UNDERSTANDING MULTIRACIAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

USING CONSTRUCTIVIST GROUNDED THEORY

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Keywords: Multiracial Identity, Race, Gender, Sexuality, Class, Intersectionality, Constructivist Grounded Theory, Critical Multiracial Theory

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my father, Dwight, who has been the rock in my life, encouraging me to follow my dreams, and helped instill an appreciation for learning about other people, places, and ways of life.

Acknowledgements

Mahalo to my committee for offering their support, knowledge, and accommodating the personal difficulties that I have experienced while working on my dissertation. I am especially thankful for my advisor and mentor, Dr. Jack Barile, whose continued support and belief in me enabled me to finish this work. Thank you to Lorrie Okada for her assistance in transcribing interviews, your skills were greatly appreciated. I would also like to offer a huge mahalo nui loa to my participants. Thank you for talking story and sharing your lives with me. I learned so much from all of you. Finally, I would like to thank my partner, Eden, for his continued love and support in all of my endeavors. Hau'oli wau aia oe ma Ko'u ola.

Abstract

The proportion of individuals identifying as multiracial in the United States has steadily increased. On the 2000 U.S. census 6.8 million people identified as multiracial. This was the first time that the option to select more than one race was provided. On the 2010 U.S. census, 9 million people identified as multiracial. Based on the current data from the 2020 U.S. census, 33.8 million people identify as multiracial (Jones et al., 2021). The purpose of this constructivist grounded theory study was to explain the process of how race, gender, sexuality, and class intersect and inform the development of multiracial identity among multiracial individuals. The research question guiding this study was *How does intersectionality (race, gender, sexuality, and class) inform the development of a multiracial identity?* Charmaz' (2014) Constructivist Grounded Theory was used to analyze semi-structured interviews and free-drawing/writing exercises of 23 participants who identified as multiracial individuals. During analysis, five categories emerged from the data, *Minority Racial Background Salience*, *Marginalized Identity Salience*, *Race Should Not be Assumed as Most Important Identity*, *Place is Salient*, and *Family is Foundational*. From these categories an Intersectional Model of Multiracial Identity Development was proposed to explain the intersectional nature of influences on multiracial individuals' identity development. Based on these findings, implications for educators, practitioners, and community organizations, as well as recommendations for further avenues of research were discussed.

Keywords: *Multiracial Identity, Race, Gender, Sexuality, Class, Intersectionality, Constructivist Grounded Theory, Critical Multiracial Theory*

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The proportion of individuals identifying as multiracial in the United States has steadily increased. On the 2000 U.S. census 6.8 million people identified as multiracial. This was the first time that the option to select more than one race was provided. On the 2010 U.S. census, 9 million people identified as multiracial. Based on the current data from the 2020 U.S. census, 33.8 million people identify as multiracial (Jones et al., 2021). The proportion of the population may even be larger, as these numbers do not take into account individuals who have multiracial heritage but do not identify themselves as multiracial, nor individuals who do not report race information or complete the census at all. Although research regarding this population is gaining more popularity, less is known about how various social identities interact with each other and the impacts that they have on the development of a multiracial identity in multiracial individuals.

Background and Justification

Research on racial and ethnic identity has a long and varied history in the literature. First conceived from a deficit orientation, researchers assumed that multiracial individuals were automatically disadvantaged and endured similar experiences as monoracial minority individuals. These views have been documented in Park's (1928) and later Stonequist's (1937) research on the "marginal man," which framed research of multiracial people, particularly those of half African American and half Caucasian American descent, as having similar difficulties and risk factors as other monoracial minorities. A few decades later, a new line of thought emerged, the equivalent approach, which still considered multiracial and monoracial minorities in an equivalent manner, but considered positive outcomes. Because multiracial identity was assumed to operate in a similar fashion to monoracial identity, multiracial identities were not

studied separately from monoracial minority identities and models, such as Cross' (1971) Nigrescence model, which focused on Black identity, were used to examine multiracial identities as well. The third line of research, the variant approach, acknowledged that multiracial and monoracial identity were not the same and also acknowledged that ethnic identity is a separate type of identity from racial identity and was worthy of a separate inquiry, such as Poston's (1990) biracial identity development model. Phinney's (1989, 1990) three-stage model of ethnic identity development was studied separately from the development of multiracial identity models, demonstrating the diverging lines of inquiry of race and ethnicity in the variant approach. Though race and ethnicity were established as separate lines of research they both examined identity as progressing through stages, reaching a final destination of achievement. The ecological approach examines the importance of context and process in multiracial identity, such as Root's (1990, 1996) theoretical model, the ecological framework for understanding multiracial identity and Renn's (2000, 2003) extension of that work through grounded theory. Finally, literature emerging from Critical Mixed Race Studies and multiracial identity integration offer new promising lines of inquiry. For example, Atkin and Yoo (2019) argue for a Critical Multiracial Theory (MultiCrit) in approaching the study of multiracial experiences through the context of racially oppressive structures that impact multiracial individuals. They suggest future studies should examine the racial-ethnic socialization and family structures of multiracial families with different racial backgrounds. Additionally, Cheng and Lee (2009) proposed the construct of Multiracial Identity Integration (MII) to measure the differences in perceived compatibility between having multiple racial identities. The MII measured racial distance, or the perception of racial identities being disparate and racial conflict which aims to determine

whether different racial identities are perceived as conflicting. Recent research has also implored scholars to conduct research with multiracial youth. Nishina and Witkow (2019) argue that studying multiracial youth can benefit our existing body of literature by providing insights to racial and ethnic identity development, social-cognitive development, and how adolescents interact with their peers. The current research is still relatively new and has room for more exploration. Conducting a constructivist grounded theory study may further add to this work by exploring how other facets of identity contribute to multiracial identification. Understanding the contextual nature of multiracial identification may aid in the development of programs targeting multiracial individuals, as well as understanding diverse student populations in various levels of the educational system.

Deficiencies in the Evidence

While the theoretical views about multiracial identity have changed much in the past 95 years since the ideas of the "marginal man," a limited amount of research in psychological literature has engaged the intersectionality between various social identities, including race, gender, sexuality, and class together. Most research on multiracial identity development focuses on the specific processes and outcomes of having a multiracial identity. However, individuals do not live their lives as multiracial or monoracial individuals for part of the time, then live as men, women, transgendered, or express their hetero- homo- or bi-sexuality for part of the time, then lead part of their lives as wealthy, poor, or somewhere in between. Individuals live out these various social identities concurrently. They must negotiate the privileges and disadvantages that they encounter with each of these social identities simultaneously. What are the effects of these

interconnected identities? How do they impact a multiracial individual's understanding of their own identity?

Audience

By examining the intersectionality of social identities and their impacts on the development of a multiracial identity through the use of qualitative approaches, social scientists can better understand how social identities impact other aspects of multiracial individuals' lives. With this understanding, researchers can better develop models about decision-making processes that multiracial individuals follow. For example, a person who identifies as a gay, Black woman may prioritize her decisions based on her sexuality if she sees her sexuality as more central to her identity, whereas a person who identifies as a Black, gay woman, may prioritize her decisions based on her race if she views her race as more central to her identity, or perhaps this person views themselves as a woman who happens to be gay and Black, and prioritizes her decisions based on her gender identity.

The nuanced ways that multiracial identities intersect with other identities may also impact education and would be important for those in the field of education to understand. For example, if programs are being created to target specific types of students, such as those who come from low-income families, do these programs account for the various ways that students may identify themselves and how that might affect their level of buy-in to such programs? Students may not have a strong identification with their class identity and opt-out of participating in such programs. Multiracial students who feel more connected to only part of their racial background may choose not to participate if the program is perceived to be focusing on an identity that they do not feel as connected to.

Additionally, by developing a more nuanced understanding of the intersectional nature of identities that multiracial individuals experience, researchers may gain a better understanding of the tensions that may be experienced or the ways that a multiracial person may be accepted or rejected among certain groups. For example, a person who identifies as a gay, Black woman may be welcomed within her local LGBTQ+ community, but perhaps she is not accepted among her Black peers due to her sexuality. The nuances of intersectional identities affect perceptions about race, prejudice, discrimination, racism, and identity politics. Practitioners may be better informed about effective therapeutic techniques for multiracial individuals. Community Organizers can utilize the information learned about the intersectional nature of multiracial identity in their development of useful community programs and organizations.

Definition of Key Terms

Throughout this manuscript, several key terms are frequently mentioned and discussed. I make use of the terms, "race," "multiracial," "ethnicity," "gender," "sexuality," "class," "intersectionality," and "development." when discussing identity, especially in regards to how these terms relate to one another. Additionally, I use several terms that are related to my methodology including "constructivist grounded theory," "initial coding," "focused coding," and "memo-writing." I have included a detailed description of the definitions I will be using for these key terms to assist the reader in understanding how I make use of these terms within a scholarly context.

Race

Race is a social construct with concrete and measurable consequences that has been used to group individuals according to real and imagined shared qualities or characteristics

(Rockquemore et al., 2009). In the context of this study, participants' will share their own perceptions about what race/s they feel they are a part of.

Multiracial

Before defining the term multiracial, Shih and Sanchez (2009, p. 5) argue for the importance of considering how racial categories are constructed and how individuals determine in which categories they belong. I join in taking their perspective that "race is socially constructed and operationalize the term multiracial using social criteria (i.e., culturally constructed definitions or self-definitions)." Thus, as Root (1992) and Shih and Sanchez (2009) have stated, the term multiracial will be identified as when a person identifies themself as belonging to two or more different racial backgrounds, based upon criteria that are socially constructed.

Ethnicity

In this study I define ethnicity as a social construct based on shared culture, such as practices, beliefs, and values (Conerly et al., 2021). While race and ethnicity are often used interchangeably in colloquial speech, this study will focus on racial, rather than ethnic identity.

Gender

Gender is a culturally and socially constructed category used to organize roles, expectations, and relationships for women and men (Weber, 2009). In my use of gender, I acknowledge the fluidity of gender, recognizing that individuals may identify themselves as male, female, transgender, and other non-binary categories.

Sexuality

As a central organizing social construct, sexuality includes attitudes, behaviors, and values aligned with an individual's assigned birth sex, gender, and sexual identities, as well as reproduction and aspects of intimacy (Hargons et al., 2017). I use this definition of sexuality to encompass multiple aspects that an individual might consider when thinking about her or his own sexuality, including hetero-, gay/lesbian, bi-sexuality, and other non-binary categories.

Class

Class is defined as an individuals' position in the economy by examining the distribution of wealth, income, and poverty (Weber, 2010). It is often studied as socioeconomic status within the psychology literature, focusing on access to resources by individuals, households, or communities measured by wealth, education, and occupation (Addler et al., 1994; Pollack et al., 2007). This study will address class through participants' subjective descriptions of their wealth, education, and occupation.

Intersectionality

Shields (2008) defines intersectionality as the mutually constitutive, reinforced, and naturalized organizing features of social relations between individuals. Additionally, Cole (2009) states that intersectionality examines the meanings ascribed and the consequences of belonging to and identifying with multiple social categories. Each of the social categories in this study (e.g., race, gender, sexuality, class) have meaning as a category in relation to the other social categories. These social categories are practices and reinforced by labeling them and acting them out. Because of this intersectionality, these social categories should not be studied as distinct and separate identities.

Development

In this study I use the term development to mean the changes that occur in patterns of thinking, feeling, and behavior that individuals exhibit over time (Baltes et al.,1980). Though this study is cross-sectional itself, I will be asking participants to recall and reflect upon different periods of their lives as well as interviewing individuals of various ages and stages in their lives.

Constructivist Grounded Theory

Constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014) is one method of grounded theory based upon social constructionism. From this stance, the researcher is not a value-free, objective observer, and must be reflexive, taking their own values, assumptions, preconceptions, and beliefs into account. This method of grounded theory also acknowledges that reality is a construction and that any data collected and produced is a product of co-construction between researcher and participant. Data collection and data analysis occur simultaneously as the analysis informs the collection of data throughout the study.

Initial Coding

Charmaz (2014) describes initial coding as remaining open to theoretical possibilities that can be discerned in the data. It is a process of systematic analysis of transcripts in which the researcher looks for words, phrases, or ideas that are repeated between and within transcripts. In initial coding, each line is named, or coded, to aid in discovery of implicit concerns and explicit statements, as well as undetected patterns occurring in everyday life that might not be noticed through a general thematic analysis. For instance, each line of an interview transcript would be named based on a summary of the meaning in the participant's words.

Focused Coding

Focused coding looks for codes that appear more frequently in the initial coding stage and seeks to sort and analyze large amounts of data (Charmaz, 2014). This process expedites the analytic work of categorizing data and helps to advance the grounded theoretical direction of the research.

Memo-Writing

Memo-writing is the process of systematically analyzing codes and then elaborating on them through the practice of free-writing, diagraming, and other measures to help generate pieces of the grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014). Memos provide a way to draw comparisons between different pieces of data and help identify when saturation of a category occurs.

Study Organization

Chapter two includes a review of relevant studies examining multiracial identity, as well as sexual identity, gender identity, class identity, and intersectionality. In chapter three, I discuss how constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014) was utilized to inform my data collection, data analysis procedures, and how rigor was established. Chapter four describes the findings of the study, detailing quotes from participants that illustrate these findings, and the proposed ecological model of multiracial identity development. A discussion of the findings, limitations of the study, implications of the results, and recommendations are included in chapter five.

CHAPTER 2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In grounded theory methodology, the literature review process is typically conducted after data collection and analysis have already been conducted (Charmaz, 2014; Corbin & Strauss, 2014; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Among current researchers employing grounded theory, conducting a literature review at the beginning of a grounded theory project is still controversial as one of the main features of grounded theory is its emphasis on inductive inquiry, developing theory grounded in the data drawn directly from the perspectives of participants (Elliott & Higgins, 2012; Luckerhoff & Guillemette, 2011; Mitchell, 2014; Suddaby, 2006; Taira & Yamauchi, 2018). However, proponents of conducting a literature review before the start of a grounded theory study state that this process aids in assessing whether grounded theory is an appropriate method for the research. By conducting the literature prior to a study, the researcher can avoid methodological and conceptual pitfalls, keep an open mind going into the study (McGhee et al., 2007), as well as preventing a reinventing of findings that have already been discovered, defining terms, and aiding in collecting data from relevant areas. Furthermore, Corbin and Strauss (2014) state that the literature may be used to help draw comparisons, enhance researcher sensitivity, stimulate analytic questions, provide descriptive materials, provide questions for initial interviews, and aid in confirming findings. For these reasons, I have conducted the following literature review to understand the history of how multiracial identity development has been studied to determine whether grounded theory is the most appropriate method to answer my research question, to avoid 'reinventing findings,' and to make myself aware of my own biases so that I may conduct my study with an open mind. In conducting this literature review I used key phrases that I thought would result in relevant research from the

literature. The following key phrases were used, “multiracial identity development,” “multiracial identity,” “intersectional identity,” “race and gender,” “race and sexuality,” “race and class,” and “identity development.” The results of my literature review included research in psychology, but also from the discipline of sociology, where a larger body of research on multiracial individuals exists.

History of Multiracial Identity Research

In the history of racial and ethnic identity research, several approaches have been used to gain knowledge about how these identities are formed. These approaches have shifted from examining the problems that people with racial minority identities experienced to examining how people with multiracial and monoracial minority identities share the same experiences. Multiracial and monoracial identities were then conceived of as distinct racial categories along with a developed interest in ethnic identities as separate from racial and multiracial identities. A continued interest in multiracial identity research now examines the importance of ecological context. A review of these approaches follows.

The Problem Approach

The Problem Approach to racial identity was first conceptualized by Park’s (1928) idea of the “marginal man.” His assertion was that individuals of mixed-race Black/White heritage had to accept their status and identity as Black minorities. He viewed these mixed-race individuals as being caught in the middle of two distinct worlds, one White, the other Black, in which the “marginal man” did not really belong to either. Park’s (1928) theory approaches the construct of racial identity from a deficits and problems lens.

Furthering Park's (1928) work, Stonequist (1937) expanded the "marginal man" theory to include a three-stage life cycle. First, multiracial individuals experienced an introduction, through assimilation into the two cultures of their parents. Next, multiracial individuals experienced a crisis, marking the irreconcilable nature between their parents two conflicting cultures. This stage led to negative effects such as confusion and estrangement. Finally, multiracial individuals would enter the stage of adjustment, in which they would adjust their status toward the dominant group (Stonequist, 1937). However, for mixed-race Black/White individuals, they were automatically considered Black as they were not allowed to be affiliated with the dominant group. Scholars who focused on this approach to understanding racial identity typically studied clinical populations using observational study methods. They focused on identifying problems and deficits, often assuming that multiracial individuals were prone to rejection, stigmatization, and isolation (Shih & Sanchez, 2005).

The Equivalent Approach

The Equivalent Approach was developed in the 1970s, in concert with the changing politics of the United States (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Researchers of this approach assumed that multiracial individuals and monoracial individuals were equivalent. In other words, these scholars assumed that the processes of racial identity development occurred in the same way for multiracial and monoracial individuals. It was assumed that Black/White multiracial individuals would identify themselves as Black, and the idea of the one-drop rule that persisted in the era of the "marginal man" was no longer necessary.

From this approach, multiracial Black/White individuals were expected to develop a positive sense of their Black identity (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). The identity models used to describe multiracial individuals were largely based upon Erikson's (1968) Ego-Identity Statuses.

One of the most prominent identity models was Cross' (1971) Nigrescence Model. This is a stage model that demonstrates how a Black individual comes to identify their Blackness and utilizes self-report data collected through the Cross Racial Identity Scale. The first stage is the Pre-encounter stage. During this stage, black individuals prefer to adhere to dominant modes of being. They have yet to experience or acknowledge the existence of race or racism. In the second stage, Encounter, individuals have witnessed, or experienced a racialized event. They become immersed into non-dominant modes of being, thus exploring their Blackness and status as a racial minority (Cross, 1971). Internalization is the third stage. Individuals enter this stage as they begin to use their racial identity as an anchor of support and center their identity on their Black self. Finally, individuals enter into the Commitment stage when they continually, and actively engage in expressing their Black identity. When the Equivalent approach was still the currently used approach, multiracial Black/White individuals were assumed to follow the same process as monoracial Black individuals, and thus the Nigrescence Model was used to study their identity formations. Today, the Nigrescence Model is still used in research, but it is understood to be unique to the experiences and identity formations of monoracial Black individuals.

The Variant Approach

Race. The Variant Approach was developed in the late 1980s and the 1990s by Gibbs (1989), Herring (1992), and Thornton and Watson (1995). This approach views multiracial individuals as a separate and distinct category from other racial groups. Similar to the Problem

and Equivalent approaches, multiracial individuals are thought to go through a series of stages in their identity development (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Gibbs (1989) and Herring (1992) proposed that multiracial individuals would integrate dual monoracial identifications successfully. Furthermore, multiracial individuals would need to synthesize earlier racial self-identifications into positive racial identity.

A major contribution to the Variant Approach was Poston's (1990) Biracial Identity Development Model. Poston proposed a five-stage model that multiracial individuals experience in order to achieve a positive and healthy multiracial identity. The first stage of his model is Personal Identity. This stage is based upon a multiracial individual's interactions with family and peers at a young age. The second stage is Group Categorization Choice, during which multiracial individuals are forced to choose a monoracial identity, causing a crisis. Enmeshment/Denial, the third stage, happens when confusion and guilt arise due to the multiracial individual's denial of part of their identity (Poston, 1990). Appreciation occurs as the fourth stage. This is when the multiracial individual broadens his or her reference group orientation and begins to appreciate their multiple racial identities. The final stage of Poston's (1990) model is Integration. Multiracial individuals in this stage have an integrated multiracial identity that includes all of their racial heritages, bringing a sense of wholeness to the individual.

The Variant Approach was the first to consider other multiracial identities in addition to Black/White. It also assumes that a healthy end-point exists in which multiracial individuals identify with all of their identities in a positive way. It has moved beyond the deficits and problems views of the Equivalent and Problem approaches. However, it does not leave room for the possibility that other positive identifications, besides multiracial, may exist.

Ethnicity. Ethnic identity was, and still is, often conflated with racial identity. However, during the formation of the variant approach to studying racial identity, interest in examining ethnic identity development as a separate construct began as well. These studies of ethnic identity have been based on social identity theory, acculturation, and identity formation (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004).

The most prominent research on ethnic identity is Phinney's (1989, 1990) three-stage model of ethnic identity development. She based her research on Erikson's (1956, 1968) theory of Ego Identity Statuses and Marcia's (1966, 1980) empirical testing of Erikson's theory. Phinney's (1989, 1990) model demonstrates that ethnic identity has a developmental progression through three stages, unexamined ethnic identity, ethnic identity search, and ethnic identity achievement. In the unexamined ethnic identity stage, individuals have not explored nor committed to their ethnicity. In the second stage, ethnic identity search, individuals begin to explore aspects of their ethnic identity. During this stage, individuals may talk to family, friends, community members, and seek out various media sources to understand more about their ethnicity. In the final stage, ethnic identity achievement, an individual has a clear understanding of their ethnicity and has committed to that identity (Phinney, 1993). Similar to Poston's (1990) model of biracial identity development, individuals who have reached the third stage, ethnic identity achievement, are assumed to have a positive view of their ethnic identity.

A counter line of research on ethnic identity from Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004) suggests that individuals who have attained ethnic identity achievement may not have a positive view of their ethnic identity. Umaña-Taylor et al. take issue with the self-report measure, Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), that Phinney (1996) developed to measure ethnic identity

achievement. Umaña-Taylor et al. (2004) argue that the MEIM does not capture an individual's level of affirmation, whether the individual's feelings are positive or negative toward their ethnic identity. They thus developed a new self-report measure, the Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS) to address their concerns. Though Umaña-Taylor et al. present a competing and more recent line of research in ethnic identity development, their research still follows the stage model design and is part of the variant approach.

The Ecological Approach

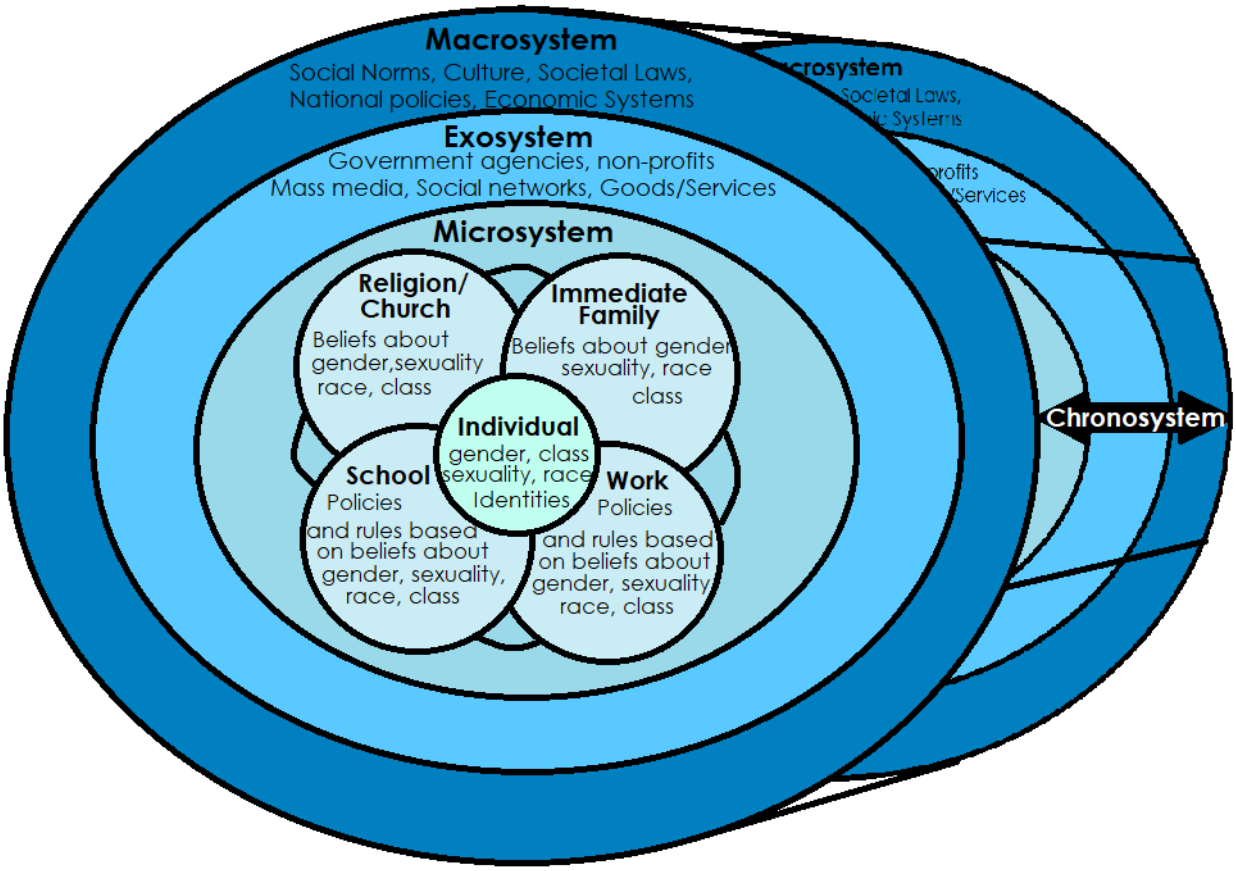
Current research in racial identity is trending toward the Ecological Approach. The most recent of the four approaches to racial identity development, it has its roots in Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory (Figure 1). Bronfenbrenner (1977) theorized an ecological paradigm that examined multiple levels of the environment from the micro to the macro. The microlevel examined environmental influences that were immediate to the individual, such as family and friends. The next level, the mesosystem, examined how aspects of the microsystem interact with each other to influence the individual's development. The macrosystem examines societal structures, such as laws, ethics, and policies that impact the individual. The exosystem examines the interactions between the societal structures of the macrosystem and the individual level influences of the microsystem.

The multiple levels of context examined by the Ecological Systems Theory have informed the assumptions about multiracial identity development. Theorists of multiracial identity development using the ecological approach assume that contextually specific logic informs how multiracial individuals construct different racial identities (Rockquemore et al., 2009). Additionally, multiracial identity development does not pass through distinct or

predictable stages as the process is not linear, nor is there a single optimal endpoint. Finally, theorists of multiracial identity development assume that one type of racial identity should not be privileged over another. These theorists move beyond essentialist notions of race to propose theoretical models that allow for the possibility that multiracial individuals might opt to select no racial identity at all and choose to simply identity themselves as "human" (Daniel, 2001). Drawing from Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory, these theorists focus on the context that surrounds multiracial identity development rather than on particular racial identity outcomes (Rockquemore et al., 2009).

Figure 1.

Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory Adapted for Identity

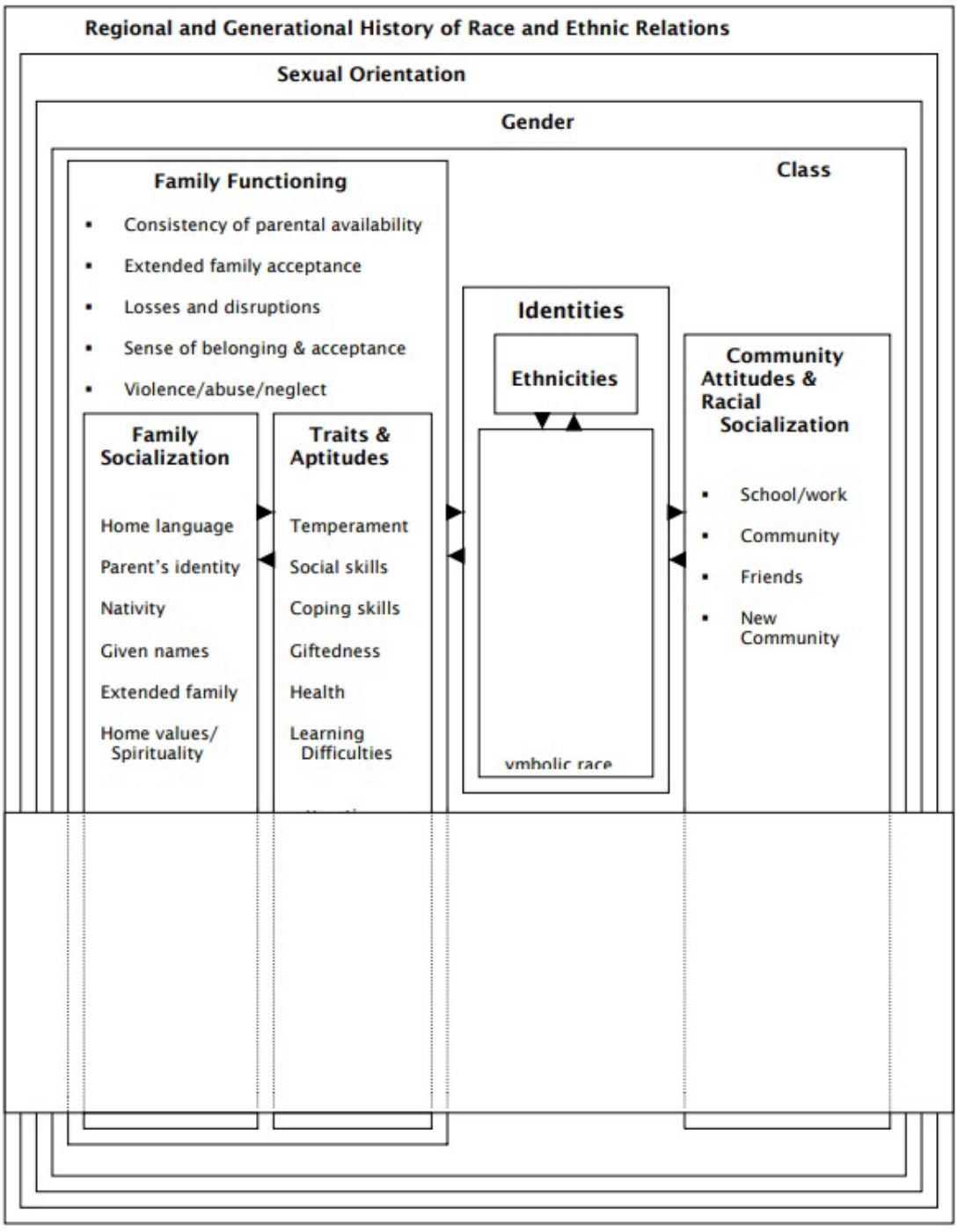


Root's (1990, 1996) theoretical model, the Ecological Framework for Understanding Multiracial Identity (Figure 2), is the first application of the Ecological Systems Theory to studying multiracial identity development. Rather than using a stage model, her model looks at the individual's ability to examine their own self-definition across and between racial categories (Renn, 2000). Root proposed that multiracial individuals resolve their "other" status through four "border crossings." The first of these border crossings include a multiracial individual being able to merge and interchange between multiple perspectives simultaneously, which Root deemed as having "both feet in both groups" (Root, 1990). The second possibility for multiracial individuals is to choose their race situationally, shifting their racial identities between foreground and background in different settings. The third possibility Root described was that multiracial individuals could sit on the border, as a multiracial individual. Finally, Root described multiracial individuals who feel at home in one "camp" but experience their other races when necessary. Root (1997, 1998, 2003) has additionally considered how histories of race relations, gender, class, sexual orientation, family functioning, racial socialization, and individual personality traits contribute to contextualizing her proposed border crossings.

To provide further support for Root's (1996) framework, Wallace (2001) conducted a qualitative study of fifteen multiracial high school and college students. She conducted extensive autobiographical interviews and used visual prompts providing further support for the four categories of Root's multiracial identity framework. In her study, Wallace (2001) found that several students identified with more than one of Root's proposed identity positions, depending on contextual factors. Wallace's results support Root's assertion that any identity position or crossing over into multiple identity positions is a healthy resolution of multiracial identity.

Figure 2.

Root's Ecological Framework for Understanding Multiracial Identity Development



Root's Ecological Framework for Understanding Multiracial Identity was also used as a framework for Renn's (2000) study of multiracial college students. In her qualitative study, Renn used a grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to conduct her research. She interviewed and conducted several focus groups with a sample of twenty-four mixed-race students from three private undergraduate institutions. In semi-structured interviews, participants were asked to describe their lives before college, their involvement in college activities and academics, and their identity. Students were also asked to write about two salient experiences, before attending college and since their time in college, that related to their multiracial heritage, and what meaning those experiences held.

In her study of multiracial college students, Renn (2000) identified five, rather than four, possible outcomes for multiracial individuals. First, individuals can hold a monoracial identity, choosing to identify with one of the heritage backgrounds of their parents. Second, a multiracial individual can hold multiple monoracial identities, shifting between them according to the situation. Third, the individual can have a multiracial identity. Fourth, the multiracial individual can have a situational identity, that changes depending upon the context. The last pattern that Renn (2000) identified was not part of Root's original framework. Renn found that multiracial individuals may hold an extraracial identity, through deconstruction of race or opting out of identifying with United States racial categories. Individuals who identify with this pattern acknowledge the social construction of racial categories and resist accepting the labels given by the dominant, monoracial, White majority.

Renn (2003) expanded her original study to include multiracial participants from Midwestern universities. In her continued studies, she makes explicit how Bronfenbrenner's

(1977) ecological model can be applied to the study of multiracial identity. Family background, heritage of parents, physical appearance, cultural knowledge transmission, and prior experiences (Renn, 2000; Renn & Arnold, 2003) are person-oriented influences upon individuals' multiracial identity. Renn (2003) states that the cognitive demands required for multiracial individuals to make sense of the socially constructed system of racial categorization in the United States are part of the process-oriented aspects of multiracial identity. When these various microsystems, including situational environments interact together, the contexts of multiracial identity can be addressed.

Ecological factors of the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and chronosystem of the ecological approach have been studied by other researchers as well. Jackson (2009) conducted a study using Hall's (2005) Biracial Model to understand the social and contextual factors that impacted cultural identity development in multiracial individuals over time. Hall's Biracial Model uses a life-span and ecological approach to understanding the cultural, psychological, and environmental influences of identity development in mixed-race individuals.

For her study, Jackson (2009) recruited ten multiracial adults in the Western New York area who participated in in-depth interviews. The interviews were structured as life-stage interviews, which are designed to keep the narrative structure open and allow for rich information and thick description. Jackson (2009) analyzed her data through a systematic line-by-line narrative analysis. Racism and discrimination arose as important factors that impacted participants cultural and multiracial identification. Social influences of peers and family members also arose as important determinants of participants' self-identifications. Participants expressed the unsupportive nature of their parents regarding their racial identities and positive or

negative messages from their peers. Participants also had negative experiences regarding their racial identities within their neighborhoods and in school. Overall, Jackson (2009) found that social relationships, cultural upbringing, and the context of the environment participants grew up in, were all important factors in determining how multiracial individuals identified themselves.

Multiracial Identity and Gender

In her review of identity research, Gaither (2015) surmised that multiracial identity and gender had not been widely studied together. However, in a more recent paper Gaither and Sims (2022) amends her statement to recognize that a larger body of research in sociology has examined intersectionality as a whole and the intersection of multiracial identity and gender identity. They further argue that researchers should be more interdisciplinary in their literature reviews so as to be aware of whether it is appropriate to claim that little has been studied on the topic of interest. In this literature review and in the discussion, psychological and sociological literature are discussed. Here, I describe three studies that explore the intersectionality of race and gender.

The first study examined how gender is racialized through the study of multiracial women who grew up with their White mothers (Twine, 1996). Twine conducted intensive structured interviews with sixteen women on the University of California, Berkley campus. The women included in this study had an African-American/Black father. Three of the women had Asian mothers and the rest of the women had Caucasian mothers. All women in the study grew up in predominantly White, middle-class suburban communities. Twine found that the participants all identified with being "raised White" and grew up in communities that embraced a racially unmarked, middle-class identity. In addition, all participants identified with being raised

as racially "neutral," that their race was invisible. This idea was promoted by their mothers, and their class and gender identities became more salient over their racial identity. Individualism was another ideological position that was central to the identities of these multiracial women (Twine, 1996). The promotion of individualism with no links to a racial or ethnic community and the idea of race neutrality are hallmarks of the "color-blind" perspective (Frankenberg, 1993). Multiracial women in the study began to experience the loss of their racial neutrality around the time of puberty. By the time these women entered the university, they started to identify with "becoming Black." The women in this study seemed to fall into Root (1996) and Renn's (2000) position of multiple monoracial identities, multiracial identity, and extraracial identity.

Rockquemore (2002) conducted a series of in-depth interviews with sixteen Black/White biracial individuals from Midwestern, Southern, and Northeastern universities. The participants in her study identified as monoracial Black, multiracial, situational identity, and extraracial from Root (1996) and Renn's (2000) identity positions. A key finding in Rockquemore's study was the negative experiences that multiracial Black/White individuals experienced with monoracial Black individuals. These experiences were reported at a much higher rate for women than men. Multiracial Black/White women were judged negatively, based their phenotypic appearance (i.e., lighter skin and straighter, smooth hair), that they "think they are better than other Black women," and are trying to take all of the Black men of marriageable quality. Whereas experiences for Black/White multiracial men were viewed positively due to the interpretation of attention to their multiracial appearance as validation of their Blackness.

Rogers and Meltzoff (2017) conducted a study among 222 Black, White, and Mixed-race children. They assessed children's knowledge of social groups through their understanding of

race and gender identity development in semi structured interviews. They found that children identified gender as being more important than race for their identity development. Children's ideas and meanings of gender focused on inequality and group differences, while their understanding of race emphasized physical appearance and humanism or equality.

Both the Twine (1996) and Rockquemore (2002) studies elucidated some of the ways in which multiracial identity and gender interact with each other. They also touch upon the influence of class. However, both studies are of a qualitative nature. A more recent study from Johnson et al. (2012) offers quantitative data describing the interactions between multiracial identity and gender. In a series of five studies, undergraduate students completed several tasks that examined participants' implicit associations between various racial and gender categories (e.g., Asian and female, Black and male), sex-typed facial morphology in facial photographs, and gender-ambiguous faces that varied in race (Asian, Black, White). Their results across these five studies found that race biased sex categorizations. Participants' race influenced how they judged the appearance of varied racial gender-ambiguous faces. Participants were more easily able to identify ambiguous female faces that appeared Asian and were more easily able to identify ambiguous male faces that appeared Black. Johnson et al., (2012) have provided empirical support for the notion that race is "gendered."

These four studies have provided support for examining the intersectionality of race and gender. However, they only address a limited view of multiracial identity. These studies focus specifically on the multiracial experience of being part Black and part White. They also address gendered phenotypic stereotypes for Asian and Black. However, these studies do not address other multiracial combinations such as a multiple minority racial background, nor do they

address within group variations of the multiracial experience, suggesting that further research regarding the intersection of multiracial identity and gender is warranted.

Multiracial Identity and Sexuality

Sexuality and race have been studied together through examining sexual identification among various racial groups as well as the sexualization of multiracial individuals. For example, in a study of women identifying sexually as lesbians, Parks et al. (2004), found that women of color reported exploring their sexuality at a younger age than women who identified as White. Additionally, women of color were less likely to disclose their sexual identity to people that were not part of their family groups, and older women of color were more likely to come out to their families than younger women of color, whereas the opposite was found among white women. This study demonstrates that the intersectional nature of social identities produces various outcomes. However, this study did not address how these social identities play out among multiracial individuals.

Waring (2013), examined the exotification of Black/White biracial women and men by their romantic partners in a sample of emerging adults. She found that participants' choice of romantic partners was influenced by whether they were perceived to be "exotic" or racially mysterious. Additionally, she found that ambiguous racial appearance of participants held implications about expectations and experiences of intimacy and sexual scripts, due to being informed by ideologies about sexuality, race, and gender. This study demonstrates how sexuality, gender, and race inform each other and the expectations and views that individuals have about multiracial sexuality. This study demonstrates the fruitfulness of an intersectional approach to examining the impacts of multiple social identities among multiracial individuals. However, like

many studies that examine multiracial individuals, it only collected data from Black/White multiracial individuals. Thus, research addressing other multiracial backgrounds is warranted.

Multiracial Identity and Class

In addition to gender, multiracial identity may be influenced by class or socioeconomic status. Affluence may contribute to multiracial individuals' tendency to choose a "lighter" (i.e., Brown or White) label rather than a "darker" (i.e., Black or Brown) label (Davenport, 2016). Economic affluence may allow multiracial individuals to display external markers of wealth, such as clothing, jewelry, and technology. This display of affluence may lead others to acknowledge these individuals as White or multiracial, but they will be less likely to acknowledge any minority racial heritage an affluent multiracial person may have. Davenport (2016) also asserts that with all else being on equal ground, multiracial individuals from affluent families living in wealthier communities will perceive a greater likeness with their White peers. Twine's (1996) study of Black/White women supports this idea. However, Twine also showed that being exposed to greater diversity of racial identities led to further exploration of identity in multiracial individuals who "grew up White."

Davenport (2016) examined data of freshman college students from the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) that asks questions about race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, educational history, social and behavioral interests, career goals, and attitudes and values. Davenport's analysis found support for a whitening effect of economic prosperity on multiracial individuals' self-identification. She further explains that multiracial individuals become Whiter (i.e., boundary crossing) as they acquire traits such as income and neighborhood affluence. These traits allow them to bridge racial boundaries and to be viewed by others as White, rather than as

a minority. Davenport also found that Asian/White and Black/White individuals were more likely to identify as multiracial rather than as a monoracial minority. This study demonstrates the need to further investigate how class and multiracial identity intersect with each other.

Townsend et al. (2012) also report similar findings in their multi-study of multiracial college students. Their first study included ninety multiracial undergraduate students (68 women) from a Northern California university. Participants were Asian/White, Black/White, and Latino/Latina/White and were measured on the strength and salience of their race. In their second study, Townsend et al. (2012) recruited sixty-two mixed-race, Black/White participants (40 women) from a larger participant pool and asked them to complete a questionnaire exploring how they think about themselves and the people around them. Participants identified as Black, biracial, and five identified as human, rather than specifying race. These five participants' data were removed from the analysis. Their final sample in study two included fifty-seven participants (34 middle-class and 23 working-class). Townsend et al. (2012) conducted a stepwise logistic regression with social class as the only predictor in the first step, racial make-up of participants' neighborhoods and high schools as step two predictors, and their racial identification as the dependent measure. They found that even after controlling for the racial make-up of participants' neighborhoods, social class was a significant predictor of racial identification, where middle-class status predicted a biracial or multiracial identification and working-class status predicted a monoracial minority identification.

Csizmadia and Ispa (2014) examined the intersection of racial identification, socioeconomic status, and gender in Black-White biracial elementary school students. The researchers used reports from parents and teachers about 293 Black-White biracial children in a

longitudinal study. They found that teachers were less likely to report externalizing behaviors in their Black-White students when their parents identified them as multiracial, rather than Black only or White only. This finding suggests that how parents racially identify their children plays an important role in how problematic their children's behaviors are in their primary school years.

Davenport (2016), Townsend et al. (2012), and Csizmadia and Ispa (2014) provide data that demonstrate a relationship between multiracial identity and class. However, these studies draw upon convenience samples with multiracial individuals who have one parent that is White, suggesting a possible gap in the research regarding multiracial individuals who have only minority racial heritage. Root (1996) and Renn (2000) both discuss any racial identification as a strength for multiracial individuals. However, in Townsend et al. (2012) they chose not to analyze data of individuals who identify as extraracial. Perhaps their status as extraracial individuals does share a relationship with class in some way. Studies of multiracial identity and class should investigate the non-college population, multiracial individuals of minority only races, multiracial individuals who identify as having multiple monoracial identities and/or extraracial identities.

Multiracial Identity in the Hawai'ian Context

Hawai'i is often considered "the melting pot of the Pacific," and a "model minority" state due to its diverse population of racial and ethnic groups (Edles, 2010). It is often painted as a multiracial and multicultural paradise where people of different racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds come together in harmony. The myth of Hawai'i as a "model minority" state is problematic because it is historically inaccurate and misconstrues the complexity of racialization. Contemporary Hawai'i is rooted in the imposition of American colonial institutions. Through

these institutions, such as sugar cane plantations, many other racial and ethnic groups found their way to Hawai'i. As a result, interracial marriage and the population of multiracial individuals is proportionately higher in Hawai'i as compared to the mainland United States (Edles, 2010).

The high proportion of multiracial individuals (23.7%) in Hawai'i is unique and offers an ideal environment in which to study the development of multiracial identity. It is possible that individuals have more freedom and availability to explore their multiracial identities in Hawai'i. In addition, Hawai'i has a large variation in socioeconomic status. For example, the median household income by ethnic/racial groups from 2011-2015 ranged from $32,650 for Marshallese to $87,938 for Okinawan (Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism, 2018).

Purpose of the Study

In my review of the literature, I have detailed the progression of research on multiracial identity from a framing of deficits to a framing of positive attributes, as well as viewing the development of a multiracial identity as occurring in stages to a view of identity in context of ecological influences. Though sociological literature has contributed much effort and knowledge to examining intersectionality in multiracial populations, within the body of psychological literature, little explores these various intersecting identities (race, gender, sexuality, class) in a single study to examine how they influence multiracial identity. Birks and Mills (2015) state that grounded theory is appropriate when little is known about the topic of study and when the desired outcome is to explain a process through the generation of a theory. In the constructivist approach to grounded theory, Charmaz (2014) emphasizes that research is a construction of knowledge that occurs between participant and researcher occurring under specific conditions.

The purpose of this constructivist grounded theory study is to explain the process of how race, gender, sexuality, and class intersect and inform the development of multiracial identity among multiracial individuals. Through the generation of a constructivist grounded theory, it is my hope that social scientists, practitioners, and policy makers may build a more nuanced understanding of a growing population. The development of a more nuanced understanding of multiracial identity will be accomplished by the use of free-drawing/writing and conducting interviews with participants who identify themselves as multiracial. Participants will be asked to share their thoughts, feelings, and ideas about their racial, gender, sexuality, and class backgrounds. Participants will also be asked to provide information about the social groups and settings they interact with and the types of interactions they have on a day-to-day basis. Through the free-drawing/writing exercise, and semi-structured open-ended interviews a wealth of data will be generated with the purpose of answering the following research question:

1. How does intersectionality (race, gender, sexuality, and class) inform the development of a multiracial identity?
    a. How does gender impact multiracial identity development?
    b. How does sexuality impact multiracial identity development?
    c. How does class impact multiracial identity development?

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes a constructivist grounded theory study of multiracial identity development. First, the chapter begins with an overview of why a qualitative research approach was taken. Second, I discuss grounded theory methodology. Then I describe why I chose constructivist grounded theory as the specific grounded theory methodology that I would use. I also describe the recommended practices of the constructivist grounded theory approach for sampling, data collection and data analysis, and how rigor is ensured. Then I describe the specific methods used in this study. Finally, I describe my own positionality as a researcher conducting this study.

Qualitative Research Approach

In selecting the most appropriate research methods to conduct my study, I examined the structure and nature of my research question, "How do race, gender, sexuality, and class intersect to impact the development of a multiracial identity?" As Corbin and Strauss (2015) states, the way in which a research question is asked matters, because the framing of the research question determines, to a large extent, what research methods should be used in the study. A question that asks "how" is exploratory in nature.

My research question also seeks to examine a process (the development of a multiracial identity). The purpose of conducting qualitative research is to address questions that ask "why" to gain an understanding of meanings, processes, and experiences related to specific phenomena (Given, 2016). Data collection methods used in qualitative research are diverse, including methods such as interviews, written or drawn data, photographs, and more (Holliday, 2016). Through the gathering of these various types of data, we can collect meaning, explore those

meanings, and make interpretations of the data (Flick, 2009). Additionally, the aim of qualitative studies is the generation, rather than testing, of hypotheses (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Creswell and Poth (2018) argue that qualitative methods are well suited for exploratory research and grounded theory is an appropriate method when the research is concerned with a process or action. Additionally, Birks and Mills (2015) argue that grounded theory is indicated as an appropriate research methodology when little is known regarding the area of study, generating a theory that has explanatory power is an outcome that is desired, or there is an inherent process that can be revealed and understood by using grounded theory. For these reasons, grounded theory is the most appropriate methodology to investigate my research question.

Grounded Theory Methodology

Grounded Theory was developed as a qualitative methodology by Glaser and Straus (1967). The purpose of this methodology is to construct theory that is grounded in the data collected. Grounded Theory is a useful methodology in qualitative research as it allows for identification of general concepts, and theoretical explanations and insights into human experiences and phenomena. The main feature of this methodology is that the theory is constructed as a result of the data collected rather than a priori (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

As grounded theory gained popularity and widespread use, different variants of grounded theory arose, each with their own aims. Glaser and Strauss' (1967) original development is referred to as Classical Grounded Theory (GT). GT brings together competing orientations of its originators, positivism and pragmatism. Glaser and Strauss took two different views of the goal of GT, causing an eventual parting of ways between the two. Glaser promoted GT as a method of discovery, whereas Strauss viewed grounded theory as a method of verification. Over time,

grounded theory gained widespread acceptance and use in the scientific community. By the mid-1990's grounded theory was known for its rigor and usefulness, but also for the positivistic philosophical assumptions built into its framework (Charmaz, 2014).

The constructivist turn in grounded theory was developed out of a desire to base grounded theory in a constructionist philosophical orientation. Charmaz (2014) developed constructivist grounded theory (CGT) to follow the open-ended, inductive, and comparative approach of Glaser and Strauss' original methodology. However, the philosophical assumptions of this approach acknowledge research as a construction developed between researcher and participant. The researcher's own position, perspective, privileges, and interactions must be taken into account in the work, rather than the positivistic assumption that the researcher is outside, objective, and a passive observer of the research.

For the purpose of this study, I chose to use Charmaz's (2014) CGT as I hold a constructionist philosophical orientation. I acknowledge that research and knowledge are co-constructions between the researcher and the participant. Using CGT has allowed me to consider multiple perspectives of what multiracial identity is and how it is viewed by my participants. Finally, CGT has allowed for both rigor and flexibility while gaining understanding of the experiences of multiracial individuals in my study. Next, I describe the practices used in CGT that enabled rigor and flexibility in my study.

Theoretical Sampling and Data Collection in Constructivist Grounded Theory

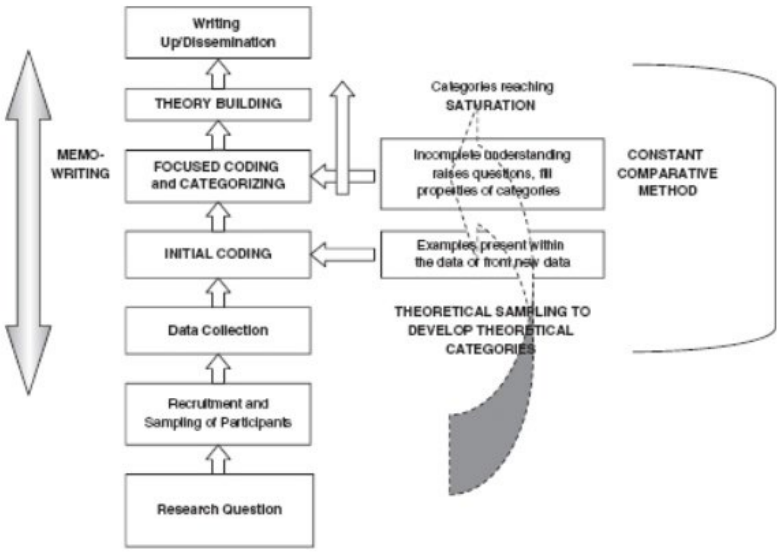
Theoretical sampling is an essential part of and unique to grounded theory methodology. Corbin and Strauss (2015) state that theoretical sampling refers to sampling concepts, rather than people. Birks and Mills (2015) describe it as the process of identifying and pursuing clues in the

data as they emerge. Charmaz (2014) states that it entails seeking and collecting data that is pertinent to elaborating on the categories in the emerging theory.

In theoretical sampling, the researcher begins data analysis after collecting the first set of data. They develop initial codes that allow the researcher to know what concepts need to be explored and sampled (Charmaz, 2014). Thus, data analysis and collection occur together, in a cyclical, rather than linear process. From the initial codes, further theoretical sampling occurs, which leads to focused coding and categorization of the codes. Which continues to inform the sampling process. Sampling and coding continue to inform each other until reaching a point of saturation. Saturation is an indication that no new concepts or properties have emerged in subsequent data collection, indicating that the sampling process has been completed. This process involves a constant comparative method, allowing concepts to unfold naturally throughout the study (Figure 3).

Figure 3.

Charmaz (2014, p 18) visual representation of constructivist grounded theory.



Data Analysis in Constructivist Grounded Theory

The first step in analysis is initial coding. Charmaz describes initial coding as remaining open to theoretical possibilities that can be discerned in the data. Initial coding is meant to follow the data closely addressing questions such as, "what do the data suggest? Pronounce? Leave unsaid? From whose point of view?" (2014, p. 116). Initial coding should avoid applying pre-existing categories or labels to the data, and should instead examine actions found in the data. Initial codes serve as guides to help continue theoretical sampling, as data analysis and data collection should occur in tandem, as well as inform focused coding.

Charmaz (2014) argues for the use of focused coding as a second stage of data analysis. Focused coding looks for codes that appear more frequently in the initial coding stage and seeks to sort and analyze large amounts of data. Focused coding expedites the analytic work of categorizing data and helps to advance the grounded theoretical direction of the research. The following questions are offered by Charmaz (p.140-141) to help determine what initial codes become focused codes:

> What do you find when you compare your initial codes with data?
>
> In which ways might your initial codes reveal patterns?
>
> Which of these codes best account for the data?
>
> Have you raised these codes to focused codes?
>
> What do your comparisons between codes indicate?
>
> Do your focused codes reveal gaps in the data?

Memo-writing is the next, and pivotal step, in the data analysis process of constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014). The memo-writing process serves as a way to analyze the

data. Memo-writing occurs continuously throughout the process of going between data collection and data analysis. Memos aid in the construction of and filling out categories. Memos provide a way to draw comparisons between different pieces of data and help identify when saturation of a category occurs. As mentioned previously, the process of data analysis is cyclical with data collection, using a constant comparative method.

Rigor and Trustworthiness in Constructivist Grounded Theory

By following the data analysis procedures outlined in the previous section, Charmaz (2014) argues that researchers can increase the rigor of their studies. She states that constructivist grounded theory methods involve subjecting the data to rigorous comparative analysis as well as reflexivity, and checking and verifying codes through memo-writing. Collecting various types of data can add to the rigorous methods employed through constructivist grounded theory.

Constructivist Grounded Theory Methodology in This Study

In order to answer my research question "How does intersectionality (race, gender, sexuality, and class) inform the development of a multiracial identity?" I have chosen CGT as the most appropriate methodology. In my study, I have utilized CGT procedures of theoretical sampling, data collection, and data analysis outlined previously in this chapter. The following section specifies the procedures I used to recruit participants, collect data, analyze data. Finally, I describe my positionality in the research and the limitations of this study.

Sampling

To be able to engage in theoretical sampling, some data must be collected and analyzed. Thus, I utilized purposive sampling to identify participants whose background and experiences would allow for collecting data relevant to answering my research question. To qualify for

participation in this study, participants had to select the multiracial option, select multiple race options, or identify their parents as being different races on a prescreen questionnaire.

The practice of theoretical sampling to saturation in CGT prevents researchers from predetermining the size of their sample at the outset of the study. However, there seems to be a general consensus that 20-30 participants will allow for saturation to have been reached (Creswell, 2014). Thomson (2011) conducted a content analysis of 100 grounded theory studies using interview data published between 2002-2008, in which he found that saturation typically occurs between 10 and 30 interviews. This range was impacted by how generalized the research questions were in each study. The generality of the research question was directly correlated with a higher number of interviews. The research questions being investigated in this study were broad in scope, thus 30 interviews served as the starting point for estimation of sample size at the outset of the study.

Participants

Participants were able to sign up online for open time slots through SONA. Twenty-six individuals signed up for the study. However, three individuals did not show up to their interview time slots. The final participant count was twenty-three.

Pseudonyms were used for all participants in the study. Participants were given the option to choose their own pseudonyms as one way to address the power imbalance that exists between the authority of the researcher and the participants in the study. In total, ten of the participants chose a pseudonym and the rest had no preference and asked for a name to be chosen for them.

Recruitment. Participants were recruited from a pool of students attending a large university in Hawai'i. I drew my sample from this population because Hawai'i has the largest

proportion of multiracial individuals (24.1%) who make up the population of the state (Charmaraman et al., 2014). However, due to the large proportion of multiracial individuals, Charmaraman et al. also found that, along with California, Hawai'i is a state from which most samples are taken, and thus might serve to over-represent multiracial findings. Despite this concern, Hawai'i is still an appropriate setting for the following reasons. The high proportion of multiracial individuals in Hawai'i is unique in that minority racial groups make up the majority of the population. Because of this reversal of minority/majority racial groups it is possible that individuals have more freedom and availability to explore their multiracial identities in Hawai'i. However, due to this unique racial makeup, my findings are less likely to be generalizable to more homogenous states. Additionally, college students are the most often recruited group of individuals within multiracial identity studies (Charmaraman et al., 2014).

Approval by the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Institutional Review Board for an expedited review was obtained prior to data collection. A sample of 23 individuals who identified themselves as multiracial were recruited. Individuals were recruited from students attending University of Hawai'i at Mānoa through the SONA online recruiting tool. Participants were drawn from students enrolled in PSY 100 and PSY 212.

Demographics. Demographic data about the participants was collected throughout the interview process through the nature of the questions found on the interview protocol (see Appendix D). As a requirement of purposive sampling, all participants indicated that they had a multiracial background, either through selecting the multiracial option, selecting more than one race, or selecting different races for their parents on the prescreen questionnaire. Twelve participants identified as cis-female, eight participants identified as cis-male, one participant

stated that they do not "feel like they fit into what 'woman' means and did not identify with "femininity," and one participant used the term 'gender dysphoria' to describe feeling like they were a woman in the wrong body, but did not use the term "transgender" to identify their gender. The last participant chose to abstain from identifying their gender identity. Regarding sexuality, one participant identified being bisexual, three participants identified being gay/lesbian, eleven participants identified as heterosexual, and eight participants did not specify their sexuality. Regarding socioeconomic status, three participants identified as poor, ten participants identified as lower middle class, seven participants identified as upper middle class, and three participants identified as wealthy. Regarding geography, nine participants identified growing up in Hawai'i, eight participants identified growing up on the Mainland, one participant identified growing up in Alaska, two participants identified being born internationally and moving to the Mainland United States when they were young, one participant grew up internationally, and two participants did not indicate where they grew up. Please see Table 1 for a more complete list of demographics.

Table 1.

Demographic Data for Study Participants

Participant #	Age Group	Racial Background	Gender	Sexuality	Class/ SES
1	18-24	Chamorro, Filipino, white	Female	Heterosexual	High
2	18-24	Filipino, white	Female	Heterosexual	Middle
3	18-24	Brazilian, Italian, Japanese, Chinese, white	Female	Did not identify	Middle

Participant #	Age Group	Racial Background	Gender	Sexuality	Class/ SES
4	18-24	Jamaican, Cambodian	Male	Heterosexual	Middle
5	18-24	Hispanic, white	Female	Heterosexual	Middle
6	18-24	Hawaiian, Filipino, (not) white	Female	Lesbian	Low
7	18-24	Mexican, Filipino	Female	Heterosexual	High
8	18-24	Filipino, white, Hispanic	Female	Heterosexual	Middle
9	18-24	Chinese, Irish, German	Female	Lesbian	Middle
10	18-24	Hawaiian, Mexican, Japanese, Chinese, Basque, white	Male	Bisexual	Low
11	18-24	Korean, Chinese, Scottish, English, French, Dutch, Irish, German	Female	Heterosexual	Middle
12	18-24	Burmese, Indian, Colombian, Ecuadorian, Mestizo	Trans-gender	Heterosexual	High
13	25-30	Hispanic, white	Male	Heterosexual	Low
14	18-24	Chinese, white	Female	Heterosexual	Middle
15	18-24	Japanese, German, French, Filipino, Spanish	Female	Heterosexual	Middle
16	18-24	Hawaiian, Portuguese	Male	Gay	Middle
17	18-24	Mexican, Hawaiian, Filipino, Chinese	Female	Heterosexual	Low
18	18-24	Hawaiian, Cherokee, Irish	Male	Heterosexual	Low → Middle

Participant #	Age Group	Racial Background	Gender	Sexuality	Class/ SES
19	18-24	Hawaiian, white	Female	Heterosexual	Middle
20	18-24	Japanese, Hawaiian, Portuguese, Korean, Chinese, French, English, Irish, Scottish	Male	Heterosexual	High
21	18-24	Japanese, American	Male	Heterosexual	Very High
22	18-24	Japanese, German, Welsh	Male	Heterosexual	High/Middle
23	18-24	Japanese, Filipino, British	Female	Heterosexual	Middle
Stevy (Study Author)	35-40	Hawaiian, Filipino, British, Irish, Scottish, German	Female	Heterosexual	Low → Middle

Research Setting. I selected a location on campus to conduct interviews that was centrally located. Participants who qualified based on their answers to the prescreen questionnaire could self-select to participate in this study. They were offered multiple days and times to meet, allowing for convenience. The interviews took place in a small private office space. I spoke with each participant at the outset to ensure that they would be comfortable in the space before we began. After informing individuals of the scope of the research and discussing the potential benefits and risks involved, participants were then given the IRB approved consent form (see Appendix B) to sign. I clarified any questions the participants had about the consent form and then began the interview. Participants were asked to complete a free-drawing/writing exercise and then a semi-structured open-ended interview. Throughout both activities of the interview, a voice recorder was used. After the completion of the interview activities, the voice

recordings were transcribed using transcription software, saved on password protected computers, and then the voice files were deleted.

Data Collection Tools

Each individual in this study participated in two distinct-but-related mechanisms for data collection during the interview process.

Free-Drawing/Writing Exercise. Drawings are a useful method for providing meaningful and contextualized data addressing the processes involved in social identity formations (Salman et al., 1997). In their study of organizational culture, Nossiter and Biberman (1990) found that drawings aided in focusing participant responses and allowed for honesty and parsimony. Drawing has been used with children to study identity and self-expression (Shaban & Al-Awidi, 2013), social identities (Salman et al., 1997), to understand participation in leisure activities (Yuen, 2004), with adults to understand organizational cultures (Kearney & Hyle, 2004; Nossiter & Biberman, 1990), and professional identity (Vogt, 2002). Thus, drawing will be used in this study to aid in eliciting participants' understandings of their social identities.

Participants were first be asked to complete a drawing exercise. An instruction sheet (Appendix C) was made available to participants as I explained the activity. Participants were able to take as much time needed to complete the drawing exercise. After completing this task, participants were asked to inform me that they finished. At which point, I sat down with the participant and ask them to explain and describe what they drew/wrote and its significance. This activity was piloted with several people and reviewed by members of my dissertation committee.

Semi-Structured Open-Ended Interview. After completing the free-writing/drawing exercise, I asked participants to take part in a semi-structured open-ended interview (Appendix

D). In developing my interview guide, I anticipated that interviews would last up to 60-90 minutes. The longest interview was 90 minutes while the shortest interview was 22 minutes. The questions included on my interview guide have been selected to elicit information that addresses my research questions. Additionally, I anticipated that the free-drawing/writing activity would also address the questions that were listed on the interview guide and thus there were a few interviews in which I did not ask every question found on the guide for all participants or discussed the questions in a different order depending upon their responses to the free-drawing/writing exercise. The interview guide was piloted with several people and reviewed by members of my dissertation committee.

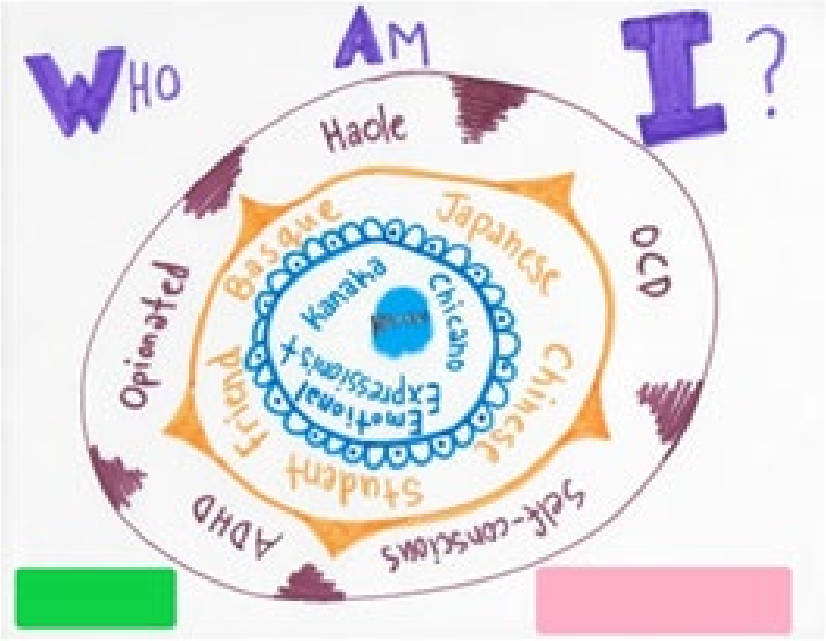
Data Analysis

The data analysis procedures that I used followed Charmaz (2014) CGT. I began my analysis with the free-drawings/writings that each participant produced. I wrote up a description of what I saw when looking at the image, then used initial coding to understand how I viewed the drawing (Figure 4). Next, I read through the participant's description of their drawing and wrote initial codes of their description (Figure 5).

In developing my focused codes, I examined the initial codes and underlined the overarching codes describing a group of codes. Then I began memo-writing for each of the produced writings/images (Figure 6). I used the same coding and memo-writing process for each participant's interview as well.

Figure 4.

Example one of the initial coding process of La'akea's drawing.



No	*Researcher Description of Image*	*Open Codes*
1	In this image we see the question "Who am I?"	*Question – Who am I*
2	at the top and across the page and his name	Location on page
3	across the bottom of the page. In the middle we	Location on page
4	see a circle within a circle within a circle. Each	*Identity has layers*
5	circle has different colors and designs. The	*Colors and designs to represent layers*
6	inner circle is blue. It contains the words	Inner circle blue
7	"Kanaka," "Chicano," and emotional	*Racial/Ethnic descriptors and*
8	expressionist. In the middle of the circle is a	*personality trait*
9	fingerprint with the word "human" written over	*Fingerprint & human core of identity*
10	it. The next circle outward is orange and has the	*Middle circle orange*
11	words "Basque," "Japanese," "Chinese,"	*Racial/Ethnic descriptors as Identity*
12	"Student," and "Friend" in it. The outer circle	*Roles as identity*
13	is maroon and contains the words "Haole,"	*Negative descriptors, personality traits,*
14	"OCD," "Self-conscious," "ADHD," and	*and disorders*
15	"Opinionated."	*opinionated*

Figure 5.

Example two of the initial and focused coding process on La'akea's drawing.

26	La'Akea: Around that thumbprint I have three	orientation of drawing
27	different rings, representing different	*Identity is layered*
28	levels of identity for me. The first	Levels of identity
29	being, the closest most intimate, which	Inner ring – most important aspects of
30	I marked in blue as a cool color. It's a	identity
31	color that I've always felt very	Comfortable with identity
32	comfortable with.	
33	Stevy: Mhm.	
34	La'Akea: In that ring I put the cultures, the	*Culture and ethnicity important*
35	ethnicities that I grew up with, and I	Ethnicity grew up with
36	put them in words that people who	Shared identity
37	identify with them would use. For	How others would identify
38	example, I – I am Hawaiian, I identify	Hawaiian identity
39	as kanaka.	Kanaka = Hawaiian

Figure 6.

An example of a memo about La'akea's drawing.

Memo on La'akea's Drawing – Identity is Layered

La'akea drew a multi-tiered circle with inner most circle being the most influential part of his identity. This suggests that identity has layers and that ethnicity and personality traits are the most important aspects of his identity. He lists his ethnicities and personality traits throughout each layer, identifying acknowledgement of his different ethnicities and personality traits and how important they are to his identity.

From his description of his drawing, and my own interpretation of it, it is difficult to reduce a person's identity into a single phrase or statement. As La'akea has demonstrated, identities have different layers, facets, or aspects that may or may not be relevant at different times. La'akea discusses feeling very immersed in his Hawaiian and Mexican cultural backgrounds because he grew up with his parents displaying and practicing customs commonly attributed to those cultures. He describes those as the most salient part of his identity, that they inform other aspects of his identity. However, he recognizes that there are also other aspects of his identity that play a role, even though they are not as significant, such as his Basque, Japanese, and Chinese ethnic backgrounds. He identifies these as being less influential only because he is not aware of the customs attributed to these cultural backgrounds. This might indicate that if he knew more about them, they might play a more important role in how he views his identity.

La'akea also discusses personality traits having various levels of influence on his identity overall. His most positive traits he views as being the most influential and the traits that he feels he needs to work on being the least influential. It appears that La'akea has an overall positive view of his personality traits. ***-Identity is Layered-*** ***-Ethnicity as Part of Identity-***
-Personality Traits as Part of Identity-

Positionality

From the constructivist grounded theory perspective, social reality is constructed and multiple, the researcher's positionality, perspective, privilege, and interactions must be taken into account. The researcher is not a neutral, value-free observer, and must examine their own preconceptions that may shape the analysis. From this perspective, the research is a co-construction between researcher and participants (Charmaz, 2014). For these reasons, I now discuss how I situate and orient myself within this research project so as to account for and prevent researcher bias from informing my results.

First, I identify myself as a multiracial woman who grew up on the Mainland United States. My mother was Hawaiian and Filipino and my father is British, Irish, Scottish, and German. I have an older half-brother, but we did not grow up together. I was raised in a single father household. We drifted between middle class and poor as my father went back to college. However, after attaining his master's degree and finding a job, I would say that we lived comfortably within the middle class. I went to good schools and lived in safe neighborhoods. When I was young, I considered myself to be White until in middle and high school people started asking me the question, "What are you?" regarding my race. As an adult, I have now come to identify myself as multiracial, but I have tried in the past to be more connected to my Hawaiian and Filipino heritage.

In regards to my gender, I was considered a "tom boy" growing up, because I liked camping, hiking, helping my father with his entomology projects, and attending his science labs (when his professors would allow it). I preferred to wear pants rather than dresses, and hated the color pink. I never fit with an essentialist binary idea of the female gender role, but I have always

understood my identity as a cis-hetero female. And despite my disdain for the commercialism and business of the wedding industry, I was newlywed at the start of this project, and continue to receive love and support from my partner.

The circumstances of my life that I have previously mentioned are integral in how I position myself philosophically within a social constructivist approach. I believe it is important to understand how context and process impact people's lives and to understand the person as a whole. I see the lived experience as providing valid and valuable knowledge that can be learned and generated in a systematic way through co-construction.

Summary

I began this chapter discussing an overview of why qualitative methodology was appropriate for this study. Then I gave a background of grounded theory and more specifically, why constructivist grounded theory was the most appropriate methodology for this study. I described the methods used in grounded theory for sampling, data collection, and data analysis. Then I described the demographic information of my participants and gave specific examples of how I used the coding and memo processes of grounded theory. Finally, I closed the chapter by outlining my positionality statement.

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to explain the process of how race, gender, sexuality, and class intersect and inform the development of multiracial identity among multiracial individuals. This research study used in-depth semi-structured interviews to generate substantive theory regarding the impact of intersectionality on the development of multiracial identity by addressing the following research question and sub-questions:

How does intersectionality (race, gender, sexuality, and class) inform the development of a multiracial identity?

a. How does gender impact multiracial identity development?

b. How does class impact multiracial identity development?

c. How does sexuality impact multiracial identity development?

In the semi-structured interviews, the main research question and sub-questions were supplemented with questions regarding experiences as a multiracial person, homelife growing up, how identity is viewed currently compared to growing up, and social group affiliations. While all participants in this study identified as having multiracial heritage, not all students identified their multiracial heritage as the most salient aspects of their identity. Intersectionality of various socially constructed identities impacted how each participant thought about and discussed their identities.

This chapter describes of the process of this research study beginning with data collection through semi-structured interviews including a free-drawing/writing exercise and data analysis through coding of interviews, memo writing, and identifying themes to generate theory using Charmaz' (2014) Constructivist Grounded Theory approach. Charmaz' constructivist approach

acknowledges subjectivity in the research process and the construction and interpretation of data by the researcher. She believes that "subjectivity is inseparable from social existence" (p. 14).

Data Collection and Initial Coding

The twenty-three participants were interviewed over a ten-week period from January – April of 2019. Notes were taken during each interview. After the conclusion of each interview initial codes were listed and memos describing impressions of interviews were written to help reveal concepts as they emerged in the process.

Free-Drawing/Writing Exercise

Each interview began with a free-drawing/writing exercise. The prompt for this exercise was the question "Who am I?" Participants were given as much time as needed to complete this exercise on their own and were asked to either draw images or write out their answer to the question in the prompt. They were provided with a variety of art supplies including color paper, various size markers, coloring pencils, letter stamps and ink, chalk, watercolor paints, and foam lettering. Six participants chose to write only, while seventeen participants choose to draw and supplement their drawings with words and phrases. After participants finished their free-drawing/writing, they notified the researcher and began the semi-structured interview.

Semi-Structured Interviews

All of the interviews for this study were completed in-person on the University campus during the work week. The interviews were recorded using a Sony voice recorder then the files were uploaded to a computer in the research lab to be transcribed and the recordings were deleted after transcription was completed.

While participants in the SONA recruitment pool were required to participant in research as part of the psychology class that they were taking at the time, those who chose to participate in this study appeared to be excited or motivated to discuss their identities. Most interviews lasted between thirty to forty-five minutes. Several participants expressed their desire to discuss their identities and why they were important to them and shared for much longer periods of time, up to ninety minutes. In total, three participants failed to show up for their interviews nor indicate that they had rescinded their participation. One participant arrived forty minutes late without explanation and had the shortest interview, just under twenty minutes. She did not seem very interested in discussing her identity nor the study overall.

During the semi-structured interviews, the researcher asked participants to describe everything included in their free-drawing/writing first. Then the researcher began with a narrative question, asking participants to describe their experiences as a multiracial person. Sayuri, the first participant, highlighted the importance of 'place' in informing her multiracial identity, "I was born and raised here, and I feel like that had a lot to do with who I am. Because I feel like, even if – I'm still me, but I grew up in [sic] (another place), I don't think I'd be the same person." Place became an important concept in later interviews, seven participants indicating that the location of where participants grew up informed how they thought about their identities.

I will use Sayuri's interview to provide an example of the initial coding process. I utilized a comparative process to examine the way she described her identity in myriad ways and then comparing her descriptions and thought process about her identity to Kaiwi's interview. Using the constant comparative process, many similarities emerged between the two. For

example, Kaiwi and Sayuri both discussed the concept of "place" as integral to how they view their multiracial identities. For Kaiwi, her Hawaiian heritage is the most defining feature of her identity. For Sayuri, her Japanese heritage was the most defining. They both discuss growing up in Hawai'i as central to the importance their heritage plays. However, by using the constant comparative process, difference also arose in that Kaiwi also discussed her strained relationship with her father in helping her identify what she is not. "So, while I am Hawaiian-Filipino I am also not White" her emphasis.

Theoretical Sampling

In constructivist grounded theory, theoretical sampling is used to help gather data that will refine the categories of the theory that emerges (Charmaz, 2014). In this study, participants were asked to elaborate on their own thoughts when they addressed a new concept or an in vivo code. In vivo codes are specific terms that participants use that may be shorthand or carry a significant meaning that "everyone knows." For example, Kaiwi and La'Akea make use of the Hawaiian term "hapa" in describing their mixed-race heritage. They were asked to elaborate on their understanding and meaning of "hapa" in which they both described their use of the term to mean that their mixed-race heritage included being part Hawaiian and part White. However, this may be their specific meaning and usage as "hapa" is also used to signify multiracial heritage in general. In addition to elaborating within interviews, each additional participant that was interviewed towards the end of the interview period helped to fill in gaps in concepts that emerged in earlier interviews. This process continued until saturation in the data was achieved. Saturation was determined when no new information for categories emerged in subsequent participant interviews.

Open Coding

Initial Coding

After each interview was transcribed, line-by-line coding was used to compile categories and concepts. First the free-drawing/writing exercise was examined by writing my own interpretation of the drawing or writing sample. Then I performed line-by-line coding of my interpretation and the participant's explanation of their drawing/writing. I underlined key phrases, statements, terms from my line-by-line coding and wrote short memos for each describing codes that came from my interpretation and codes that arose from the participant's description to form an overall impression of the participant's drawing. Figure 7 shows the image of Sayuri's free drawing. Table 2 below shows how Sayuri's free-drawing was coded.

Figure 7.

Sayuri's Free-Drawing

Table 2.

Example of Open Coding of Free-Drawing/Writing

No	*Researcher Description of Image*	*Open Codes*
4	Directly below those notes is what appears to	*Music notes, an interest?*
5	be a small structure, like a hut. To the right of	*A hut, place been to?*
6	the question is the drawing of a palm tree on a	
7	beach which takes up the top right corner and	*A beach, a representation of a place?*
8	ride side of the image.	
No	*Participant Description of Image*	*Open Codes*
19	But throughout the middle, I drew the ocean	*Place represents identity*
20	and a palm tree to represent _____	Ocean and palm tree symbol of living
21	because I was born and raised here, and I feel	on an island
22	like that had a lot to do with who I am.	Location raised important to identity

The same line-by-line coding process was used for the transcribed interviews, underlining phrases and terms to produce initial codes. Initial codes included concepts such as place and the salience of marginalized identities. Table 3 provides a list of the concepts that arose from the interviews.

Table 3.

Concepts Derived from Initial Coding

Place informs identity	Hapa	Whiteness	Food informs identity
Activities	Culture is identity	Neighborhood	School
Mixed race	Mixed race normal	Exposure to culture	Pressure to identify
Put into race box	Music informs identity	Racial Stereotypes	Race as Performative
Gender Stereotypes	Sexuality Stereotypes	Non-dominant identities salient	Don't think about dominant identities

Memos. Writing memos is important to the analysis process in Constructivist grounded theory. Memo-writing is an interactive approach that allows the researcher to dialog with the data, arising codes, and thoughts about concepts and themes (Charmaz, 2014). The use of memo-

writing helps to develop ideas and flesh out the concepts found in the data. Figure 8 below is an example memo written about the concept of place as described in Sayuri's free-drawing.

Figure 8.

Example Memo from Sayuri's Drawing

Place or Location as Part of Identity

Researcher's Interpretation – Sayuri's drawing presents different locations as important aspects of her identity, including the palm tree and beach, the ocean, ~~and a hut~~ (this was actually a food item, Musubi, not a hut).

Participant's Description – Sayuri describes growing up on an island as central to her identity, thus why she chose to represent it with the ocean, a beach, and a palm tree, and taking up the most space, centrally placed in the image. Sayuri also describes the importance of place when she mentions that she believes she would have a different identity if she grew up in a different place. Place appears to be the most important aspect of Sayuri's identity.

Focused Coding

Focused coding was used to assess and compare concepts derived from initial coding. This process involves examining how the initial codes derived from open coding account for the data and how meanings are conveyed from the researcher's interpretation (Charmaz, 2014). Focused coding was used in this study to help generate themes from the concepts revealed in the initial coding stage. Generalized categories were created to help sort and reorganize data to understand the groupings in new ways. Grouping concepts into cohesive units took several iterations of grouping and regrouping concepts to find a best fit for the data. Themes should have some level of abstraction that allow for the capture of all concepts into greater themes with the themes having a similar level of abstraction to each other. Focused coding revealed several important themes in this study. Below are my findings for each of these themes.

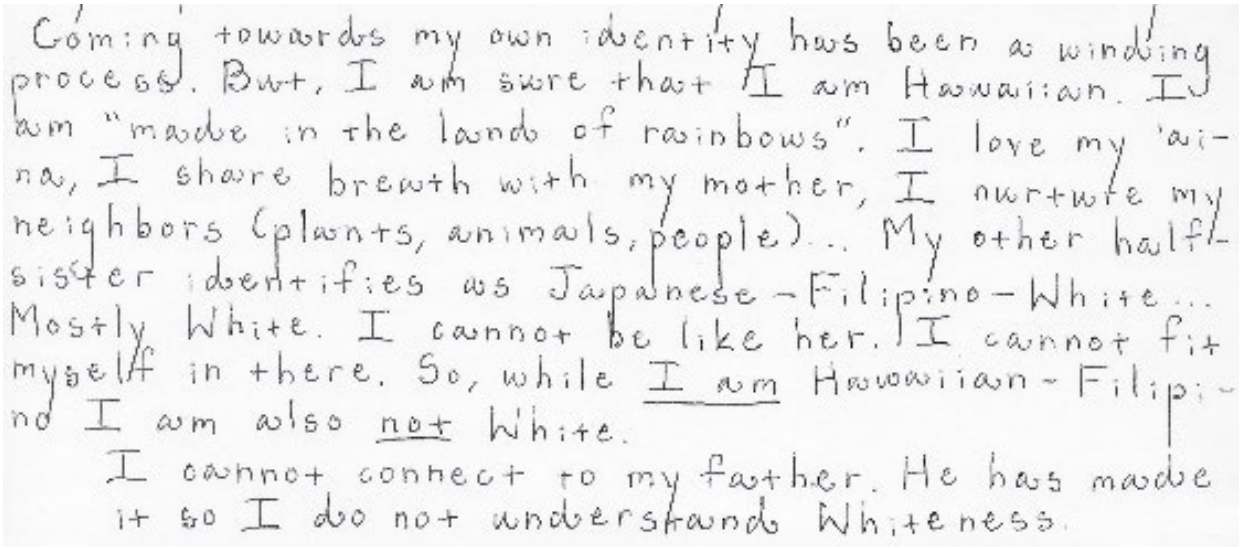
Theme 1. Minority Racial Background Salience

A prominent concept that emerged in this study was the salience of minority racial categories. Participants whose racial heritage consisted of all minority representation identified their racial heritage as important to their multiracial identity. Additionally, participants who described themselves as being part-White also identified their racial background as an important factor in their identity when they emphasized their non-White racial heritage.

For example, Kaiwi actively separates herself from her "Whiteness." During the free-drawing/free-writing she writes: "So, while I am Hawaiian-Filipino I am also not White" her emphasis (Figure 9). Then during the interview, she goes on to further explain that her lack of relationship with her father and being raised in a Hawaiian-Filipino household has made her realize that she is unable to identify as White.

Figure 9.

Excerpt From Kaiwi's Free-Writing

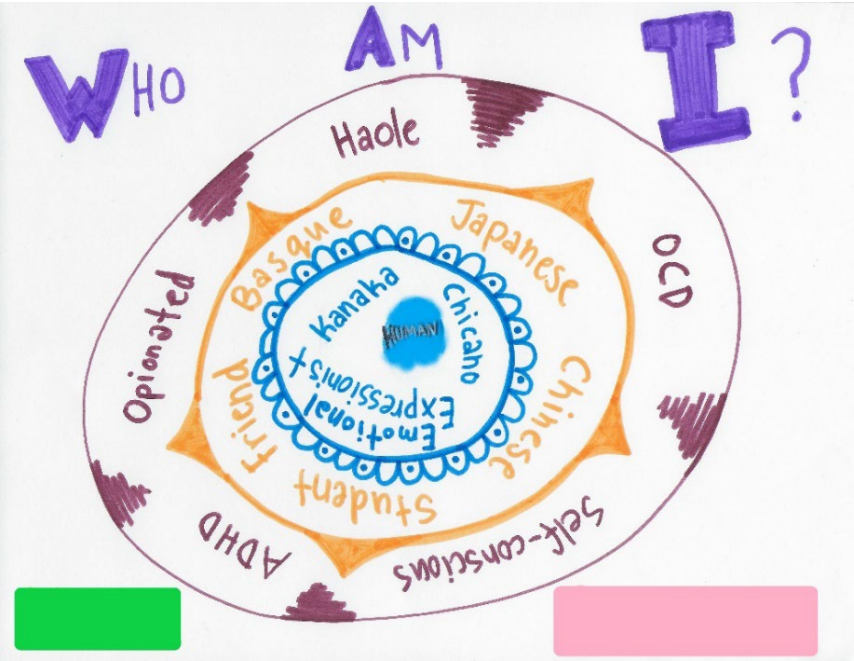


> *I grew up in a strange situation, as a multiracial child. My dad's white and my mother is a woman of color. She's Filipino-Hawaiian. But my mother wanted a white baby and she wanted me to grow up to be her beautiful little white girl [laughs]. But she didn't raise me white…I didn't really realize that I was multiracial for a while, because I'm the only one in the house that looks kind of white, my skin is fair. So, for the longest time my cousins would call my 'haole' and it's weird, it's like I'm – [laughs] "we're related. I am brown, you are brown." But because of the way my mother raised me was – she's very ashamed of being Filipino, and she also doesn't know anything about being white, and she wanted me to be white. She had majority custody over me after my parents got divorced. So, I was raised cultureless in a sense. Most of my formation of my identity has been on my own, through my own sort of research, and putting myself into cultural situations.*

In the free-drawing/free-writing exercise La'akea visually depicted his most salient racial identities in the middle to represent his core being, and his Whiteness as the outside layer because it is present, but he is not connected to it (Figure 10).

Figure 10.

La'Akea's Free-Drawing



Around that thumbprint I have three different rings, representing different levels of identity for me. The first being, the closest most intimate, which I marked in blue as a cool color. It's a color that I've always felt very comfortable with. In that ring I put the cultures, the ethnicities that I grew up with, and I put them in words that people who identity with them would use. For example, I – I am Hawaiian, I identify as kanaka. I'm Mexican, I identify as Chicano. I – so that's why I used those terms in there (the inner circle), 'cause [sic] those are my most intimate, personal – those are what I grew up around. I grew up with my Mexican and Hawaiian family… My outer layer are – these are things that I see myself as, or identify as, but they're things that I – not necessarily don't like, but are just things that I want to improve on or work on. [sighs] I am part-White and I don't have anything against White people, I love my White family, I just have never grown up with the culture. I've never – I've grown up here my whole life. I went to – how do I word this – I went to _____. At that school there was a lot of, kind of just, you know, push back, rejection, or resentment towards Europeans. At that school they teach us a lot about the true history of what went on in this place. Which Europeans didn't play the nicest part in, and that's why I have it in that kind of derogatory term 'haole' because although I do accept it as a part of myself, being that – the things that I associate with being haole are things like colonialism and oppression, and things that I've just grown up knowing about what Europeans did to other parts of my ethnic background history. That's why I have it in that kind of in that outsider term up there.

Dawn identifies herself as Filipino and White, however she states that her Filipino side is more influential to her identity as she grew up being exposed to Filipino customs living with only her mom, who is only Filipino.

I'm Filipino and White. It's kinda interesting cause it's only been my mom and I since she's full Filipino, so I kind of feel like that's more influential towards me because that's all I've kind of known. So, like food, customs, like respect kind of, I leaned more towards the Asian and Filipino side. I've never really met my dad, and that's all I know, that he's white, I don't know if he is European or Spanish, well that's not really white, but white pigment of skin.

Rose begins discussing her free-drawing/free-writing by describing her racial background of being Filipino, White, and Hispanic and in her interview describes identifying the most with her

Filipino racial heritage due to being raised with Filipino customs and having her grandparents around.

> *I feel more connected with being Filipino than I do White, but Hispanic more than I do White. Um, my grandpa would always used to tell stories um, about before when he came here and I know that a lot of my dad's side is more of his dad's side than it ever was my grandma's, they don't any of my grandma's relatives on that side. Uh, yea, I don't know any of them. Um, but I know the lot of the Hispanic family that I have and my mom is 100% Filipino so, I'm very well connected with that side I feel like.*

Participants whose racial makeup only consisted of non-White categories identified race as important to their identities. Hener explains that during the free-writing he first listed his ethnicity and race as what makes him who he is and then goes on to discuss other characteristics and interests as being part of his identity.

> *Uh, so I first started like writing my name, but then I realize that wasn't really answering the question like "who am I?" So, the next line after that I wrote I don't know because I don't exactly like really know who I am, so um I kind of jot the paragraph that I wrote, I wrote down things I um partake in, things I enjoy like um my ethnicity, like where I am from because I think that, that all has to do with um what makes me, me and like who I am… I'm a lot of different uh ethnicities and races. Uh, I'm half Japanese, like some Hawaiian and Portuguese and yea it's really mixed from there. So uh, race is always like something that was– I didn't really like see until I was like older.*

Within the category of Minority Racial Background Salience, there is variation in how participants identified themselves racially. Some participants, like La'Akea, ranked each of their racial background in an order of importance based upon exposure to and knowledge of the traditions, customs, and practices related to those racial backgrounds. Other participants, like Kaiwi, actively rejected their non-marginalized, or White, heritage, favoring their minority racial background. While all participants stated that they had a multiracial background, many identified

themselves as a specific aspect of their racial background and did not feel connected to all racial backgrounds, like Rose, who identified herself as Filipino. These differences in how participants view their multiracial heritage reveal that multiracial individuals should not necessarily be viewed or identified as a distinct and cohesive group separate from other racially identified groups. Multiracial individuals have myriad ways of understanding their own identities thus an intersectional perspective of those identities should be discussed.

Theme 2. Marginalized Identity Salience

Another category that emerged from the data was that various types of identity, gender, sexuality, class, tended to be more salient independently for those who identified as being a marginalized member of that category. This theme emerged from several concepts in which the primary form of identification for the participant is considered to be a part of a non-dominant group. For example, Christopher identifies himself as a member of the dominant gender group and believes that this social identity category is not important to his identity.

> *I guess I might be ignorant on the nuance of maybe gender roles and gender identity, but I positively identify as a male and to what extent I don't know how that affects my day to day I guess, but I– I acknowledge and identify that I am a male I guess. As far as I can recall, yeah gender has not been that important of part of my identity.*

Whereas Sukori identified gender as influential to how she sees herself. Additionally, she identifies the culture that she grew up in as important to how she understood gender identity.

> *There was a huge gender divide on Guam for sure and the Chamorro culture. Um, the way that I was raised, women– it's kinda similar to old school American culture too, where woman keep the house, take care of the children and cook, take care of everything inside and the men do everything outside. And because of that I feel like I haven't learned as much um, about taking care of things outside, change my own tire, you know barbequing, things like that, as I– feel like I wish I could have when I was younger. Um, what else…, has my gender shaped my overall identity… I don't know, I see myself as pretty feminine and I identity with the female culture… a lot of the things I enjoy I think*

also tend to be very feminine, I love cooking and baking and art and [laughing] I don't know. Um, I don't spend too much time outdoors like hiking is not really my thing. Um, I've– I was never into sports, I know that's not necessarily a– none of this is necessarily feminine things, but just um thinking back I was never really into sports or playing outside with my cousins cause my grandma always had me inside cooking, learning how to cook, cleaning stuff, so and yea– I guess the gender divide from back then shaped a lot of what I'm interested or what I'm– what I know how to do I guess, today.

Regarding sexuality, Sayuri identified that her sexuality was not important to her identity. She acknowledges that she identifies with the dominant group so she does not have to think about her sexuality.

I feel like it would play a role if you were anything other than heterosexual because then people look at you differently. But for me, because I am heterosexual, it didn't really play that much of a role. I just didn't really think about it, because to me it's normal.

While May had more recently understood that her sexuality belonged to a marginalized group. She discusses how this has become important to how she sees herself now.

I am in a relationship with a girl right now and like I guess, there's– there's lots of things I don't know. It's like um like being in public and like getting like looks or um and then just– but yea I'm– I'm like proud and stuff and I mean I have like I have decorations of rainbows all over my dorm room. Um, yea [laughing] But, cause it's a relatively new to me. Um, but I think that it would be fun [laughs](coming out to her family). Mhm, um…, I think it was more like– I mean its weird cause I feel like it coincided with like the same time as me um like getting more into like my culture it was like, that same year I guess. Um, I think it was more (inaudible 15:17) understanding me as a person. and that was like around middle school time.

Regarding class or socioeconomic identity Justin observed that it impacts everyone's identity, but due to his middle-class upbringing, he did not really think about his class as important to his identity growing up. However, as a young adult, he appeared to be more aware of its impact on his life.

> *My socioeconomic status kinda plays a– I feel like it plays roles in everyone's identity when it comes– when it comes to forming it because where you– your socioeconomic status determines where you grew up and where you grew up kinda helps shape your identity. So, since I was– I was really fortunate, my parents grew– or raised me in a– in a very nice community uh I would say we are middle class, so I didn't– I wasn't faced with a lot of challenges other people were faced with. So, I feel like my– my identity kinda was shaped in accordance to my socioeconomic status. You know what I mean? I didn't start thinking about it till I got older cause it– it wasn't very I guess you can say interesting to me when I was younger. I didn't really care for it, I was really just focused on having fun and just playing and growing up. I wasn't really thinking about socioeconomic statuses or what not.*

Within the category of Marginalized Identity Salience, there is variation in what social identity categories participants found the most salient. Participants like Christopher, Sayuri, and Justin were able to articulate that their social identities that fit with dominant groups were not important to how they viewed their identities. Most participants, like Sukori and May, strongly identified that their social identities that were part of marginalized groups were important to their identity formation. The various ways in which participants thought about their social identities provide evidence that the identities of multiracial individuals should be viewed through an intersectional lens.

Theme 3. Race Should Not Be Assumed as Most Important Identity

While people are often identified in the media and political spheres first by their race, then by their gender (i.e., "a Black man," "a Hispanic woman," etc.) many participants identified other aspects of their identity than race as more salient to them. Like Hener, who felt that his gender played a bigger role in forming his identity.

> *Well, uh I think it (gender)– it actually might have a bigger role than– than the race to be honest. So, uh just the like how I was raised cause my dad he always had me doing like stereotypical like boy activities. So, I'd always be you know, playing baseball or– or um basketball like always sports, I never really– I never really hung out with my mom as*

much, I was more like with my dad so I feel like that like brought it out even– brought my um the masculinity part of me even more. So uh, well like sometimes I was with my mom and I like help to prepare dinner and stuff like that, like I always see myself as more, uh the masculine side so, ah, it– overall it– it has a like a huge like impact of like how I grew up and like even where I'm at now, so like being a boy like, I feel like there's just less restrictions on me if– if that makes sense.

Lisa also identified her gender as being more important to her identity than her racial and ethnic background.

I don't think race plays a role into– into this. Though my mom might disagree with me on that, um, but [laughing]…when I put um when I put the pictures down (in the free-drawing exercise) I put it from my perspective on what I thought what it meant to be who I am. So ethnic– ethnically, ethnically wise I didn't have any um any thought into anything ethnic. Sorta, yea. I didn't really– to me it didn't really matter, I mean I can– I can be like cool we're the same, but like it's not like I'm gonna be trying to learn my culture and go off to Germany or something to learn it. Like that, but it was pretty cool. I– I wanted to learn it but at the same time I mean I just got busy with a lot of work. Gender plays a signif– significant role because um I guess it just makes me who I am. Um, just makes who I um, who I grew up– how I grew up and it is very important to me. Hm, just the fact that I'm a girl and that girls did extraordinary things back in– back um in history and to be– to be like– to be a girl is kind of like I'm kind of proud of that, cause of how far we came. Yea, that makes sense, that answers the question.

Cornelius felt that socioeconomic status or class had a large impact on his identity today saying that how he grew up and his parents' circumstances affected the way he views himself.

I think it plays a big role because um, if we're talking about like for me growing up to who I am now, you can say the same thing for like my economic status because like my parents uh, they had my brother at 18 years old and so they started out uh bottom like bottom class with really low income and uh I remember when I was a kid I didn't get birthday presents one year because of like how little money we had. I think during like the 2008 like house market crash and everything. And with my mom real estate it kinda really affected us, but I kinda noticed as their economic growth boomed and now they are making significantly a lot more money through the jobs that they do now that uh, it kinda gives me like a better to like choose what I want to look like and like how I wanna appear to people, I guess. and it definitely like kinda sways like who I hang out with too. But I

think that's like the biggest like– like um cause I know whenever I got out like I gotten out here, my parents bought a house out here and it was like they ended up moving back within like 9 months because of how expensive it out here.

Similar to the previous category, the category of Race Should Not Be Assumed as the Most Important Identity, shows variation in which social identity categories were the most salient for participants. Participants like Hener and Lisa felt that their gender identity was more important than their racial identity in thinking about who they are. Whereas Cornelius identified that his socioeconomic status or class identity played an important role in his identity formation. Participants' identification of other social identities as more important to their core identity than their racial background, further suggests that viewing identity intersectionally will better capture how multiracial individuals think about and understand their own identities. In addition to the intersectionality of social identities, other factors in participants' lives and upbringing have been influential to their identities and multiracial individuals. Place was discussed significantly by all participants as having an impact on their identities.

Theme 4. Place is Salient

In this study place refers to the geographic location where each participant identifies being from. There were a variety of places that participants were from, with several naming Hawai'i, and the rest being from various areas of the Mainland U.S. as well as being born internationally.

In detailing the importance of place, Cornelius drew his home state of Georgia in his Free-Drawing and explained why place was important to his identity.

So, uh I drew the state of Georgia cause that's where I am from…and so I have like uh relatives that fought in the Civil War and everything and it's just like kinda like a show for showing that every single like part of my like background they always have like a

> *sense of blood shed I guess, so like the trail of tears and then with like Irish persecution and then uh on the bottom right I have my Hawaiian name because uh I get my Hawaiian heritage from my dad who's dad was born and raised in Hawaii and uh I drew it smaller than everything because growing up like I knew I was Hawaiian and like I always thought it was pretty cool. But I didn't really know much about like how in depth and how just like many big figures I'm related to and everything, so it– I put it small, but I wrote it out like the whole Hawaiian name just my first and last name because like I that– like I know that that's likes a part of me forever pretty much, so yea that's kinda what I drew.*

Jolie, who was born in Brazil, then lived in New York, and moved to Hawai'i for college discussed how the places she lived while growing up were important parts of her identity, including them in her Free-Drawing.

> *Ok, so um as I mentioned before I was born in Brazil. And then um in Brazil we are like a very close, we um with family members we are very close. And then, um, and then my dad is American Chinese, so his family is a little more distant, um in terms of like family gatherings and I guess like physical interaction because in Brazil we love hugging and kissing and but then um, and him and his side we don't really hug and like we don't really like, you know exchange any physical contact. But um, I moved to New York when I was 4, so um although I have memories of Brazil, they are very faint.*

Place as a category for organizing multiracial identity had a lot of variation with how it impacted participants. Cornelius and Jolie above, both included the places they grew up in and the culture and history of growing up there in their Free-Drawings, emphasizing place outright as an integral part of their identities. Additionally, all participants who identified as growing up in Hawai'i, like Kaiwi, La'Akea, and Blake referenced how living in Hawai'i, among a population largely consisting of multiracial individuals provided a positive outlook on their multiracial identities. While participants who grew up on the mainland, like Justin and Maria, expressed the importance of place in a different way. As members of minority racial groups learning about their racial identities and becoming more knowledgeable of the history and customs, they were

able to use their multiracial identity as a protective factor while living in cities and neighborhoods made up of dominant, non-marginalized groups. The various ways that place has impacted how multiracial individuals view their identities provides further evidence for an intersectional perspective of multiracial identity development.

Theme 5. Family is Foundational

The category, *Family is Foundational*, is representative of the finding that the relationships participants had with their families growing up and at the time of their interview were influential to their identity development. *Family Structure* and *Family Function* were important sub-themes that arose from the data. In addition to interactions with family impacting participants' views of their identity, the sub-theme *Family Influence* arose, indicating that these interactions also played a role in participants' level of interest in and perceived relevance of understanding different aspects of their identity, including race, gender, sexuality, class, and religion. I will now describe each of the sub-themes, *Family Structure*, *Family Function*, and *Family Influence*.

Family Structure

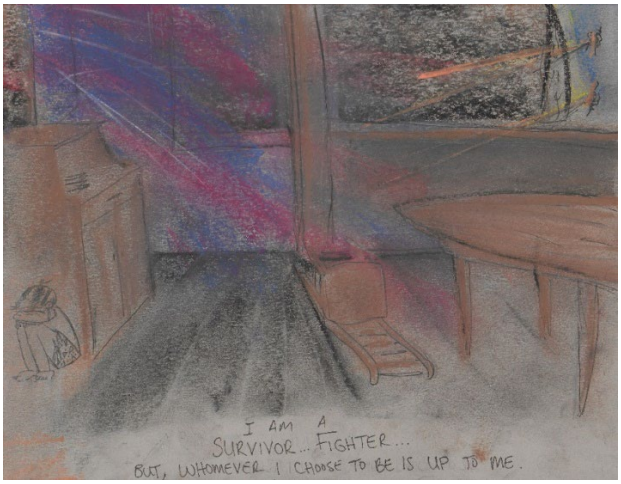
The bedrock of the *Family is Foundational* theme is the structure of the participants' family. Family structure refers to the composition of biologically and legally related individuals. At different points in the interview, all participants discussed the structure of their family and how it influenced their identity. Multiple categories were revealed as part of this sub-theme based on the different compositions of the participants' families. These categories are the Two-Parent Nuclear Family, Single-Parent Family, Blended Family, Multigenerational Family, as well as being an only child or having siblings.

Family Function

All participants described their relationships with their families. Both negative and positive relationships were informative to participants' identities. For example, Christopher's free-drawing emphasizes the abuse he experienced growing up (Figure 11). He also talks about the responsibility as the oldest child to assume the role of caretaker for his younger siblings due to his parents fighting and this was very influential to how he views his identity today.

Figure 11.

Christopher's Free-Drawing



> *So typical days we took the bus to school in the morning, um came back and the evenings were typically, depending on the uh the temperature of their mood, they were either fighting or if they were peaceful they were in different rooms, so I– I basically assumed the role of the basically the parent for most of my upbringing. Feeding the kids, making sure we got something to eat, became a master of making spaghetti and macaroni and fish sticks sort of thing. Uh and then doing homework, um and then Sundays we'd go to church and then after church we'd typically go to one of the other– one of the grandparents were all the kids would be off loaded and we'd get a break from mom and dad. And then depending on which grandparents we did– we went to it's kinda depend on what we did, but that was pretty much most of my childhood. Just school during the week and then grandparents on the weekend.*

While Christopher discusses the negative aspects of family functioning as influential, other participants, such as Sukori, shared more positive experiences that were important to her identity. She spent a lot of time growing up at her grandparents' house learning about her Japanese heritage and views it as influential to her identity today.

> *…it's kind of just overall, going to my grandparents' house, and their – they were born here, but they moved to Japan and grew up in Japan. When you go over to their house you see the Japanese influence and a lot of the trinkets, or things they have in their house are very Asian, and they spoke in Japanese, but I didn't understand them. [laughs]. To us they would speak English, but to my mom they would speak Japanese. I think just being surrounded by that, kind of – this is where I'm from, this is my culture.*

Family Influence

Participants also identified the overall influences their family have had on their identities. For example, Justin discusses his parents' racial backgrounds, his father is Jamaican and his mother is Cambodian, and how their families influence how he feels about his multiracial identity.

> *My mom's whole side of the family is strictly Cambodian, I just happen to be the one whose also Jamaican. So, when I hang out with all my cousins and all my other family in California, I'm strictly Cambodian, like I don't even see myself as Af– or Jamaican some– some of the times. But at the same time on the flip side, when I hang out with my dad's side of the family, I don't– I don't feel Cambodian because they all kinda look like me, you know what I mean.*

Rose expresses similar sentiments about growing up with different family members teaching her about their racial heritage and culture. The racial backgrounds that she most identifies with are the ones she had the most exposure to while growing up.

> *I feel more connected with being Filipino than I do White, but Hispanic more than I do White. Um, my grandpa would always used to tell stories um, about before when he came here and I know that a lot of my dad's side is more of his dad's side than it ever was my*

grandma's, they don't any of my grandma's relatives on that side. Uh, yea, I don't know any of them. Um, but I know the lot of the Hispanic family that I have and my mom is 100% Filipino so, I'm very well connected with that side I feel like.

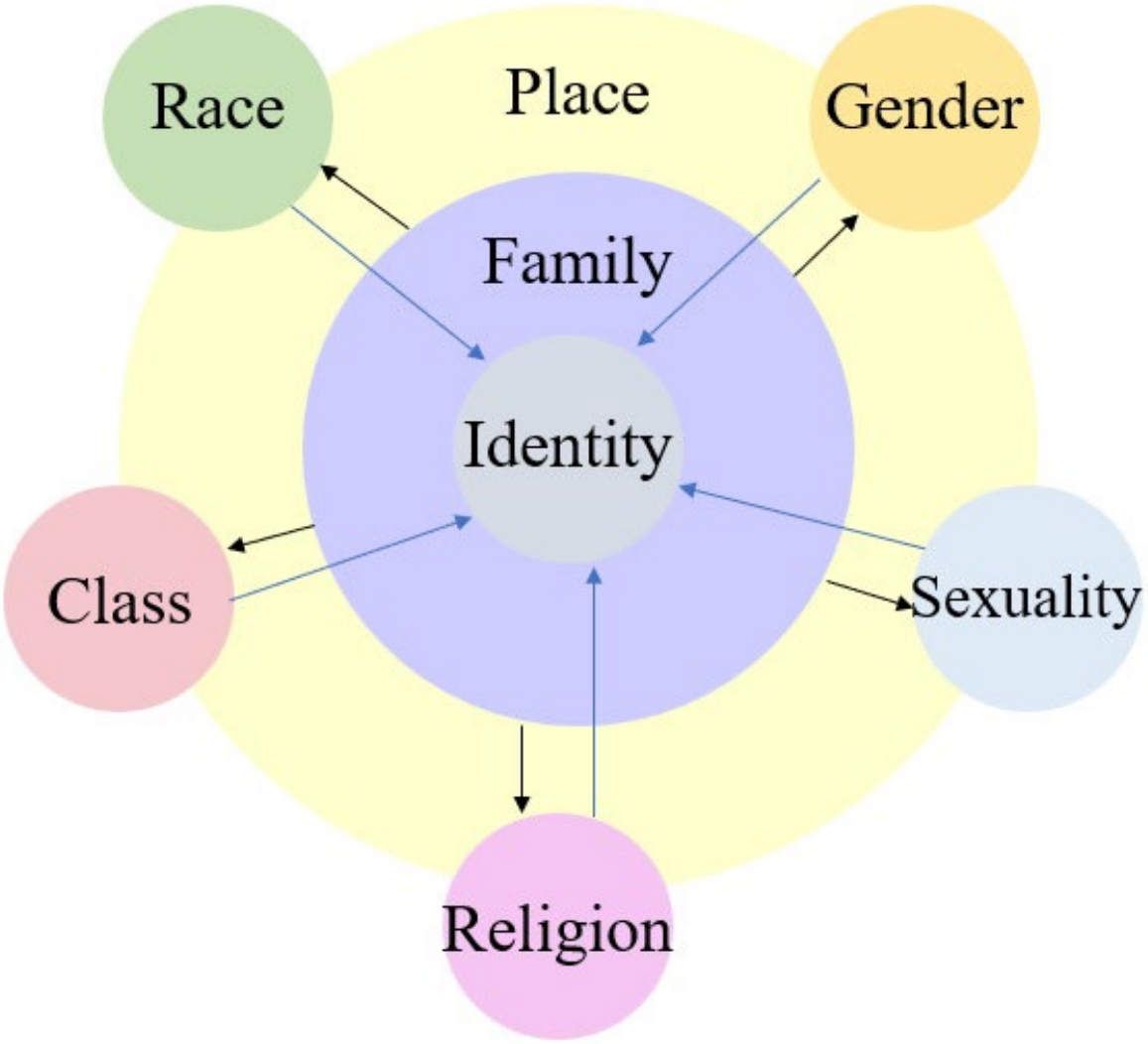
Intersectional Model of Multiracial Identity Development

The five major themes identified in the open and focused coding stage of this study provide evidence for an Intersectional Model of Multiracial Identity Development. This model explains the interrelatedness and intersections between various social identities that people claim while providing context to these intersecting identities through understanding how they intersect with place and family.

The Intersectional model of Multiracial Identity Development is composed of nested levels of influence (Figure 12). The individual is nested within their family and their family is nested within a place-based context. The process of how these two levels of influence affect the individual impacts the amount of consideration the individual gives to various social identities (race, gender, sexuality, class, religion) and in turn how much influence those social identities play in the individual's overall understanding of their multiracial identity. This model will be useful for understanding the nuances and complexities involved in intersectional identity research.

Figure 12.

Intersectional Model of Multiracial Identity Development.



CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explain the process of how race, gender, sexuality, and class intersect and inform the development of multiracial identity among multiracial individuals. The following research question and sub-questions were addressed to guide this study:

"How does intersectionality (race, gender sexuality, and class) inform the development of a multiracial identity?

a. How does gender impact multiracial identity development?
b. How does sexuality impact multiracial identity development?"
c. How does class impact multiracial identity development?

Chapter four included an analysis of my findings from 23 interviews with multiracial college students.

In this chapter, I will address each part of my research question and discuss how my findings fit into the literature regarding multiracial identity development. I will also discuss how this study fits within the relevant literature, strengths of this study, limitations and future directions, and the practical implications my findings have for education, practitioners, and community organizations.

Discussion

How Does Intersectionality (Race, Gender, Sexuality, and Class) inform the development of a Multiracial Identity?

This study investigated the role of intersectionality in informing the development of a multiracial identity. Participants' identification with marginalized identity groups were found to be the most salient aspects of their identities. This is a key finding because it suggests that social

identities become salient for multiracial individuals when there are institutional or systemic factors impacting their lives. One context that some participants alluded to and others explicitly discussed was the influence of institutions and systems on their identities. Adrian was one such example. During the course of their interview, I asked about the role of gender in their life and in the beginning, they gave a very concise response, but a few minutes later they chose to elaborate a bit more and chose to come out as a transgendered individual in their interview. They did not ascribe the label of "transgender" to themselves, but spoke of having lived with Gender Dysphoria for most of their life. They grew up in a religious household and the beliefs they were raised with manifested feelings of guilt. They talked about not being able to come out to their parents because their parents would not understand and might disown them.

> *Like my mom was– she was raised hard core Catholic and then she converted to born again Christianity which in some ways is even stricter, there is no way she would be able to understand– I don't think she has the capacity to. I mean she– she tires to be a good person, I know she does– she has excellent qualities, but this just simply beyond her, her range. And my dad is– he's not religious but he is more traditional conservative in that way, he just– I don't– there's no way. I mean I– they might disown me honestly [laughing] there's just no way.*

> *The church that I went to sort of it was border line cult. Um, cause it was smaller, everyone kept tabs on everyone else and there was a lot of, I guess there was a lot of gas lighting a lot of sort of emotional manipulation, I guess. To keep people pulled in, keep the people part of program. A lot of it, you know guilt motivating. Um, emotions that they would sorta manipulate into people, I feel. And they used that I think to try to keep me in there as long as possible and it worked for quite a while, but um. No, I had like a friend too, um, I invited him to the church one time and if it weren't for him I ma– I may still had been a part of it.*

Adrian also discussed that despite their racial background being Ecuadoran, Indian, and Burmese they just didn't feel connected to these racial backgrounds due to not speaking the languages or being familiar with the customs growing up on the East Coast of the United States.

> *I grew up in the suburbs, you know it's like upper middle class so you know everyone has– everyone has their two cars and their two kids and you know, a dog and a cat and I don't know, just sort of like being you know, typical like American dream.*

But they also felt that they were not just simply American. They expressed similar feelings of guilt regarding their sexuality due to their church up brining. In Adrian's example, we can see that their most marginalized identity was the one they identified with the most, but that other marginalized identities were important as well. Adrian's example shows that social identities are intersectional and though individually Adrian had made decisions about what their identity was, but they were also being acted on by socializing institutions, such as their church, and family structure, and White American culture.

Sukori identified the place where she grew up, outside of the United States, as very influential to how she views her identity. The cultural practices and beliefs shaped the way she viewed herself. Sukori is Chamorro and Filipino, however where she is from Filipino people are looked down upon and she discusses her own family members, who are also part Filipino, making racist comments about other Filipino people who lived there. She did not understand why they made racist comments, and still strongly identified as Chamorro because it was how she was raised. She now describes pushing back against her family's racist remarks.

> *Um, but my family would make a lot of jokes and they still do cause culturally Chamorros are very different from Filipino people. Um, Chamorros are a lot more reserved and um I guess I don't know if solemn is the right word, but I guess reserved and– and then in my experience Filipino families are a lot louder and I can kinda see where a Chamorro person would think that's obnoxious and not want to identify with that, but I always um– it was confusing because I didn't understand how people who were part Filipino could be racist against their own people. A lot of the values I was brought up with um, a lot of the things I did when I was younger and up until I left _____, very very Chamorro. So, I primarily identify as Chamorro at this point, when I got out here um and what's also interesting because my family, they are very racist against Chuukese people too they call them Micronesians, but we're all Micronesian*

Sukori also discusses how despite living in a pacific island nation, Whiteness is still considered to be the preferred, desired, or default category. Being labeled White provided her with advantages and privilege.

> *Um, I put I am fairly light skinned for a Chamorro woman which can be definitely be attributed to my mixed blood. So, for most of my childhood I was known amongst my friends as the White girl. So, I– there's white, I outlined it cause you can see it. Um, and it was an identity valued more than my reality of being mixed, you know multiracial for a really long time, cause I felt like different and I felt like I don't know I guess elite, for being White over there.*

These examples provide a snapshot in time demonstrating the intersectional nature of social identities for multiracial individuals and adds to the growing body of research in Critical Multiracial Theory (MultiCrit). Atkin and Yoo (2019) and Harris (2016) discuss the MultiCrit tenet, *intersections of multiple racial identities*, and the need for scholars to attend to the intersection of multiple racial backgrounds and other social identities including gender, sexuality, and class for the purpose of explaining how various institutions serve as oppressive forces on certain identities and can create differing experiences with oppression based on a multiracial individuals' makeup. For example, 541anti-trans bills have been proposed across forty-nine states in 2023. Sixty-nine bills have passed thus far, while 101 have failed and 371 are still active (Trans Legislation Tracker, 2023). What are the widespread impacts of anti-trans legislation for transgender women, men, and non-binary individuals? How do their experiences differ based on other social identities they hold? Addressing these questions using the Intersectional Model of Multiracial Identity I have proposed, may help parse out the nuances of intersectional marginalized identities and continue growing the body of literature in MultiCrit.

How Does Gender Impact Multiracial Identity Development?

Most of the participants in this study identified as female and all but two discussed their gender as being important to understanding their multiracial identity. They described themselves as being a multiracial woman, or listed their various racial backgrounds and their identity as a woman, suggesting strong support for the intersection of gender and race in understanding multiracial identity. Male participants only made up 21% of the participants, but two strongly identified with their maleness as having an impact on their multiracial identity. An interesting finding that was revealed during discussions about gender was the feeling that gender wasn't important or didn't play a role in someone's life, but then they go on to discuss the ways gender influenced their choices. For example, Rose discussed that her gender identity wasn't important to her.

> *Um, I don't think too much about my gender. I've always identified as female and I always will. I support all the other ones, I also don't know all the other ones, but I have no judgement, I think it um– I have plenty of friends who are exploring their sexuality as well.*
> *I always identify as being female or a woman or– I'm doing the RA thing and on the form it ask's us like how– like what are your pronouns and I was like why isn't there just like a female button, like I had to like pick certain ones, so I think it's interesting how it's growing. Um, it doesn't play a part in how identify, but I think that's it's cool that it's expanding or that like when you like check a form it like before it used to just– you pick one race, but now you could pick– there like how many you identify with, so I think it's cool.*

While Rose states that her gender identity doesn't matter to her, institutional socializing forces have influenced how she identifies herself. Dawn discusses a somewhat similar trend.

> *Um, ok so being a female, I mean I guess times has definitely changed, I feel like females are kind of getting more of a influence in society and there's a lot more opportunities. That's what's also influenced my major is that they need– um so I'm a STEM major in physics and they need– want more girls to do it, they want more multiracial people and I think that's because it's different. Like I said girls are slowly starting to become equal to*

> *men and I guess if you are multiracial you kinda have different perspectives that can also influence whatever they're trying to accomplish, like goals are trying to accomplish for that um company or group. So, I think being a female has a kinda little bit more help with that because a lot of places are trying to give them more opportunities to shine and stuff.*

These participant experiences provide support for the conclusion that marginalized or nondominant cultural identities are most salient in informing a multiracial person's identity. This also adds to the growing body of literature in MultiCrit demonstrating a key social identity that is intersectional with race.

How Does Sexuality Impact Multiracial Identity Development?

Participants who identified as a member of a nondominant or marginalized identity regarding their sexual orientation (gay, lesbian, bisexual) strongly expressed the importance of this identity, along with their multiracial identity, further supporting the intersectionality of multiracial identity development. La'akea for example, discussed his bisexuality along with his multiracial identity as being important to understanding his identity. May and Kaiwi discussed the importance of discovering their sexual orientation as lesbians and how it informed their views about their multiracial identity.

The Intersectional Model of Multiracial Identity Development that has been proposed also lends support to Queer of Color Critique (Marquez & Brockenbrough, 2013). This method focuses on the intersections of difference and types of oppression that develop, particularly within economic and political domains. Queer of Color Critique examines how race, gender, sexuality, class, religion, and other social identities intersect in historical contexts to determine what it means to be a queer person of color. Using the Intersectional Model of Multiracial Identity Development in examining the experiences of queer people of color can provide additional insights to this growing body of literature.

How Does Class Impact Multiracial Identity Development?

Few participants outright identified class as an influential identity tied to their multiracial identity. Those that did recognized how their experiences growing up as a result of their parents' social class helped to inform how they thought about their own identities. For example, Hener openly discussed his family's wealth as influential in how he understood his multiracial identity in relation to his friends. While other participants, such as Sayuri, discussed her lack of means as being influential to her multiracial identity development. Though fewer participants strongly identified with their class as intersectional with their multiracial identity than other cultural identity categories, all participants did discuss the significance of their upbringing in understanding their multiracialness. Perhaps participants were not consciously aware of the influence of class on their identities, despite discussing various factors of class (job, SES, education level, income level, etc.) and how they affected their identity development.

The impact of class in this study lends further support to MultiCrit. The presence of class in our society is a prominent marker of the oppressive institutions and systems that operate in the United States. By utilizing the Intersectional Model of Multiracial Identity Development, scholars can continue to add to the research in MultiCrit (Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Harris, 2016).

Place Impactful to Multiracial Identity Development

During the course of this study, place was found to be an important aspect of multiracial identity, in addition to the four social identities that made up my research question. The findings of this study support the notion that multiracial identity is state-dependent rather than trait-dependent. Place is a specific context that influenced how participants felt about their identities at the time of their interviews.

Participants such as Jolie who was born in Brazil and moved to New York when she was four described the experience as “culture shock.” She then discusses going back to visit Brazil and recognizes that in Brazil she looks different from everyone because she presents as Asian, but in New York there was more diversity of racial groups. Finally, when she came to Hawai'i, she felt like she fit in more easily due to the higher percentage of Asian representation.

Maria also alludes to a state-dependent approach regarding the importance of place to identity. She discusses being racialized as White when she moved to Hawai'i, but growing up in California she was racialized as Hispanic. Maria’s story reminds me of my own experiences growing up. Depending on the context or place I was in, people racialized me in different ways. I grew up in Arizona, which has a large Indigenous population and Hispanic population. Living in Northern Arizona, I would be racialized as Indigenous, and when I went to visit my grandmother in Phoenix, I was racialized as Hispanic. When I lived in Minnesota, I was racialized as White, or mixed, and when I came to Hawai'i I was often racialized as Hawaiian or Filipino. When people racialized me as White, I was often included in games and activities more than when I was racialized as a minority. Through these examples, place is revealed to be a factor of context that impacts how multiracial individuals view their own identities, which may change based on the changing contexts or places they are in.

Relevance of This Study to Other Research

Grounded Theory methods call for conducting the literature review at the conclusion of the analysis (Glaser and Straus, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Charmaz, 2014). While a preliminary literature review was conducted at the beginning of this study for the purpose of fulfilling the dissertation proposal requirements, a follow up literature review was conducted at

the end of the study analysis to align with the Constructivist Grounded Theory methodology used in this study. In this section, I will demonstrate the link between the emergent intersectional model and relevant research on multiracial identity development.

Wijeyesinghe (2012) argues that the literature on multiracial identity must consider emerging perspectives from intersectionality research to more accurately depict the lived experiences of multiracial individuals. They state that multiracial identity and intersectionality share some characteristics and assumptions including framing the multiracial individual's identity holistically in the context of multiple factors in their lives, acknowledging that individuals can experience marginalization in some respects and privilege in others, and that identity on an individual level is complex and negotiated over a life time, while also examining how the greater political and social contexts of society impact that individual's identity.

Wijeyesinghe (2012) discusses three identity models that attempt to explain multiracial identity. The Factor Model of Multiracial Identity (FMMI) framed identity as a choice that multiracial individuals were able to make using an intersectional approach (Wijeyesinghe, 1992; 2001). That choice was influenced by several factors such as spirituality, racial ancestry, physical appearance, cultural attachment, etc. The interactions between these factors influenced how people chose to identify. Root's (2002) Ecological Framework for Understanding Multiracial Identity Development (Root 2002) examined multiple factors that influence how multiracial individuals chose to identify. This study also examined factors from an intersectional perspective. Renn (2003) developed the Ecological Approach to Multiracial Identity to examine influences on identity through the microsystem, mesosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem.

Finally, the Intersectional Model of Multiracial Identity (IMMI) was developed, encompassing the ideas and theories of the previous models (Wijeyesinghe, 2012).

The IMMI includes the following assumptions and premises regarding multiracial identity: how a multiracial person chooses to identify at any one point depends on the salience of any number of factors, those factors and choices can change overtime, no single race is more valid or legitimate in understanding race, and finally other social classifications including gender, age, class, faith, etc., can influence how a multiracial personal chooses to identify their race. This model includes many aspects also discussed in the current study. The various models discussed by Wijeyesinghe (2012) lend support for the Intersectional Model of Multiracial Identity proposed in this study.

This study has resulted in an ecological-based model for understanding the intersectional nature of multiracial identity development as a small extension of Root's Ecological Framework for Understanding Multiracial Identity Development (1990;1996). This model connects various social identities together within place and context to help explain how multiracial individuals come to understand their own identities. While it involves the same social identities that are found in Root (1990; 1996) it does not focus on separating multiracial individuals into distinct categories based on how they view their multiracial identity. The focus of this model is to explain how these various social identities, race, gender, sexuality, and class intersect to inform multiracial identity. It is not concerned with organizing multiracial identity into different categories. However, this model could be used in tandem with Root's if one is interested in understanding the nuances of how social identities intersect with each other to inform multiracial identity.

In LaBarrie's (2017) report of multiracial identity development, they found that two prominent factors played a significant role in multiracial identity development; family influence, and community influence. They refer to family influence as the primary factor in how a multiracial individual comes to identify themselves through two sub-factors. The primary caregiver's use of racial labels played a significant role in how that person later labeled themselves. Additionally, the dominant racial appearance of family members was significant in how the multiracial individual identified themselves. Among multiracial families, those who discussed their multiple racial backgrounds led to more positive outcomes than families who took a colorblind approach and did not address race or being multiracial with their children.

In addition to family influence, LaBarrie (2017) also found that community influence played a role in the development of multiracial identities. Community diversity was found to be a significant factor in how a multiracial person later identified themselves, with more diverse communities leading to multiracial individuals feeling more accepted. Whereas multiracial individuals living in more homogenous communities often experienced more discrimination and challenges regarding their multiracial identities. LaBarrie's (2017) report illuminates the importance of family and community, suggesting that an intersectional model of multiracial identity, that examines multiple levels of influence, is an appropriate tool for understanding the development of multiracial identity.

Silverman's (2020) qualitative study of multiracial identity development found that familial, cultural, and environmental factors influence how multiracial individuals identified themselves. The developmental age of multiracial individuals and their degree of exposure to diverse populations influenced how confident they felt about their preference in how they

racially identified. Multiracial children whose parents gave equal weight and importance to their different races led to multiracial children identifying as multiracial. Whereas children whose parents emphasized one race over other racial backgrounds led to multiracial children choosing to identify with that particular race. This study lends further support for the intersectional model of multiracial identity, demonstrating the importance of family, culture, and environment on how multiracial individual's identities develop.

This study finds further support for an ecological model in another constructivist grounded theory study of multiracial identity development that also utilized visual data collection methods. Jackson and Mumma (2022) constructed a visual ecological model to understand how multiracial identity is influenced over time by developmental and ecological influences. They found that multiracial identity development is influenced by interpersonal relationships, trauma and abuse, place, and social environments. Similar to Jackson and Mumma, participants in this study discussed trauma and abuse as informative to their multiracial identity development (Christopher), their interpersonal relationships (all), the places they grew up (all), and their social environments (all). The similarity in results between these studies suggests that an intersectional approach to understanding multiracial identity development is appropriate and needed.

Castro-Atwater and Huynh-Hohnbaum (2018) discuss that the ecological factors of peers and family are significant in identity formation. They argue that parents play a significant role, directly and indirectly, in how their multiracial children identify. Directly, parents choose which cultures they teach and socialize their children in. Indirectly, parents choose which neighborhood and school their children will attend, which will influence what cultural and racial experiences their children have. Peers also play a significant role in multiracial identity formation due to the

relative importance that is placed on conforming to peer norms during adolescence. Multiracial adolescents must navigate the cultural and racial knowledge and customs that they have learned from their parents as well as weave that in with what they experience among their peer groups. Castro-Atwater and Huynh-Honhbaum further argue that multiracial individuals are often pressured to choose one racial identity to belong to and fit in with that particular group in school, and may have difficulty finding support among their peers.

Another qualitative study from Childs et al. (2021) examined the influence of families and communities on multiracial identity development of 22 individuals living in New York City. In their study, they highlight that most research of multiracial individuals focuses on Black-White and/or Asian-White racial heritage and chose to recruit participants of other multiracial backgrounds. Childs et al. found that living in a diverse city and having transnational ties were important ecological factors that impacted multiracial identity. Similarly, participants in my study live in a large diverse city with many transnational ties to places such as the Philippines, Brazil, Japan, and Guam. Participants also comprised of varied combinations of racial backgrounds. The parallels between the participants in this study and Childs et al. (2021) provide further evidence for an intersectional approach to understanding multiracial identity development.

Another ecological framework to study identity was developed by Galliher et al. (2017) that focused on the content of identities. This framework uses four levels of analysis, at the broadest level examining the greater context of values, beliefs, and norms of culture, and the historical context. Next the framework examines the social roles as contexts of identity development, then how individual identity contexts intersect. Finally, the framework examines

the everyday interactions of identity. While Galliher et al.'s framework differs from the intersectional model discussed in the present study, it provides additional support for the use of ecological contexts to further understand multiracial identity development.

Gonzales (2019) conducted a grounded theory study of multiracial women in which three main themes emerged: how participants perceived their own racial identities, how participants viewed their own identities in context with how other people view them, and how their physical bodies informed their identities. Multiracial women in this study identified themselves racially in different ways, depending on the racial and ethnic makeup of who they were talking to. For example, two sisters who were participants discussed their identities differently. Ana identified as a multiracial individual, listing all of her racial backgrounds. While her sister, Sanya discussed the options on the U.S. census to be limiting in trying to lump all multiracial individuals together as a unified category. She rejected being identified as a multiracial person. Their stories mirror that of Kaiwi's experiences in which her older sister identified as White, while Kaiwi identified with her Hawaiian and Filipino heritage. Gonzales' study provides further support for the ecological model of multiracial identity development, demonstrating that an intersectional view of identities would provide a better understanding of how multiracial individuals think of their own identities. An interesting finding from this study is the theme of the physical body informing participants identities. In this theme Gonzales argues that the expectations that others have for a multiracial person are also impacted by their physicality. In other words, people develop expectations for what certain races should look like, and multiracial individuals get identified in specific ways based on how closely their bodies resemble the expectations others have.

Gonzales' theme of the importance of physicality may also be connected to the intersectional model of multiracial identity development and requires further study.

Another intersectional study examined the exotification of multiracial boys (Newman, 2019). In this study participants were all part Black mixed race. Participants described being flirted with by girls who would complement their looks, then asked what their racial backgrounds were. In essence, the girls were confirming their perceptions of attractiveness, which were tied to racialized notions of what they considered desirable. Participants identified that people would describe specific physical features as belonging to only one part of their multiracial heritage. For example, Marlon, who identified being Black and Mexican, stated that people would racialize him as Mexican because of his hair, and racialize him as Black because of his skin tone. Very few people saw him as Black and Mexican. This study provides additional support for the intersectional nature of identity for multiracial individuals.

de Vries and Sojka (2022) examined the intersectional identities of transgender multiracial individuals in semi-structured interviews. Participants expected their perceived gender to change with transitioning, however they were not prepared for their race to also be perceived differently after transitioning. For example, Diego is Puerto Rican and White and grew up in the foster care system. He states that before transitioning he was White passing. He was listed as White, non-Hispanic in his court documents. After transitioning he worked at a farmer's market and people would speak to him in Spanish, racializing him as non-White. This study demonstrates the intersectional nature of identity and provides additional support for the use of the intersectional model of multiracial identity development.

Harris' (2021) narrative case study focused on campus support services available for individuals regarding their multiracial identities. Harris found that many barriers existed to receiving social, academic, and emotional support for multiracial students. Though the focus of Harris' study was primarily on receiving and developing student support services for multiracial individuals, it adds additional information regarding ecological contexts that affect multiracial identity, namely the presence of effective campus support services. In the present study, most participants did not focus on their experiences at the University as being influential to their identities. This may be due in part to the lack of probative questions regarding life as a student. While place was discovered to be an important aspect of identity in this study, perhaps further investigation of living on campus vs off campus would yield similar results to Harris (2021). While support services for multiracial college students have not been widely studied, college students have received a disproportionate amount of attention in studies interested in multiracial identity.

Strengths of This Study

Grounded theory studies, constructivist or otherwise, make use of semi-structured interviews to elicit rich data. However, incorporating the free-drawing/writing exercise was extremely useful for revealing codes, concepts, and the development of themes. Participants were expressive in their drawings and often spent a significant amount of time in the beginning of the interview describing their drawings. The drawings served as a primer for participants to talk about their identities and think about the different aspects of their identities that were important to them. I also found the process of making my own interpretation of the drawing and comparing it to the participant's description and what they were representing in their drawings a

good tool for continually checking my assumptions and biases and revealing initial codes and concepts. There were many benefits to using this free-drawing method. One of the minor struggles I had with this method is that six participants chose to engage in free-writing rather than drawing. Some of these participants still made doodles during their free-writing, but all of these participants also spent a lot of time considering the question prompt "Who am I?" and because they wrote out an answer, they had an easier time explaining what they wrote and why. Despite my hope that everyone would choose to draw, those who wrote instead still had a lot to discuss and share about their identity. Because of this, I did not perceive any negative outcomes of using this visual data collection method.

Mey and Dietrich (2017) proposed a Visual Grounded Theory Methodology (VGTM), arguing that visual forms of data in qualitative social and cultural research were increasing in popularity. Images, photographs, films, and videos have become popular forms of visual data, with a less frequent use of drawings. To engage in analyzing the visual data I started at the center of the image and described what I saw and then worked my way around the image to other elements to describe them. This became my interpretation of what I saw in the drawings. I also had my participants describe their drawings to me so that I could draw comparisons to how I interpreted their drawing based on my own assumptions and what the participant intended. I then used the initial coding process to code both my interpretation and the participant's description. I would recommend this free-drawing/writing as a valid method for scholars who engage in multiracial identity development research. Incorporating this free-drawing/writing method into my research has taken the constructivist ground theory approach another step forward and lends support for Mey and Deitrich's (2017) Visual Grounded Theory Methodology.

Additionally, the process of memo-writing was a significant boon to analyzing the data from each interview transcript and the research and participant descriptions of the drawings. Memo-writing allowed me to keep a record of my own thoughts, interpretations, and potential biases to be able to make constant comparisons between participants. Memo-writing helped to keep track of codes, concepts, and see how to best fit the data and label the overarching themes. Memo-writing has no specified format and can be tailored to a researcher's preference for how to engage in the process. I would also recommend using this process for those who have an interest in multiracial identity development. Limitations regarding this population and suggestions for future research are discussed below.

Limitations and Future Directions

Context was an underlying component of this research study. However, it is not likely possible to address all contexts that may impact multiracial identity development. The focus of my study was to examine race, gender, sexuality, and class. Because this study focused on these specific social identities, other important social identities that may intersect were not discussed by everyone. For example, Maria and Cornelius discussed their religious beliefs and practices as integral to their multiracial identity. I did not have the opportunity to go back and ask previous participants about this identity and how it intersected with their multiracial identity. Grounded Theory relies on theoretical sampling to the point of saturation. However, it might be useful to oversaturate. If you are learning no new information or concepts, what texture and richness can be added to the categories already formed by continuing to interview more people? Going back and scheduling additional interviews with participants may also be used to elicit additional

information. Additionally, other social identities related to participant interests may play a role in informing participants' identities.

Another limitation to consider in this study is the practice of self-identifying as multiracial. What type of results would have been achieved with participants who didn't ascribe to a multiracial identity? What other aspects of their identities may have been more influential? Looking back at Root's (1990; 1996) Ecological Framework for Understanding Multiracial Identity Development, she found that multiracial individuals categorized their identities in four distinct ways. Because of the contextual nature of this study, some participants described situational race in which they are shifting between identities depending on who they are surrounded by and what activities they are participating in, while other participants discussed feeling strongly one part of their racial identity and experimenting or dabbling in other areas.

In terms of development, this study employed a cross-sectional design and thus only captures one moment in time of the participants' lives. To measure participants' identity development, measurements at multiple points over time, would give a better overall picture of the intersectionality of social identity for multiracial individuals. As discussed earlier, multiracial identity is contextual and part of the context is the changes that occur over time. During the interview, participants identified and discussed their identities as they were in that moment in time. But perhaps the participants who hadn't really given a lot of thought to different aspects of their identity, like gender, may have different views of their gender now. In five years, or ten years, will the same participants have similar views and draw similar images about their identity?

The sample of this study was composed of multiracial individuals, all participants were college students and were part of a pool of students taking psychology courses. College students

are a unique population that may not reflect the experiences of multiracial individuals as a whole. To address this limitation, further study of multiracial identity development should include individuals who are no longer in college and individuals who never attended college. Furthermore, participants were between 18-30 years old. The experiences of individuals in middle and late adulthood, as well as children may provide more insights into the intersectional experiences of multiracial individuals. Additionally, participants in this study were mostly comprised of individuals who had spent most of their lives living in a large diverse Pacific Island city where multiracial background was the norm, rather than a minority group. Multiracial individuals who live in predominantly monoracial, White cities may have different experiences due to being more closely aligned with minority racial groups. Cross-cultural studies of multiracial individuals living outside of the United States would also illuminate nuances and provide more rich and detailed data about the intersectional nature of multiracial identity development.

This research was conducted with the assumption that the primary cultural identities discussed in the literature on identity (race, gender, sexuality, and class) would be most salient for participants. However, some participants additionally identified religion and place as factors that were important to their identity formation. Religious identity has been explored elsewhere, but, future investigations of this topic should ensure that it is included at the outset of the study to determine its influence on multiracial identity development. Additionally, further efforts into exploring the impact of place should be investigated. What aspects of place are important? Perhaps the length of time that one spends there, the diversity of that place, and other ecological impacts should be investigated.

Another avenue that might provide further nuance and context to the intersectional model of multiracial identity development is DNA testing. Sites like Ancestry.com and 23andMe.com offer individuals the opportunity to submit DNA to learn more about ethnic and racial heritage. These tests may also provide further insights into multiracial individuals' understanding of their identities. A personal experience with taking the Ancestry.com DNA test has led to my changing understanding of my own multiracial identity. I used to identify as Hawaiian, Filipino, British, Irish, Scottish, and German. Based on my Ancestry DNA results, I am not Hawaiian at all and have come to find out that my maternal grandfather was not biologically related to my mother. On my father's side while his results show the British, Irish, Scottish, and German mix, I inherited mostly my paternal grandmother's genes and am mostly German. This has affected how I understood my multiracial identity and I developed feelings of being a fraud in claiming Hawaiian ancestry. After getting these results I attempted to identify as Filipino and German, but as I never grew up with learning the customs and history of these two cultures, I feel very separated and distant from them and have since gone back to describing myself as Hawaiian, Filipino, British, Irish, Scottish, and German. Though this experience is my own, similar stories have been shared online of individuals whose identities changed or became muddled due to DNA results. It is possible that multiracial individuals may alter their views of their identity based on their test results. Thus, this avenue of inquiry is worth further exploration.

While this and several other studies have examined the development of multiracial identities, multiracial identities have largely been examined as a somewhat homogenous group. Racial groups present in the city where this study took place have different positionalities and experiences with discrimination which may provide further insights as suggested by Jones and

Rogers (2022). Further investigation of multiracial individuals who only possess minority or marginalized racial backgrounds is warranted. It is possible that multiracial individuals, such as myself, who are White-passing, may have different experiences from multiracial individuals who are not White-passing. Thus, more knowledge about the different and dynamic experiences faced by various racial combinations of multiracial individuals is warranted.

Implications

The intersectional model of multiracial identity development described in this study will provide a better understanding of the nuanced and complex ways that intersectionality impacts individuals. It should not be assumed that a particular cultural identity, such as race, is the most salient aspect of an individual's identity. Therefore, making use of this intersectional model will help researchers gain valuable and nuanced information about issues of identity in multiracial individuals. Using this model will advance further knowledge about how multiracial identities develop. which has implications for educators, practitioners, and community programs.

Educators

Educators would benefit from using the intersectional model of multiracial identity development when designing content and activities for their courses. Understanding the context of student identities may better contribute to creating relevant application-based activities and assessments.

For example, I have incorporated the intersectional model of multiracial identity development into a psychology of human relations course that I teach. This is a lower division course for non-psychology majors to learn about and apply psychological concepts to their lives and improve their interactions with others in the workplace. In the first unit, my students learn

about self-concept and complete surveys on self-esteem, self-efficacy, and character traits. Then they complete the "Who am I? free-drawing/writing exercise that was included in this study. They introduce themselves and discuss their drawings with their peers in the class. At the end of this unit, I ask students to discuss their various identities and how those impact how they view the world and their values. Throughout the course I incorporate activities that require students to think about the aspects of their identities that are important to them and how they influence their thinking about course topics and how the other people they interact with in their workplaces and social settings might behave and think different based on having differing aspects of their identities be more salient. Throughout the class, I develop a good sense of what aspects of their identities are important to each student and can adjust my teaching strategies to best aid my students in their learning.

Practitioners

Practitioners in counseling and therapy related fields would benefit from using the intersectional model of multiracial identity to understanding how intersectional identity saliency impacts their multiracial clients. Interviewing clients and gaining a nuanced understanding of what aspects of their identity are most influential or most salient may help the practitioner select appropriate treatment methods and confront their own biases related to racial stereotypes.

For example, Anders et al. (2021) found that clients who had high saliency for both their first and second ranked cultural identities (race, sex, gender, sexual orientation, religion, socioeconomic status) of importance found that their therapist had more cultural missed opportunities than clients who had a much higher degree of saliency for their first ranked cultural identity than their second ranked identity. In other words, clients who felt multiple aspects of

their identity were important to who they are perceived that their therapists focused more heavily on one aspect of their identity as significant to the concerns they wanted to address or their goals for therapy. The results of this study demonstrate that therapists' interactions with their clients would benefit from taking an intersectional approach to understanding their clients' identities.

Community Programs

For individuals developing community programs, understanding the intersectional nature of identity in multiracial individuals using the intersectional model of multiracial identity development will aid with developing diverse, equitable, and inclusive programs that benefit multiracial individuals. By taking an intersectional approach, community organizations may gain a better understanding of the concerns of community members and how to best meet their needs.

For example, Rubin et al. (2021) studied the development of identity safety in a community-based youth development program. The program's aim was to help adolescent women of color develop identity safety through engagement with peer and adult mentors. The study aimed to examine how identity safety could be fostered in a youth community program and found that open communication, peer and social support, and participation in program activities helped participants develop identity safety. This program took an intersectional approach to providing a support network for young women of color. Future community programs may provide positive spaces for multiracial individuals through an intersectional approach.

Conclusion

The findings of this study provide further knowledge into identity issues that multiracial individuals experience. I have discussed the intersectional nature of race, gender, sexuality, and class, and how they impact the development of a multiracial identity. Additionally, the findings

of this study were placed within the context of current relevant research. The limitations and suggestions for future and continued study on multiracial individuals was discussed. Finally, the implications for research and policy regarding diversity, equity, and inclusion were addressed.

Appendix A

IRB Approval Form

UNIVERSITY of HAWAI'I® SYSTEM

Office of Research Compliance
Human Studies Program

TO:	Barile, John, PhD, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Psychology Allison Hernandez, Busse, Philippe, Undergraduate Student, Psychology, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Scarbrough, Stevy, MA, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Psychology
FROM:	Rivera, Victoria, Dir, Ofc of Rsch Compliance, Social&Behav Exempt
PROTOCOL TITLE:	Understanding Multiracial Identity Development Using Constructivist Grounded Theory
FUNDING SOURCE:	
PROTOCOL NUMBER:	2018-00701
	Approval Date: November 23, 2018 Expiration Date: December 31, 2999

NOTICE OF APPROVAL FOR HUMAN RESEARCH

This letter is your record of the Human Studies Program approval of this study as exempt.

On November 23, 2018, the request for IRB approval of changes to your exempt project noted above has been reviewed and approved. The proposed amendments will be added into your current project file. The proposed changes do not alter the exempt status of your project. The authority for the exemption applicable to your study is documented in the Code of Federal Regulations at 45 CFR 46.101(b) 2.

This approval does not expire. However, please notify the Human Studies Program when your study is complete. Upon notification, we will close our files pertaining to your study.

If you have any questions relating to the protection of human research participants, please contact the Human Studies Program by phone at 956-5007 or email uhirb@hawaii.edu. We wish you success in carrying out your research project.

1960 East-West Road
Biomedical Sciences Building B104
Honolulu, Hawai'I 96822
Telephone: (808) 956-5007
Fax: (808) 956-8683
An Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Institution

Appendix B

Consent Form

University of Hawai'i
Consent to Participate in a Research Project
Stevy Scarbrough, Principal Investigator
Project title: Understanding Multiracial Identity Development Using Constructivist Grounded Theory

Aloha! My name is Stevy Scarbrough and you are invited to take part in a research study. I am a graduate student and the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in the Department of Psychology. As part of the requirements for earning my graduate degree, I am doing a research project.

What am I being asked to do?
If you participate in this project, I will meet with you for an interview at a location and time convenient for you.

Taking part in this study is your choice.
Your participation in this project is completely voluntary. You may stop participating at any time. If you stop being in the study, there will be no penalty or loss to you. Your choice to participate or not participate will not affect your rights as a student.

Why is this study being done?
The purpose of my project is to understand how an individual develops a multiracial identity. I am asking you to participate because you have identified yourself as a multiracial person.

What will happen if I decide to take part in this study?
If you participate in this project, I will meet with you for an interview on campus. The interview will consist of a writing/drawing exercise and conclude with an interview with 10 open-ended questions. It will take about 90 minutes to two hours to complete.

The interview questions will include questions like, "I identify my races as..." and "What social groups or settings have influenced how you think about your identity?"

Only you and I will be present during the interview. With your permission, I will audio-record the interview so that I can later transcribe the interview and analyze the responses. If I have any further questions that need clarification after the completion of your interview, I may ask to interview you again. A subsequent interview will take about 30 minutes to 45 minutes to complete. You will be one of about 60 people I will interview for this study.

What are the risks and benefits of taking part in this study?
I believe there is little risk to you for participating in this research project. You may become stressed or uncomfortable answering any of the interview questions or discussing topics with me during the interview. If you do become stressed or uncomfortable, you can skip the question or take a break. You can also stop the interview, or you can withdraw from the project altogether at any time.

There will be no direct benefit to you for participating in this interview. The results of this project may help to better understand how a multiracial identity develops.

Privacy and Confidentiality:
I will keep all study data secure in a locked filing cabinet in a locked office/encrypted on a password protected computer. Only my University of Hawai'i advisor and I will have access to the information. Other agencies that have legal permission have the right to review research records. The University of Hawai'I Human Studies Program has the right to review research records for this study.

After I write a copy of the interviews, I will erase or destroy the audio-recordings. When I report the results of my research project, I will not use your name. I will not use any other personal identifying information that can identify you. I will use pseudonyms (fake names) and report my findings in a way that protects your privacy and confidentiality to the extent allowed by law.

Compensation:
You will earn up to 3 SONA research credits (1 credit for the writing/drawing exercise and 2 credits for the interview) for your time and effort in participating in this research project.

Future Research Studies:
Identifiers will be removed form your identifiable private information and after removal of identifiers, the data may be used for future research studies or distributed to another investigator for future research studies and we will not seek further approval from you for these future studies.

Questions:
If you have any questions about this study, please call or email me as [808.956.6271 & smscar@hawaii.edu]. You may also contact my advisor; Dr. Jack Barile at [808.956.6271 & barile@hawaii.edu]. You may contact the UH Human Studies Program as 808.956.5007 or uhirb@hawaii.edu to discuss problems, concerns and question; obtain information; or offer input with an informed individual who is unaffiliated with this specific research protocol. Please visit http://go.hawaii.edu/iRd for more information on your rights as a research participant.

If you agree to participate in this project, please sign and date this signature page and return in to:

Stevy Scarbrough
Department of Psychology
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa
2530 Dole St.
Sakamaki C400
Honolulu, HI 96822-2294

Keep a copy of the informed consent for your records and reference.

University of Hawai'i
Consent to Participate in a Research Project
Stevy Scarbrough, Principal Investigator
Project title: Understanding Multiracial Identity Development Using Constructivist Grounded Theory

Signature(s) for Consent:

I give permission to join the research project entitled, "Understanding multiracial Identity Development Using Constructivist Grounded Theory."

Please initial next to either "Yes" or "No" to the following:

_____ Yes _____ No I consent to be audio-recorded for the interview portion of this research.

_____ Yes _____ No I consent to my de-identified data being use in future research.

Name of Participant (Print): _____

Participant's Signature: _____

Signature of the Person Obtaining Consent: _____

Date: _____

Mahalo!

Appendix C

Free-Drawing/Writing Exercise

An instruction sheet with the following statement will be made available to the participant at the beginning of her/his interview. After completing this task, the participant is asked to inform the interviewer. At which point, the interviewer will sit down with the participant and ask her/him to explain what s/he write/drew and its significance.

Instructions

Please consider the question, "Who am I?" while I step out of the room. When you have thought about how you would like to answer this question, please choose one sheet of paper from the offered assortment, then write/draw your response(s) to the question, "Who am I?" You may use any of the writing and drawing supplies that are available. Please take as much time as you need to complete your response(s). When you are finished, please let me know. This activity and follow-up question will take about 20-30 minutes to complete.

Follow-Up Question

Please share with me what you have written/drawn on your sheet. What do each of these words/images represent and why are they important to you in answering the question, "Who am I?"

Appendix D

Open-Ended Interview Questions

After completing the first activity, an open-ended interview will be conducted. The interview will begin with a narrative question. The following questions will be asked if they have not been addressed in the narrative portion or the free-writing/drawing exercise.

Interview Protocol

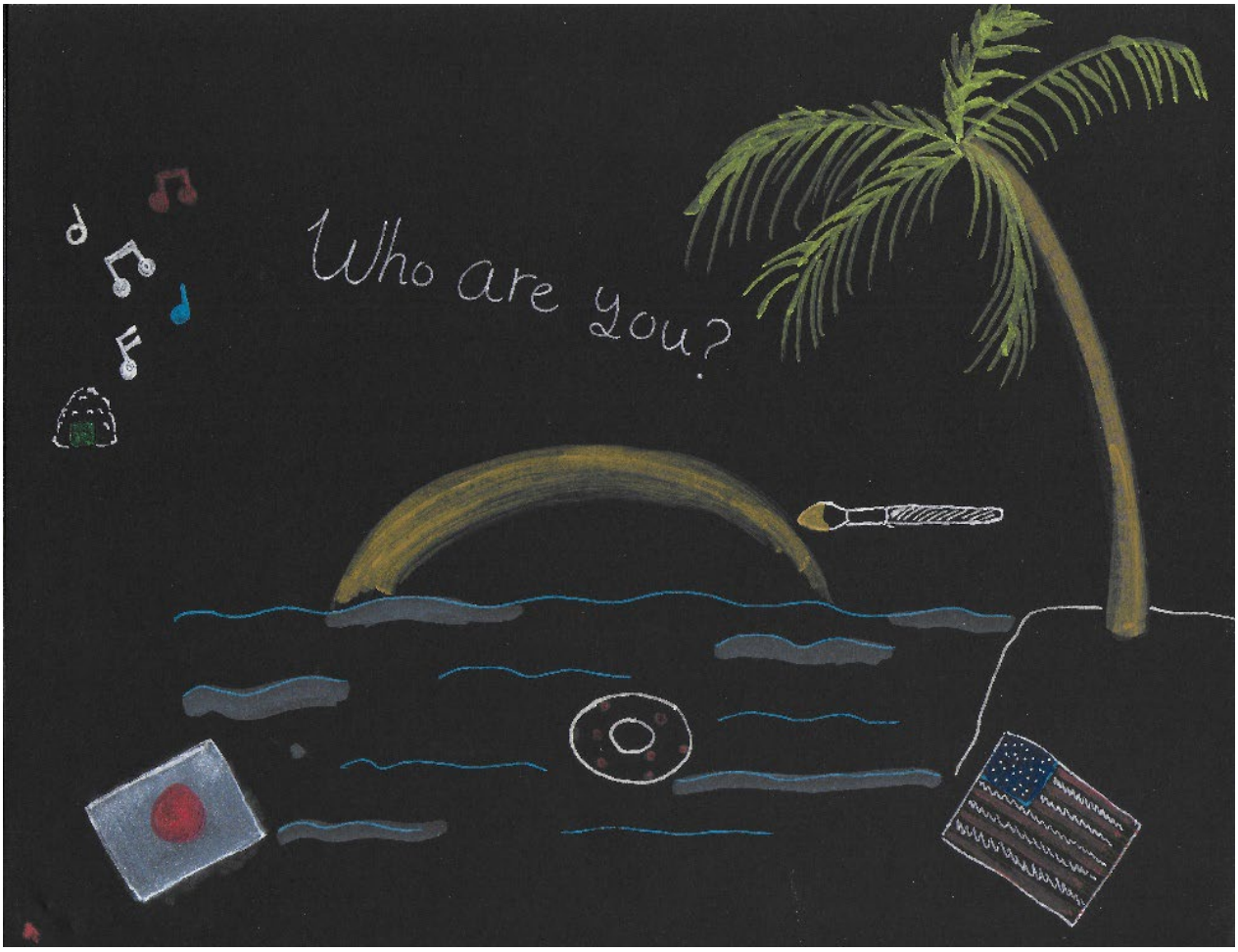
This interview is being conducted to gain a better understanding of how multiracial identity develops. As a person who has firsthand knowledge, I have asked for your participation in this interview. This interview will take about forty-five minutes to one hour to complete. You have received a consent form to sign, which indicates your consent to do this interview, and this interview will be recorded.

1. I am trying to better understand how people develop a multiracial identity and how that identity may or may not interact with other identities that people hold or claim. Could you please tell me about your experience as a multiracial individual? I want to hear your story in your own words. Please take as much time as you need, I won't interrupt. I will listen first. After you have completed your storytelling, if I have any questions or something is not clear, I will ask you. For now, please talk freely.
2. What role, if any, does your racial background play in forming your identity?
3. What role, if any, does your gender play in forming your identity?
4. What role, if any, does your sexuality play in forming your identity?

5. What role, if any, does your socioeconomic status or class, play in forming your identity?
6. What social groups or settings have influenced how you think about your identity?
7. Please describe a specific experience or memory that helped you understand your identity.
8. Think back on your life before you entered college. How did you identify yourself then? (Probes: Do you still see think of your identity in the same way or has your identity changed?)
9. Please describe a typical day in your life while you were growing up. (Probes: Who did you live with? Where did you live? What was your neighborhood like? What kind of friends did you have? What was your school like?)
10. Is there anything else that you would like to talk about that we did not cover, or any questions you would to ask me?

Appendix E

Participant Drawings



Sayuri

Who am I?

I often feel like an amalgamation of incongruent things. The various aspects of my identity do not seem to fit together perfectly... I've had to put them together myself — as a child. I proudly feel Hawaiian, now. But, I wasn't raised in my culture. Or as Filipino, another side of my identity.

I am my mother's daughter. I reflect her identity: Hawaiian. But, I also take the Filipino heritage she ignores.

I am a person with strong mana (mostly intellectual & physical). But, I pride myself in my mana. I have wrought it. And it brings pride to my mother. And it frees me from the pains my father gives me.

My father is White. He's had another daughter, with a Filipino woman I've never met. I've never met my sister, but I need to be her protector. I don't know who I am with my father. I feel like a stranger, alienated by his racism. (And I can only hope he doesn't harm my sister's identity.)

Coming towards my own identity has been a winding process. But, I am sure that I am Hawaiian. I am "made in the lands of rainbows". I love my 'aina, I share breath with my mother, I nurture my neighbors (plants, animals, people)... My other half-sister identifies as Japanese-Filipino-White... Mostly White. I cannot be like her. I cannot fit myself in there. So, while I am Hawaiian-Filipino I am also not White.

I cannot connect to my father. He has made it so I do not understand Whiteness.

And my mother, who wanted me to be her perfect blondie, blue-eyed baby... deprived me of culture in the process.

This is "self-discovery". Ardwous work.

But, I am here now.

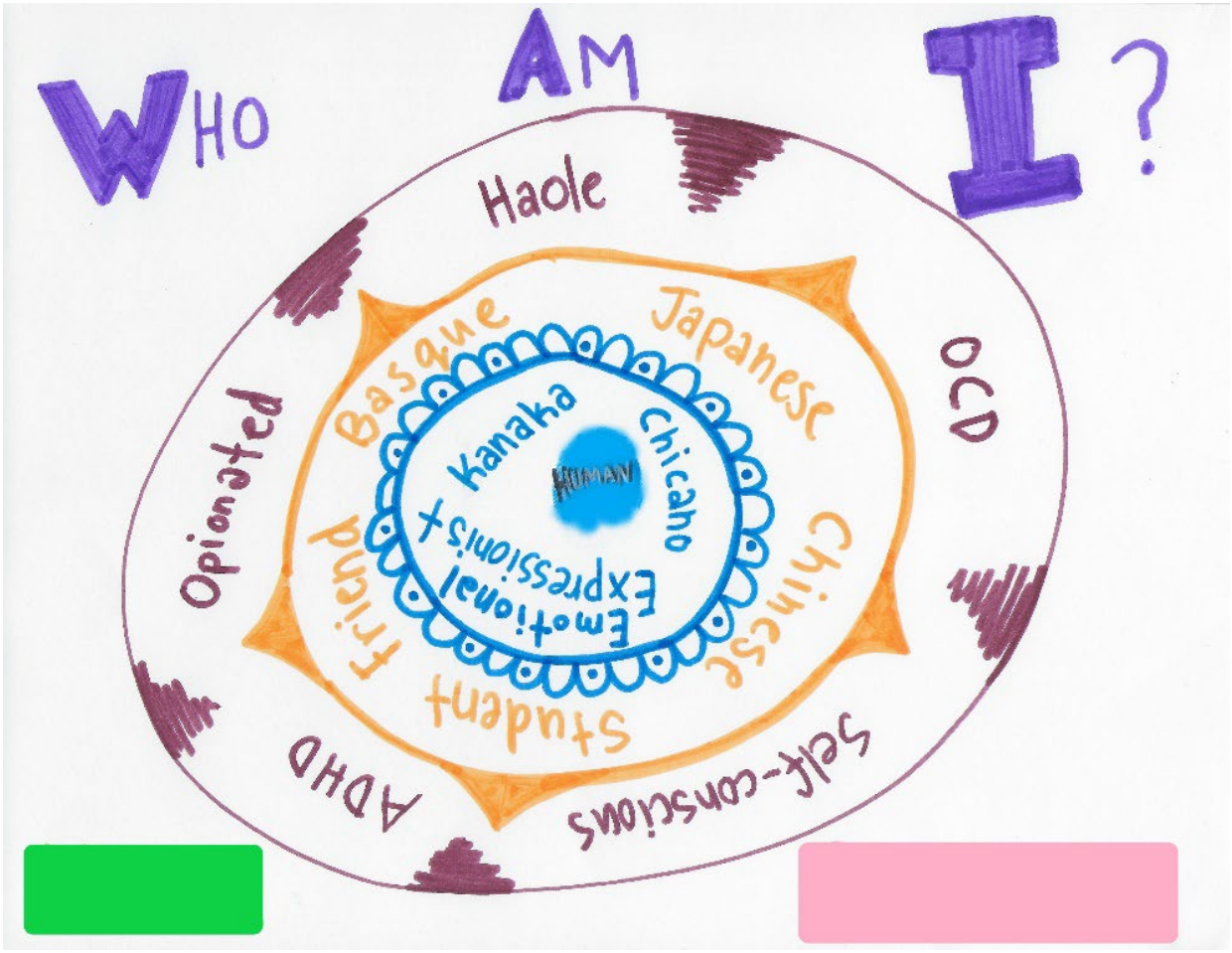
I am [redacted]

Conceived in the realm of the rainbows! My sacred homeland, Hawai'i!

My mana was given to care for my 'aina and my neighbors. I am a nurturer and a lover, giver, protector. And it comes from my mother. And from my akua, beyond her.

←My ancestor
My connection to him is the root of it all

From this soil, were my bones made. And to her my bones will return. I am my bones!


WHO
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Student
Self-conscious
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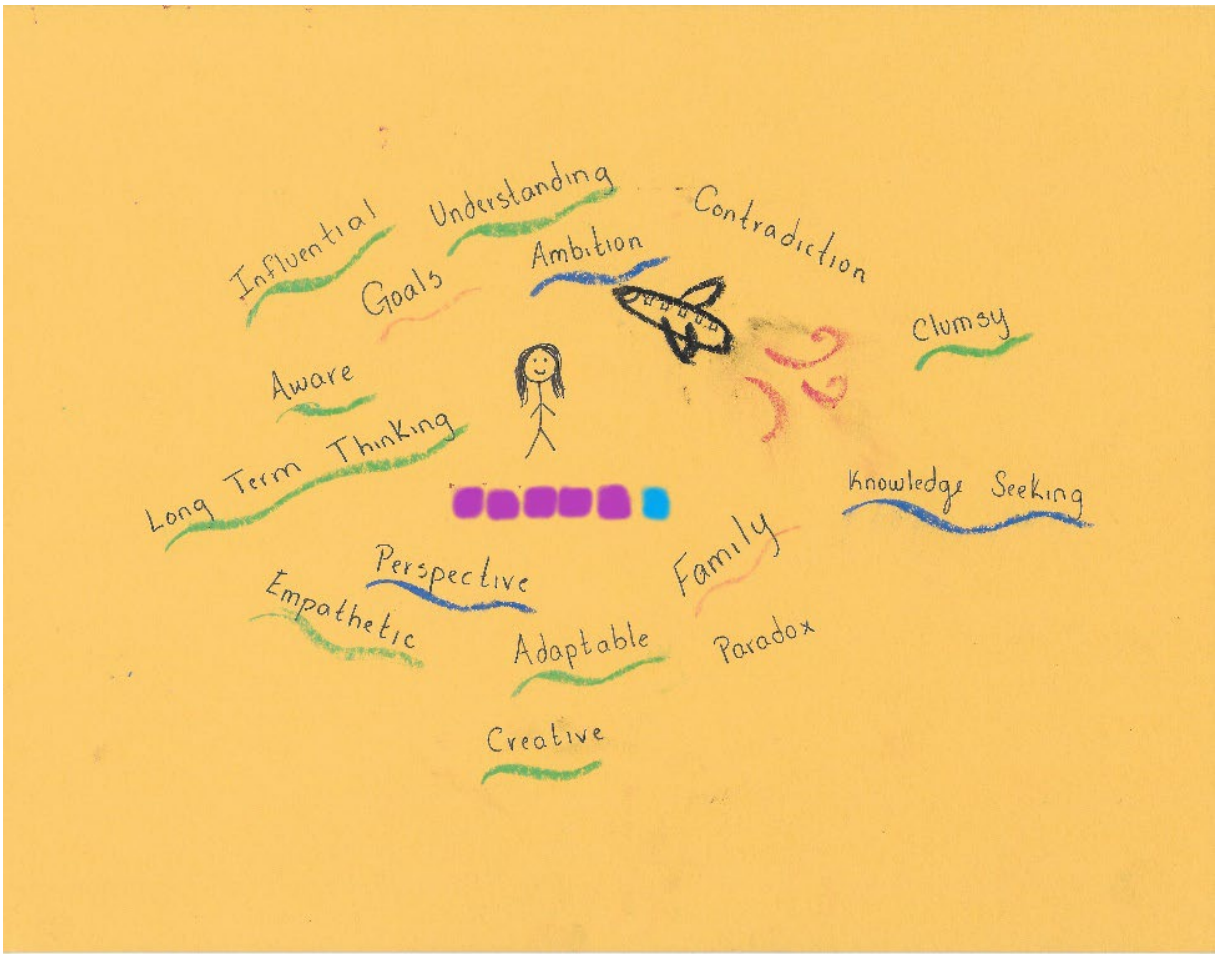
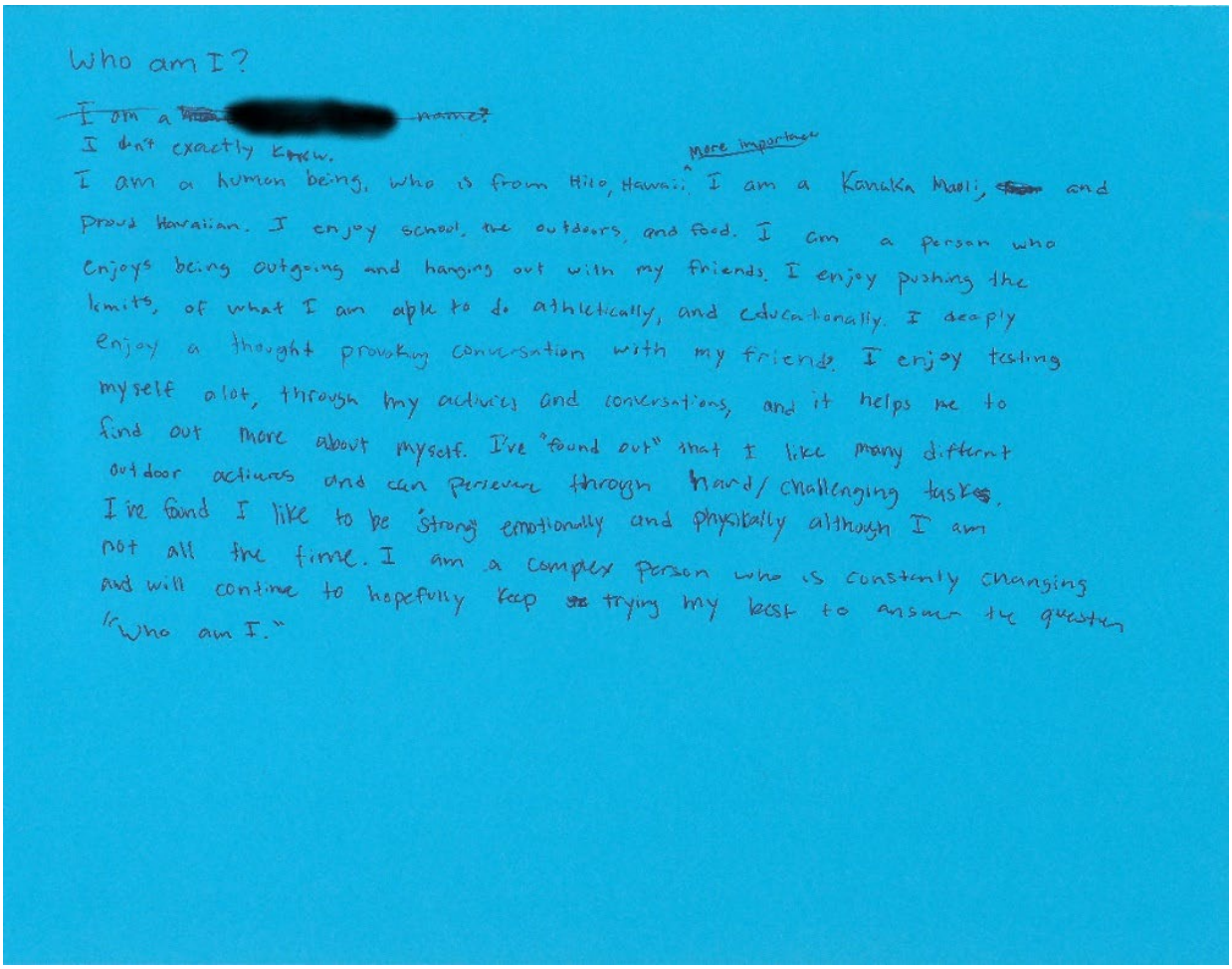
Basque
OCD
Kanaka
Chicano
Emotional
Expressionis+
HUMAN

La'akea

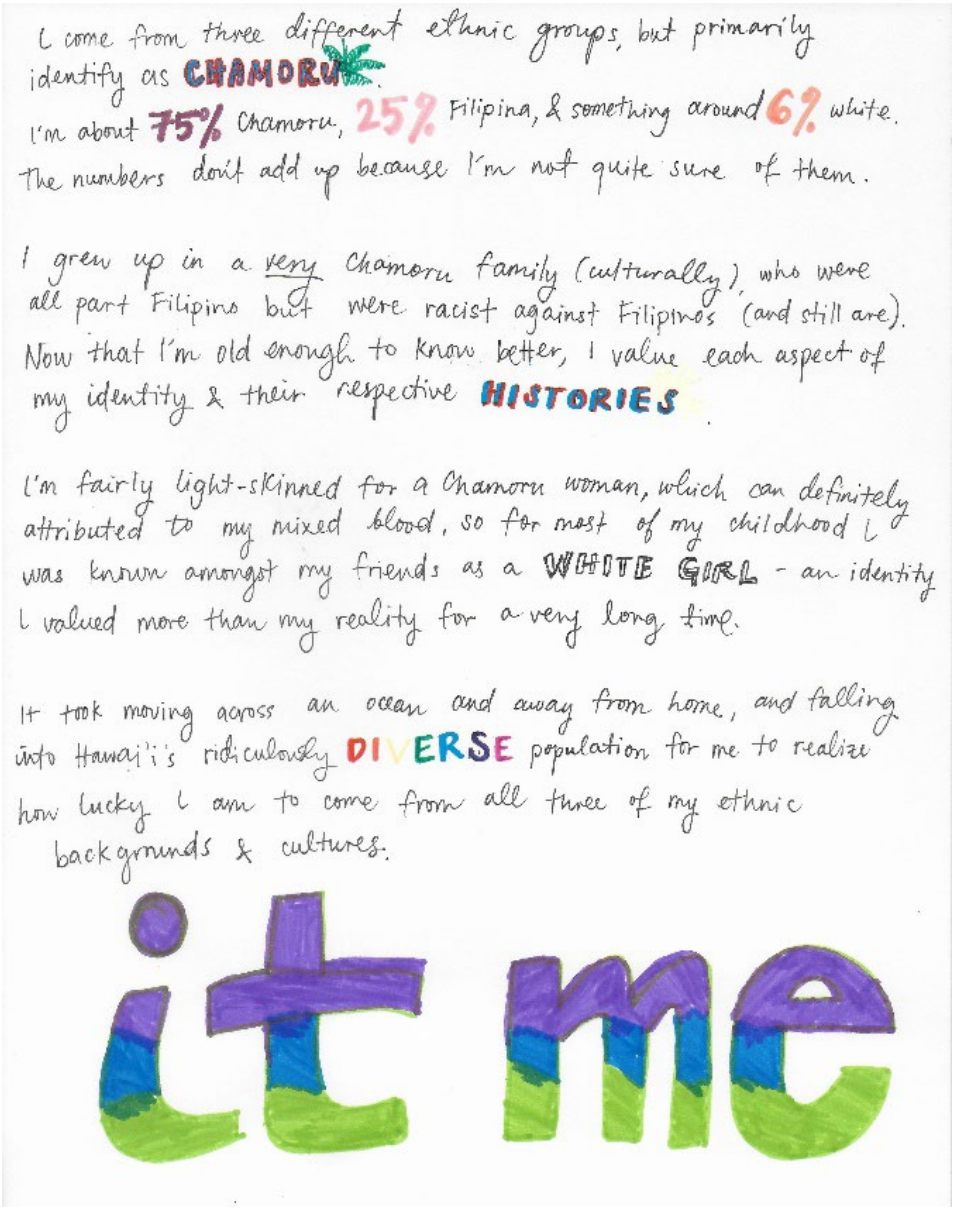
Jolie


Influential
Understanding
Contradiction
Goals
Ambition
Clumsy
Aware
Long Term Thinking
Knowledge Seeking
Perspective
Family
Empathetic
Adaptable
Paradox
Creative

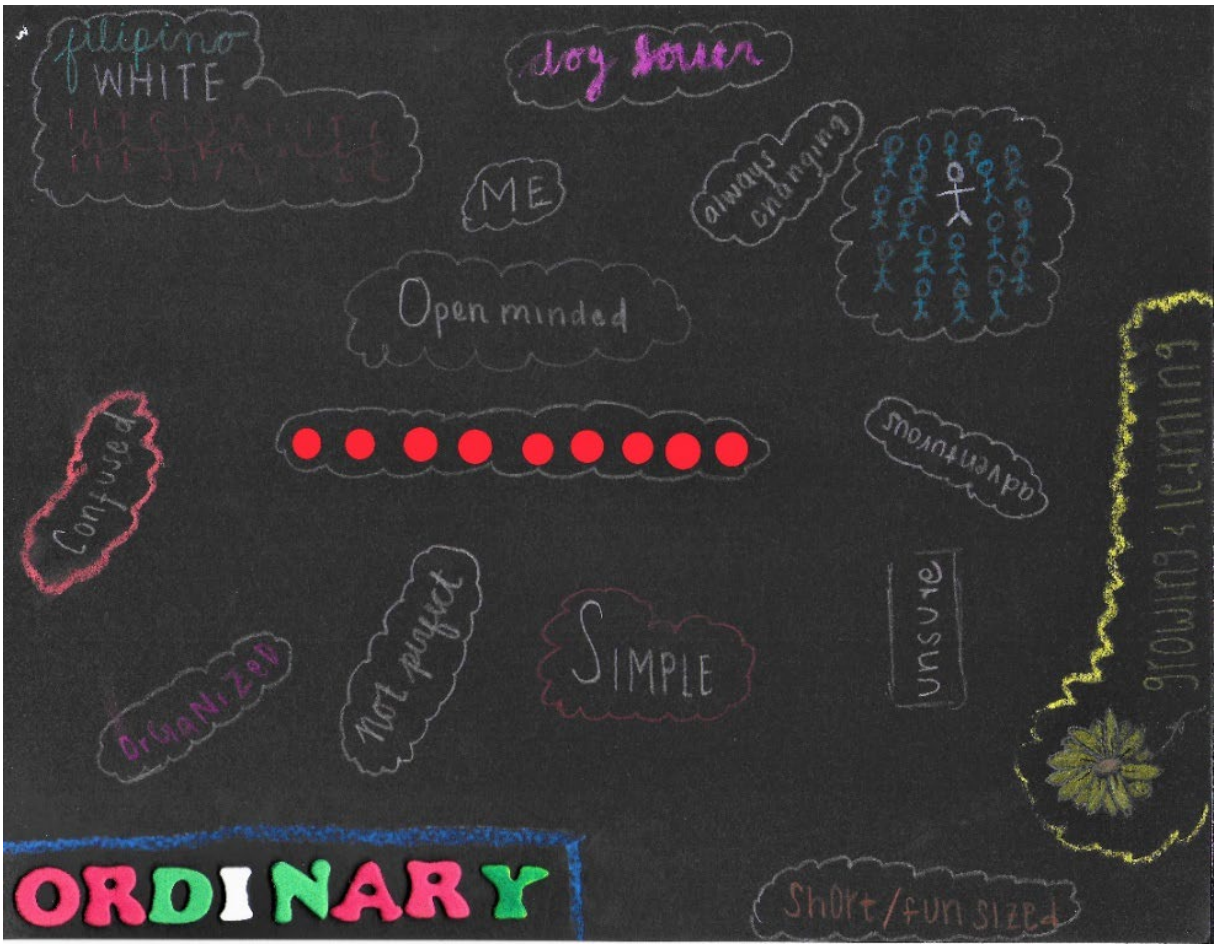
Dawn


Who am I?
I don't exactly know.
mere importance
I am a human being, who is from Hilo, Hawaii. I am a Kanaka Maoli, and
proud Hawaiian. I enjoy school, the outdoors, and food. I am a person who
enjoys being outgoing and hanging out with my friends. I enjoy pushing the
limits, of what I am able to do athletically, and educationally. I deeply
enjoy a thought provoking conversation with my friends. I enjoy testing
myself alot, through my activities and conversations, and it helps me to
find out more about myself. I've "found out" that I like many different
outdoor activites and can persevere through hard/challenging tasks.
I've found I like to be strong emotionally and physically although I am
not all the time. I am a complex person who is constantly changing
and will contine to hopefully keep trying my best to answer the question
"Who am I."

Hener


I come from three different ethnic groups, but primarily identify as CHAMORU.
I'm about 75% Chamoru, 25% Filipina, & something around 6% white.
The numbers don't add up because I'm not quite sure of them.
I grew up in a very Chamoru family (culturally), who were all part Filipino but were racist against Filipinos (and still are).
Now that I'm old enough to know better, I value each aspect of my identity & their respective HISTORIES.
I'm fairly light-skinned for a Chamoru woman, which can definitely attributed to my mixed blood, so for most of my childhood I was known amongst my friends as a WHITE GIRL - an identity I valued more than my reality for a very long time.
It took moving across an ocean and away from home, and falling into Hawai'i's ridiculously DIVERSE population for me to realize how lucky I am to come from all three of my ethnic backgrounds & cultures.
it me

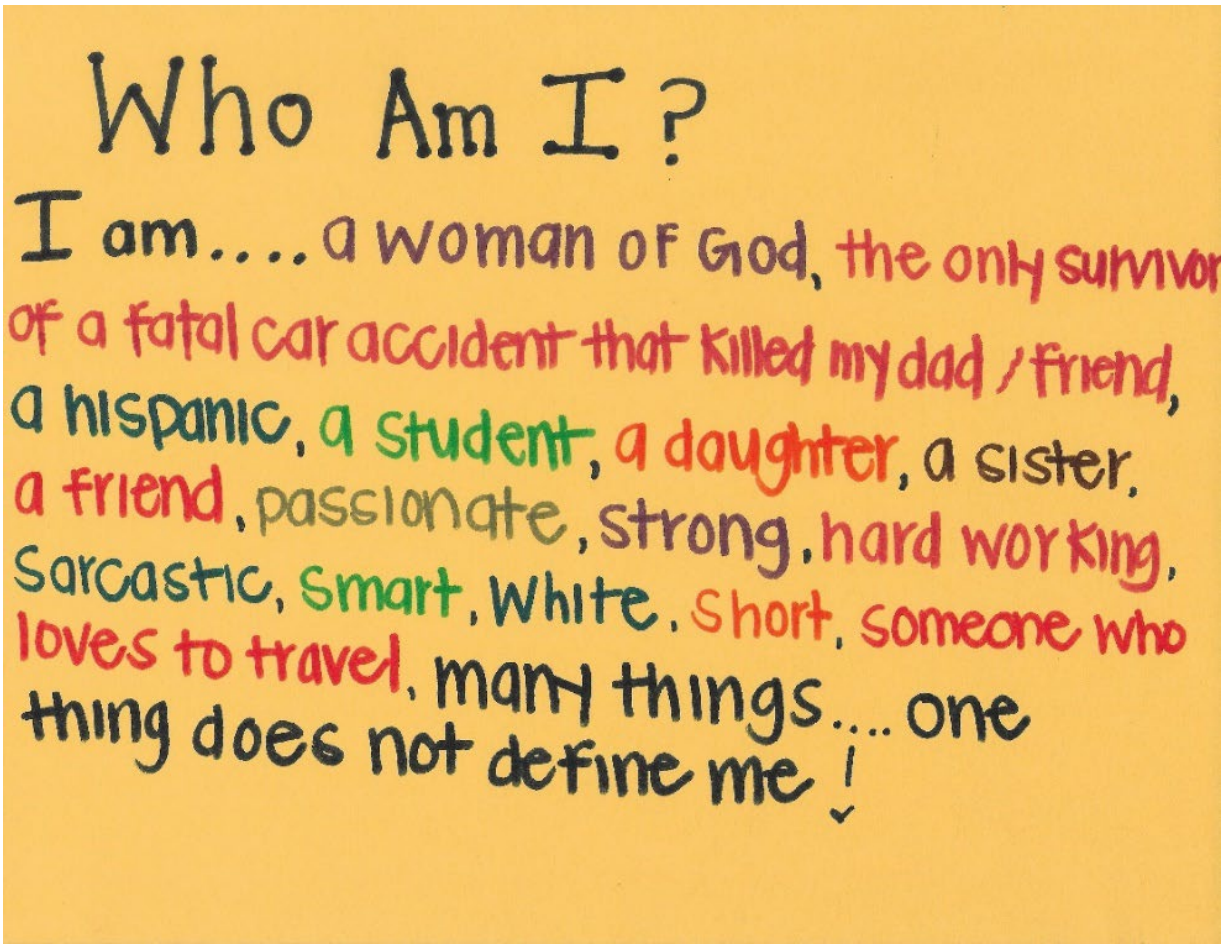
Sukori


filipino
WHITE
dog lover
ME
always changing
Open minded
Confused
adventurous
growing learning
unsure
Simple
Not perfect
Organized
ORDINARY
short/fun sized

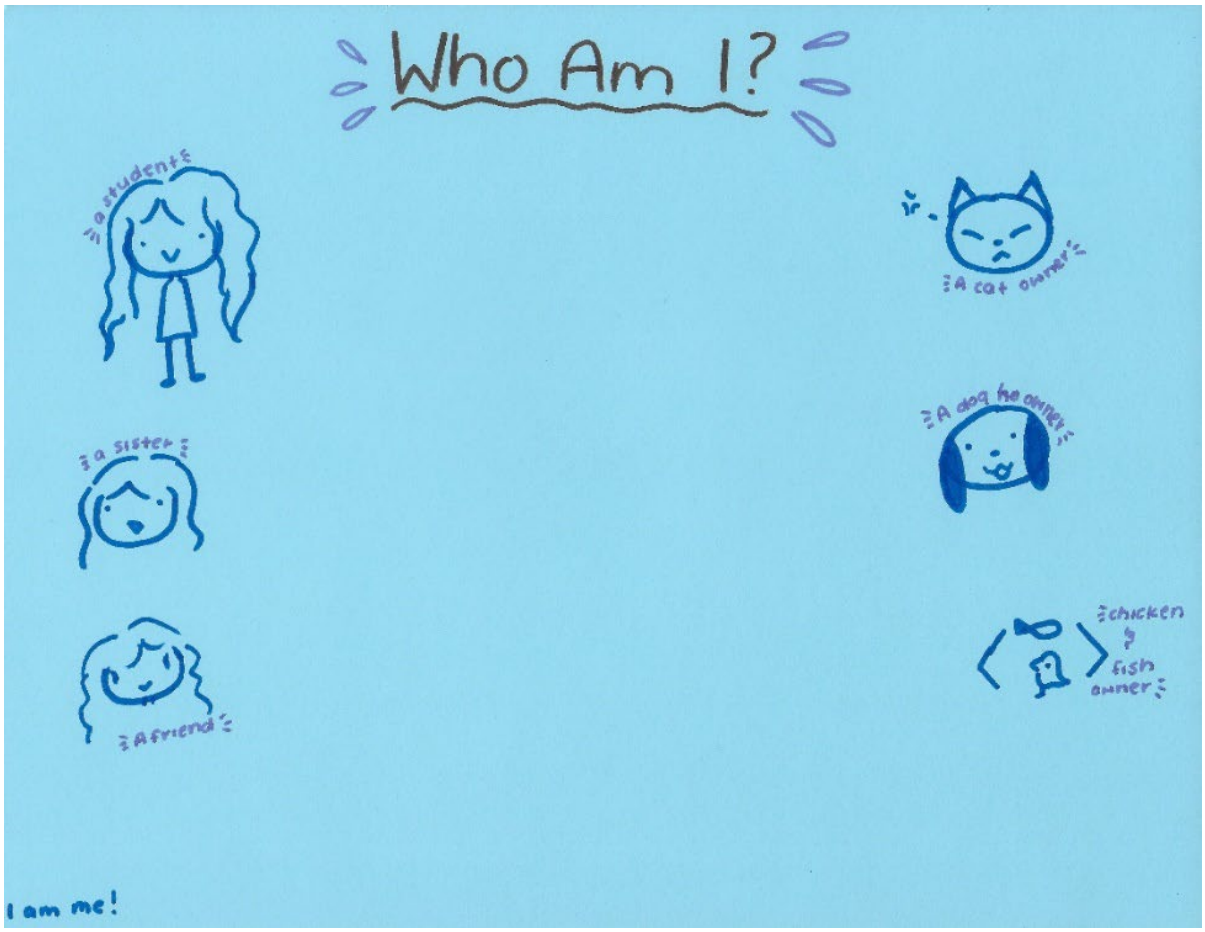
Rose


PURPOSE
FRIENDLY
loving
family
OPTIMISTIC
SMART CAPABLE
human

May

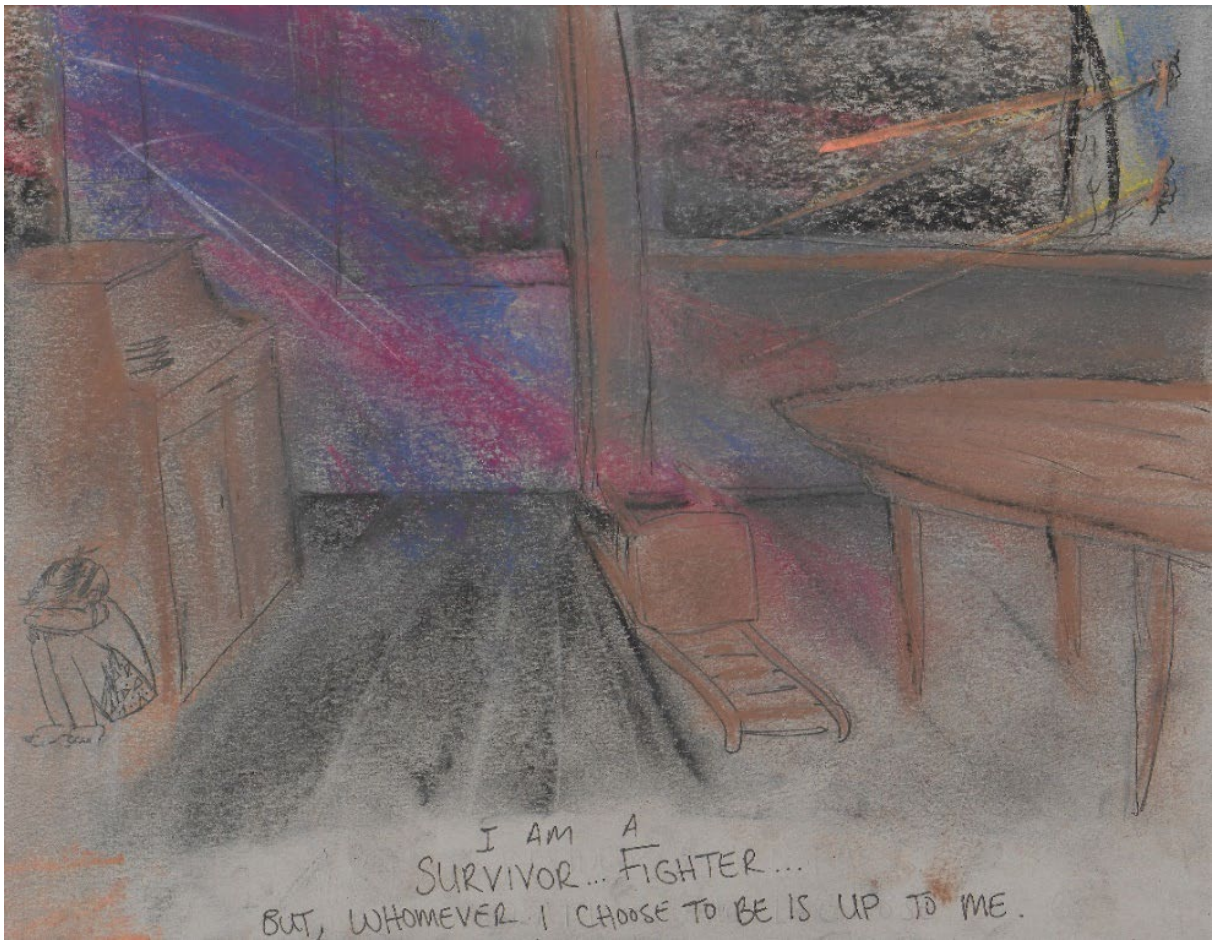

Who Am I?
I am.... a woman of God, the only survivor
of a fatal car accident that killed my dad / friend,
a hispanic, a student, a daughter, a sister,
a friend, passionate, strong, hard working,
Sarcastic, smart, White, Short, someone who
loves to travel, many things.... one
thing does not define me!

Maria


Who Am I?
a student
a sister
A friend
A cat owner
A dog owner
chicken
&
fish
owner
I am me!

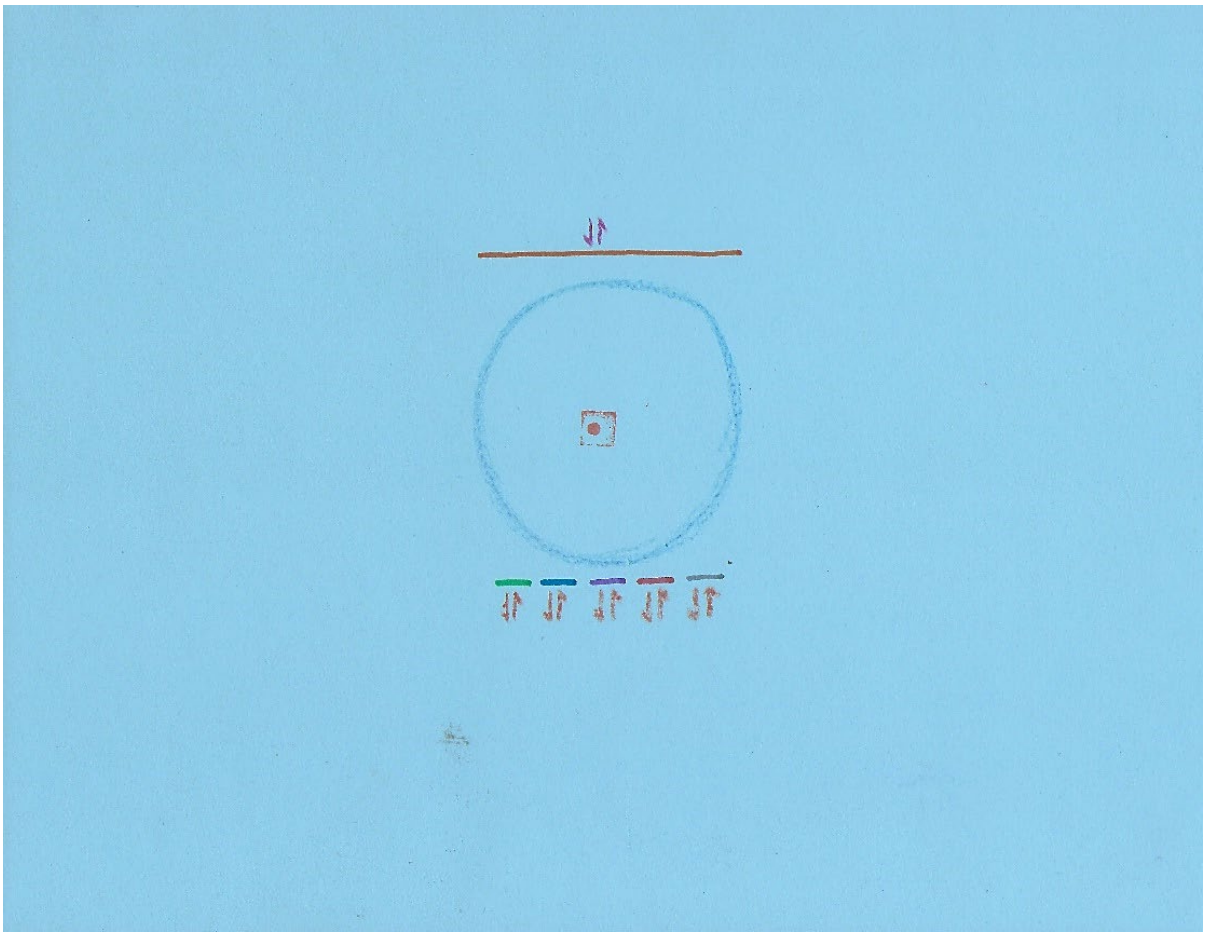
Lisa

Justin



Christopher

Cornelius

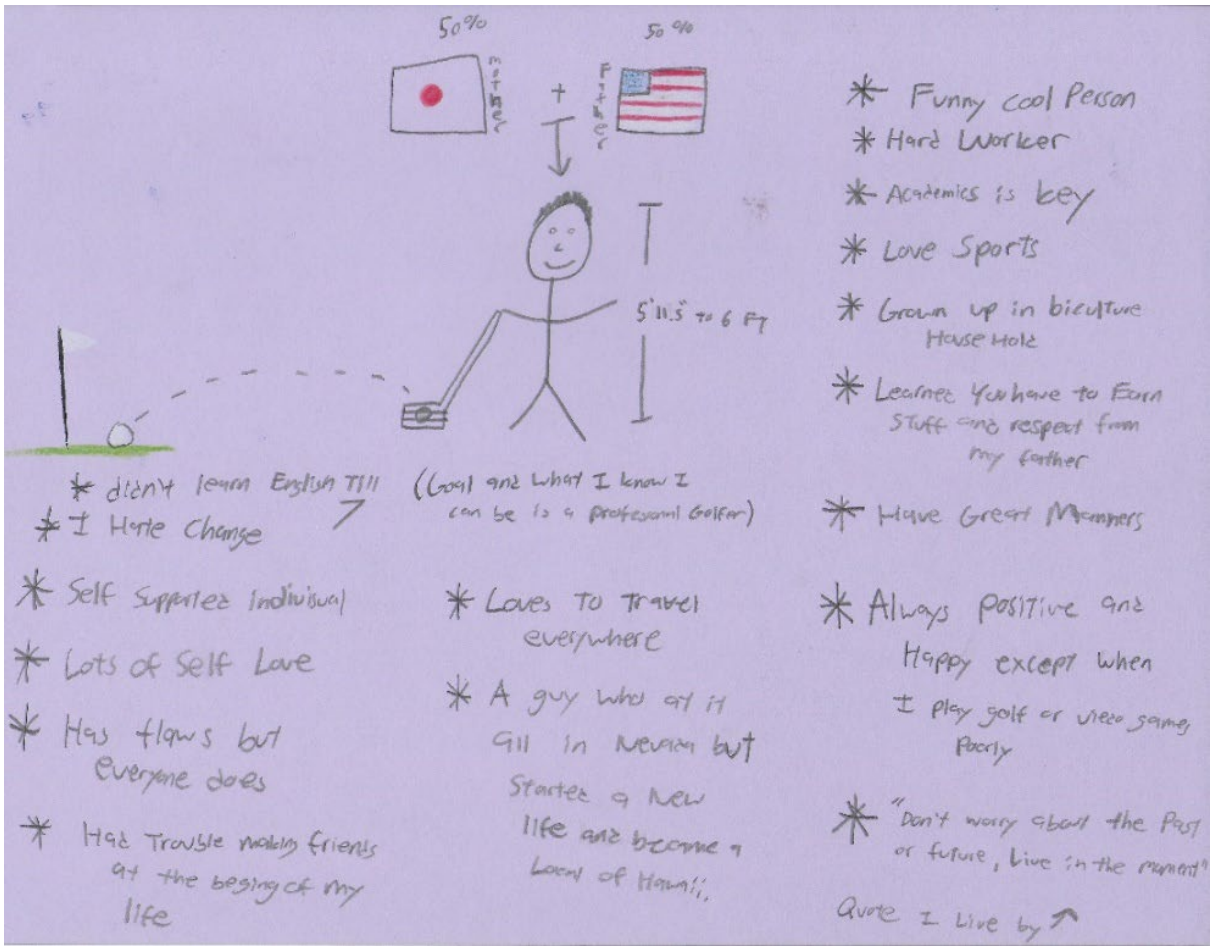


Adrian

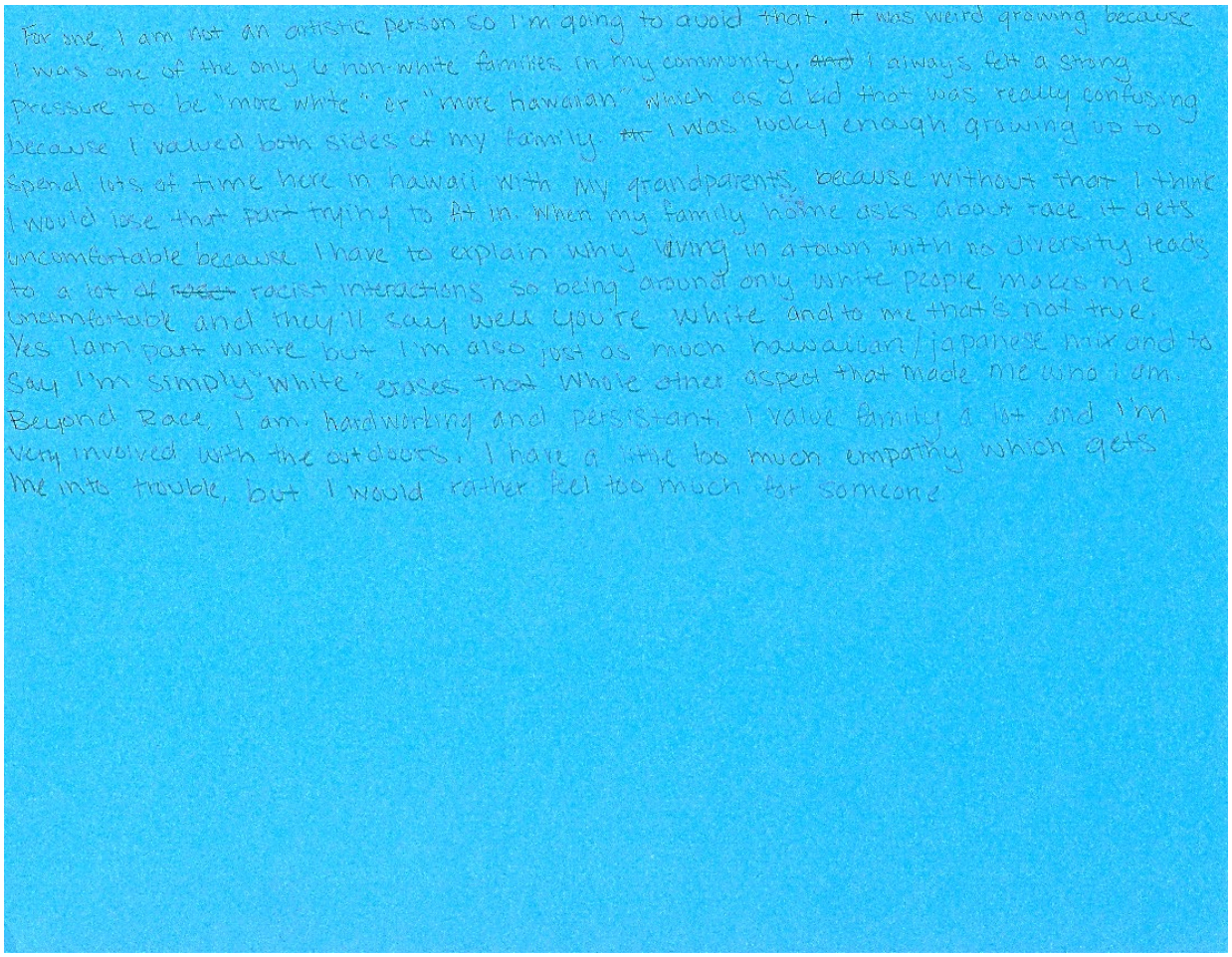

SPORTS
sister
filipino
friend
niece
daughter
cousin
latina
ARTISTIC

Nicole

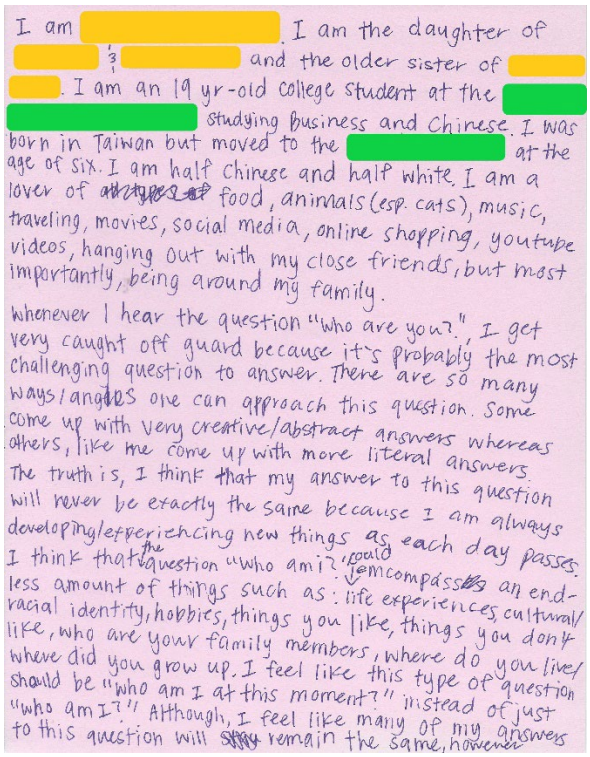
Mariya


50%
Mother
+
50 %
Father
5'11.5" to 6 Ft
* Funny cool Person
* Hard Worker
* Academics is key
* Love Sports
* Grown up in biculture House Hold
* Learned You have to Earn Stuff and respect from my father
* Have Great Manners
* didn't learn English Till
* I Hate Change
(Goal and what I know I can be is a professional Golfer)
* Self Supported Individual
* Lots of Self Love
* Has flaws but everyone does
* Had Trouble making friends at the begining of my life
* Loves To Travel everywhere
* A guy who at it All In Never but Started a New life and became a Local of Hawai'i
* Always positive and Happy except when I play golf or video games Poorly
* "Don't worry about the Past or future, Live in the moment"
Quote I Live by

Tanner


for one, I am not an artistic person so I'm going to avoid that. It was weird growing because I was one of the only 2 non-white families in my community, and I always felt a strong pressure to be "more white" or "more hawaiian" which as a kid that was really confusing because I valued both sides of my family. I was lucky enough growing up to spend lots of time here in hawaii with my grandparents, because without that I think I would lose that part trying to fit in. When my family home asks about race it gets uncomfortable because I have to explain why living in a town with no diversity leads to a lot of racist interactions so being around only white people makes me uncomfortable and they'll say well you're white and to me that's not true. Yes I am part white but I'm also just as much hawaiian/japanese mix and to say I'm simply "white" erases that whole other aspect that made me who I am. Beyond Race, I am hardworking and persistant. I value family a lot and I'm very involved with the outdoors. I have a little too much empathy which gets me into trouble, but I would rather feel too much for someone

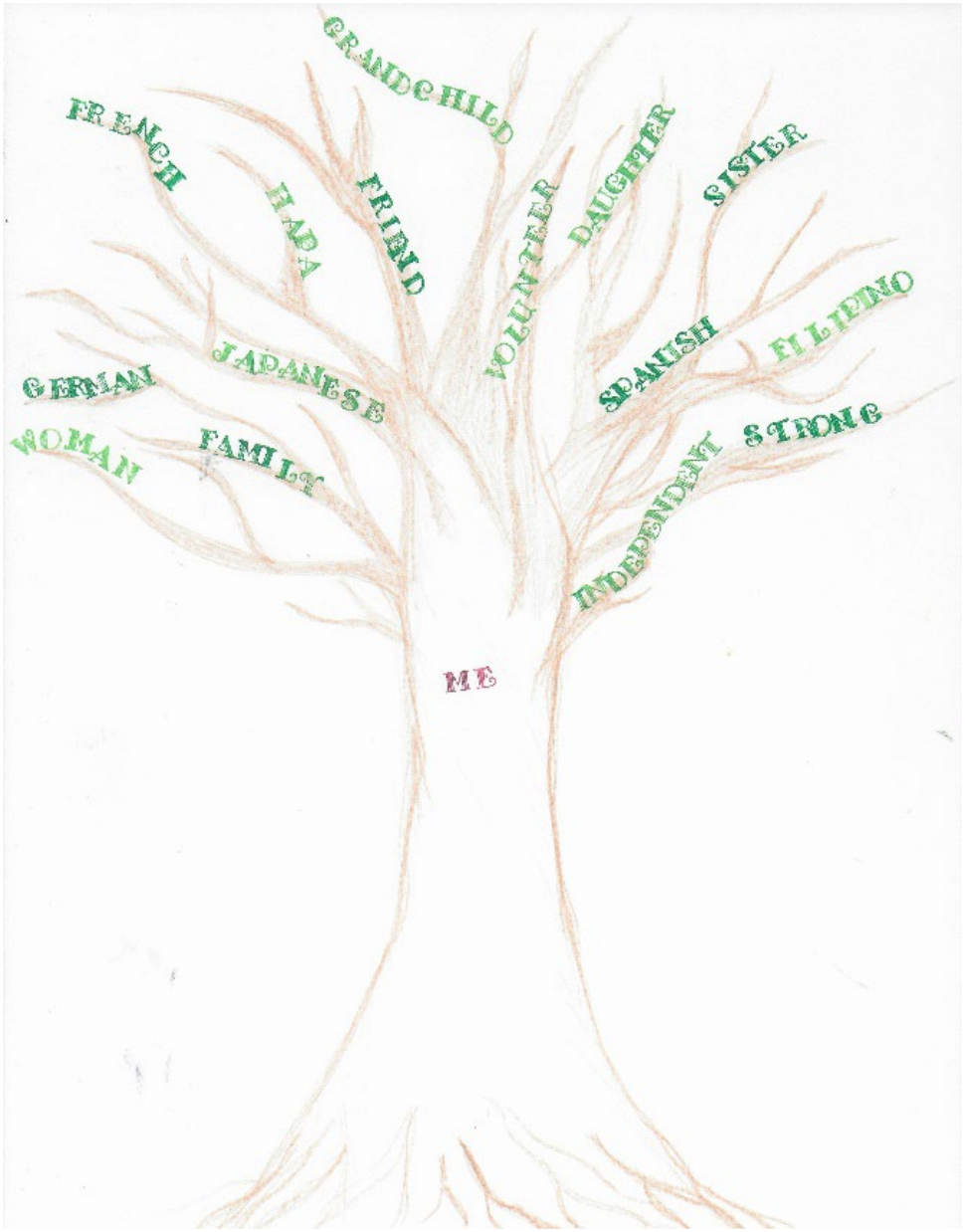
Lani



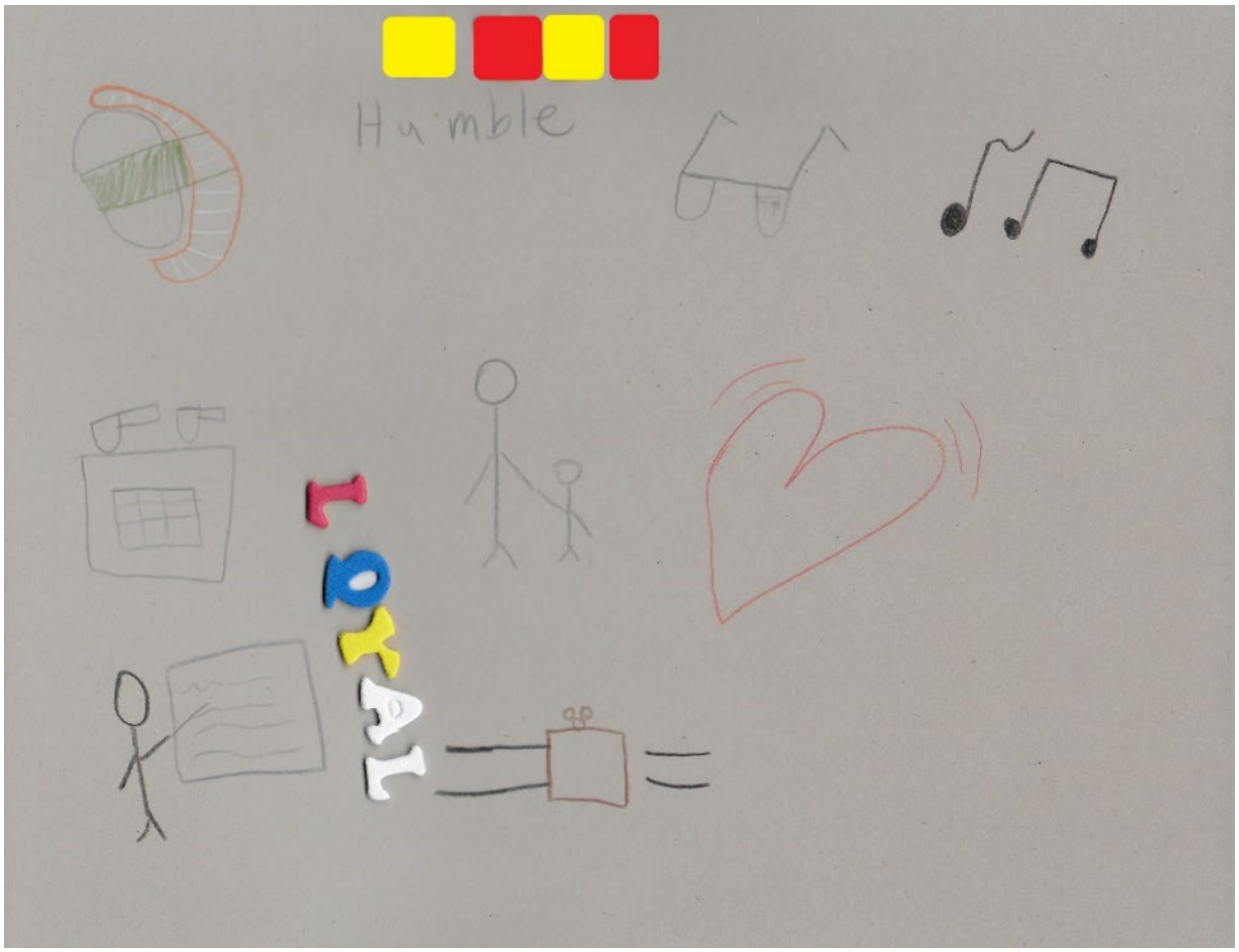
I am [redacted]. I am the daughter of [redacted] and the older sister of [redacted]. I am an 19 yr-old college student at the [redacted] studying business and Chinese. I was born in Taiwan but moved to the [redacted] at the age of six. I am half chinese and half white. I am a lover of ~~[illegible]~~ food, animals (esp. cats), music, traveling, movies, social media, online shopping, youtube videos, hanging out with my close friends, but most importantly, being around my family.

Whenever I hear the question "Who are you?", I get very caught off guard because it's probably the most challenging question to answer. There are so many ways/angles one can approach this question. Some come up with very creative/abstract answers whereas others, like me come up with more literal answers. The truth is, I think that my answer to this question will never be exactly the same because I am always developing/experiencing new things as each day passes. I think that the question "who am i?" could encompass an endless amount of things such as: life experiences, cultural/racial identity, hobbies, things you like, things you don't like, who are your family members, where do you live/where did you grow up. I feel like this type of question should be "who am I at this moment?" instead of just "who am I?". Although, I feel like many of my answers to this question will ~~stay~~ remain the same, however many parts of it will definitely change with each passing week, or maybe even day. ~~But~~ new experiences each and everyday are what shapes who ~~I~~ I am as a person.

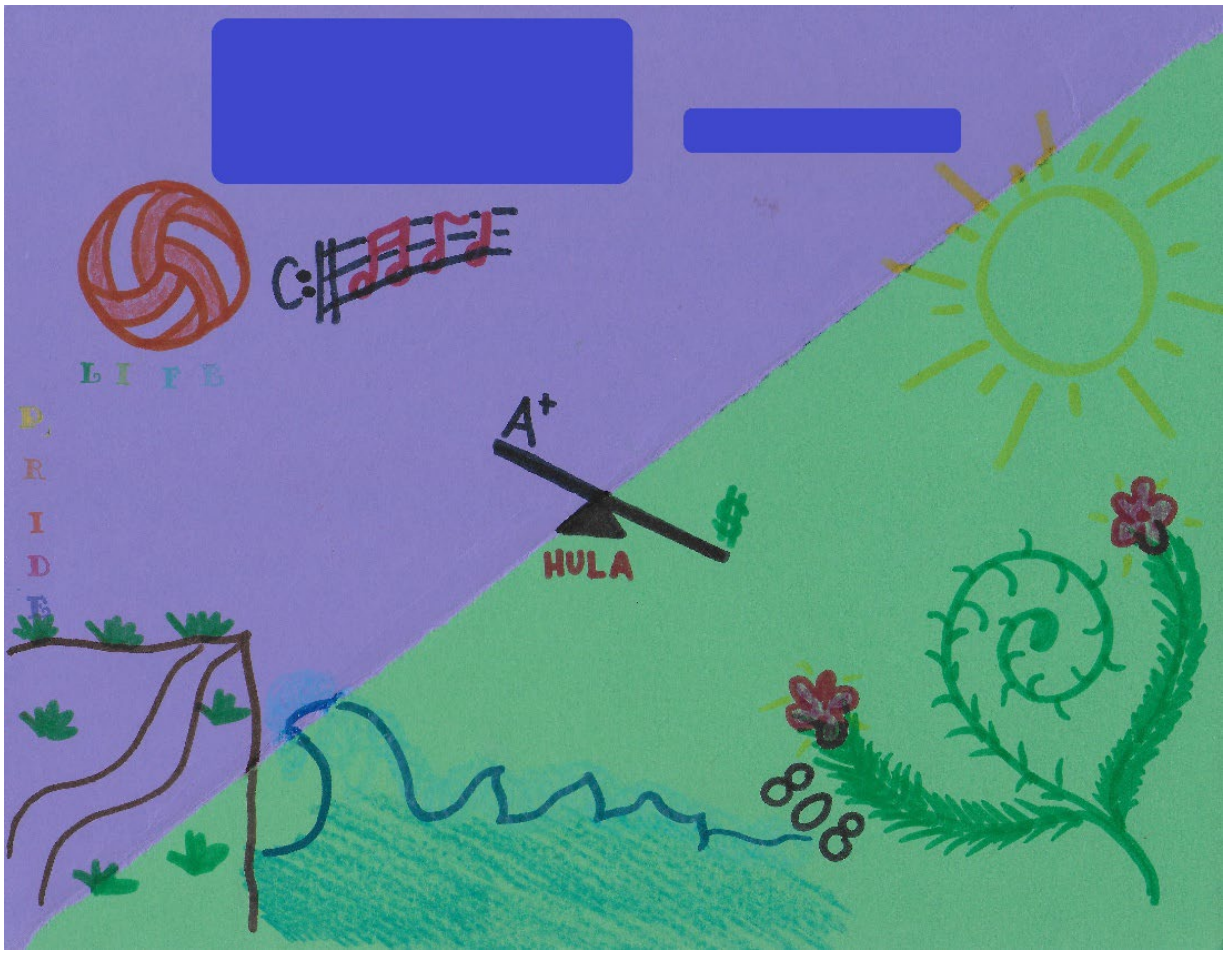
In conclusion, my answer to this question will probably be a little different everyday, but as of right now who I am at this very moment is described in my first paragraph.


GRANDCHILD
FRENCH
HAPA
FRIEND
VOLUNTEER
DAUGHTER
SISTER
FILIPINO
SPANISH
JAPANESE
GERMAN
WOMAN
FAMILY
STRONG
INDEPENDENT
ME

Kara



Hitoshi



Rob

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