent and three Black grandparents. Within these respondents, 39 had one Black-White parent and one Black parent, and 60 had one Black-White parent and one White parent.

The respondents in this study were recruited in the United States through university classroom visits, social network sites, and snowball sampling. In order to obtain a sample of respondents that varied in their identity choices, rather than ask subjects to participate if they were Multiracial, fliers asked for participants who had one parent who was Black-White and another who was White.

Respondents were asked open-ended questions around general topics of race and identity in audio-taped interviews. This included interactions with members of different racial groups, experiences in predominately Black and White settings, personal racial identity throughout their life course, and perceptions of how they are treated racially. I

also asked if they ever felt unsure or insecure in their identity. Respondents were further

asked if they ever felt the need to prove their racial authenticity to anyone, and if so, the

who they felt the pressure to justify their identity or belonging to. The interviews lasted

between 45 minutes and 2 hours. Interviews were later transcribed.

Examining racial imposter syndrome necessitates the multidimensional

complexities of racial identity to be at the forefront. As such, I demarcate racial identity

in three ways: public racial categorization, racial self-concept, and reflected appraisals

(Harris and Sim 2002; Brunsma 2005; Khanna 2010). Each of these is described in detail

below.

Public categorization are the racial categories a person identifies for themselves as

when answering surveys or responding to people (Brunsma 2005). To include the

complexity of context within racial categorization choices, I examined how respondents

identify themselves to strangers, friends, family, and on formal documents. Usually

responses were consistent between peers, strangers and documents; however, sometimes

racial categorization would vary. In situations where an individual varies their response

between more than one racial groups, two races are also listed. Public categorization was

coded as "Multiracial" for Multiracial or some other variance such as "mixed," "biracial,"

"a quarter Black," "half-Black."

Reflected appraisals, or external identity is how others racially perceive an

individual. To measure reflected appraisals, I asked the respondent to describe how

people generally racially identify them. I followed up with asking each respondent to

detail what phenotypic characteristics they believed coded them as a particular race to outsiders. In order to get an understanding of racial imposter syndrome from not looking like a prototypical member of a racial group, I also asked if respondents had ever altered their appearance to achieve a different reflected appraisal or wanted to do so. I also noted how I perceived the appearance of the respondent.

Racial internal self-concept or personal identification is how a Multiracial person identifies themself racially to themself. First, I asked individuals how they racially identify but in order to acknowledge that racial imposter syndrome may prevent individuals from fully disclosing their preferred identity, I included multiple open-ended questions. These questions were focused on strength of belonging to various racial groups, salience of membership in each group to overall sense of self, and significance of race in their daily life. For individuals who do not identify as members of a racial group, and instead "transcend" racial categorization (such as identifying as a "human"), I code them as transcendents (Rockquemore 1998). If any individual shifts between multiple racial groups, I include both races.

Respondent Characteristics

Table 1 and Table 2 show key demographic information for respondents with a monoracial White parent and a monoracial Black parent, respectively.

Table 1. Multiracials with Monoracial White Parent Key Demographics

Name	Sex	Age	SES	Education	Region of Origin	White Mother	Predominately White High School	Live with Black Parent

Alyssa	F	21	Middle	Some	W	Yes	Yes	Yes
Andrew	M	28	Middle	BA	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Ashley	F	18	Working	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ava	F	28	Poor	BA	W	Yes	Yes	No
Baker	M	25	Middle	BA	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Betty	F	30	Upper	PhD	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Brandon	M	18	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Brooklyn	F	18	Working	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Bryan	M	20	Upper Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Caitlyn	F	30	Poor	BA	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Cara	F	19	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Charlotte	F	25	Upper Middle	Some Graduate	W	No	Yes	Yes
Chastity	F	18	Lower Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Chelsea	F	21	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	No
Claire	F	22	Lower Middle	BA	S	No	Yes	Yes
Cole	M	18	Upper Middle	Some	NE	No	No	Yes
Conor	M	19	Upper Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Dawn	F	21	Upper	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Derek	M	30	Poor	BA	S	No	Yes	Yes
Diamond	F	24	Working	BA	W	Yes	Yes	No

Emily	F	20	Upper	Some	W	Yes	Yes	No
Emma	F	29	Lower middle	Grad	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ethan	M	18	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Finn	M	27	Lower Middle	Some	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Garret	M	19	Lower Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hannah	F	18	Working	Some	S	Yes	Yes	No
Jake	M	23	Middle	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jayla	F	27	Upper	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jonathan	M	30	Upper Middle	BA	S	No	No	Yes
Joseph	M	21	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Katie	F	21	Upper Middle	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kayla	F	24	Middle	College	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kendra	F	20	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kevin	M	21	Middle	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lexus	F	28	Working	Some	S	No	No	No
Lia	F	25	Middle	Graduate	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Liz	F	26	Upper	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lydia	F	28	Upper	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Mark	M	30	Upper	College	NE	Yes	No	No
Martin	M	21	Upper	Some	S	Yes	No	No

Matthew	M	18	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Max	M	20	Upper	College	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Megan	F	18	Upper	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Michael	M	18	Upper Middle	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Naomi	F	19	Middle	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nathan	M	27	Lower Middle	Graduate	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Nicole	F	20	Working	Some	MW	Yes	No	No
Octavia	F	19	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Olive	F	24	Poor	BA	W	Yes	No	Yes
Patricia	F	18	Lower Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Penelope	F	26	Middle	BA	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Robin	F	20	Upper Middle	Some	W	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sandra	F	30	Poor	College	NE	No	No	Yes
Sarah	F	19	Upper Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Savannah	F	20	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Stephen	M	24	Middle	BA	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Suraya	F	23	Poor	BA	MW	No	Yes	No
Tara	F	29	Upper	Grad	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Tina	F	27	Lower Middle	BA	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Triston	M	20	Upper	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes

Victoria	F	19	Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes

Table 2. Multiracials with a Monoracial Black Parent Key Demographics

Name	Sex	Age	SES	Educa-tion	Region of Origin	Black/ White mother	Predo minate -ly White High School	Live with biracial parent
Ace	M	20	Middle	Some	NE	No	No	Yes
Amaya	F	30	Upper Middle	Grad	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Angela	F	27	Working	Grad	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
April	F	27	Middle	Grad	S	Yes	No	Yes
Asia	F	18	Upper Middle	Some	W	Yes	Yes	Yes
Bale	M	19	Upper	Some	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Brittany	F	24	Working	College	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Candice	F	30	Upper Middle	College	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Corbin	M	19	Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Damien	M	20	Upper Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	No
Daris	M	18	Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Destiny	F	18	Working	Some	S	No	No	Yes
Doug	M	18	Upper Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes

Earl	M	26	Upper	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Ellen	F	28	Upper	College	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Evelyn	F	25	Middle	College	NE	No	No	No
Giselle	F	18	Upper	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Imani	F	23	Poor	College	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Isabella	F	24	Middle	College	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Janelle	F	19	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jeremy	M	20	Upper Middle	Some	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Joanna	F	28	Upper	Grad	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jocelyn	F	19	Working	Some	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Keanna	F	26	Working	Grad	MW	Yes	No	Yes
Laronnd-a	F	22	Working	College	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lysate	F	28	Middle	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Malik	M	20	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Mallory	F	21	Working	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Marcus	M	29	Working	College	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Monique	F	22	Upper	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Morgan	F	27	Working	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Ron	M	28	Working	Grad	S	Yes	No	Yes
Sadie	F	27	Working	Grad	SE	No	No	Yes
Silas	M	21	Lower Middle	Some	MW	No	No	Yes
Will	M	30	Middle	Grad	S	Yes	Yes	No
Tayller	F	24	Upper Middle	BA	NE	No	Yes	No

Willow	F	29	Lower Middle	Grad	S	Yes	No	Yes
Vera	F	26	Upper Middle	Grad	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Violet	F	27	Upper Middle	BA	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes

In most circumstances, the respondent lived with both their Multiracial Black-White parent. In order to control for generational differences between cohorts, the respondents are limited to ages 18-30. I also made sure to narrow the sample to having at least some college education as college is a life-event that may change a Multiracial person's racial identity (Clayton 2020). Potentially due to the recruitment efforts on college campuses and college networking sites, the sample leans middle and upper class.

Almost all of the respondents attended a Primarily White Institution (PWI) for their undergraduate degree. Though only half of respondents who had a monoracial Black parent attended a predominately white High School, most of those with a monoracial White parent did. While a majority of respondents currently live in the Northeast, there is some variation in the regions of the United States where they were raised, with many respondents with a monoracial Black parent growing up in the south.

Data Analysis

I wrote memos for each interview upon completion (Charmaz 2006). Then, I produced multiple themes through thematic coding of the memos. I then used line-by-line coding to categorize and analyze the data in Nvivo (Strauss and Corbin 1990). Through grouping themes from these codes (Roulston 2010), I found four key themes: (a)

essentialist views of race, (b) phenotype, (c) racial imposter syndrome, (d) exclusion, invalidation, and "push" experiences.

The variation in respondents' public racial categorization, racial self-concept, and reflected appraisals is depicted in Table 3 for those with a monoracial White parent, and Table 4 for those with monoracial Black parents.

Table 3. Multiracials with a Monoracial White Parent Identity Patterns

Name	Public Categorization to Others	Internal Self-Concept	External Perception: Reflected Appraisals
Alyssa	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Andrew	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Ashley	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Ava	Multiracial	Multiracial	Part-Black; White
Baker	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Betty	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Brandon	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Brooklyn	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Bryan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Caitlyn	White; Multiracial	White; Multiracial	White
Cara	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Charlotte	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous
Chastity	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Chelsea	White	White; Multiracial	Ambiguous; White

Name			
Claire	Multiracial	White; Multiracial	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous
Cole	White; Multiracial	Transcendent	Ambiguous; White
Conor	Multiracial; Black	Transcendent	White
Dawn	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Derek	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Diamond	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Emily	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Emma	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Ethan	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Garret	White; Multiracial	White; Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Hannah	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous
Jake	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Jayla	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Jonathan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Joseph	Black	Black	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous
Katie	Multiracial	Multiracial; Black	Ambiguous; White
Kayla	Multiracial	Multiracial; Black	Ambiguous; White
Kendra	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Kevin	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Lexus	Hispanic	Hispanic	Ambiguous; White
Lia	Multiracial; Black	Multiracial; Black	White
Liz	White	White	White

Lydia	Multiracial	Multiracial	White; Ambiguous; Black
Mark	Black	Black; Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Martin	Black	Black	White
Matthew	Multiracial; Black	Black	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous
Max	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous
Megan	White	White	White
Michael	White; Multiracial	White	White
Naomi	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Nathan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Nicole	Multiracial; Black	Black	White
Octavia	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Olive	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Patricia	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Penelope	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Robin	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Sandra	White	Multiracial	White
Sarah	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Savannah	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Stephen	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Suraya	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; Hispanic; White
Tara	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White

Tina	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Triston	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Victoria	Multiracial	Multiracial	White

Table 4. Multiracials with Monoracial Black Parent Identity Patterns

Name	Public Categorization	Internal Self-Concept	External Perception: Reflected Appraisals
Ace	Black; Multiracial	Multiracial; Black; Jamaican	Black; Part-Black
Amaya	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous Non-Black
Angela	Black	Black	Dominican; Black
April	Black	Black	Ambiguous; Part-Black
Asia	Black	Black	Black
Bale	Black	Black	Black
Brittany	Multiracial	Multiracial	White; Ambiguous; Black
Candice	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Corbin	Black; Multiracial	Multiracial	Black; Ambiguous
Damien	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; Part-Black; Black
Daris	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black; Multiracial
Destiny	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black
Doug	Black	Black	Black
Earl	Black	Black	Black
Ellen	Black	Black	Ambiguous; Part-Black
Evelyn	Black; Multiracial	Black; Multiracial	Ambiguous; Black

Gizelle	Black	Black	Black
Imani	Multiracial	Biracial Caribbean	Ambiguous; Black
Isabella	Black	Black; Multiracial	White; Ambiguous
Janelle	Black	Black	Black
Jeremy	Black; Multiracial	Multiracial	Part-Black; Ambiguous
Joanna	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Jocelyn	Black	Black	Black
Keanna	Black	Black	Black
Laronnda	Black	Black	Black
Lisette	Black	Black	Ambiguous
Malik	Black	Black	Black; Dominican
Mallory	Multiracial; Prefer Not to Respond; Black	Transcendent	Black; Ambiguous
Marcus	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Monique	Black	Black	Black
Morgan	Black	Black	Black; part-Black
Ron	Black	Black	Black
Sadie	Black	Black	Ambiguous; Part-Black
Silas	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black; Ambiguous
Will	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black
Tayller	Multiracial; Black	Multiracial	Part-Black

Willow	Black	Black	Black
Vera	Multiracial; Black	Multiracial	Part-Black
Violet	Black	Black	Black

In regards to reflected appraisals, most (52) respondents with a monoracial White parent recount experiences where they were categorized as a White racial group member. Within this group, twenty-six believe they are exclusively viewed as White. Of those with a monoracial Black parent, none are seen consistently as White and four are sometimes considered White.

There is also a difference between these two groups in terms of racial categorization. The modal racial categorization for those with a monoracial Black parent was Black; while 5/60 of those with a monoracial White parent who identify as Black exclusively, and 9/60 of those who do at least sometimes. The modal racial categorization for respondents with a monoracial White parent was Multiracial: 51 out of 60 identified as Multiracial at least some of the time. This is compared to around 16/39 of those with a monoracial Black parent who identified as Multiracial at least some of the time, and 9/39 who identified exclusively as Multiracial.

FINDINGS

Overall, racial imposter syndrome is a fairly common occurrence in this study. Over a quarter of all respondents discuss encountering this phenomenon, as seen in Table 7. I find that it is particularly common for those who have a phenotypic appearance that is not associated with their racial identity or those with biological essentialist definitions of

racial groups. I detail this below, including a discussion of "push" experiences, or negative interactions, related to phenotype or essentialism (Brunsma & Rockequemore 2001). I find many respondents draw on push experiences where they felt excluded from the racial group they identified with, internalizing that they were not authentic in-group members. I conclude with noting how only those with a monoracial Black parent feel imposter syndrome based on not embodying cultural or stereotypical notions of Blackness.

Table 7. Racial Imposter Syndrome in Second-Generation Multiracial Respondents

	Yes	No	Total
Respondents	25	74	99

A majority of respondents do not share that they experience racial imposter syndrome. Individuals who do not experience racial imposter syndrome often either have a consistent observed race with their racial identity or have a fluid, socially constructed definition of race.

Violet has a monoracial Black parent and demonstrates having a consistent observed race with her racial identity.

"Even when I was a little bit ashamed of being Black because I was getting bullied for a lot of things… I still always identified as Black because you can look at me, you see that I'm Black, so there's really nothing else I can go by."

While many without racial imposter syndrome have an observed race that is the same as their racial identity, some do not. Ellen, who has a monoracial Black parent, does not have a consistent observed race with her racial identity, but views race as a broad, invented construct.

"There's isn't a typical Black experience in America, and I think a lot of people think that there is, but I don't think that I have been through or see some of the challenges that most Black people in America have had to face… I identify as Black, and I will always identify as Black… but a lot of people don't understand the variation within people who claim Black."

Respondents with racial imposter syndrome differ in that while they may adopt a constructivist language outwardly, they may actually hold essentialist perspectives around racial groups. For instance, Dawn says that race is a social construction but later shows a biological assumption in race when discussing the difference with her experience and her first-generation Multiracial peers:

""When White people ask what I am, it seems more accepted to be a quarter Black than to be half-Black. They're like 'Oh, I wish I had tan skin like yours, you got the perfect shading – the best of both worlds.' I obviously just look more White so I think it's easier to be accepted into the White world"

Dawn and many respondents connect their racial imposter syndrome to their outward appearance.

Phenotype

Within those who recount experiencing racial imposter syndrome, many say part of why they feel like a fraud is because of their phenotype. For those with a monoracial White parent, most say that they experience racial imposter syndrome in identifying as Multiracial because they look White. Emma says,

> "I feel like a racial imposter because I'm getting very involved in Black Lives Matter. I'm sharing resources but I'll second-guess myself a few times like do people think that I think I'm Black. I don't identify as Black; I identify as Multiracial. I feel confused about calling myself 'anything' because I look White, but I look at other White people and they don't look like me. It's so confusing."

Similar to how individuals with achievement imposter syndrome may downplay their success, Emma shows how those with high racial imposter syndrome may downplay their role in certain minority groups or not feel like they can be an active voice for racial organizations like Black Lives Matter (BLM). Emma further demonstrates how individuals in this group may also have persistent anxiety about how they "should" identify based on their phenotype. Even respondents with strong cultural ties feel like a fraud because of their White appearance. Tara mentions,

> "I'd like to be more connected to my Nigerian culture, but because often Black people see me as White and not Mixed, I usually kind of feel that - even though I have a Yoruba name as my middle name and it's an important part of how I was raised and my identity even now – that I'm an imposter that's appropriating Nigerian culture."

130

Appropriation refers to when White racial groups member steal from Black culture (Büyükokutan 2011). For Tara and most of the respondents with a monoracial White parent who experience racial imposter syndrome, they cite that it is because they look White rather than Multiracial. However, many of the respondents with a monoracial Black parent recount racial imposter syndrome because they look Multiracial. Keanna describes when she first began feeling like she was not "Black enough:"

> "Growing up, I was culturized as a Black child although I wasn't surrounded by Black people. We moved and all of a sudden I was surrounded by Black kids. I had a lot of feelings of imposter syndrome and feeling like I wasn't Black enough. I was seen as different and special because I was lighter-skinned and had a different hair texture. That I was mixed and I wasn't Black was something that I had never really dealt with before. It felt really uncomfortable, and it was difficult for me to try to identify as a Black kid."

While many of the respondents in this group point to looking as Multiracial as leading to imposter syndrome in identifying as Black, some respondents believe they are seen sometimes as White. Isabella is one of the few respondents with a monoracial Black parent who believes she is viewed as White because of her skin tone and features: for her, racial imposter syndrome toward identifying as Black also arises because of her phenotype.

> "I don't feel like I fit in with biracial people because I have two Black parents, but I connect to them when they say they don't feel like they fit in anywhere. I'm

proud of being Black and I've never identified as White, but I don't feel totally

accepted by Black or mixed groups either. I love my Black background but

sometimes I feel like a phony. I wish I could get over it."

Some respondents in this group who feel excluded from a Black identity based on

their phenotype develop a Multiracial identity. While Isabella feels excluded from

identifying as Multiracial because of a biological definition of Multiracial as having one

Black parent and one White parent, others feel like a fraud for identifying as Multiracial

based on their phenotype. Unlike those with a monoracial White parent who believe they

are "too light" to identify as Multiracial, those with a monoracial Black parent may think

they're "too dark," like Jeremy:

"I never had an issue with identifying as Black, I think even more so the issue that

I had was because people were actively rejecting me from the Black community.

But I wasn't light enough to be considered biracial or mixed. It was just like one

of those things where I was like… 'okay… um… I don't know what to do… I

don't want to say biracial because I don't want people to think like "you should

be lighter though,"' and then I mean I never denied my Blackness, but people out

here… other African Americans, they're denying it."

Push Experiences

An assumed phenotype of what a Multiracial person is "supposed" to look like

operates as a barrier for both those with a monoracial Black parent and those with a

monoracial White parent. In both groups, individuals often connect their racial imposter

syndrome with "push" experiences where they feel excluded from a racial group. Emma, who has a monoracial White parent says:

> "I feel connected to it all [Black justice work]. It doesn't outwardly show because I'm White-passing and I don't know how to reconcile how I feel about everything and how I look." She starts to cry. "I read a lot and last year I took an ancestry test. Everything I had thought and questioned was finally confirmed. But then I wondered at what percent do I start saying I'm Black. I'm too White to be Black – it's 80/20. I don't want to be saying something that I'm not. I read a comment that said if you're less than 40% I'm not here for it. You're not Black enough to be Black. But then White people are saying I'm not White enough."

Individuals in this group incorporate "push" experiences as core to their identity development. Some individuals even shift their definition of Multiracial from including their background to excluding them. Emma's "push" experience from one anonymous Black person saying less than 40% is not enough to identify as Black significantly impacted her definition of Blackness and Multiraciality. Still, from most respondents with a monoracial White parent, their "push" experiences come from White racial group members. Tristan who is accepted as Multiracial and Black by his Black peers discusses his push experiences growing up in a predominately White area.

> "Earlier in my life, I would struggle with racial identity and would let other [White] people sway me because of the way they viewed me. They would never

understand the whole 'quarter Black thing.' They'd say 'You're barely Black' or 'You don't look Black or 'You're not Black'."

Similar to imposter syndrome being triggered by experiences where one's expertise was questioned (Hutchins & Rainbolt 2017), racial imposter syndrome can be triggered by a Multiracial person's identity and racial background being questioned by others. Octavia reiterates this:

"I watch my family members encounter racism on a daily basis. My brother has darker skin than me, and I can see the prejudice he faces every day. I know I am privileged to not have to worry about the struggles they do, but this leads me feeling like an imposter. I feel apprehensive when I tell people that I don't identify as White because [White] people have told me – "you can't be mixed if you're only 25% Black."

Octavia and other respondents recount push experiences based on a presumed biological percentage of their racial background.

Biological essentialist constructions

Biological essentialism is connected to the idea that there is a prototypical member of a racial group, whether in phenotype or in behavior. Similar to how Octavia was not "Black enough" to identify as Multiracial, the construction of first-generation as an "authentic" multiracial identity arises in those with a monoracial Black parent who have imposter syndrome in their Multiracial identity. Vera, who has a monoracial Black parent, says she struggles with her racial identity.

"I think a lot of my family struggles with it because it's like, you're Black, but you're mixed. And it just, the two just don't make sense, especially if you're not biracial. I think it's tougher, because at least if you're actually biracial, you're like, "OK, I'm biracial. I'm half Black, half White. My dad's Black, my mom's White." or whatever. But if you're from a multiracial background, but you're not half Black, half White, but you're still mixed with White – I still identify as mixed, but I'm Black, and it's like it's so weird to describe."

Essentialist definitions of "actually" biracial referring to individuals are "half" Black operates to create imposter syndrome for second-generation multiracials who identify as Mixed. Biological definitions of race in defining Multiracial as first-generation are connected to ideas of being "fully" Black. Tayller also talks about feeling like first-generation as authentic multiraciality:

"We have something called the Black Action Society and I was very hesitant to join that because I was like, "Would I be accepted because I'm not full Black or the way that I talk and like the …" it's a lot of fears and insecurities that I had from 'middle school.' I'm like, "Well, will I be accepted? Will they value my opinion, or will they just brush me off?" And I haven't really reached out to the mixed group because… they're people who have one parent as this, and one parent as that. I don't fit into that."

Tayller's quote illuminates a pattern visible in those with a monoracial Black parent that is not common in those with a monoracial White parent: feeling racial imposter syndrome because of essentialist cultural definitions of Blackness.

Cultural Essentialist Definitions

Being Black is not only physical traits and set of experiences but also behavior connected with urban culture (Moore 2005). For instance, Keanna shares how her imposter syndrome persisted into college:

> "When I got around Black kids at UChicago, I felt like, like those feelings of imposter syndrome, like I don't really belong in these spaces, or I don't understand all of the culture things like I don't know all about hip pop or rap outside of Top 40 on the radio."

Because Keanna described Black as a "stylish" urban culture (Mirza 1997), she felt like a fraud in her Black identity. It is interesting to note, that while some respondents did not feel fit they fit into urban culture because they defined this as connected to being low-income (Patterson 1972; Cole & Omari 2003; Collins 2005), Keanna and Asia were two respondents who did not feel Black enough because they did not participate in the high-income stylish urban culture. Asia shares a push experience from not engaging in some forms of Black culture:

> "I had a Black teammate who like straight-up bullied me. That was a pivotal moment in my personal development because this kind of happened around eighth grade and I was in a really impressionable stage at that point. She never outright

136

said stuff like, "You're an Oreo," but she was the type to keep up with styles, like Jordans and I never did. It just always felt like she was in a way questioning my Blackness. We were the only two people on the team that were Black, so I was kind of like, 'Why are you doing this to me?'"

Oreo is a pejorative term for a Black person who is "Black on the outside and White on the inside" or "culturally" White (Franco, Katz, & O'Brien 2016). Like Asia, individuals may primarily received acceptance of their racial identity but be shaped by a few experiences of invalidation. For members of this group who have high imposter syndrome, these moments of invalidation heighten their imposter syndrome. Asia discusses her persistent feelings as having "almost an identity crisis:"

"I've gone back and forth with that sort of mentality of whether I'm 'Black enough' and I still struggle with that till this day… I get thinking, I'm like, "Oh, do I not have enough Black friends? Oh, do I not know enough about Black culture?"

Individuals with a monoracial White parent do not discuss Black culture or Black social networks in why they feel racial imposter syndrome. While those high in imposter syndrome with a monoracial White parent also engage in essentialism, they draw on biological essentialism. Whereas those with a monoracial Black parent may question if they are an authentic Black member based on their participation in Black culture or number of Black peers, those with a monoracial White parent question if they are "Black enough" because of their presumed percentage of "Black ancestry."

137

High Racial Imposter Syndrome for Multiracials with a Monoracial White Parent

While many of the patterns for why an individual experiences racial imposter syndrome is similar between the two groups, individuals with a monoracial White parent are more likely to recount feeling racial imposter syndrome than those with a monoracial Black parent, visible in Table 8. While almost 1/3rd of those with a monoracial White parent (18/60) describe racial imposter syndrome in their identity development, only 7/39 of those with a monoracial Black parent share this experience. Below I discuss how individuals who have one monoracial White parent may have higher levels of imposter syndrome for various reasons: higher instances of contested identity, proximity to White privilege, or fears of being seen as appropriating Black culture.

Table 8. Racial Imposter Syndrome by Monoracial Parent Background

	Yes	No	Total
Monoracial White Parent	18	42	60
Monoracial Black Parent	7	32	39
Total	25	74	99

Contested Identity

As pilgrim (forthcoming – Article 2) shows, compared with those who have a monoracial Black parent, individuals with a monoracial White parent have higher levels of contested identity, or a phenotype that contrasts with their racial identity. Almost all of the respondents with a monoracial White parent mention their phenotype and experiences with contested identity in discussing their racial imposter syndrome. For instance,

Octavia, who has a monoracial White parent says her phenotype has caused people to question her identity. In talking about a White peer, Octavia says:

"She thinks because I have White privilege that means I'm White and can't claim being Mixed. Some of my friends say I'm too pale to claim to be part-Black."

Octavia is one of many respondents who mention White privilege or the burden of Whiteness (Burke & Kao 2013).

Burden of White-Assumed Privilege

Achievement imposter syndrome literature demonstrates that survival guilt (or obtaining access to spaces inaccessible to one's peers) increases feelings of imposter syndrome (Austin et al. 2009). I argue that this is paralleled in racial imposter syndrome. Those with a monoracial White parent may have higher rates of racial imposter syndrome because of guilt associated with White-assumed privilege. For instance, Chelsea confides:

"I struggle a lot with my identity. I don't want to ignore experiences with discrimination that I haven't encountered because I'm White or White-passing. It doesn't feel true to say White, but at the same time, I'm not sure if I'm allowed to say that I'm mixed."

Respondents discuss feeling torn between honoring the struggles visibly Black individuals face and acknowledging their light skin privilege, with being seen as non-White and honoring their Black ancestry. For individuals with a monoracial White parent and high imposter syndrome, if they are "allowed" or "should" say they are Multiracial is an active question. Cara shares she has sought the advice of friends, family, and other

139

Multiracial people on online forums to help her decide if she should identify as White or Multiracial. She describes her identity struggle:

"If I identify as multiracial, am I disregarding that darker skin women who go through hardships I don't encounter? Or would it be worse for me to ignore my Black ancestry by not identifying as mixed?"

The tension between acknowledging the privilege from sometimes being viewed as White and honoring one's Black racial background leads many in this group who have racial imposter syndrome to struggle with what race they "should" identify with. Garret shares:

"Sometimes people would respond that there had to be more than just White, so I don't know if I am Mixed or not because it's really a low percentage of my racial background so I feel like I don't have the right to identify as a person of color. I'm definitely not embarrassed of my Black ancestry, but I'm concerned it's not appropriate for me to identify with specific labels if I've had such a privileged life."

Other respondents select a non-White identity and alternate between feeling confident in their identity notwithstanding their White-assumed privilege and feeling imposter syndrome. For instance, Baker was socialized as Black as an adolescent in the South, but now says some people do not accept that he is part-Black due to his skin color or thinking that being "25% Black" is not enough to identify as Black.

"It doesn't really bother me that strangers don't look at me and see me as Black but it pisses me off when people say how I can or can't identify. It is my right to identify with my Black ancestry and I can do that while acknowledging the privileges that I have from White privilege, which having those privileges has truly given me just so much guilt. Even with the privileges, I'd prefer to look Black or at minimum not White."

Blackfishing and Appropriating Blackness

Being viewed as White also leads to concerns around being seen as "Blackfishing." Blackfishing is a term popularized on the Internet for when a non-Black person pretends they are Black through makeup, hairstyles, and fashion (Gawronski 2019). Emma summarizes this when she says,

"I don't think people go through the level of self-policing as Mixed White–passing people do, or the things they speak up about because they appear to be White...I'm concerned about how much I tan because I don't want to be seen as Blackfishing… I wanted to have braids as a protective style while it grew out and I ended up not doing because I couldn't find it in myself to be okay with it. I didn't want to appropriate anything. "

Even though Emma and the other respondents who express this concern *are* Black, they are fearful their White appearance would lead others, particularly strangers who do not know their racial background, to believe they are Blackfishing. Since research on imposter syndrome has found that individuals engage in impression management to keep up the façade, I would assume we would find individuals to do

"appearance work" (Khanna 2010); however, I find these respondents avoid doing appearance work to not be viewed as Blackfishing. For instance, Suraya describes not wanting to feel like a "poser" by adopting Black hairstyles.

> "Because my skin is so light, I don't want to look like one of those girls on Instagram who's Black fishing, even though I won't be Black fishing, but I'm light enough that there could be questions. That sucks, I should be allowed to braid my type of hair. I have the type of hair that should be braided."

The fear of being seen as Blackfishing was only brought up as a source for racial imposter syndrome by women. This is possibly because the higher frequency of phenomenon of White women being criticized for adopting a Black phenotypic appearance compared to men. Savannah brings up a popular Blackfishing Internet sensation, Woah Vicky, that she does not want to be seen as:

> "I'm passing and what Black women have to go through- I feel confused about my desire to try new things [wearing wigs or braids] like I'll just look goofy or like I'm trying to pretend to be someone I'm not… I know it will make me look "more societally mixed." I'm still highly aware of the possibility that others will perceive me as the ignorant White girl. I don't want to be seen as a Woah Vicky. For most people, if they didn't know I was mixed they would assume I was fully White."

Like Paragg's (2017) respondents, these individuals were hyper-aware of the "racial gaze." However, instead of creating ready narratives to respond to out-group

members like Paragg's (2017) respondents, they develop racial imposter syndrome and attempt to avoid situations that may cause their identity to require justification.

LIMITATIONS

This study was limited to individuals who would self-identify as being Multiracial and volunteer to discuss their racial background. While it was difficult to recruit interviews from those with a monoracial Black parent, frequently those with a monoracial White parent sought me out. This may indicate that the respondents who found my study were having identity struggles and actively searching the internet for answers; likely resulting in a population high in racial imposter syndrome. Any further research on the Multiracial population with a representative sample should include racial imposter syndrome in their questions in order to get a more accurate account of frequency within Multiracial groups.

While limiting the respondents in this sample between the ages of 18-30 was an important control for cohort effects in identity choices, racial imposter syndrome may be impacted by age. Although there is conflicting research on the impact of age for imposter syndrome, with some finding no age effect (Lester & Moderski 1995; Oriel, Plane, Mundt 2004; Want 2006), other earlier literature found increased age is correlated with lower impostorism (Chae, Piedmont, Estadt, Wicks 1995; Thompson, Davis, Davidson 1998). Further research should investigate if there is a difference in frequency or intensity of racial imposter syndrome by age.

Respondents indicated that an increase in Blackfishing leads to heightened fears of being seen as a fraud. However, because this is not a longitudinal study, it is limited in

concluding a connection in increased media attention to Blackfishing and feelings of imposterism. While this was a common theme from female respondents, there are few studies on Blackfishing that would allow for a tracking of an increase in White individuals pretending to be Black. Future research should test this hypothesis in experimental studies on Blackfishing and rises in feelings of imposterism.

DISCUSSION

This article uses Multiracial racial identity to more fully understand racial imposter syndrome .Almost a quarter of all Multiracials in this study recount feeling racial imposter syndrome. Within those who experience racial imposter syndrome, most either hold essentialist constructions of racial groups or do not believe their appearance aligns with their selected racial group. Multiracials with a monoracial White parent experience racial imposter syndrome more often than those with a monoracial Black parent. Many with a monoracial White parent attribute their racial imposter syndrome to their White-assumed privilege. Within this group, women mention fears of being seen as Blackfishing as exacerbating their racial imposter syndrome.

This article also uses racial imposter syndrome to more fully understand Multiracial identity. Imposter syndrome in achievement is defined as being unable to correctly evaluate one's own performance (Kets de Vries 2005). In some ways, this remains true of racial imposter syndrome; it is the inability to accurately assess one's acceptance into racial groups. However, in other ways, it is correct evaluation: an acknowledgment that one's phenotype or behavior does not match the stereotypical fit of the racial group to many outsiders. Studying racial imposter syndrome gives insights into

the meanings that Multiracials give to certain racial groups and who is considered an authentic group member based on phenotype and behavior.

In addition to understanding the lived experience of Multiracials to better understand where they fall on the racial terrain, looking at racial imposter syndrome helps us learn who is considered an "authentic" in-group member. Members of both second-generation groups who have racial imposter syndrome consider first-generation individuals as authentic Multiracials. Future research should continue to analyze which racial group second-generation Multiracials are subsumed into. Whether they are considered Black or White will impact racial boundaries and potentially the existing racial structure.

Although Multiraciality has an established history in the United States (Hodes 1999), research on Multiracials is fairly inchoate. Previous literature has examined boundaries around Black and White racial categories and the meanings associated with them through looking at who is considered an authentic or periphery group member (Gatzambide 2014). Still most studies have treated Multiracial as a porous racial group that no one with a Multiracial background is excluded from. However, this study finds that some Multiracial individuals feel like inauthentic group members and other individuals feel pushed from identifying as Multiracial. Thus this study demonstrates the need to examine the boundaries around Multiracial as a racial category and the role of phenotype in an authentic Multiracial identity. The boundaries around Multiraciality are policed, not by other Multiracials, but by out-group members. Further research should investigate further the meanings of Multiraciality and who is considered an authentic in-

145

group member among Multiracials and other racial groups. This will be critical in understanding the transmission of racial identification within Multiracial families and the future of Multiracial identification.

Conclusion

The research objective of this dissertation is to understand the insights that studying second-generation Multiracials provides for current understandings of racial identities and racial boundaries. This section summarizes how I accomplished this research objective through three articles examining two aspects of racial identity: racial categorization (how a Multiracial person identifies themselves) and reflected race (how others identify the Multiracial person). I begin by reiterating the foundation for the research question and my research objective. Next, I tie together the resulting conclusions from each article and highlight my contributions to sociological knowledge: first, the importance of generational status and separating parental race in understanding Multiracial identity; second, the potential shifting of racial boundaries: where second-generation Multiracials perceive acceptance into the White category and low access to a Black identity. Finally, I conclude by suggesting a future research agenda given these findings.

For four decades, scholars have analyzed the experiences of individuals on the nexus of multiple racial categories to understand racial boundaries (Telles & Sue 2009). However, most of the research on how Multiracials navigate racial lines is limited to first-generation Multiracials. This literature on first-generation Multiracials has overwhelmingly concluded that Black-White Multiracials are particularly impacted by a legacy of hypodescent compared to other Multiracials and therefore, less likely to have access to Whiteness and more likely to be considered as Black and identify as Black (Qian 2004; Brunsma 2006; Lee & Bean 2007). The research question is if including

147

second-generation Multiracials confirms or challenges this understanding of racial boundaries in the United States.

In addition to ultimately determining that second-generation Multiracials are an important site to study racial identity and boundary formation, this dissertation illuminates the importance of disaggregating findings based on parental race. While the limited previous research on second-generation Multiracials identification choices amalgamates all Black-White individuals (Morning & Saperstein 2018), each of my articles points to the significance of including the racial background of the monoracial parent. In Article 1, individuals with a monoracial Black parent more frequently identified themselves as Black and significantly less often as Multiracial compared to those with a monoracial White parent. Individuals with a monoracial White parent were more likely to recount being viewed as White and not as Black in Article 2. Multiracials with a monoracial White parent also reported feeling racial imposter syndrome in Article 3 almost twice as often. Taken together, these findings demonstrate is intellectually perilous to amalgamate all second-generation Multiracials.

When I disaggregate second-generation Multiracials based on racial parent background, I find that the boundaries around Whiteness may be shifting. Previous research on first-generation Multiracials has included part-Black Multiracials are particularly excluded from being identified or identifying as White (Waters 1999; Bean & Stevens 2003; Qian 2004). This dissertation suggests that the boundary is blurring for Black-White Multiracials who have a White monoracial parent. Article 1 finds almost a quarter (14/60) of this group identifies singularly as White or White and Multiracial. This

potential for the White boundary blurring is supported even more in Article 2, which discovers the modal race Multiracials with a White parent are considered is White (52/60), either exclusively or sometimes. Article 3 demonstrates the expectation phenotypically White Multiracials feel to identify as White is so strong that they develop racial imposter syndrome when they reject that identity. Between these three articles it becomes apparent that while some second-generation Multiracials may have access to identifying as White based on their reflected appraisals, most reject that identity even when it causes feelings of racial imposter syndrome.

While this dissertation indicates increasing access to a White identity for some, it also suggests a perceived lack of access to a Black identity. Historically Black-White Multiracials were identified by others and categorized themselves based on the legacy of hypodescent, or the categorization of a person with more than one racial background according to whichever race is deemed of lower status (Hollinger 2003). In each article, I argue that this is changing. Article 1 finds that for all second-generation Black-White Multiracials, only slightly over a quarter (28/99) exclusively categorize themselves as Black. Article 2 finds that not even a quarter of all respondents (17/99) are exclusively identified by others as Black. Article 3 suggests that second-generation Multiracials feel racial imposter syndrome, or like a racial fraud, for identifying as Black or even as part-Black Multiracial. Taken together, these three studies reveal the boundaries around Blackness may be shifting.

A question yet to be asked by the literature to my knowledge is if there boundaries around Multiracial. Articles 1 and 2 seem to suggest that Multiracial is a

fairly permeable racial group without rigid boundaries. For instance in Article 1, well over half of respondents (67/99) categorized themselves as Multiracial exclusively or sometimes. Within this group of Multiracials who categorize themselves as Multiracial, almost 1/3rd (22/46) switch between a Multiracial identity, indicating porous borders. Moreover, Article 2 shows that over half of all respondents (56/99) say either sometimes or all of the time they receive ambiguous reflected appraisals or are assumed to be Multiracial by others. However, Article 3 questions this permeable nature as respondents experience distress in their access to an authentic Multiracial identity. This research illuminates that including second-generation Multiracials helps us understand how the Multiracial boundary is created, maintained and potentially re-created.

Still, more work needs to be done on how Multiracials classify an authentic in-group member to understand potential boundaries around Multiraciality. There are few qualitative studies on the meanings of Multiracial to Multiracial-identified individuals (pilgrim 2020). Future work should also focus individuals who may identify personally as Multiracial but not feel like they have access to an authentic Multiracial identity. This will also provide a deeper understanding of where Multiracials perceive themselves in relation to other racial groups in the racial hierarchy.

Where Multiracials are placed in the social terrain also necessitates an understanding of how outsiders are defining Multiracial and the boundaries around it. This is important because throughout the interviews, no one mentioned Multiracial individuals telling someone they could not identify as Multiracial. Instead, in both groups, members of monoracial groups would tell them if they could or shouldn't identify

as Multiracial. Few sociologists have analyzed the process outsiders take to place Multiracials into racial groups. Subsequent work should include generational status in how outsiders categorize Multiracials.

This research has proven that generational status impacts experience for Black-White Multiracials: whether an increase in Multiracial categorization (Article 1), a difference in reflected appraisals (Article 2), or experiences with racial imposter syndrome as a result of not being in the first-generation of racial mixing (Article 3). However, this work only examines Black-White Multiracials. Future research should determine if this generational difference is similar between other racial groups. Additional research on second-generation Multiracials including multiple racial groups could compare experiences in order to see if the uniqueness of Black-White Multiracials remains.

So far, the recommendations for a future agenda are self-reports on race and racial attitudes, or what Bonilla-Silva (2004) refers to as "subjective indicators of consciousness" (Bonilla-Silva 2004 p. 937). Still, to more fully understand the placement of Black-White Multiracials in the racial hierarchy, future research should also include patterns in inter-group social interactions and "objective indicators of standing of the three racial strata" like socioeconomic status (Bonilla-Silva 2004 p. 935). Previous research has examined the socioeconomic position of Multiracials to their monoracial counterparts (Campbell 2010; Hochschild, Weaver & Burch 2012), but to my knowledge, no one has done this between generational statuses. First-generation Black-White Multiracials have a socioeconomic status in between their Black and White counterparts

(Hochschild, Weaver, & Burch 2012). If second-generation Black-White Multiracials also fare better than their lower-status racial group but worse than the median member of their highest-status racial group, we would see a widening in the socioeconomic spectrum Multiracials. To find out if an increase in the Multiracial population may shift the racial structure, it is necessary to include all generations of Multiracials.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A. LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Multiracials with Monoracial White Parent Key Demographics

Name	Sex	Age	SES	Education	Region of Origin	White Mother	Predominately White High School	Live with Black Parent
Alyssa	F	21	Middle	Some	W	Yes	Yes	Yes
Andrew	M	28	Middle	BA	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Ashley	F	18	Working	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ava	F	28	Poor	BA	W	Yes	Yes	No
Baker	M	25	Middle	BA	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Betty	F	30	Upper	PhD	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Brandon	M	18	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Brooklyn	F	18	Working	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Bryan	M	20	Upper Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Caitlyn	F	30	Poor	BA	NE	Yes	Yes	No
Cara	F	19	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Charlotte	F	25	Upper Middle	Some Graduate	W	No	Yes	Yes
Chastity	F	18	Lower Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Chelsea	F	21	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	No
Claire	F	22	Lower	BA	S	No	Yes	Yes

			Middle					
Cole	M	18	Upper Middle	Some	NE	No	No	Yes
Conor	M	19	Upper Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Dawn	F	21	Upper	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Derek	M	30	Poor	BA	S	No	Yes	Yes
Diamond	F	24	Working	BA	W	Yes	Yes	No
Emily	F	20	Upper	Some	W	Yes	Yes	No
Emma	F	29	Lower middle	Grad	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ethan	M	18	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Finn	M	27	Lower Middle	Some	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Garret	M	19	Lower Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hannah	F	18	Working	Some	S	Yes	Yes	No
Jake	M	23	Middle	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jayla	F	27	Upper	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jonathan	M	30	Upper Middle	BA	S	No	No	Yes
Joseph	M	21	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Katie	F	21	Upper Middle	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kayla	F	24	Middle	College	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kendra	F	20	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Name	Sex	Age	Class	Education	Region	Col1	Col2	Col3
Kevin	M	21	Middle	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lexus	F	28	Working	Some	S	No	No	No
Lia	F	25	Middle	Graduate	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Liz	F	26	Upper	BA	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lydia	F	28	Upper	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Mark	M	30	Upper	College	NE	Yes	No	No
Martin	M	21	Upper	Some	S	Yes	No	No
Matthew	M	18	Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Max	M	20	Upper	College	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Megan	F	18	Upper	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Michael	M	18	Upper Middle	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Naomi	F	19	Middle	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nathan	M	27	Lower Middle	Graduate	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Nicole	F	20	Working	Some	MW	Yes	No	No
Octavia	F	19	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Olive	F	24	Poor	BA	W	Yes	No	Yes
Patricia	F	18	Lower Middle	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Penelope	F	26	Middle	BA	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Robin	F	20	Upper Middle	Some	W	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sandra	F	30	Poor	College	NE	No	No	Yes
Sarah	F	19	Upper	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	No

			Middle					
Savannah	F	20	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Stephen	M	24	Middle	BA	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Suraya	F	23	Poor	BA	MW	No	Yes	No
Tara	F	29	Upper	Grad	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Tina	F	27	Lower Middle	BA	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Triston	M	20	Upper	Some	MW	Yes	Yes	Yes
Victoria	F	19	Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes

Table 2. Multiracials with a Monoracial Black Parent Key Demographics

Name	Sex	Age	SES	Educa-tion	Region of Origin	Black/ White mother	Predo minate-ly White High School	Live with biracial parent
Ace	M	20	Middle	Some	NE	No	No	Yes
Amaya	F	30	Upper Middle	Grad	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Angela	F	27	Working	Grad	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
April	F	27	Middle	Grad	S	Yes	No	Yes
Asia	F	18	Upper Middle	Some	W	Yes	Yes	Yes
Bale	M	19	Upper	Some	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Brittany	F	24	Working	College	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Candice	F	30	Upper Middle	College	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Corbin	M	19	Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Damien	M	20	Upper Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	No
Daris	M	18	Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Destiny	F	18	Working	Some	S	No	No	Yes
Doug	M	18	Upper Middle	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Earl	M	26	Upper	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Ellen	F	28	Upper	College	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Evelyn	F	25	Middle	College	NE	No	No	No
Giselle	F	18	Upper	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Imani	F	23	Poor	College	NE	Yes	No	Yes

Isabella	F	24	Middle	College	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Janelle	F	19	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jeremy	M	20	Upper Middle	Some	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Joanna	F	28	Upper	Grad	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jocelyn	F	19	Working	Some	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Keanna	F	26	Working	Grad	MW	Yes	No	Yes
Laronnd-a	F	22	Working	College	S	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lysate	F	28	Middle	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Malik	M	20	Middle	Some	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Mallory	F	21	Working	Some	S	Yes	No	Yes
Marcus	M	29	Working	College	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Moniqu-e	F	22	Upper	Some	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Morgan	F	27	Working	Grad	NE	Yes	No	Yes
Ron	M	28	Working	Grad	S	Yes	No	Yes
Sadie	F	27	Working	Grad	SE	No	No	Yes
Silas	M	21	Lower Middle	Some	MW	No	No	Yes
Will	M	30	Middle	Grad	S	Yes	Yes	No
Tayller	F	24	Upper Middle	BA	NE	No	Yes	No
Willow	F	29	Lower Middle	Grad	S	Yes	No	Yes
Vera	F	26	Upper Middle	Grad	NE	No	Yes	Yes
Violet	F	27	Upper Middle	BA	NE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 3. Multiracials with a Monoracial White Parent Identity Patterns

Name	Public Categorization to Others	Internal Self-Concept	External Perception: Reflected Appraisals
Alyssa	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Andrew	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Ashley	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Ava	Multiracial	Multiracial	Part-Black; White
Baker	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Betty	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Brandon	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Brooklyn	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Bryan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Caitlyn	White; Multiracial	White; Multiracial	White
Cara	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Charlotte	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous
Chastity	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Chelsea	White	White; Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Claire	Multiracial	White; Multiracial	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous
Cole	White; Multiracial	Transcendent	Ambiguous; White
Conor	Multiracial; Black	Transcendent	White
Dawn	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Derek	Multiracial	Multiracial	White

Diamond	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Emily	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Emma	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Ethan	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Garret	White; Multiracial	White; Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Hannah	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous
Jake	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Jayla	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Jonathan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Joseph	Black	Black	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous
Katie	Multiracial	Multiracial; Black	Ambiguous; White
Kayla	Multiracial	Multiracial; Black	Ambiguous; White
Kendra	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Kevin	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Lexus	Hispanic	Hispanic	Ambiguous; White
Lia	Multiracial; Black	Multiracial; Black	White
Liz	White	White	White
Lydia	Multiracial	Multiracial	White; Ambiguous; Black
Mark	Black	Black; Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Martin	Black	Black	White
Matthew	Multiracial; Black	Black	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous

Max	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous
Megan	White	White	White
Michael	White; Multiracial	White	White
Naomi	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Nathan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Nicole	Multiracial; Black	Black	White
Octavia	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Olive	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Patricia	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Penelope	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Robin	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Sandra	White	Multiracial	White
Sarah	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Savannah	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Stephen	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Suraya	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; Hispanic; White
Tara	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Tina	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Triston	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Victoria	Multiracial	Multiracial	White

Table 4. Multiracials with Monoracial Black Parent Identity Patterns

Name	Public Categorization	Internal Self-Concept	External Perception: Reflected Appraisals
Ace	Black; Multiracial	Multiracial; Black; Jamaican	Black; Part-Black
Amaya	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous Non-Black
Angela	Black	Black	Dominican; Black
April	Black	Black	Ambiguous; Part-Black
Asia	Black	Black	Black
Bale	Black	Black	Black
Brittany	Multiracial	Multiracial	White; Ambiguous; Black
Candice	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Corbin	Black; Multiracial	Multiracial	Black; Ambiguous
Damien	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; Part-Black; Black
Daris	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black; Multiracial
Destiny	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black
Doug	Black	Black	Black
Earl	Black	Black	Black
Ellen	Black	Black	Ambiguous; Part-Black
Evelyn	Black; Multiracial	Black; Multiracial	Ambiguous; Black

Gizelle	Black	Black	Black
Imani	Multiracial	Biracial Caribbean	Ambiguous; Black
Isabella	Black	Black; Multiracial	White; Ambiguous
Janelle	Black	Black	Black
Jeremy	Black; Multiracial	Multiracial	Part-Black; Ambiguous
Joanna	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Jocelyn	Black	Black	Black
Keanna	Black	Black	Black
Laronnda	Black	Black	Black
Lisette	Black	Black	Ambiguous
Malik	Black	Black	Black; Dominican
Mallory	Multiracial; Prefer Not to Respond; Black	Transcendent	Black; Ambiguous
Marcus	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Monique	Black	Black	Black
Morgan	Black	Black	Black; part-Black
Ron	Black	Black	Black
Sadie	Black	Black	Ambiguous; Part-Black
Silas	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black; Ambiguous
Will	Multiracial	Multiracial	Black
Tayller	Multiracial; Black	Multiracial	Part-Black

Willow	Black	Black	Black
Vera	Multiracial; Black	Multiracial	Part-Black
Violet	Black	Black	Black

Table 5. Racial Categorization by Parental Racial Background

	White	White; Multiracial	Multiracial	Black; Multiracial	Black	Total
Monoracial Black Parent	0	0	9	7	23	39
Monoracial White Parent	4	10	37	4	5	60
Total	4	10	46	11	28	99

Table 6 Reflected Race by Monoracial Parent

	White	Ambiguous and White	Ambiguous	Ambiguous and Part-Black/Black	Black	Total
Monoracial White Parent	26	26	4	4	0	60
Monoracial Black Parent	0	4	3	15	17	39
Total	26	30	7	19	17	99

Table 7. Racial Imposter Syndrome in Respondents

	Yes	No	Total
Respondents	25	74	99

Table 8. Racial Imposter Syndrome by Monoracial Parent Background

	Yes	No	Total
Monoracial White Parent	18	42	60
Monoracial Black Parent	7	32	39
Total	25	74	99

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interviewer: I am a student at Penn, and I am conducting interviews for my Dissertation. I am studying the experience of Multiracial individuals.

During this study, you will be asked to answer some questions as to your experience being Multiracial. This interview was designed to be approximately an hour in length. However, please feel free to expand on the topic or talk about related ideas. Also, if there are any questions you would rather not answer or that you do not feel comfortable answering, please say so and we will stop the interview or move on to the next question, whichever you prefer.

All the information will be kept confidential. I will keep the data in a secure place. Only my faculty advisor and I will have access to this information. Upon completion of this project, all data will be stored in a secure location. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Introduction

- Lets get started with you telling me about yourself

    o Where do you currently live? What do you do for a living? How old are you?

- Where did you grow up? What was it like growing up there? What were the defining characteristics of the town?

Family Background

- To get us started, tell me a little bit about your family background. What was your family like?

  o What's the highest education of both your parents?

  o If your parents worked outside of the home, what kind of work did they do?

  o How would you describe your family in terms of social class?

- Who lived in your household growing up? Did this shift?

  o Do you have siblings?

- What was your relationship like with your parents?

  o What messages did they give you implicitly or explicitly about race?

  o Was the message the same for your siblings?

- If you have siblings, how has their racial experience been similar to yours?

  o How has it been different?

- Did you communicate or spend time with either side of your extended family?

- o If not, why do you think that is?

- o If yes, did you spend time with one side more than the other? What were the family events like?

- How do you feel, if at all, having a parent who is biracial is different than having parents who are of two different races?

  - o How do you feel it is similar?

Network

- Describe to me your current social network. What does your current friend group look like? How did you all meet?

- How does your current neighborhood compare to your hometown?

- What is your current work environment like? What is it like being Multiracial there?

- Next, we will talk a little about relationships.

  - o If you've dated previously, what race have your partners been?

  - o Do you have a preference for a particular race in a partner? Why do you think that is?

Racial Identity

- Next, we will be talking about your racial identity. When did you start thinking about race as a child?

  - What were the messages you received in school? In your neighborhood? From family members?

- I'm interested in hearing about the journey of your racial identity. Can you talk about how you racially identified as a child and walk me through middle school, high school, college to now – and any important stories that come up along the way. Some people feel as if they're going on tangents, but these tangents are often helpful in me picking out what you find is most important about your identity formation and I will circle back to them later in the interview.

- How often do you think about your race?

  - When do you?

- How do people see you racially?

  - What leads you to that conclusion?

  - Is this different than how you would prefer others to view you racially?

- Which statement best describes your identity? It is my own sense of personal identity; it is the way society sees me; it is the group I feel I belong to; my parents are from different racial/ethnic groups; my friends/peers identify me this way; some other reason.

o   Can you share a story why

- How do you identify yourself to others?

- How strongly do you identify with being [Black/Asian; White]? Would you say very strongly, somewhat, very little, or not at all? Why do you think that is?

- Is there a racial group, whether White or Black, with which you more strongly identify? Why do you think that is?

- Some Multiracials point to times where they "feel" like they are more one race than the other. Is there a time you identify more strongly with one race or less with the other?

- Have you encountered discrimination, prejudice, and racism?

- How do you feel during times of racial unrest? Is this different than other times?

Multiracial Identity

- Next, I'm going to ask you a series of questions about how close or different you feel to your various racial groups using the spectrum "I feel very close, close, indifferent, not close, or very different" from the following groups:

  o   My minority counterpart,

  o   My majority counterpart,

  o   Other Multiracials with similar minority counterparts,

173

- o Other Multiracials with similar majority counterparts,

- o Multiracials with different racial counterparts.

- o Can you talk more in-depth about why?

- What has been your experience in monoracial settings?

  - o (If only discusses majority White, ask alternative and vise versa)

  - o Do you feel more accepted in one group than the other?

  - o Do you either intentionally or unintentionally find yourself code-switching?

- Do you consider Multiracials as a group a minority group?

- How do you feel about the media and how it either portrays race or Multiracial people?

<u>Closing Comments</u>

- We are nearing the end of our interview. Thank you so much for all you have shared. We have covered a number of topics, and an experience or idea may have come up while we were discussing that you didn't get the chance to share. Is there anything that would be important to know or understand about your experience as a person with Multiracial ancestry that we haven't covered?

APPENDIX C: REFLEXIVITY

I came to this research question through my own personal experience. As an often non-Black looking Multiracial person with a White parent, every time I read that Black-White Multiracials were most often considered Black, I knew that was not true from my own experience. My dad was adopted, and while I know the race of his father, we do not know any information on his mother. He always identified exclusively as Black, but I saw much of my own experience in interviewing second-generation Multiracials with a White parent. While this allowed me to ask questions that a researcher outside of this racial background may have missed, it could have also narrowed my perspective. I've included those instances below.

I intentionally worked to try to acknowledge any bias when it arose. I caught myself feeling frustrated when (few) individuals would express opting into a part-Black identity for material benefit. I have read scholars, and heard colloquially individuals, express unfounded, hypothetical concern that the fluidity of race allows Multiracial people to opt in to whatever identity is beneficial at that time. I personally found that hypothetical accusation dangerous to evaluating real identity development and changes. Rather than ignore this data, I looked for a pattern. These individuals were also more likely to demonstrate Honorary White group characteristics: not identifying as people of color and holding some stigmatized associations of Blackness.

The second time I saw my own personal beliefs impacting how I felt about my findings was when individuals expressed having an invalidated identity by Black peers.

175

Periphery group members are more likely to uphold group norms, and as someone who identifies on the periphery of Blackness, I feel protective over a group I feel privileged to be accepted in. Similarly, I looked for a pattern. I found that those who felt excluded from the Black community often grew up in predominately Black areas and had a Multiracial phenotype. As I did more research, I learned this had been found in previous work. I included the pattern.

Additionally, I myself have wrestled with racial imposter syndrome. Interestingly, I did not know that word until a respondent of mine shared it with me in regards to their own experience. In the first round of interviews in 2016, I did not directly ask about racial imposter syndrome because the term itself was unknown to me – even if the feeling was not. As I continued to hear respondents explicitly mention the phrase, I went back through the data to look for quotes that mentioned feeling like a fraud or insecure in their identity and included more direct questions in my interviews about feeling like an imposter.

Overall, I attempted to maintain an objective disposition throughout the interviews. There were times when a respondent would share a unique experience that I also had, but I would keep a neutral tone and follow up with the next question rather than share with the interviewee that I could relate to them. Occasionally a respondent would ask me about my identity, and I told them I would wait and share it at the end of the interview as to not bias their responses.

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