The purpose in conducting this research was to develop grounded theory regarding the racial socialization process of Biracial adolescents who were the offspring of an African American father and a European American mother. The participants in the study were eight European American mothers of Biracial adolescents ranging in age from 10 to 17 years old. This study was conducted in a qualitative format using individual and focus group interviews to gather data. The study was conducted to lay the foundation for the development of grounded theory on the Biracial socialization process. The grounded theory foundation developed from the results was the Biracial Socialization Spectrum. The Biracial Socialization Spectrum is a tetrahedron with the dynamic process as the base, side one representing the Black/African American parent spectrum, Side two representing the White/European American parent spectrum, and side three representing the Biracial Socialization Spectrum.
RACIAL SOCIALIZATION OF BIRACIAL ADOLESCENTS

A dissertation submitted to the
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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of chapter 1 is to provide the reader with a foundation of information on the history of Biracial people in America, Erickson’s (1963) psychosocial development, and experiences of Biracial people in the United States. Since the focus of the racial socialization process, according to Stevenson (1996), is during the adolescent period of development, the developmental stages of adolescents are explored in this chapter as well. In this chapter I address the concept of racial socialization and the need for research among Biracial people.

History of Biracial People in America

The history of miscegenation and the resulting Biracial people began during slavery. According to Daniel (1992) White male plantation owners often frequented the slave quarters using Black women as concubines. Since Blacks were not considered human, they had no rights and had to submit to the slave master. The offspring of this submission resulted in varying phenotypic features. Often the phenotype determined the role of the Biracial person in society. If the Biracial person had light skin and sharp European facial features they were afforded the opportunity to work in the house and become “house niggers” instead of doing the back-breaking manual labor of a field hand. During the times of free people of color in the south, many Biracial people who could
pass for White did assimilate. They attained the status of and many of the benefits of White privilege which outweighed the costs of being Black.

Not all parts of the south recognized and treated Biracial people as if they were the descendents of Slaves. In Louisiana, “the largest community of multiracial individuals resided in New Orleans. Overall, however, Louisiana was the home of the most numerically significant and most economically integrated population of Free Coloreds in the South” (Daniel, 1992, p. 104). Daniel added, Biracial people of the late 1700s and early 1800s were known as Mulattos, Quadroons, Octoroons, Guineans, Triracial Isolates, Blue-Veins, Carmelites, and Creoles, to name a few. The names were determined by region, physical appearance, and racial/ethnic descent. This new race of people in Louisiana were allowed to own property, slaves, and businesses; attain an education in Europe; and have a higher social status.

During that time, being Biracial and a free person of color was to hold status not available to people of singular African descent. In the past Biracial people have been identified by society and mainstream White culture according to their physical appearance. Society’s identification of Biracial people according to physical appearance has resulted in issues surrounding their Biracial identity and the level of ambivalence experienced regarding their individual identity (Brown & Marbury, 2002; Gibbs, 1998; Steele, 1990; Williams, 1999).
Politics of a Biracial Identity

The president of Haiti was asked how many White people lived in his country. His reply was everyone in Haiti is White because they all have at least one drop of White blood running through their veins (Fernandez, 2000, p. 122).

In the United States new mothers perform miracles: A White woman can give birth to a Black child, but a Black woman can never give birth to a White child. So if a drop of African blood makes you Black in Peoria, a drop of European blood made you White in Port-au-Prince. Either way, the racial designation existed only in the cultural eye and mind of the beholder. (Fernandez, 2000, p. 122)

Historically in mainstream White culture in the United States, hypodescent has applied to all people of mixed heritage when one parent is of African descent (Daniel, 1992; Fatimilehin, 1999). Hypodescent also known as the one-drop rule, states if an individual has at least one drop of African Blood in his or her veins he or she is Black (Fatimilehin, 1999). Using hypodescent made every person of partial African parentage Black. The rule of hypodescent brought with it the politics of defining Biracial people and the rights they were allowed. This rule eventually became a law in 1896 (Plessey V. Ferguson).

The United States Supreme Court upheld the rule of hypodescent, otherwise known as the one-drop rule, in the case of Plessey v. Ferguson. A summary of Plessey v. Ferguson is as follows:
ERROR TO THE SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA.

THIS was a petition for writs of prohibition and certiorari, originally filed in the Supreme Court of the State by Plessey, the plaintiff in error, against the Hon. John H. Ferguson, judge of the criminal District Court for the parish of Orleans, and setting forth in substance the following facts:

That petitioner was a citizen of the United States and a resident of the State of Louisiana, of mixed descent, in the proportion of seven eighths Caucasian and one eighth African blood; that the mixture of colored blood was not discernible in him, and that he was entitled to every recognition, right, privilege and immunity secured to the citizens of the United States of the White race by its Constitution and laws; that on June 7, 1892, he engaged and paid for a first class passage on the East Louisiana Railway from New Orleans to Covington, in the same State, and thereupon entered a passenger train, and took possession of a vacant seat in a coach where passengers of the White race were accommodated; that such railroad company was incorporated by the laws of Louisiana as a common carrier, and was not authorized to distinguish between citizens according to their race. But, notwithstanding this, petitioner was required by the conductor, under penalty of ejection from said train and imprisonment, to vacate said coach and occupy another seat in a coach assigned by said company for persons not of the White race, and for no other reason than that petitioner was of the colored race; that upon petitioner's refusal to comply with such order, he was, with the aid of a police officer, forcibly ejected from said coach and hurried off to and imprisoned
in the parish jail of New Orleans, and there held to answer a charge made by such
officer to the effect that he was guilty of having criminally violated an act of the
General Assembly of the State, approved July 10, 1890, in such case made and
provided. (Plessey v. Ferguson, 1896)

According to the Supreme Court ruling, if a person has one drop of Black blood in
her or his family, the person is considered Black. Homer Plessey was found guilty of
violation of the Jim Crow laws because he was one eighth Black.

After the Jim Crow era, several definitions of Biracial were developed. McClurg
(2004) defined Biracial as any first generation offspring of parents of different races.
McClurg did not define race because it theoretically limited the transferability of her
results. Fatimilehin (1999) defined Biracial for his research as any person who is a
descendent of African and European mixed parentage. Biracial can be defined by varying
coupled racial mixtures such as Black and Asian, Latino and Native American, White and
Japanese, and so forth. For the purpose of this study, Biracial refers to any first
generation biological offspring of parents where one is Caucasian/White (representative
of the dominant culture) and the other parent is African American/Black (representative
of a minority culture). This reference to Biracial aided in controlling for homogeneity of
the sample, thereby increasing the transferability of the results.

From history to contemporary society, Biracial people have lost their separate
racial group categorization and are considered by society to be African American. Daniel
(1992) speculated that America does not want to acknowledge Biracial people as their
own race or anything except African American. This speculation is related to the inherent
power structure in society. Daniel stated, “Anglo Americans, as part of the strategy for preserving their dominant status, have enforced a ‘policy of hypo-descent’ that has designated as Black everyone who is not ‘pure’ White” (p. 91). Today many Biracial people who are of African American lineage have predominant African American facial features such as a broad nose, thick lips, and a kinky hair texture; therefore, society labels them and recognizes them as African Americans regardless of their mixed heritage (Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson, & Harris, 1993).

The 2000 United States Census was the first year the census designated a category for Biracial people. According to the census report, the number of Biracial people within the United States was growing rapidly. The 2000 census was the first ever to include a racial category for Biracial and multiracial populations. By including this category the United States government acknowledged the existence of Biracial populations and allowed them to self-identify as something aside from Black, White, Asian/Pacific Islander, Latino, Native American, or Arab (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2002).

According to the 2000 United States Census there were 3,001,558 people reporting more than one race as their racial demographic equaling 1.1% of the United States population (U. S. Census Bureau, 2000b). According to the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS, 2004), birth rates of children with one Black and one White parent have been climbing. In 1991, 52,232 Black/White Biracial births were recorded, compared to 26,968 in 1981, and 8,758 in 1968. NCHS wrote that the numbers are probably undercounts because the father's race is not always specified in a significant number of cases. Birth certificate information like the census process is a self-report
form. It can be hypothesized that on the census form those reported are only those who self-identify as Biracial, not those who self-identify as Black or another race. With Biracial/multiracial populations increasing rapidly, helping professionals need to be prepared to help engage and cultivate a positive identity for Biracial individuals (Robinson, Cuadros, & Tate, 2004).

Biracial Childhood and Adolescence

Throughout childhood, Biracial children will have various encounters that will cause them to question both the negative and positive aspects of their racial heritage. Herring (1992), suggested “that Biracial and bicultural youth are particularly vulnerable to differential treatment by their parents and relatives, social rejection by their peers, and ambivalent attention in their schools and communities” (p. 152). Differential treatment and social rejection as part of the Biracial youth’s experiences could cause difficulty, confusion, and an overall negative experience. However, not all Biracial children have negative outcomes. There can also be positive experiences that result from being Biracial.

Gibbs (1998) wrote, “positive outcomes are predicted for those youth who are reared in supportive families, have a sense of competence and self-esteem, and are involved in supportive schools and social networks” (p. 155). Although Gibbs noted that there are positive encounters that result in positive development of Biracial children, she does not explain how this happens or what types of environments and support systems were in place for these children. Instead of going into depth and providing a “how to” explanation, she described four celebrities who appear to have negotiated the Biracial color lines to be successful.
Negative encounters of Biracial children and adolescents are numerous. One environment in which these negative experiences occur is in school (Gibbs, 1998). The impact of these experiences result in Biracial children in school settings as having a high incidence of academic and behavioral problems as well as identity conflicts (Herring, 1992). Harris (2002) found that 89% of school counselors believe that minorities are more accepting of Biracial children than are non-minorities, that 66% did not believe that Biracial children are openly accepted by society, and that 43% believed that Biracial children have a more difficult time adjusting to society than other children. Gibbs (1998) expanded on the negative experiences of Biracial youth from a clinical perspective. She described “a range of psychological and behavioral problems in these youth, including conduct disorder, substance abuse, academic problems, psychosomatic disorders, depression, and suicidal behaviors” (p. 156).

Identity conflicts and problems can result from society stressing that Black/White Biracial children should just self-identify as Black because society will label them as Black (Kerwin et al., 1993). Problems with self-identification usually arise in junior high school when Biracial youth seek acceptance into a peer group. Biracial youth are often rejected due to their physical appearance, and often feel “torn between two competing sets of cultural norms and values” (Gibbs, 1998, p. 160).

As a result of feeling torn, Biracial children often feel as if they have to choose to live life as a Black or a White person (Gibbs, 1998). School and peer groups are cultural contexts in which Biracial identity in adolescence is important. At this time peer groups
and peer pressure can impact the identity construction process of the Biracial child (Brown & Marbury, 2002; Poston, 1990).

According to Gibbs (1998), Biracial children often choose and over identify with Black culture, rejecting all that is White. Although Gibbs provided no solid research based evidence for this statement she does provide anecdotal cases and more detailed description. A consequence of choosing to identify as Black is the stigma that “a negative identity is associated with the dissonant and devalued social status of the minority parent’s culture, which is not congruent with the reality of these clients’ [Biracial youth] life experiences” (Gibbs, p. 159). The acceptance of Biracial youth into the Black race is predicated on the youth adopting the standard cultural values, norms, and a certain set of cultural behaviors (Kerwin et al., 1993).

In the video *The Story of Marcus* (Marcus is a first generation offspring of a Black mother and White father; Brown, 2002), his mother is interviewed about her choices surrounding socializing/raising her child to be Black and not Biracial. She discusses some of her son’s experiences surrounding his race, one of which is when he is not accepted by a group of Black youth. She tells of an experience he had at an inner city swimming pool. The Black kids at the pool were confrontational and told Marcus and his peers this was the Black kids’ pool and they did not want White people at their pool. Marcus was torn because he has been socialized by his mother to be Black. His White father was at the pool when this happened and Marcus felt as if he had to choose between the White father he loved and being Black.
According to Marcus’ mother, due to phenotypic features, it was assumed by the Black kids at the pool that Marcus was not Black. Marcus’ mother believes he physically appears Black; as a result of her perceptions she is choosing to raise her son as a Black male. Marcus’ mother had chosen to do what many family members of Biracial children choose: They rob Biracial children of their right to choose and may define their child’s racial identity as one race or another based on their appearance instead of acknowledging both races in their heritage (Gibbs, 1998). Williams (1999) wrote about being ridiculed about her Biracial heritage. She wrote,

Other people, mostly Black, have demanded to know why I say I am Biracial instead of “just admitting” I am Black. I have been scrutinized and found to be “not Black enough” by some, whereas others have deemed me “too into racial issues.” (p. 33)

According to a study conducted among Black/White Biracial adolescents in Britain, “some people of mixed parentage self-identify as either Black or White, and that self-identification can vary according to time and place” (Fatimilehin, 1999, p. 304). Self-identifying as Black can result in a Biracial adolescent developing his or her identity according to Black cultural standards and values.

The Development and Socialization of White Adolescents

The foundation of adolescent identity development in general was formulated by Erik Erikson (1963). According to Erikson’s concept of adolescent identity and its formation, adolescents develop according to psychosocial stages in which environmental experiences influence their identity development. The ages of interest for this study, 11-
14 years old, span two of Erikson’s psychosocial stages of development-industry stage (ages 6-12) and the identity confusion stage (ages 12-18). In the industry stage of development, the basic task is to achieve a sense of industry such that children are capable of setting and attaining their personal goals. Failure to achieve these results will leave the adolescent with a feeling of inadequacy. In the identity stage, conflicts center on clarification of self-identity, life goals, and life’s meaning. Failure to achieve a sense of identity results in role confusion (Erikson, 1963).

Erikson’s (1963) stages of psychosocial development were designed around the experiences of the dominant or majority culture in the United States. Similarly the process of adolescent socialization was designed primarily around the experiences of the dominant culture as well. Adolescent socialization is a process by which the adolescents’ “personal, environmental, and behavioral characteristics interact to influence one another, thus affecting future cognitions, dispositions, and behaviors” (Austin & Nelson, 1993, p. 419). One source for adolescent socialization is the media, more specifically television. Both home and the media can serve as powerful sources of concurrent socialization (Austin & Nelson). Thus Biracial identity may often be politically influenced by contemporary society. Therefore the general adolescent socialization process has an impact on the definition of Biracial and the perceptions and interactions encountered by Biracial people. The concept of adolescent socialization on political issues is defined by Austin and Nelson (1993) as:

a process by which individuals obtain relevant knowledge, skills and dispositions that enable them to function competently in the sociopolitical structure . . . if the
mass media serve as a bridge between the micro-social environment such as the home, and the larger society then effects of family communication on media use patterns should then contribute to the child’s knowledge, perceived skills and disposition. (p. 420)

According to Campbell (1980), “racial attitudes are more susceptible to peer influence than directly political attitudes” (p. 342). As previously stated, adolescent peer groups can also play a role in the socialization process and impact racial attitudes.

Racial Socialization

The concept of racial socialization was designed around African Americans and their cultural messages. Stevenson’s (1995) concept integrated racial awareness during childhood with racial identity development that begins in adolescence. According to Stevenson, racial socialization is “hypothesized as one key variable to link the literature in childhood racial awareness and young adult racial identity” (p. 49).

Stevenson (1995) defined racial socialization as “a concept that describes the process of communicating messages and behaviors to children to bolster their sense of identity given the possibility that their life experiences may include racially hostile encounters” (p. 51). Although racial socialization was defined around the experiences of African Americans, it is applicable to other racial and ethnic minority populations as well. Hughes and Johnson (2001) conducted a study with an ethnically diverse sample. They indicated,

The majority of Mexican American, African American, and Japanese American parents described efforts to instill cultural pride in their children as well as
conversations with them about discrimination. Thus, there is substantial evidence that racial socialization is an important component of childrearing among many ethnic minority families. (p. 982)

The process of racial socialization begins with a child’s primary environment, his or her home. The basic foundations as well as adult role models are usually found in the child’s home with his or her family members (Stevenson, 1995). Stevenson proposed five domains from which to assess the family racial socialization process:

1) The first of these domains are parental perceptions of the importance of racial socialization. If a parent does not view racial socialization as an important factor in rearing his or her child, he or she may not choose to engage in this process. An example of this would be with African Americans in predominate Black inner city communities. In their community they can get everything they need and rarely have to encounter racism from the dominant culture; therefore, they often do not prepare their children for the potential hostile encounters because this is not a reality for them.

2) The second domain is adolescent or child perceptions of the importance of racial socialization. Children and adolescents who do not venture outside of their primary, predominately Black environment to interact with mainstream White culture may not feel as if they have a need for racial socialization. Similar to the first domain the children in this case are not concerned with any interactions with the dominant culture; because they never venture far from their predominately Black environment.

3) The third domain is parental socializing behaviors (i.e., verbal and nonverbal) to race. How the process of socialization occurs is very important when shaping the child’s
experiences related to cross-racial encounters. An example of the verbal socializing of these behaviors would be if or when a parent verbally processes or explains a negative racial encounter to their child. The nonverbal method would be if the parent chose to react to a racially hostile encounter in a physically violent or non-violent manner that would send the message or socialize the child to react in a physically violent or non-violent manner.

4) The fourth domain is adolescent receptivity or experience of parental socializing behaviors. If a parent chooses to racially socialize his or her adolescent, the adolescent does not have to take heed to the experience and use it in his or her race related encounters. An example of this could occur in first generation Black middle class households where the parents were racially socialized. If the parents have raised their child in a racially mixed middle class environment where the child may not see or experience racially hostile encounters they may reject the socialization process feeling as if there is no need for it.

5) The fifth domain is the correspondence between family members regarding the prevalence and importance of racial socialization behaviors. Parents may not agree on the need for racial socialization or how the process is to occur. It is important that the parents are on one accord with the choices regarding racial socialization of their offspring so they will not convey mixed or confusing messages. An example of this would be the parents taking the time to determine if they feel racial socialization of their child is necessary and if so what techniques they will use.
In addition to the five domains, Stevenson (1995) cited two types of socialization related to the racial identity development of African American children. In examining racial socialization, another question asked is whether parents will employ reactive or creative socialization. Stevenson proposed that “reactive and creative racial socialization messages and behaviors are relevant for different contexts, and that the flexible application of both messages by youth should result in greater interpersonal competence and coping” (p. 51). He defined reactive racial socialization to occur when a racially hostile or oppressive encounter has been experienced by the child and occurs in response to this type of an experience. The parent processes the experience with the child and prepares the child for future encounters of this nature.

Creative racial socialization is different in that it does more than prepare the child for hostile and oppressive encounters. It focuses more on the positive aspects of being Black to help instill a sense of pride and empowerment related to the race and culture of African Americans. An example of creative racial socialization would be the family traditions surrounding the celebration of ethnic/racially rooted holidays. Both types of socialization are simultaneous and crucial to the healthy psychological orientation (Stevenson, 1995). Every interaction with a child develops his or her identity and can help or hinder the socialization process. Since 1995 Stevenson has discovered additional facets to the process of African American racial socialization. He has also revealed various factors that contribute to the process of racial socialization (Stevenson, 1996).
Stevenson (1995) designed five stages of African American adolescent racial socialization. These stages are racism awareness teaching, spiritual and religious coping, extended family caring, cultural pride reinforcement, and global racial socialization.

The first stage of racial socialization, *racism awareness teaching* is characterized by protection and preparation of youths for racial hostility from outside or institutionalized racism from inside the Black community. An example of protection and preparation from the outside would be reactive and creative socialization to deal with racially hostile encounters within the dominant culture. Protection and preparation for institutionalized racism from inside the community would be the process of preparing the child for being considered a sellout from his or her peers for being socialized and trained with the ability to successfully navigate life in the dominant culture.

The second stage, *spiritual and religious coping*, includes fostering a worldview that encompasses the values of spiritual essence through ritual and communal activity. An example of this process can include both reactive and creative socialization. In the reactive socialization process the parents may turn to God for strength and guidance in the situation and explain to the child this is a source of strength to bring him or her through this racially hostile encounter. From a creative perspective the parents might participate in a cultural activity such as Kwanzaa to instill a sense of value and pride related to the Black culture, in hopes of providing their children with a solid foundation of identity in the socialization process.

Stage three is *extended family caring*, which encompasses the process of raising children with a sense that blood and non-blood kin can influence child development. An
example of this would be the extended family network in the home which may represent varying generations. Each person can contribute to the socialization process through his or her personal experiences. Older adults can help to instill a sense of pride by sharing their experiences and helping the children see the obstacles Blacks have overcome.

Stage four is *cultural pride reinforcement*. In this stage the child is taught cultural pride and heritage for the purpose of bolstering a proactive orientation to child rearing. An example of this would be the participation of the family in Black history month activities and active participation in the Black church and its activities.

The fifth stage of the racial socialization process is *global racial socialization*. Characteristics of this stage are the integration of proactive and protective aspects of socialization behaviors and communications that are applicable in different contexts in which children must live. An example of this fifth stage is a culmination of the previous four racial socialization stages resulting in a child who can integrate these experiences to optimal functioning capacity in their daily life (Stevenson, 1995, p. 56).

*Black Racial Socialization*

In Black racial socialization, the concepts of racial identity development and psychosocial stages of development appear to be integrated. Many of Erickson’s (1963) concepts are adaptable to various aspects of minority group psychosocial development. One example of this is the integration of Erikson’s psychosocial stages of development with Black racial identity development to understand the psychosocial stages in relation to race for Black and other minority children. Using Erikson’s psychosocial stages of
adolescent identity development, Taylor (1989) integrated those stages with the racial identity development stages of Black adolescents. According to Taylor,

The quintessential task of adolescence is the formation of identity, i.e., the establishment of a sense of one’s uniqueness as a person . . . identity denotes certain comprehensive gains derived from preadult experiences, which prepare youth for the tasks of adulthood. (p. 156)

Taylor went on to describe synthesis and resynthesis of Erikson’s psychosocial components of adolescence, which include, “the articulation of personal capacities, values, significant identifications, and fantasies with plans, ideals, expectations, and opportunities” (p. 156). Taylor added, “minority group status and associated disadvantages generate experiences and identity conflicts specific to Black adolescents” (p. 157).

Stevenson’s (1995) research indicated a need for reactive socialization in addition to creative socialization. Reactive socialization focuses solely on the result of an encounter shaping the developmental process of racial identity. Creative socialization does not require an encounter to occur; rather it requires the adult to take the initiative in discussing the potential impacts of racial encounters. In order for African American children to develop a healthy psychological orientation to the world, both types of socialization processes are crucial. In fact, it is proposed that reactive and creative socialization messages and behaviors are relevant for different contexts and that the flexible application of both messages by youth should result in greater interpersonal competence and coping skills. (Stevenson, p. 51)
If such experiences related to identity can contribute to specific conflicts in Black adolescents, it can be suggested that the same experiences can manifest in Biracial adolescents who self-identify as Black.

*Biracial Socialization*

Erikson’s (1963) psychosocial components of adolescent development contribute to the formation and integration of their identity. Erikson believed this process of identity formation and integration during adolescence was the source of psychosocial crisis and strain during the development process. Adding issues of race to the formation of a biracial identity can increase the stress and confusion Biracial adolescents experience. According to Taylor (1989), the problems of adolescents are exacerbated by “having lost their former childhood status but not yet having acquired the full status of the adult, characterized by rootlessness and a high degree of change” (p. 156). Therefore it can be suggested that Biracial adolescents are already believed to be plagued with their marginal identities related to race, rootlessness, and the high degree of change related to general adolescent development. Racial socialization is a concept that spans races, and possibly includes Black/White Biracial people.

The concept of racial socialization is a result of interpersonal and intra-personal relations as well as verbal and non-verbal communication of which the child is a part. The continuum of racial identity begins as early as age three, and by adolescence it is assumed “that they have internalized the developmental struggle of race awareness, a concrete operational task” (Stevenson, 1995, p. 50).
According to McClurg (2004), “as single-race individuals, the parents of Biracial children may have only minimal understanding of or experience with the conflicts their children are facing” (p. 170). In addition, “because neither of their parents look like them, Biracial children may have a difficult time finding this identification with their parents” (p. 170). The parents represent the micro-social environment of the home. Without the micro-social environment and having one parent from the dominant power structure and one from the minority can result in confusion when facing issues of racial socialization (McClurg).

McClurg (2004) posited that many issues arise with the socialization process for Biracial children and adolescents. According to McClurg, one reason for these issues is Biracial people often are socialized according to phenotypic features. She noted the resulting issues children may have regarding their identity. McClurg wrote, “when society fails to acknowledge both ethnic backgrounds and/or when acceptance within racial groups is marginal, Biracial children may find difficulty in merging their dual heritage without compromising either ethnic background” (p. 171).

As a result of the various concepts throughout this section on racial socialization, a defined process of Biracial socialization would need to incorporate various aspects of adolescent socialization, African American socialization, and sensitivity to the issues facing Biracial populations. The primary influence of the socialization process for Biracial adolescents is their parents’ racial socialization messages from the micro-social environment of the home (Stevenson, 1995; Sanders Thompson, 1994).
Parental Racial Socialization Messages

Parents are the primary facilitators in the racial socialization process. Sanders Thompson (1994) stated “socialization transmits values, norms, morals, and beliefs from one generation to the next. The socialization process helps the individual become an active, functioning member of their society” (p. 175). Racial socialization research is “largely imbedded in scholars’ efforts to describe the strategies ethnic minority parents use to rear competent and productive children in societies in which racial stratification is pervasive” (Hughes & Johnson, 2001, p. 982).

The majority of racial socialization research has been conducted with African American parents to determine how Black parents’ messages regarding race prepare their children for future racial encounters and how it can impact their racial identity development. Hughes and Johnson (2001) suggested “parents race-related communications to children have been viewed as important determinants of children’s race-related attitudes and beliefs and their sense of efficacy in negotiating race-related barriers and experiences” (p. 981).

The results of the Hughes and Johnson (2001) study indicated “parental factors are most central in the racial socialization messages that children receive” (p. 981). Therefore parents shape the racial identity path of Biracial children. Children are not only racially socialized by their parents but they can be racially socialized by other family members as well. Stevenson, Reed, and Bodison (1996) researched the role of kinship social support in adolescent racial socialization. They discovered “that adolescent
perceptions of the importance of racial socialization relate directly to perceived kinship social support” (p. 504).

Studies have been conducted to assess the quality of racial socialization messages provided by African American parents to their children. The quality of messages was assessed by Boykin and Toms (1985) and Frabutt, Walker, and MacKinnon-Lewis (2002). Frabutt et al. found that “parents must socialize their children into three distinctively differing realms of experience: socialization to the mainstream of American society, socialization informed by minority status, and socialization to the Black cultural experience” (p. 202). Therefore socialization practices can have various expressions across the three domains. Frabutt et al. focused on racial socialization messages and the quality of mother/child interactions in African American families. Using the scores of the mothers from scales relative to positivity, negativity, monitoring, and involvement, the mothers were divided into three equal sized groups based on their mean scores. These socialization groups were labeled as high racial socialization messaging, middle/moderate racial socialization messaging, and low racial socialization messaging.

White Racial Identity

Many researchers have a hard time with the concept of the existence of White racial identity since such developmental processes are often associated with minority groups in America (Helms, 1990). However, White people do have a racial identity and travel through a developmental process related to their identity. Racial identity as defined by Helms (1995) “actually refers to a sense of group or collective identity based on one’s perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group”
therefore creating a racial identity for White people. There are six phases of Helms’ White racial identity development model, White Racial Identity Ego Statuses and Information Processing Strategies (See Appendix A). The stage or phase of White racial identity development the mother is experiencing can have an impact on the Biracial socialization process as well as the politics of a Biracial identity.

The historical and political aspects of being Biracial are why this study is of importance. The literature review only produced one study similar to this one. O’Donoghue (2001) looked at the experiences of White women, like herself, who were in relationships with African American men. This study focused on the Biracial offspring of White female, Black male relationships. A significant aspect of the Biracial children produced from these relationships is the formation of a racial identity and the racial socialization. These processes are significant developmental aspects for children of color and possibly for Biracial children. Why these processes occur is as equal in importance as to how they occur.

The role of parents, White mothers of Biracial children in particular, has not been researched extensively to determine the racial socialization messages and their impact on the Biracial identity development process. Mothers, as well as other family members, may have an active role in the socialization process. Sanders Thompson (1994) suggested “there was an association between racial socialization and racial identification . . . discussions of race with family members other than parents, as well as the impact of racial socialization, were strongly associated with the level of racial identification” (p. 175). The preceding pages described why and how race could influence identity
development of Biracial adolescents. From the literature review, three research questions were developed. They are:

**RQ₁:** How do White mothers of Black/White Biracial adolescents racially socialize their children?

**RQ₂:** What are the common racial socialization processes of Biracial adolescents by their White mothers?

**RQ₃:** What is the impact of phenotypic difference between the mother and child on the racial socialization process?
CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

In chapter 2 the method by which the researcher explored the role of White mothers in the racial socialization process of their Biracial children is presented. The methodology section justifies the use of a qualitative design. This chapter describes the participants in the study and how they were selected. The procedures section explains the steps in the research process including the interview process and the procedures for the transcription of data. The last section of this chapter explains the data analysis and defines and provides an example of how the data were analyzed using the qualitative research software program N6 (QSR-NUDIST).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the racial socialization process of adolescents of mixed African American and European American parentage based on the socialization messages of their White biological mothers. Due to the dearth of research on the subject of Biracial socialization, the chosen research design for this study was qualitative. This study provided information to begin laying the foundation for future research and trends in the field of Biracial identity and socialization. The three research questions this study sought to answer were:

RQ1: How do White mothers of Black/White Biracial adolescents racially socialize their children?
RQ2: What are the common racial socialization processes of Biracial adolescents by their White mothers?

RQ3: What is the impact of phenotypic difference between the mother and child on the racial socialization process?

Researcher Description

When conducting a study such as this the researcher’s identity and frame of reference are significant factors that can impact the process. I am a 30 year old Black woman born to two older Black parents. My father’s parents are both Biracial. Each of my grandparents had Black mothers and White fathers that were plantation owners. They were both the products of miscegenation and solely identified as being of the Black race. As a young child I asked my grandfather who his father was and how come I had not met him. My grandfather never knew his White father the plantation owner nor, could he tell me much about him. As I matured they were able to provide me with anecdotes about the family and their encounters in Jim Crow Alabama. Yet throughout all of this did not ever refer to themselves as Biracial and only spoke of their experiences from a Black frame of reference. The information provided to me through the years and my socialization process were significant contributors in my choice to conduct this study.

When I decided to conduct this study, I knew I had some biases; I had to be cognizant of when gathering and interpreting data. I was not aware of the multiple worldviews I would use in this process nor how they may impact the data. When I was attempting to recruit participants for this study was when I initially became aware of the worldviews and how things could become skewed if I only looked through one lens. In
this process I discovered that there were three primary lenses that created my multiple worldviews of Biracial identity and socialization. My three primary lenses were that of a Black woman, a counselor, and a product of racial socialization.

As a Black woman, like a lot of Black women I am not an advocate for interracial relationships. I do realize that each person’s life is there own and the choices they make they have to live through. What is right for me may not be what is right for anyone else and this thought is what prompted me to respect the women who participated in this study. I was very aware of this bias therefore I was able to control for it throughout this study. Some of my rationalizations through my lenses as a Black woman have matured due to my education and experiences as a professional clinical counselor.

As a counselor I believe that those who are involved in interracial relationships are going through a phase of racial identity development. Some move through that stage into another and the relationship ends. I think this is often unfortunate for the child who really needs both parents present for what they may have to endure related to their racial identity. Through these lenses I mostly experienced intrigue as to how white mothers socialize a child that society perceives as Black. I was also curious about how this would impact the mothers who were no longer in relationships with Black men. I was also intrigued with the racial socialization process of the fathers and if they were deficient in any areas of socialization which may have impacted their interracial relationship choice.

As a product of racial socialization I was raised with a strong Black identity and the means to navigate through the dominate culture. I was not only curious about the father’s socialization but if there was any form of socialization for Biracial adolescents.
Through these lenses I viewed this study as both a Black woman who was the product of racial socialization, and a professional clinical counselor. This set of lenses actually helped me to be cognizant of the socialization practices (if there were any) that were indicative of Black racial socialization.

Being cognizant of the multiple worldviews I had throughout this process was helpful in controlling for my possible biases as a researcher. It also provided a richer cultural frame of reference when conducting this research. I was appreciative of my cultural frame of reference and the results it produced in this process.

Research Design

The qualitative design selected for this study was grounded theory. Creswell (1998) defined a grounded theory as a process of research by which a theory is developed.

The grounded theory research design in this study included two individual interviews and two focus groups to gather salient information for the development of theory and to lend credibility to the transferability of the results. The combination of both the individual and focus group interviews will help strengthen the transferability of the results of the study. (p. 86)

A graphical representation of the research design is shown in Figure 1 in flow chart form (see Figure 1).

Participants

The participants in this study were eight White mothers of mixed race (African American and European American) adolescent children ages 11 to 14. The samples of
mothers used for this study were middle and upper socioeconomic status, biological White mothers of Biracial children. Middle socioeconomic status was defined by the U.S. Census as a family whose annual income is between $25,000 to $100,000+, which makes up 66.7% of the United States population (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 2000a). The initial location for the recruitment of subjects began in South Euclid, Ohio, a suburb of Cleveland. South Euclid was selected as a starting point due to the demographic information obtained from the U.S. Census website (2000a, 2000b). There were a total of
Figure 1. Methodology flow chart
23,537 residents in South Euclid; 40.3% of the population were employed in management or professional occupational fields. Of the entire population, 44.6% of the residents met the middle class socioeconomic standards for this study. Ninety percent of the residents had a high school diploma or higher, and 36.5% had a Bachelor’s degree or higher. In the northeastern Ohio region, less than 1.8% of the population self-reported being two or more races on the 2000 census. Of those 317 (1.3% of the population) residents of South Euclid reported being of two or more races.

The criteria for the mothers’ participation in the study were: the mothers must have been White, of European American descent, not Latina, nor Biracial. The mothers had only Biracial offspring in the household. Those who had a 100% White child from a previous relationship were not included in the study. The sample included an even number of mothers of girls and mothers of boys.

Procedures

The initial recruitment location for participants was the Cleveland suburb, South Euclid, Ohio. Once the participant pool for that area was exhausted, using the demographic data retrieved from the U.S. Census websites fact finder, participants were sought from the next densely populated middle to upper class suburban area of Cleveland. This process continued until the eight participants needed for the study were obtained.

The sample was gathered using two techniques: snowball sampling and purposeful sampling. Bogdan and Biklin (2003) defined snowball sampling as, “getting referrals from subjects for other people that might meet sampling criteria” (p. 262).
According to Bogdan and Biklin purposeful sampling is a process in which the researcher “chooses subjects, places, and other dimensions of a research site to include in the research to enlarge the analysis or to test particular emerging themes and working hypotheses” (p. 261)

The first sampling method was snowball sampling. The researcher asked personal contacts to provide potential participants with the researcher’s phone number so the participant could make the initial contact. If the potential participant felt comfortable allowing the researcher to have her number, the personal contact would provide the information to the researcher.

The second sampling method was purposeful sampling. The researcher posted (See Appendix B) a request for participation in dissertation research on the listserv, DIVERSEGRAD-L, a multicultural counselor and counseling student listserv. The posting described the location in which participants were being sought and the criteria for participation in the study. The posting requested the listserv members to provide potential participants with the researcher’s phone number so potential participants could make the initial contact. If the potential participant felt comfortable allowing the researcher to have her number, then the personal or e-mail contact would provide the potential participant’s contact information to the researcher so the researcher could make the initial contact.

The third recruitment method used was through local Boys and Girls clubs, and community centers in the South Euclid area. The researcher contacted both places to make them aware of the study and to ask them to pass on this information to the mothers of children who fit the criteria for the study. With this method the mothers were to initiate
contact with the researcher so there would not be a violation of confidentiality under the Family and Education Right to Privacy Act.

Using the contact information gathered from the sampling techniques, I delivered parental information packets to nine White mothers of Biracial adolescents. At the time of delivery I asked the participant to complete the packet for pick up four days later. A reminder call was placed to each participant the day before pick up.

As each of the completed packets was picked up, the potential participants were assigned a participant code for identification. The participant code was the first letter of their last name, the last two digits of their birth year, the first letter of their first name, and the order number in which the packet was received. The nine potential participants’ packets were reviewed upon pick up. Eight were selected in an attempt to balance for the factors of socioeconomic status, education, and phenotypic features. The remaining seven packets were reserved in case someone was unable to participate or withdrew from the study.

The information packet included an introductory letter (See Appendix C) explaining the nature of the study, a demographic questionnaire (See Appendix D), a contact information index card (See Appendix E), and a peer review consent form (See Appendix F). Once the parents completed and returned the packet, I then contacted the participants to schedule the first interview.

The original options for the individual interview to take place were at the participant’s home or the researcher’s private practice. Once the subject pool expanded beyond Ohio, telephone interviews became an option. Ananda, Patricia, Sharon, Sandy,
and Ella opted for the phone interview for their individual interview, Bridgette and Kalpana had the face to face interview in their homes, and Gayl had her face to face interview in the researcher’s office (Pseudonyms were assigned to each participant).

**Individual Interviews**

Qualitative research allows for the participants to tell their stories in a narrative form and for the researcher to understand the participants’ subjective experiences. This process of narration is similar to that of a narrative therapy experience. According to Riessman (1994) narrating is a universal human activity in which interpretation is inevitable. The role of the researcher in this process was to remain neutral and allow the participant to tell his or her story. The researcher is not to pass judgment on the participant, discuss the information disseminated in the interview, use manipulation, or ask leading questions.

The participants were provided with options for choosing the interview location. The first option was their home. The second option was the office of the researcher. Before the interview began, the researcher gave the participant a consent form (See Appendix G) outlining her rights as a participant in the study. An audio and videotape consent form (See Appendix H) was provided outlining how multimedia records may later be used. If the participant agreed to sign the consent form, then her interviews were audio taped.

The first interview was structured using the questions prepared by the researcher (See Appendix I). Not all of the structured interview questions were asked, because much of the information was elicited through the participants’ narrative. The questions used
were based on research conducted by Stevenson (1995), O’Donoghue (2001), and Hughes and Johnson (2001).

The researcher transcribed the tapes of the interviews. In addition to the researcher reviewing the audio tapes, peer reviewers also reviewed the audio tapes to assess for themes and emerging questions from the data. The two peer reviewers in this study were doctoral students in the Counseling and Human Development Services Program at Kent State University. The peer reviewers were to critique and question the data to increase credibility and transferability of the results (Bogdan & Biklin, 2003). The researcher asked for volunteers among the students in the program to review the data collected in the study. The purpose of using the peer reviewers was to triangulate the data collected from the interviews. Triangulation is a process by which the researcher “refers to the use of multi-data sources or theoretical perspectives in a study” (Bogdan & Biklin, p. 258). In this process one data source was checked against another to assess for similarities and differences. The use of triangulation aids in the creditability of the study as well as the transferability of the results to the greater population.

The two peer reviewers signed consent forms (See Appendix J) acknowledging their understanding of the participant’s right to privacy and her agreement to keep all knowledge of the individual interview content confidential. Participant names were not released to the peer reviewers, only the participants’ codes were used for their part in this process and the participants’ pseudonyms were used in writing the results of the study.

The next step was to review the transcript and notes from the first interview and determine if there were any issues the researcher wanted to address further. If there were
questions or emerging themes, the researcher noted themes and used them in the focus groups.

Focus Groups

The group interview process was conducted as a resampling of the data from the individual interview process. The participants were divided into two focus groups based primarily on geographical location. Those within a 30-minute driving distance of the researcher’s office participated in a face to face group in the researcher’s office. Participants who were out of state or more than a 30-minute driving distance from the researcher’s office were issued calling cards to participate in a phone interview. The focus groups that were held in the researcher’s office was on the border of South Euclid. The office has two rooms, the waiting room and the interview room. The office area where the groups were held is set up similarly to a living room with a sofa, end tables, lamps, and a rug. The researcher set up the office like this to help increase the comfort level of her clients and to reduce the institutional stigma attached to mental health counseling. In addition to the sofa there were wooden folding chairs brought in for the group session. Since the group session occurred around dinner time, refreshments were provided for group participants.

The information gathered from the first interview was used to generate focus group discussion. Using focus groups, in addition to the individual interviews, provided the researcher with the opportunity to observe participant interactions around a particular topic. Group discussions provided direct evidence about similarities and differences in the participants’ opinions (Morgan, 1997). Each focus group was scheduled to last for a
maximum of 90 minutes. The participants were divided into two groups of four; each participant attended one focus group. Group interview tapes were transcribed and analyzed in the same way as the individual transcripts.

At the end of the second focus group the researcher reminded the participants that a copy of their individual and group interview data would be mailed to them. Within a week of that information being mailed the researcher would call them for member checking. Member checking is a process by which all transcribed and/or analyzed data are reviewed by the interviewee for accuracy. Creswell (1998) wrote member checking requires that interviewees review all the data transcribed from the interview and focus groups to assess for accuracy of information. Any incorrect data was adjusted according to the information from the member check interviews.

Data Analysis

Using N6, the researcher transcribed all interview data. Once the data was entered, it was assessed for themes and similarities between interviews. The first step in using NUDIST was the development of nodes. Nodes are key words used to compile all the text about a particular topic or theme. Key words are determined by frequency of use across the interview data. The major themes from the interviews are categorized as parent nodes. All themes related to the parent node branch into more nodes creating node trees. Once nodes are created they are then arranged in a hierarchical order, similar to a family tree, based on the frequency of the key words. The node tree allows the researcher to see where certain themes developed in the transcription.
Limitations

One of the limitations of this study was the choice to only focus on the mothers of the Black/White Biracial adolescents. There was valuable information gathered by using only the mothers; however to have the adolescents’ perspective of their socialization would have added to the richness of the data. The adolescents’ perspective would have also been used as a valuable method of triangulation of the parental data.

Since this study was qualitative and not mixed methodology the researcher did not conduct an assessment of the phase of White racial identity development of each participant. However in reviewing both the group and individual interview data, the comments made by the participants strongly suggest which phase of White racial identity development they were experiencing at the time of the study.

Another limitation was not assessing the phase of racial identity development the mother was in at the time of the study. If they would have been assessed for this, the data could have been used to eliminate unlikely participants. This data also could have been used to stratify groups and look at the Biracial socialization process among mothers within and between groups ultimately making this study a mixed methodology.

In other studies (e.g., O’Donoghue, 2001) the researcher was directly connected to the subject matter of her research. In O’Donoghue’s case she was married to an African American man and was very interested in what her future would hold being in an interracial relationship. In this study the researcher was African American, not Biracial, nor involved in an interracial relationship. As a result some of the discomfort exhibited by the women in the individual interview that was not present in the focus group may
have been related to the race difference between the participant and me. To test for inter-
rater reliability this study would have needed to incorporate a White researcher to
conduct the same study to determine if the individual and focus group processes and data
differed between the two researchers’ participants.
CHAPTER III
RESULTS

Chapter 3 presents the results of the study. The results section begins reporting on the recruitment of participants, a description of the participants, and the participant demographics. This chapter also covers the individual interview and the focus group process, and reports the data collected from both. The data gathered from both the individual interviews and focus groups was analyzed using QSR-Nudist, version 6 to assist in developing themes across the data gathered. The last section of the chapter reports the data triangulation information gathered from two peer reviewers. This section compares and contrasts the information reported by the peer reviewers as well as the information gathered by the researcher.

Recruitment

Due to the difficulty in recruitment of participants for the study, the area from which participants were recruited was extended throughout the United States. Nine White mothers of Black/White Biracial children ranging in age from 9 to 17 years were recruited to participate in the study. Another result of the recruitment difficulty was the expansion in age range of some of the offspring of participants. Eight of the nine women were viable subjects for the study. One was not a viable candidate due to cognitive processing problems that became apparent during the course of the individual interview.
Participants

Each of the following eight participants met the criteria such as education level, socioeconomic status, and the like, for participation in the study. Below is a brief summary on each participant listed under her assigned pseudonym. None of the participants’ real names or the name of their children or other family members mentioned in the interviews was used in this study.

**Gayl**

Gayl is a 50-year-old mother of two. She has a daughter who is 16 and a son who is 11. She is currently divorced. After getting married to her African American husband, her parents stopped communicating with her, and her father did not talk to her for eight years. Gayl has a Master of Science degree in nursing and is currently on social security disability.

**Ananda**

Ananda is a 49-year-old mother of two Biracial sons. She is married. Her husband is an orthopedic surgeon who is originally from Mississippi. Ananda’s sons, both hockey players in a sport dominated by White players, have faced racial discrimination during their matches. Ananda has a master’s degree in physical therapy; she has worked in the past but she is currently a full time domestic.

**Kalpana**

Kalpana is a 43-year-old mother of one daughter. She is married. Initially Kalpana’s father had a hard time accepting her pregnancy by an African American man. She grew up in a household where her father openly expressed his negative views of
African Americans socially. After the birth of her daughter her father’s views changed significantly. Kalpana has a high school diploma and is a full time domestic.

*Bridgette*

Bridgette is a 27-year-old mother of five: four girls and one boy. Her oldest child is 11 years old and the youngest is 2. She is currently married. Bridgette’s father did not talk to her for five years after she chose to marry the African American father of her daughter. Bridgette has a high school diploma and currently works as a medical secretary.

*Patricia*

Patricia is a 34-year-old mother of one daughter. She is a single parent with the support and assistance of her family in rearing her 9-year-old Biracial daughter. Patricia nor her daughter have any contact with the child’s African American father nor his family. She has a bachelor’s degree and works for an insurance company.

*Sandy*

Sandy is a 48-year-old mother of three. Her youngest child is her 15-year-old daughter. Sandy spent the majority of her childhood growing up in Africa before moving back to the United States. She is in graduate school, and currently not employed.

*Ella*

Ella is 41, and the mother of one 13-year-old son. She is cohabitating with her fiancée. Her fiancée is not the father of her son. The father of her son is in the military and currently in Iraq. Ella has a graduate degree, and she works for veterans’ affairs.
Sharon

Sharon is a 42-year-old mother of two. She has one teenage daughter and a younger son. She is currently married. Sharon’s parents are divorced. Her father was not accepting of the interracial relationship and biracial children. She has a high school diploma and is currently a full time domestic.

Demographics

The demographic information provided by the participants indicates two of the participants were recruited from outside of Ohio, one from Missouri and the other from Alaska. Two other participants were from Elyria, a suburb west of Cleveland. Three of the participants were from the Cleveland area suburbs of South Euclid, Pepper Pike, Nordonia, and the other participant lived just outside of Akron, Ohio, south of Cleveland in an area closely resembling a Cleveland area suburb. The demographic information collected from the participants suggests diverse backgrounds. The participants varied in age with birth years ranging from 1954 to 1978. Three of the participants graduated from high school, two have a bachelor’s degree, and the other three have graduate degrees in their respective fields (See Table 1). Five of the eight participants are married, one is divorced, one is single, and the other is co-habitating (See Table 2). Only one of the local Cleveland area participants is married, and only one person from the other areas is not married. The annual household income varied from $25,000 and below to $100,000 and above (See Table 3).
Table 1

*Participant Education Level*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Middle School</th>
<th>High School</th>
<th>Some College</th>
<th>Bachelors Degree</th>
<th>Graduate Degree</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gayl</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ananda</td>
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<td>Kalpana</td>
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<td>Bridgette</td>
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<td>Patricia</td>
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<td>Sandy</td>
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<td>Ella</td>
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<td>Sharon</td>
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Table 2

Participant Marital Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Co-habitating</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Widowed</th>
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<td>Gayl</td>
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<td>Sharon</td>
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Table 3

*Participant Annual Household Income*

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>$25,000 or Below</th>
<th>$25,001 to $34,999</th>
<th>$35,000 to $49,999</th>
<th>$50,000 to $74,999</th>
<th>$75,000 to $99,999</th>
<th>$100,000 +</th>
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<tr>
<td>Gayl</td>
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Table 4

Demographic Information Listed by Participant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Information</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| Gayl        | - 50 Years Old  
              - Graduate Degree  
              - Divorced  
              - $25,000 or Below Annual Household Income  
              - Unemployed (disability)  
              - Father not in home  
| Ananda      | - 49 Years Old  
              - Graduate Degree  
              - Married  
              - $100,000+ Annual Household Income  
              - Domesticator  
              - Father in home  
| Kalpana     | - 43 Years Old  
              - High School Diploma  
              - Married  
              - $35,000 to $49,999 Annual Household Income  
              - Domesticator  
              - Father in home  
| Bridgette   | - 27 Years Old  
              - High School Diploma  
              - Married  
              - $50,000 to $74,999 Annual Household Income  
              - Factory Worker  
              - Father in home  
| Patricia    | - 34 Years Old  
              - Bachelors Degree  
              - Single  
              - $35,000 to 49,999 Annual Household Income  
              - Insurance Agent  
              - No Contact With Father  

*(table continues)*
Table 4 (continued)

Demographic Information Listed by Participant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Sandy       | - 48 Years Old  
              - Bachelors Degree  
              - Married  
              - $100,000+ Annual Household Income  
              - Graduate Student  
              - Father in Home |
| Ella        | - 41 Years Old  
              - Graduate Degree  
              - Cohabitating  
              - $75,000 to $99,999 Annual Household Income  
              - Work For Veterans Affairs  
              - Father On Active Military Duty In Iraq |
| Sharon      | - 42 Years Old  
              - High School Diploma  
              - Married  
              - $100,000+ Annual Household Income  
              - Domesticator  
              - Father in Home |
Individual Interviews

The data collected from the individual and group interviews were analyzed using QSR-Nudist to code the interview data and define the emerging themes. The data were coded into tree nodes with the three research questions (RQ$_n$) being the top level tree nodes. The research questions were:

RQ$_1$: How do White mothers of Black/White Biracial adolescents racially socialize their children?

RQ$_2$: What are the common racial socialization processes of Biracial adolescents by their White mothers?

RQ$_3$: What is the impact of phenotypic difference between the mother and child on the racial socialization process?

The individual and group interview questions directly related to the research questions (See Appendices K, L, M, N, and O). The individual interview (IQ$_n$) questions became secondary nodes in the node trees. Some of the individual interview questions had sub-questions (SQ$_n$) which became the next level of the node tree. The answers to the individual interview questions and sub-questions were grouped according to similarities and the resulting similarities became the child nodes. The same process was used for developing secondary nodes and child nodes from the focus group questions (FQ$_n$). The nodes were developed from the emerging themes in the interview transcripts. The term node and emerging theme are used interchangeably throughout this chapter.
RQ₁: Research Question 1

Research question one: How do White mothers of Black/White Biracial adolescents racially socialize their children? RQ₁ has two individual interview questions: IQ₁ and IQ₂ (See Appendix K). The logic behind relating IQ₁ to RQ₁ was to provide the researcher with insight by relating the mother’s definition of Biracial to how she racially socializes her child. IQ₂ was related to RQ₁ to determine if the mother’s definition was what the child was accepting and using as his or her identity.

IQ₁: What does the term Biracial mean to you?

For the first question “What does the term Biracial mean to you?” all the participants hesitated before answering this question. There was also some confusion in the participants’ understanding of the concept. The participants did not seem to have an understanding of the differences between race, culture, ethnicity, nationality, multicultural, and diversity, which results in people using the terms interchangeably and incorrectly. Therefore when the participants answered this question there was a range of terms used in their definition of Biracial. Ananda, Sharon, Sandy, and Patricia were uncertain about their answers as suggested by ending their statements with comments like “I think,” “I guess,” and “Is that what you were looking for.” Participants’ examples of Biracial included offspring generated from parents of two different genetic phenotypes. Sandy’s response described “the mixing of two different cultures.” Sharon said, “two different races mixed;” when asked to elaborate her response was “usually Black and White.” Kalpana reported “any two races or nationalities mixing together.” The other participants said, “Black and White mixed.” The answer to this question resulted in two
child nodes. The first child node was Black and White mixed and the second child node was any two races (See Appendix P).

IQ2: What do you think being Biracial means to your child?

The participants were rather calm when answering this question, however Ananda and Ella said if they knew this was going to be a question they would have asked their child before the interview so they would have been better equipped to answer the question. Some participants were uncertain whether being Biracial had a meaning at this point in their child’s life, whereas others said it means nothing because their child(ren) self-identify as Black. Kalpana noted it is significant because her child self-identifies as Biracial. None of the participants reported their child as self-identifying as only White. Bridgette, Patricia, Sharon, and Sandy were uncertain of the meaning of being Biracial in their child’s life. Some of the comments they made when asked the question were:

Bridgette: Not sure . . . umm I don’t think my children have a problem with it right now.

Patricia: Ummm, I don’t think a lot. I think she’s, you know, she’s relatively color blind, relatively . . .

Sharon: Nothing. It’s absolutely not an issue.

Sandy: My children I don’t think are Biracial. Because as a matter of fact I think they are very homogenous.

Only Kalpana’s child self-identifies as Biracial and her response to the question was:

Kalpana: One thing that bothers her is being classified as Black, to her [that means] I wasn’t involved.
According to Ella her son is confused and struggling through his identity development:

Ella: Sometimes he really, really is African American and other times he’s not . . . he’s confused right now.

Gayl’s children self-identify as Black and her response to the question was:

Gayl: Both of them have said they are Black . . . to the world, and I have always taught them that they are them.

When Ananda initially answered this question she did not focus on the individual races; she said that her children embraced all their cultural backgrounds. However, later in the interview, she noted that if they had to choose, she thinks they would identify as Black. Ananda also noted that her children have Black phenotypic features and her older son has darker skin than her younger which would support why she thinks they would self-identify as Black. Four participants were uncertain and this became a child node (See Appendix K). Three of the remaining participants noted that their child(ren) self-identify as Black. Black became the second child node for IQ2 (See Appendix K). At this point in the interview the participants did not say that the child(ren) based their chosen identity on the phenotypic features. Later in the interview process and through the course of answering other questions, participants mentioned that if their child physically appears to be Black, how would this shape their identity. One example, Gayl noted that other people see her daughter as Black: “yes I understand people will say you’re black, but I don’t see you that way.” How this socializing impacts the racial socialization process is explored in depth in research question number two.
RQ2: Research Question 2

Research question two: What are the common racial socialization processes of Biracial adolescents by their White mothers? RQ2 has two individual interview questions and two sub-questions (See Appendix M). IQ3 was asked to determine if there were any strategies or set plans by the participants on how to raise their Biracial children. IQ4 was asked to assess if the child was accepting and responding to the participant’s socialization efforts. Both IQ3 and IQ4 have sub-questions SQ3 and SQ4. The sub-questions were asked to get a more in-depth or specific description to the answers in IQ3 and IQ4. In IQ3, (What strategies of parenting a Biracial child are you using?) participants were not necessarily to discuss cross-racial encounters in their answers. Therefore SQ3 (How do you process both negative and positive cross-racial encounters with them?) was added to specifically target the parenting strategies in cross-racial encounters. IQ4, (How does your child respond to the socialization methods you have tried?) allows participants to give a simple one word answer such as good or bad. Therefore SQ4 (Do you have examples of when your child has accepted or rejected your efforts?) was developed to ask for specific examples of when the participants’ child(ren) have accepted or rejected those answers.

IQ3: What strategies, if any, of parenting a Biracial child are you using?

None of the participants said they are raising their children to be single raced Black or White individuals. Patricia and Sharon claimed to be utilizing no parenting strategy, whereas Bridgette was not sure how she was parenting her children. Bridgette noted she is not sure how different the process of raising a Biracial child is different from raising any other child. The participants’ answers to these questions resulted in the
development of three child nodes (See Appendix Q). The first node was racial considerations when parenting, the second was no identifiable parenting strategy, and the last was no reported racial considerations when parenting. Participants who were married/cohabitating with their child’s Black father noted his participation in the process by using the term “we” when answering this question. The participants’ individual interview responses to the question, what strategies of parenting a Biracial child are you using, were:

Kalpana: I try to make sure like when she does reports for school, you know you don’t have to just pick the White people, do something so you know both sides of the story . . . We go to Mt. Zion, I’m the only White person that goes there, but I don’t want to go to an all White church. I want her around Black people other than just my husband, because he has no family around here.

Gayl: Umm, rather than focus on what society focuses on at large and you know, I’ll go into a Burger King and a Library or whatever and they will assume those children aren’t my children. Okay so I not only have to instruct the person doing the cashiering or the librarian, or whatever it is, but I am also instructing my children that I am your mother.

Sandy: Uhm, I guess my, what I try to do with my children was to, uhm, show them to really value how important and how much richer they are because of how having a more diverse cultural heritage than someone who has a very limited world view and I think that serves them very well.
Bridgette: I don’t know . . . I don’t know how different it is from, White, how White people raise their kids.

Sharon: Absolutely none. Umm we’ve never even discussed it with our kids. I mean never. It’s not really a decision not to but it’s never come up and it’s never seemed necessary. That could be a parenting mistake.

Ella: I don’t have any special parenting skills on how to parent him any different, I just parent him. Uhm ahhh, I’ve been, I’ve had to be quite a bit of an advocate for him.

Patricia: Uh, not really any I’m just using . . . I’m just raising a child. I don’t focus on it at all.

Ananda: Strategies? I would say when my children were young it was one of those things where I read as many books as I could . . . I don’t think about it at all to be quite honest. I think just because . . . Where we send our kids to school and where we . . . you know my kids tend to socialize, its not an issue.

Only three of the eight participants reported race as being a consideration in how they chose to parent their children. Kalpana goes as far as to make provisions for going to church in an African American facility to ensure her daughter is racially well rounded. It appears from the information provided that a number of the participants are raising their children without reference to their Biracial identity.
SQ₃: How do you process both negative and positive cross-racial encounters with them?

SQ₃ related to the socialization process by asking participants; How do you process both negative and positive cross-racial encounters with them [participants’ child(ren)]. The participants’ answers varied with the majority responding in a manner that can be considered supportive. The participants’ answer supportive become one of the two child nodes for SQ₃ (See Appendix Q). Kalpana and Ananda noted that how they process these types of encounters was dependent on the situation, suggesting they may practice reactive racial socialization. Bridgette, Patricia, and Sharon were uncertain about how they process these experiences.

The uncertain emerging theme became the second child node for SQ₃ (See Appendix Q). The reasons for this uncertainty varied. For example, Patricia was uncertain because she has yet to experience a negative cross-racial encounter, but everyone was able to provide the researcher with at least one example of either a negative or positive cross-racial encounter. Some of the node one answers provided were:

Ella: The positive ones, uhm those are always nice, this year it’s been really, really negative. . . . I’ve really had to be an advocate for [participant’s son].

Gayl: I think the biggest thing my kids know about me is that I’m proud of them and I love them no matter what they do . . . that [the experience] made me really think about what I needed to discuss with my kids and I stick to that kind of thing in and try to be open to whatever friends they may have.

Some of the node two answers provided were:
Ananda: Umm, I guess what I have learned from that [the experience] is that if people have issues with it, it is their problem and that they are definitely ignorant.

Patricia: Umm, I haven’t really had any negativity, really. I’ve had, um, I’ve done pretty well I think, I’ve had similar, uh more when she was younger, it was obviously more questions over her, her heritage than if I was raising a blond haired blue eyed child would have been.

Sharon: When we got your message about this study, you know you left it on our machine and she heard it, And I said well now the secret’s out. You’re Biracial. Okay . . . and we cracked up laughing and that was it. It’s just not an issue.

The array of answers from the participants suggests different contexts for responses to cross-racial encounters. Some of the parents made the negative cross-racial encounters more about them than about their children. The comments by Ananda and Patricia suggested their responses to these types of situations were personalized. Their responses were evidenced by them not talking about how they processed those types of encounters with their children when describing the situation. As a result of the personalization in the responses, the researcher was not able to get information about how the participants processed these encounters with their children. How the mothers chose to process both negative and positive cross-racial encounters with their children relate to the next question.
IQ4: How does your child respond to the socialization methods you have tried?

The participants were confused by the use of the term socialization and asked the researcher for a definition of the term. The researcher explained to them socialization is how they are choosing to raise their child. This question was also confusing for some who asked the researcher for specific examples of what was meant by the question. The researcher explained to the participants that if a child does not accept specific methods of rearing, they may rebel against their parent(s). The same example was given to each participant who asked for a specific example. Participants seemed to be willing to answer the question. However at this point Bridgette, Ella, and Patricia indicated they were uncertain of the appropriateness of their techniques. For example, Ella stated, “Uhm I don’t know that’s a difficult, I guess I won’t know, you know for a long time whether what you do is right.” Their uncertainty was met with a response by the researcher reassuring them that there were no right or wrong answers to any of these questions. All the participants felt as if their child was accepting of the socialization methods they were trying at home (See Appendix Q). None of the participants had any specific examples of their child’s acceptance or rejection of their socialization attempts (See Appendix Q). Although the participants did not have any specific examples of the acceptance or rejection of their socialization attempts with their child, the participants are not the only people in their lives who socialize them. Therefore the next question addresses how the whole family participates in the socialization process of the child.
IQ6: How does your family aid in the socialization of your child?

In discussing the answer to this question with the participants, three different family units were defined. The first was the primary family unit in the home. The second was the participant’s family of origin which was primarily defined as the participant’s mother and father. The third defined family unit was the father’s family of origin. Some participants discussed all three family units in terms of the socialization of their child. All three family units were mentioned by the participants if only to say they [the respective family unit] did not participate in the socialization of the child. None of the participants reported any difficulty in the primary family with the socialization process in the home. None of the participants reported disagreements with their Black mates on the socialization process. This question resulted in varying responses by the participants depending on which family unit they were discussing. The answers the participants provided to IQ6 resulted in development of the three following child nodes: primary family participation, maternal family participation, and paternal family participation (See Appendix Q).

Sharon, Gayl, Bridgette, and Kalpana reported their side of the family was initially unaccepting of their African American mate and Biracial child(ren). Their families’ responses ranged from not talking to the participants for years to one participant’s father only meeting his granddaughter once. For some of them their parents’ feelings and behaviors remain the same whereas the families of other participants exhibited subtler shades of racism. Although some maternal families of origin were accepting of the Biracial offspring, they only exhibited tolerance for the Black father of
these children. Patricia, Sandy, and Ananda reported their side of the family completely accepted their Biracial child.

The participants who have contact with their child’s African American side of the family did not report rejection of themselves or their offspring by the paternal (African American) side of the family. Bridgette and Gayl discussed the family’s role in depth. Both participants noted the African American side of the family aids in the racial socialization process by helping the child(ren) to understand their role as Black in society. Bridgette and Gayl both reported neither talking to nor interacting with their side of their family for eight years after making their choice to marry and have children with a Black man. Sharon reported discontinued communication with her father for the same reason. According to Sharon, “my dad has since passed away and he never met my husband. He had real issues with it. And he got to meet my daughter once before he died, but he had real issues with it.”

Ella’s answers were ambiguous but she alluded to racial concerns within her family due to the small rural White town where her parents reside. Ella commented, They live in Montana and you know this little tiny hick town in Montana, I was scared I mean ‘cause that’s not where we lived before ‘cause they sold their place and moved to Montana the first time I sent him over there.

Some of the comments made by the participants who had negative experiences with their side of the family related to race included:

Gayl: Oh no, no my dad had a real problem with that . . . So I did not tell them that I was marrying someone that was Black until basically the day before
it was happening, because I wanted my mother to come. And they went, my father had an attitude at the reception blah blah blah and he went back home and we didn’t speak for eight years.

Kalpana: If my mother, my natural mother, and father had their way, she would live with them. They, to be honest, with it they love my husband dearly and I never thought in a million years, when I got pregnant, I thought, I’ll never see my family again, my father was so prejudiced when we were kids we weren’t even allowed to watch the Jeffersons [TV show], ‘cause there’s no way in hell I’m gonna have no “niggers” on a TV I bought and paid for. So when I got pregnant I went into hiding. I didn’t know what to do . . . my father did not talk to me my whole pregnancy.

Sharon: None. They have no contact. Umm, we, this is the first, this relationship is the first on either side both our parents had kinda issues about it, mine definitely did. Never even, uh, it’s never been . . . in his family nobody’s ever married a White person and in my family nobody’s ever even dated a Black person so it was umm . . .

Although the maternal family of origin had issues with the interracial relationship and often the Biracial offspring, these women persevered and continued with the development of their own family.

RQ3: Research Question 3

Research question number three: What is the impact of phenotypic difference between the mother and child on the racial socialization process? IQ5 directly relates to
RQ3 (See Appendix O) because it asks the same thing as RQ3. It was just rewritten in an interview question format for the study.

IQ5: What impact does the difference in physical characteristics between you and your child have on how you socialize your child?

This question required clarification due to all participants’ lack of understanding of the question. Initially most of the mothers said none but went on to provide examples of when it did impact the racial socialization process (See Appendix R). Six of the eight participants did have some difficulty with the socialization process related to phenotypic features. The mothers of daughters reported issues related to hair texture. The mothers of both daughters and sons reported at some point their child being classified as Black and labeled as such based on phenotype, more specifically, skin color.

Kalpana: But to her I think it bothers her because everything has to be, you know, oh you’re Black, and no, no I’m Black and White. I mean she’ll get salty with somebody, so I don’t know. I would say it bothers her because she’s classified as Black, and not Black and White.

Ella: Yeah, I mean last year uhm, you know, and he still talks about it but there was a kid that called him the “n” word and they got into a tussle, and ‘course they both got in trouble at school, but uhm Joshua is a pretty big kid. He’s almost 6 ft tall at 13 . . . He didn’t understand why the child who called him the “n” word got less time in school suspension than he did, and it I mean it still comes up this year; he’ll mention it every once and a while, and you know, I don’t have an answer for that.
Ananda: There is this one incident where my son was shaking hands after a
tournament in Boston, and somebody said something to the effect of . . . to
[My Older Son] well you may be a great hockey player but too bad you’re
a nigger.

Although others may perceive the participants’ Biracial offspring as Black and many of
the offspring self-identify as Black, none of the participants reported phenotypic
differences having an impact on how they choose to socialize their child. When asked
IQs, some of the participant responses were:

    Gayl: I don’t think so, no.
    Kalpana: No, no I don’t think so at all, I really don’t. You know that’s my heart
    and soul, it don’t matter what she would look like.
    Patricia: None, it doesn’t effect it at all.
    Sharon: No.

Six of the eight mothers had at least one female offspring. During the course of
the individual interview four reported having difficulty related to their daughter’s hair
texture.

    Bridgette: Oh, every day, every day it seems like we’re arguing about her hair.
    It’s real dry and curly, she has real tight curls and it’s thick, her hair is
    beautiful. But it’s not like mine.
    Sharon: No. She always says she wishes she had my hair.

None of these women reported phenotype as a factor in how they choose to raise
their child. Kalpana in the context of a different question mentioned that her daughter
looks Black and will be perceived by society as Black; and therefore, she encourages the
development of a Black identity in her daughter. However when asked this question she
said she is not raising her daughter based on her appearance.

The information disseminated by the participants when answering IQ5 suggested
there may be a strong link between phenotype and gender and how it impacts the
socialization process. It seemed as though boys had less trouble than girls when
developing a racial identity. It is important to note that this seems to be true in this study
due to the racial variable of a White mother and Black father. The results may have been
different if the racial variables of the parents were different. Boys seemed to align their
identity with that of their father and his race regardless of whether or not their fathers
were active participants in their socialization. This seemed to make things easier for the
boys who often adopted a Black identity based on their appearance. Gayl noted her son
looks like his father, therefore he physically appears to be Black and self-identifies as
Black. It also appeared as if they adopted varying facets of their Black identity from
popular culture such as music and television, especially in the absence of a Black male
figure in their life. Ella in talking about her son said

He goes to a predominately White school umm, and I don’t know if it’s so much,
you know, he’s just trying to find his niche right now I think, and you know I feel
like lots of times, what he thinks African American is you know what’s on t.v.

Ella’s son’s father is absent from his life at this time due to active military duty in Iraq.
The idea of boys wanting to be like and mimic their fathers is not foreign in society, nor
is it for girls wanting to be like their mothers.
However, the desire of a girl to be like her mother can become skewed when racial difference is a factor. Gayl noted in her interview that her daughter wants to be like her, and views herself as White but society does not.

[Participant’s daughter] feels White and sees herself as White but she has some color so people see her as Black and that is a problem. That’s a problem that has to be ironed out. Yes! I think that basically just within the last couple of years as I watch [Participant’s daughter] when [Participant’s son] wants to go to his friend’s house she is just not happy about that. She’s telling me I’m Black but she does not want him going to a Black person’s house. I think she is just now starting to realize there is a tug and a pull between and she blames me for always being around White people. That’s just what fell into my life I did not plan that. I didn’t go out of my way to go somewhere . . . she did end up in basically a Caucasian’s lifestyle and society and now she is trying to get it through my head that is not how she is seen, and my heart aches, a mother’s heart aches because I feel like I was not able to provide her with a normal type cultural environment.

The process for a girl is different than it may be for a boy. In the most extreme case, when a Biracial boy attempts to adopt a Black identity, he may not be perceived as Black enough in phenotype, and therefore, over identification with the negative stereotypes of Black culture and Black males seeking acceptance (Gibbs, 1998). A Biracial girl’s desire to be like her White mother can be difficult for her to achieve. Hair texture was one example frequently mentioned by the participants. Their children had a mixed hair texture but it was more Black than White. The mothers reported that the
daughters hated their hair texture and were frustrated with it. These girls wished they had
hair like their mother and the mothers reported their daughters being happy with their hair
when it was flat-ironed straight and not its natural texture. Some comments made by the
participants with regard to their daughter’s hair texture was:

Kalpana: Oh she hates her hair . . . I mean she loved it when she got it
straightened. She said, I look like a White girl.

Sharon: No. She always says she wishes she had my hair.

Once the individual interviews were completed focus group interviews were
conducted. The purpose of the focus groups was to assess the information gathered from
the individual interviews for consistency in content. Similarities and discrepancies in the
individual interview information emerged through the resampling process of the focus
group interview.

Focus Group Interview

Due to the congruency of the group process in both groups the data is reported as
if they were a singular entity. There were only a few differences between groups which is
discussed after the similarities. Although this was a single focus group meeting there
were various stages and processes of the group counseling experience, as defined by
Yalom (1995), present in this process. Some of Yalom’s stages and group processes are,
formative stage, universality, and group cohesiveness. The formative stage of group
development is characterized by the establishing of group norms. The norms for the
group were set quickly before it began by some of the questions the participants asked.
Before one group began Bridgette asked if all the women who were going to be
participating that day were all White women with kids by Black men. This factor seemed to be significant since a number of the women who were nervous and displayed uncertainty during the course of the individual interviews displayed strong group cohesiveness when answering the questions during the group interview. A couple of the characteristics of group cohesiveness include group integration, mutuality, a we-consciousness or a sense of unity (Yalom, 1995). This was especially true for Bridgette, who was very nervous during her individual interview, to the point that the researcher had to stop during the course of the interview to give her a moment to gather herself and reassure her there were no right or wrong answers to the questions. Bridgette reported this being of concern because she did not know if she was parenting her children correctly. During the focus group she was very comfortable and outspoken in expressing her views.

Group cohesion developed quickly during the formative stage, likely because the women felt comfortable among a group of their peers discussing issues that face them all. The sense of universality present among the group members resulted in group think when answering some of the questions that dealt more directly with race. Universality is a process by which the participants feel like they are not alone in their situation. Group think occurs when members of a group conform their opinions to be what they perceive to be the consensus of the group (Janis, 1972). In the group process there were blatant contradictions in information reported during the group interview versus the information obtained during the individual interview process. Within the group, the mothers said that when parenting and socializing their children they do not focus on the racial aspect, but
they focus on their child’s character and use positive reinforcement for the good things about their child instead of focusing on their child as a racial being. Among a group of their peers the dynamics changed as did the views they chose to report related to their experiences parenting a Biracial child. The best example of that process was in our discussion about parenting strategies and race in the group. In the focus group Kalpana said:

This is Kalpana, I didn’t dwell on the Biracial factor. I taught my child that no matter what, no matter who you are you could be as close to perfect as anybody can be, there’s always going to be somebody out there that is going to have something negative to say about you. And I’ve never dwelled on it being a race thing.

However in her individual interview Kalpana gave several specific examples to the researcher in which she tried to expose her daughter to various facets of Black culture to encourage the development of a Black identity in her child. The following three examples are excerpts from Kalpana’s individual interview:

Kalpana: I have a step-daughter that’s 26 . . . His daughter was denied being Black more or less her whole life, seeing that and seeing what it did to her . . . It’s just the simple fact that seeing my step-daughter denied, you know . . . my daughter I got a book on being Black and . . . So I mean I’ve really been careful and I make sure her father has probably 150% input on things.

Kalpana: So I don’t want everything to be White for her.
There were also discrepancies in the information provided by Bridgette between the individual interview and the focus group interview. In the focus group Bridgette claimed that they only focus on the positive aspects of her personality and they do not address racial issues in the method of parenting. In the focus group Bridgette confirmed Kalpana’s comment by stating:

Bridgette: We just are on the same basis with Kalpana with the positive reinforcement.

However in her individual interview Bridgette stated that her husband and his family help her daughter with the development of her racial identity and through her racial experiences. Therefore Bridgette is focusing on race in the parenting process with her daughter. One of Bridgette’s individual interview comments was:

I don’t even know where my kids would be at if I were doing this by myself. I think they would have a more difficult time with who they were because they weren’t like me. But they have their dad there and they have this family so they realize you know . . . But if it was just me and my family [maternal parents and siblings] they would be like “Why am I so different?”

Between the two sampling methods there were discrepancies among the data collected. All the participants claimed to have no formal strategy for parenting their children and they did not socialize their children to be one race over another. However in the group interview five of the eight participants said or provided examples of encouraging their child to have a strong Black identity. Bridgette noted her daughter “thinks more, and acts more, she’s drawn more toward the Black side of her.” Bridgette
attributed this to the fostering of her daughter’s strong Black identity through the socialization methods of her husband and his family. Bridgette did not provide specific examples of this but she did note that her husband’s mother is Biracial. The relationship between her mother-in-law and her daughter aided the socialization process. Bridgette said that her mother-in-law could always provide examples of when society was not as accepting of Biracial children.

The problems and issues a number of the women discussed regarding negative cross-racial encounters were not mentioned when the same questions were asked in the group setting. Bridgette provided a number of examples of problems in her individual interview but had nothing to say about them in the group interview. In the individual interview Bridgette provided examples of race related issues within her family and with her children at school. The following excerpts from Bridgette’s individual interview transcripts are an example of some of the experiences she has encountered:

Researcher: Is your family accepting of the marriage, the relationship?

Bridgette: (Laughing) They are now, but they weren’t. Me and my dad did not talk for five years and my grandparents it was eight, it was bad, yeah, was pretty bad.

Bridgette’s children have had negative experiences in school related to their Biracial identity. In her individual interview she disclosed a number of these situations.

Well, the videotape, that was a big one with her. She just didn’t understand why the girl even had to say that, and then she had a little White boy tell her that Black people are no good, and she just went off, she went off on that one (laughing). He
actually said it to her brother who you can’t really tell is Biracial so I don’t know if he didn’t realize that [Participant’s Daughter] heard it and just went off so there was a huge problem with that. Then her first year they were all in the office because of something being said, I can’t even remember what was said but [Participant’s Daughter] came home crying. And I called, I called the principal and they addressed it right away. At that time [Participant’s Daughter] was in the second grade and it was her first year there, and she was the only Black girl in the class. That was 3 years ago and I can’t even remember what they said to her, I bet you she remembers though (laughing).

Kalpana did not talk about any of her experiences negative or positive in the focus group. Only Ananda talked about her encounters in depth and Gayl discussed a few of her encounters. For the most part the group members wore the façade that all is well in their lives with their Biracial children, and race was not an issue.

Hair phenotype issues were problematic among the mothers of daughters across the sample except for Patricia. She stated her daughter had hair like hers so hating her hair was not an issue. The other daughters had hair texture closer to that of Black hair, which they hated. Gayl, Bridgette, Sharon, and Kalpana stated their daughters wanted to have hair like their White mothers. The issues related to hair texture were present in both the individual interviews and focus group data. Mothers of sons, such as Ananda, stated that they do not believe this is an issue for boys partly because the dynamics are different for boys during adolescence. In the focus group, Ananda said:
I’m so glad I don’t have girls, now in the teenage years, boys are so easy, I listen to them [girls] in school and you know they’re all weepy about this one and that one and they’re all like . . . Oh my God, boys are so much easier.

The overall data gathered from the group interviews were concurrent with the data gathered from the individual interviews. There were some differences in the information obtained in the group, which could be the result of various group processes such as group think (Janis, 1972). The resampling process of the focus group confirms the emerging themes from both the individual and group interviews as viable data.

**Member Checking**

Once all the group interview data were transcribed, the researcher mailed copies of the transcripts to all the participants. Participants were asked to review the transcripts for accuracy. Although participants were asked to focus on their own statements they were encouraged to read the entire transcript for group content accuracy. The participants were given five days after receiving the transcript to review them. On the sixth day the researcher called the participants for member checking. All the participants agreed with the content of the focus group interview transcripts.

**Emerging Themes**

A significant emerging theme from the interviews with the women was the lack of support received from their families of origin in their choice to have a relationship with a Black man and to produce a Biracial child. Although the maternal family was not supportive, the paternal family was accepting of the child. In all cases the paternal family at least tolerated if not accepted the White mother of the Biracial child. In the cases of
Kalpana, Gayl, Bridgette, and Sharon, initially their maternal families were unaccepting of the interracial relationship and biracial offspring. Currently the maternal families of all four participants are accepting of the Biracial offspring and at least tolerant of the interracial relationship. Some of the comments from the data transcriptions were:

Bridgette: (Laughing) They are now [accepting of marrying a Black man], but they weren’t.

Sharon: Yes. My dad has since passed away and he never met my husband; he had real issues with it. And he got to meet my daughter once before he died, but he had real issues with it. My mom she’s fine with it but again she does not live in the state and the kids see her maybe about once a year and the same with his mother.

Kalpana: I never thought in a million years, when I got pregnant, I thought, I’ll never see my family again, my father was so prejudiced when we were kids . . . my father did not talk to me my whole pregnancy.

The theme of colorblindness, meaning one does not see skin color or race, in the context of this study, emerged among the individual interview data. A number of participants felt as if they were colorblind and were raising their children to be colorblind as well. In addition to using the word colorblind in a number of their statements, there were other statements made supporting the concept of colorblindness, such as the comment made by Gayl: “I tell my children what’s important is the content of their character not the color of their skin.” The information provided by Kalpana, Sandy, and Bridgette in the focus group also supported this concept. In the focus group they agreed
that they do not focus on the racial aspect of their child; they focus on the positive component of their [the child(ren)’s] character.

There was also an emerging theme of paternal family support among participants such as Gayl, Bridgette, Ella, and Ananda who noted the assistance received from the paternal family in raising their child and helping to socialize them in relation to their Black identity. Ella noted that at this point in time her child’s father is in Iraq on active military duty which limits his participation in the parenting process. A comment made by Gayl in the group interview was:

I think that um lately in the last year that [Participant’s Child] and [Participant’s Child] have been told repeatedly by their African American grandmother that they’re Black.

It appears as if the paternal family participation contributes to the development of a Black identity since they socialize the children related to their Black heritage.

Among the mothers with female offspring there seemed to be a theme of their daughters disliking their hair and wanting to have hair like their White mothers. There was some indication in the mothers of both male and female offspring alike that skin color was a significant phenotypic feature related to identity. Gayl, Bridgette, and Ananda commented about how their children appeared to be Black, and even went so far as to refer to them as Black.

Gayl: Yes I understand people will say you’re Black, but I don’t see you that way.

Bridgette: At that time [Participant’s Daughter] was in the second grade and it was her first year there, and she was the only Black girl in the class.
Ananda: My older one is darker and my younger son is fairer . . . and as we are doing the activity they will say go over there and tell my mom and they [the camp kids] will look at them [participant’s kids] like ‘mom’? None of the participants mentioned specific African American stereotypical features such and size and shape of nose and lips, as being an issue with their child.

According to the individual interview results, there is a difference between the socialization of male and female Biracial children. It is important to note that these differences may only be applicable to Biracial children with White mothers and Black fathers. If the racial variables were changed, the results may differ. Males appeared to be accepting of, and often identify themselves as Black. Female children seem to identify more with their White mothers who they would prefer to look more like. Females would prefer to look less Black.

Researcher: What does he tend to define himself as?

Ella: African American.

Ananda: I did ask my sons and they said if they had to choose they would say they’re Black.

Gayl: [Participant’s daughter] wants to be White and she blames me for this. . . . [Participant’s son] says he’s Black.

The final emerging theme was the Biracial child’s environment. It appeared as if the more sheltered the environment from negative outside influences, the better it was for the racial socialization process of the Biracial child. Ananda noted the environment of her children’s home and school was sheltered which she thought made things easier.
Bridgette noted that her children spent most of their time with their family in the home or her husband’s family and she believed that made things easier for her children. Sharon believed that where they live plays a significant role in her children’s racial socialization. Patricia also believed the predominately White sheltered environment in which she is raising her child was a contributing factor to the lack of problems she was currently having in racially socializing her child. Kalpana also noted her daughter’s environment, especially at school, aided in the racial socialization process. According to Kalpana the number of Biracial children in the school system removed her daughter from the minority. Some of the comments the participants made with respect to their child’s environment were:

Kalpana: This is Kalpana and I guess I am very fortunate where I live. Umm my daughter goes to school with, I would say 65% Biracial children so she’s the normal and she’s really not had, that I know, of any major issues about race at all in school or even out playing with the neighboring kids.

Patricia: None, it doesn’t effect it at all. I think maybe the only choice I make as an active parent, is as an active single White mother I would probably never place her in a very urban strictly African American school district. I would probably keep her in a more equally mixed or a more . . . umm, a more White setting, correct. Just because I think that it would be harder on her in the other setting. I don’t go to an all White district I, she goes to Nordonia, there is a mix.
Ananda: The little sheltered world that they go to you know the school, the street, and the society they’re in right now . . . you know when they get out there we try to make them aware of the issues they will encounter.

One key factor that may have had an impact on the environment was the socioeconomic status of the participants. Three of the four participants who had a household income of at least $75,000 reported things were going well for them racially in their environments. Three of these participants had annual household incomes at or above $100,000. There could be a relationship between socioeconomic status, sheltered environment, and few issues involving race.

Data Triangulation

The peer reviewing process data triangulation was used in this study to aid in the creditability of the study as well as the transferability of the results to the greater population. Peer reviewers were two doctoral students who reviewed the data and searched for emerging themes.

The data in this section was divided into three parts: (a) congruent data between the peer reviewers and the researcher, (b) the data the peer reviewers discovered that the researcher did not, and (c) the information the researcher discovered that the peer reviewers did not.

Peer Reviewers and Researcher

One of the most significant themes cited by both peer reviewers was that the majority of participants exhibited general avoidance and denial dealing with issues
related to the Biracial identity of their child(ren). Some of the comments made by the reviewers regarding the general avoidance and denial are bulleted below:

- “Perhaps avoidance issues—Her response for many things was ‘It’s not an issue’ when in fact it may be an issue that she is avoiding talking about or does not want to talk about.”
- “Refused to address issues directly with daughter when questions arose. Again avoidance issues.”
- “Denial issues—does not want to deal with the fact that there are differences in her children particularly when it comes to physical characteristics.”

The peer reviewers also targeted the participants’ perceptions of their racially socializing their child. The comments of the peer reviewers on the concept of maternal socialization were divided with around half of the comments suggesting participants were undecided about how they were socializing their child and half implementing some form of a strategy. Although some of the participants claimed to have no strategy they provided the researcher with examples of how they socialized their child(ren). The participants appeared to have a strategy that they were either unaware of or did not label as a strategy.

Peer Reviewers’ Perceptions

When reviewing the data from the individual interviews, the researcher did not take into consideration the children as an independent entity when reviewing the transcripts. However, the peer reviewers did and made a number of comments regarding the child’s perspective such as the differences in how the mother viewed the child and
how the information the mother reported about the child(ren) suggests the child(ren) has a different view of himself or herself.

Another factor the researcher did not focus on but the peer reviewers cited was the home environment. The peer reviewers noted that certain types of home environments, such as the military base, have a strong impact because it may not be indicative of society at large and what the child may experience outside of that controlled environment. One peer reviewer commented:

However, the surrounding area being a military base is not your typical living arrangements, because there are more Biracial children than if you go to a ‘regular’ school. So the surrounding area (military base) could be a factor in the mothers’ ideas that “people are people” and this “I am color blind” type of perspective—perhaps naïve to some degree, too, but realizing there are differences because, her child’s experiences.

**Researcher’s Perceptions**

One issue that the peer reviewers did not mention that the researcher discovered was the underlying factor of socioeconomic status. It seems as if those who are capable of living among a higher socioeconomic class have a vastly different experience in socializing their Biracial child. Ananda talked about how their financial situation allowed them to live in a sheltered environment, limiting the types of racial experiences her children have had.

We talk about those things, we are fortunate because we are on a street that is a diverse community, it’s a short little cul-de-sac and yet because of the
socioeconomic class we are in, it’s fortunate because everybody gets along on my street. There’s an Asian family a . . . family, and another African American family so you know we choose to be here in this neighborhood because of that and the schools they attend. So they don’t live those issues day to day. That’s what I’m saying, there’s been very few for them fortunately. But I try to make them sensitive and aware because this is not the real world. The little sheltered world that they go to you know, the school, the street, and the society they’re in right now . . . you know when they get out there we try to make them aware of the issues they will encounter.

Delimitations

When data collection began, some of the problems that arose were not anticipated. Many of the participant reactions, especially the hostile ones, did not provide the data needed or expected in the study. Their reactions, especially the hostile reactions, provided valuable data regarding the stage of racial identity development the participant was experiencing. Two of the best models to provide insight to these occurrences are the White Racial Identity Ego Statuses and Information Processing Strategies and the People of Color Racial Identity Ego Statuses and Information-Processing Strategies (Helms, 1995). The phases of racial identity development in both models are not static; they are dynamic. Therefore someone who was supportive of cross-racial relationships and Biracial offspring can have a negative experience and digress into being a racist. One encounter during the course of recruitment was an example of the Dissonance (Encounter) phase as defined by Helms. In this situation the researcher called the home of
a potential participant and asked to speak with her. Her African American male
significant other answered the phone and wanted to know who I was and why I was
calling. I explained the study and why I was calling. The man wanted to know why I was
doing this, was I Biracial, why did I care about this. He also wanted to know the exact
questions the potential participant would be asked. I did not share the exact questions but
explained to him that there were six questions she would be asked regarding how she was
raising her Biracial children and how they were responding to these methods. For
example, I am seeking to discover if a large number of Biracial children in this area are
raised to be Black, White, or Biracial. At this point the man became very agitated and
said, “we raise our children to be Biracial, they know they are two mixed races and we do
not discuss racial issues in the house.” Although the mother was home the man did not
allow me to talk with her, and he stated that “we do not need the kind of confusion in this
house that you will cause.” In the dissonance phase people of color often experience
“ambivalence and confusion concerning own socioracial group commitment and
socioracial self-definition. May be ambivalent about life decisions. IPS: Repression of
anxiety-provoking racial information” (Helms, 1995, p. 185). Many of the White women
I initially talked with about participating in the study were equally as uncomfortable as
this African American man.

The phase in which White women who were equally as hostile or uncomfortable
when questioned is the Disintegration Status. In the Disintegration status, White people
often experience “disorientation and anxiety provoked by unresolved racial moral
dilemmas that force one to choose between own-group loyalty and humanism. May be
stymied by life situations that arouse racial dilemmas. IPS: Suppression and ambivalence” (Helms, 1995, p. 185).

Within four weeks’ time I had made contact with 32 women who had heard about the study through someone other than me. Using the snowball sampling method the message I sent out to others regarding the study was misconstrued and completely different by the time the potential participants called me. As a result I had to explain the entire study to them and many were not interested in participating in the study after my explanation. Five of the 32 women were from the inner city and did not meet the economic nor educational requirements to participate in the study. Twenty five of the 32 women were suburban middle class White mothers of Biracial children but they did not want to talk about issues of race. It made them feel uncomfortable. Six of these 25 thought I would be talking with their Biracial child and not with them. Therefore they were not willing to talk about the issues of race. One of the remaining 2 of the initial 32 women asked me if I was Black or White, and since I was Black she was not interested in talking with me about these issues, because she felt as though I would never understand her frame of reference. One possible reason the twenty-five women did not want to discuss issues of race could have been the result of experiencing the Disintegration Status of White racial identity.

The second attempt at recruitment lasted six weeks. This phase was riddled with problems as well. The most prominent of the problems was the hostile African American man that was previously mentioned. Another dilemma was with two women who said they were interested and wanted to participate in the study. Both women were provided
with the initial information packets; only one was home to receive the packet and she did schedule with the researcher to pick up the packet. The other woman was not home so the packet was left at her house with a note to let her know she would be contacted in four days for the researcher to pick up the information packet. When it was time to pick up the information packets neither woman was home. One woman had received a reminder call about picking up the packet and said that time still worked for her. When I arrived to pick up the packet she was not at home. I waited an additional 30 minutes for her and she did not arrive before I left. The other woman I was not able to reach via phone call nor letter. Neither woman returned her packet, and one woman still said she was interested in participating.

The next two delimitations arose in the interview process. The first of these two delimitations is the definition of the term colorblind. There are multiple definitions for the term colorblind. Use of the term colorblind outside of the educational setting can be incorporated into any of the phases of White racial identity development with a positive connotation. A number of the mothers stated they were colorblind and raising their children to be colorblind as well. I believe when the participants referred to themselves as being colorblind, to them it likely meant that race was not a factor in their decision-making processes. Their definition of colorblind was not the derogatory definition in scholarly literature discussed earlier in this chapter. Why the participants found it necessary to make the researcher aware of their colorblindness may relate to either definition. The participants’ need to define themselves as colorblind may not have occurred had the researcher been White.
The second interview process delimitation was in IQ₄: How does your child respond to the socialization methods you have tried? None of the participants seemed to understand what socialization was. At least half of the participants did not understand the question and asked the researcher to explain and give specific examples of what was being asked. The example with which the researcher provided the participants was if a child does not accept specific methods of rearing they may rebel against the parent(s). Since the example given was negative in context there is the possibility that this could have impacted the way in which the question was answered by the participants. If a positive example were used there is a possibility that the participants may have answered differently, resulting in different outcomes for the results of IQ₄ and RQ₂. This also could have had an impact on SQ₄ because all the participants felt like their children were accepting of the socialization methods they were using at home but were unable to provide specific examples. It would be better to provide a neutral example that would not influence the participants’ answers in the future.

The results of this study have produced information that is both convergent and divergent to that in the current literature. New concepts, yet to be published in the current body of scholarly literature, have emerged. The next chapter includes a discussion of the results presented in this chapter.
CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The purpose of chapter 4 is to review the results from chapter 3 and discuss their context in the overall results of the study. The developing grounded theory is discussed in addition to revisiting the research questions and how the emerging themes provided answers to those questions. The various emerging themes and the implications on the results of this study are covered in this chapter. In this chapter I review the limitations of this study and provide recommendations for future research.

This research provided a portrait of the Biracial socialization process of eight White mothers of Biracial offspring. The information gathered through the individual and focus group interview processes laid the foundation for the development of a grounded theory on Biracial socialization. The conclusions from this study answered the three research questions, but also raised more questions about the Biracial socialization process. Some of the conclusions in this chapter parallel the current research in the field whereas others stimulate a starting point for future research.

Convergent & Divergent Socialization Processes

In the literature review for this study the research of Stevenson was tantamount in the realm of Black racial socialization. Since there was not a grounded theory for Biracial socialization Black racial socialization was the starting point. I did anticipate more similarities than differences between Black and Biracial socialization processes. In the
study I found more differences than similarities between the two socialization processes. One possible reason is that racial socialization is viewed as being unique to minority populations, and the primary caregiver in these situations is not the minority parent. Minority populations view socialization as an important process for their children and, in this study there were White mothers who did not view race as a significant factor in their lives or the lives of their children.

According to the research racial socialization integrates the racial awareness of childhood with the racial identity development of adolescents. In this study I do not think that developmental span is accurate for Biracial populations. Due to their home and sociopolitical environments I believe that their racial socialization process begins before adolescence. An example of this in the study was the age range was expanded and I found some of the same characteristics of socialization in age 14 as I did in ages nine and ten.

In conducting this research I discovered that there really is not an identifiable racial socialization process between the White mothers and their Biracial children. The children are socialized but that socialization occurs through their extended family and society at large. During the interviews the mothers did not have examples of their socialization practices, they did not know what socialization was nor did they have examples of how their children have or have not responded to their socialization practices. The information from this study is in opposition to Stevenson’s racial socialization research. According to Stevenson racial socialization occurs primarily in the family of origin with contributions from the extended family. The descriptions the
mothers provided of their child’s relationship with their extended family indicate that their Black kinship network is providing socialization into their Black identity and culture. In the research of Stevenson he differentiates between creative and reactive racial socialization. In this study there was not an indication of creative racial socialization in the descriptions provided by the mothers. In place of creative racial socialization they seem to incorporate racial considerations into their parenting styles. There were examples provided of reactive racial socialization. I can not say that the examples exhibited were good behavior choices for the children to model. Most of society will view them as Black and the methods in which Black and White people respond to racially hostile encounters is different. Each racial counterpart responds in a manner which is appropriate for them and this biracial child will likely have to pick one and possibly contend with guilt in their choice. In addition to the differences and similarities of creative and reactive racial socialization among both Black and Biracial populations there were similarities and differences in the stages of racial Socialization.

In reviewing Stevenson five stages of racial socialization only three seem to be applicable to the results of this study. The three stages that are most applicable to this study are stage one, *racism awareness teaching*, stage three, *extended family caring* and stage five, *global racial socialization*. There are elements of each of these stages present in the data gathered from the interviews but not at the intensity level of it is presence in the socialization of Black adolescents. All the components discussed above are contributing factors to the grounded theory of Biracial socialization.
Grounded Theory

The qualitative research design for this study was structured around the development of grounded theory. Although the development of a solid grounded theory was out of range for this study, the results can be used as a foundation for the development of grounded theory. The data gathered allowed for the development of a spectrum foundation for the Biracial socialization process. The Biracial socialization spectrum (See Figure 2) is a tetrahedron diagram whose concepts are dynamic, not static.

*Biracial Socialization Spectrum*

The Biracial socialization spectrum is only a foundational step but it is a significant step in furthering the concept of Biracial socialization. The spectrum incorporates various facets of the dynamic Biracial socialization process. Unlike Biracial identity development models, the spectrum incorporates the process and experiences of both the White mother and the Biracial child. This Spectrum encompasses the racial socialization process experienced by the children in Biracial socialization (and identity) autonomy development. Each half of the Biracial side of the tetrahedron represents the components contributing to the Black half of their socialization and the components contributing to the White half of their socialization. Each half of the Biracial socialization spectrum is an extension of side one and side two of the tetrahedron which combined result in the Biracial socialization spectrum. The base of the tetrahedron illustrates the dynamic process of the Biracial socialization spectrum.

The Biracial socialization spectrum illustrates how the three sides of the tetrahedron house the emerging themes from the results of the study. The top of the
tetrahedron symbolizes Biracial socialization autonomy. This peak can be considered the equivalent to self-actualization in Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs.

Side one of the tetrahedron represents the Black parent spectrum. Again the emerging themes from the results are present in the diagram. Each of the three concepts, racial identity, acceptance, and environment, are weighted according to their importance.
Figure 2. Biracial Socialization Spectrum
When these three concepts are incorporated into the Black half of the Biracial face of the tetrahedron, the weight varies differently than the Black parent side. The difference in weight is due to the difference in importance. For example, when looking at the Black parent side (see Figure 3) and the Black side of the Biracial face the importance of Black racial identity is higher for the child than it is for the parent. Some of these same similarities exist when comparing side two, the White parent spectrum (see Figure 3), to the Biracial face of the tetrahedron.

Side two of the tetrahedron represents the White parent spectrum. Again the emerging themes from the results are present in the diagram. Each of the three concepts, racial identity, acceptance, and environment, are weighted according to their importance. The weight of these three concepts is different between both parent sides of the tetrahedron, and different from the Biracial face as well. Again the difference in weight is due to the difference in importance. Notice the difference in weight between the concepts on side one and side two. Racial identity is more important for the White parent than the Black parent when comparing these two sides of the tetrahedron. There are also differences in the weight of the concepts between side two and the Biracial face of the tetrahedron. The concepts on the three sides of the tetrahedron are the three factors that impact the socialization process and contribute to the dynamic process located on the base of the tetrahedron.

The socialization process is the dynamic processes (See Figure 4) which work in every facet of the socialization spectrum. The arrows of the dynamic process are bidirectional because they all have an impact on one another. For example, rejection from
Figure 3. Parental Spectrums (Side 1 & Side 2 Tetrahedron)
Figure 4. Dynamic process

3 factors impact the socialization process

- Environmental experiences impact the socialization process
- Rejection from varying entities can shape or determine the White Racial Identity phase
- White racial identity development impacts interactions and experiences within an environment
family and/or society for choosing an interracial relationship and/or Biracial offspring can impact the White racial identity development process resulting in motivation to understand other racial groups and/or cross-cultural communication. All of the dynamic processes have the ability to impede or encourage the Biracial socialization process and determine if autonomy is attained. The Biracial Socialization Spectrum is simply the foundation conceptualizing Biracial socialization.

Conclusions

The information gathered from the research led to a number of conclusions. The three factors that have the strongest implication on the socialization process are racial identity of the White mothers, acceptance by the family of origin, immediate family acceptance and acceptance in the social political environment in which racial socialization occurs. Each one is discussed and the supporting data provided.

White Racial Identity

In the past literature White racial identity has been a factor in helping professions. When reviewing White racial identity it is often in the context of how the White helping professional frame of reference can impact the cross-racial counseling relationship. In this study the White racial identity of the mothers emerged as significant in the Biracial socialization process. The fathers’ Black racial identity development probably has a significant impact as well. However, since the Black fathers were not participants in this study, I can not draw conclusions about their process and how it may impact the Biracial socialization process.
White racial identity development is the first tier on side two of the tetrahedron. White racial identity is thought to be the foundational concept and it can impact both acceptance and environment dynamic processes and both processes can influence it. Where the mother is in her process of White racial identity development can have a significant impact on the socialization spectrum of the Biracial child. Gayl, for example, stated that she is colorblind and is raising her children to value the content of one’s character and not judge others by the color of their skin. According to Gayl the socialization of her children is in contradiction to how society views her children, how her ex-husband’s family socializes her children, and how her children self-identify. According to Gayl society would view her children as Black. Her ex-husband’s family socializes her children to be Black. Both of her children self-identify as Black. Gayl’s socialization efforts to raise her children as colorblind have been significantly impacted by other factors that have led to them self-identifying as Black. In her interview Gayl noted her daughter has had some difficulty with the socialization process; although she says she is Black, she wants to be White.

The participants’ phase of White racial identity development can explain many of their behaviors surrounding the racial socialization of their Biracial children. For example, a participant in Helms’ contact stage/phase (1995) would likely be oblivious to racial factors that influence life decisions. A person in that stage/phase may not even acknowledge the need for racial socialization of his or her Biracial child. A person in this phase may view himself or herself as colorblind and feel that race is not an issue.
Acceptance

Referring to the Biracial socialization spectrum the level of acceptance/rejection experienced by the participants is a likely contributor to their phase of racial identity development. The level of acceptance, if any, experienced by a participant could have been a segue needed to begin the process to move to the next phase in the White racial identity development process. Consequently the participants’ phase of White racial identity development at the time the acceptance/rejection was experienced could have had an impact on how they responded to it. For example, someone in the Immersion/Emersion phase might incorporate racial activism into her lifestyle as her response to her family of origin’s rejection of her participation in an interracial relationship.

Family of Origin and Immediate Family Acceptance

Despite the adversity these women faced from their families they still chose to become intimately involved with a Black man, not taking into consideration what their future held as far as Biracial offspring. Some were able to find support within their family of origin for their multiracial family. Others did not receive support from their family of origin but they were able to find support in the family they created and/or in their mates’ family.

It is difficult to say whether or not the lack of acceptance was solely due to skin color, or the negative social constructs related to it, or a combination of both. A number of women who participated in this study experienced rejection instead of acceptance of their choice to participate in an interracial relationship. A number of participants stated
their family was not accepting of their relationship with a Black man. Since the focus of
this study was on the Biracial socialization process, data was not collect to determine
what factors made the difference between acceptance or rejection by family members. A
few participants did not experience any rejection from their families and little from
society which could be a result of their Social Political environment.

Social Political Environment

On the Biracial socialization spectrum, environment is the peak construct on both
parental sides of the tetrahedron. The two preceding constructs in conjunction with the
dynamic processes all impact the environment. Environmental experiences do impact the
socialization process but the socialization process can also impact the environment. How
a participant chooses to socialize her child(ren) can influence the choice of environment
in which they live, attend school, and socialize in general. White racial identity can
positively or negatively influence the choices surrounding an environment. An example
of a negative influence would be rejection experienced from the neighbors in a
community which can result in them choosing to move to a community that is more
accepting of their interracial relationship and Biracial offspring. A positive influence is
that they chose to create an environment that was racially accepting of their interracial
relationship and Biracial offspring.

As Ananda pointed out, her family lives in a cul-de-sac, which helps to keep her
children in a very safe, secluded environment. Ananda noted there were not many
families in their cul-de-sac and the families that were there were diverse. She believed
that the secluded diverse cul-de-sac was safer for her children than a racially hostile
environment that may not be accepting of her interracial marriage or Biracial children. She also noted that her children were in private school and due to the seclusion of that environment as well their racist encounters were limited. Ananda was not specific about how the private school environment limited her children’s racist encounters. There is the possibility that her children were not experiencing overt racism, but that does not mean they were not victims of covert racism. Both examples provided by Ananda are good indicators of how the environment impacts the socialization process according to the Biracial socialization spectrum.

Even though the racist encounters are limited in certain types of environments, socioeconomic status seems to be a big contributing factor to environment of choice. Ananda was one of the participants who had $100,000 annual household incomes. The other two participants in this category also appeared to have minimal racist encounters. Ella who was not one of those three but made between $75,000 and $99,000 a year had tremendous difficulties in her environment related to her son’s Biracial identity. Ella noted that her race-related environmental problems were primarily at school, and her son attended a public school. Gayl who had an annual household income at or below $25,000 a year noted several racist encounters and she lived in a middle class suburb. Even Bridgette whose annual household income was between $50,000 and $74,999 had a significant number of negative race-related encounters and problems. Bridgette had experiences within her own family of origin as well as her outside environments such as school and her local community. Patricia had no reports of negative race related encounters in any of her environments but she did note a lot of questions surrounding the
race of her daughter. The data suggested there may be a relationship between socioeconomic status which contributes to the environment and resulting race related difficulties.

Implications For Counselors and Counselor Educators

The results of this study have implications for counselor educators, counselors in training, and practitioners in the field. The information for counselor educators, counselors in training, and practitioners are a combined discussion. Due to the nature of this study there is not enough information for specific practical application techniques.

The information derived from this study can be useful in the development of a component for teaching in multicultural counseling courses. Generally multicultural counseling courses teach about African American, Asian, Latino, and Native American populations. Some instructors include a blurb in their curriculum about Biracial populations but rarely is there a designated topic area with assigned readings, and a lesson plan to accompany the readings, resulting in counselors in training not having the knowledge and skills necessary to understand and help Biracial Clients. Using the information from this study can help gain an understanding of the problems and issues facing this population and how to address them in a culturally competent training format.

The information from this research can help counselors understand the dynamics of multiple cultural worldviews in a family unit. For example, in Gayl’s family unit she viewed her children without reference to skin color but her son viewed himself as Black. The difference in the cultural worldview may have a significant impact on the counseling process. If a consumer is Biracial but self-identifies as Black a clinician may not need to
address his or her problems in terms of their Biracial identity but may want to plan the
course of treatment according to their Black identity. The information for this study can
also help counselors recognize some of these issues and recognize some of them as
unique to Biracial populations.

The Biracial socialization spectrum can aid counselors in recognition and
understanding of the multiple Biracial socialization process experienced by youth and
how the parenting dynamic can impact the Biracial socialization process. The information
on the dynamic process of the Biracial socialization spectrum can make counselors aware
of the contributing factors of their consumers’ mental processes and how these factors
can impact one another in the course of treatment. As a whole the information from this
study can increase the cultural competence of counselor educators, counselors in training,
and practitioners in terms of knowledge, skills, and counselor awareness of consumer’s
worldview when working with Biracial populations.

Recommendations

There are a number of recommendations for future study of the socialization of
Biracial adolescents. There are recommendations for expanding this study, developing
assessment instruments, including the adolescents in future research, concurrent
assessment for racial identity and socialization, and redesigning this study into a
longitudinal research design. Each recommendation is discussed in detail below.

The first recommendation is for the grounded theory developed from this study to
be researched further and expanded upon to develop stages of the Biracial socialization
process. In the current body of scholarly literature there is not a stage model of Biracial
socialization. Development of this model would contribute to understanding the process by which Biracial socialization occurs.

The second recommendation is for the data gathered from this study to be expanded into a factor analysis. Development of the factor analysis would provide researchers with information on which factors are most important when assessing for Biracial socialization. The data gathered from the factor analysis can be the foundation for a quantitative assessment tool of Biracial socialization.

I would recommend including adolescents in the research. Although the mothers may feel that they are socializing their children to be Black, White, or Biracial, the adolescent may disagree with how they are being socialized, if they feel they are being socialized at all. The information provided by the adolescents can confirm or deny the information provided by the mothers, and could be used as a form of member checking. If including adolescents, another factor that should be taken into consideration is if the adolescent’s racial identity choice is in opposition to the parent’s racial socialization choice and what the dynamics are surrounding that issue.

Another recommendation for future research would be to concurrently assess for racial socialization and racial identity in both the children and the parents. Racial identity is definitely a significant aspect of the socialization process. Assessing for both of these processes can provide valuable information into the dynamics of the parent-child relationship during different stages/ phases and the problems that may occur during those times.
For future replication of this study, the current methodology should be reconsidered. If another qualitative study is conducted, a longitudinal study may prove to be a better choice. The benefits of conducting a longitudinal study are the opportunity to examine this process across a span of several developmental cycles. To periodically assess the socialization process for one year or more would increase the value of the data from a developmental perspective. Socialization is a developmental process, and this format would provide insight into the stages of this process, if the stages are static or dynamic, and what the impact of the school or social political environment is on this process.

The Intention Behind the Study

The intention behind this study was to discover if there was a Biracial socialization process, what that process was, and the development of a foundational grounded theory. The information gathered from this study allowed me to answer my research questions, achieve the goals of the research, and more. I anticipated my results would be that the White mothers would all say that they were socializing their children to be Biracial and practicing something different. I also expected that all of their children would self-identify as Black. Neither of those expectations proved to be the norm for this study. I did expect that they all would have experienced some form of environmental rejection, especially from their families. What I sought from this research was not much compared to all the information discovered.

I was able to discover new concepts which had not been published and a plethora of ideas which can be expanded upon for future research. I did expect to develop some
form of a theory from this research since it was not based on a theory. I did not expect to develop a dynamic model of the Biracial socialization process. I also did not expect to find that White racial identity played a significant role in the Biracial socialization process. The significance of socioeconomic status was another unexpected result. The combination of racial identity, socioeconomic status, and environment being contributing factors to the socialization process was not expected. I was looking for one answer not many.

In conclusion this research explored and discovered information that sufficiently answered the research questions as well as developed more questions. The hopes of the researcher are to see this work not only cited in the literature but developed further to add to the body of scholarly literature on the socialization of Biracial populations.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

WHITE RACIAL IDENTITY EGO STATUSES
White Racial Identity Ego Statuses and Information-Processing Strategies (IPS)

**Contact Status:** satisfaction with racial status quo, obliviousness to racism and one’s participation in it. If racial factors influence life decisions, they do so in a simplistic fashion. IPS: Obliviousness.

**Disintegration Status:** disorientation and anxiety provoked by unresolveable racial moral dilemmas that force one to choose between own-group loyalty and humanism. May be stymied by life situations that arouse racial dilemmas. IPS: Suppression and ambivalence.

**Reintegration Status:** idealization of one’s socioracial group, denigration and intolerance for other groups. Racial factors may strongly influence life decisions. IPS: Selective perception and negative out-group distortion.

**Pseudoindependence Status:** intellectualized commitment to one’s own socioracial group and deceptive tolerance of other groups. May make life decisions to “help” other racial groups. IPS: Reshaping reality and selective perception.

**Immersion/Emersion Status:** search for an understanding of the personal meaning of racism and the ways by which one benefits and a redefinition of whiteness. Life choices may incorporate racial activism. IPS: Hypervigilance and reshaping.

**Autonomy Status:** informed positive socioracial-group commitment, use of internal standards for self-definition, capacity to relinquish the privileges of racism. May avoid life options that require participation in racial oppression. IPS: Flexibility and complexity.
APPENDIX B

DIVERSEGRAD-L LIST-SERV POSTING
Dear Subscribers of DIVERSEGRAD-L,

My name is Ja’Nitta Marbury, I am a doctoral candidate at Kent State University, in Kent Ohio. I am currently working on completing the requirements for a doctorate of philosophy degree in Counseling & Human Development Services. As a component to completion of my degree I must conduct a research study and write a dissertation. My chosen area of research is on Biracial socialization.

To conduct my study, I need to recruit White/European American mothers of Black/White Biracial adolescents between the ages of 11 – 14 years old. The mothers must be the biological parent of the adolescent(s).

The participants in this study will be asked to participate in one individual interview lasting approximately one hour and one, 90 minute focus group with three other study participants. After the data is collected the researcher will send the participant a copy of their dialogue for review and will later contact the participant via phone to see if any changes are needed. Both the interview and the focus group session will be audio taped.

This research project has been reviewed and approved by the Kent State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) and the corresponding IRB log number is 05223. This research is supervised by Marty Jencius Ph.D. and he can be contact at 330.672.0699, or mjencius@kent.edu.

If you or someone you know in South Euclid or another Northeast Ohio Suburb may be interested please call me at 216.371.3420 or e-mail me at jmarbury@kent.edu.

Thank you,
Ja’Nitta Marbury
APPENDIX C

INTRODUCTORY LETTER
Date

Dear Potential Participant:

My name is Ja’Nitta Marbury, I am a doctoral candidate at Kent State University, in Kent Ohio. I am currently working on completing the requirements for a doctorate of philosophy degree in Counseling & Human Development Services. As a component to completion of my degree I must conduct a research study and write a dissertation. My chosen area of research is on Biracial socialization.

To conduct my study, I need to recruit White/European American mothers of Black/White Biracial adolescents between the ages of 11 – 14 years old. The mothers must be the biological parent of the adolescent(s).

As a participant in this study you will be asked to participate in one individual interview lasting approximately 60 minutes and one 90 minute focus group with three other participants. After the data is collected the I will send you a copy of your dialogue for your review and will later contact you to see if any changes need to be made to the information. Both the interview and the focus group session will be audio taped. If you are interested please fill out and return the enclosed forms and I will make arrangements with you to pick up these forms.

As a participant in this study, respecting your privacy and the privacy of your child is extremely important to me as a researcher. If you choose to participate in this study, I will not refer to you or your child by name in reports I make about the study. I will keep your answers to the questions private as well by assigning you a pseudonym to be used in place of your real name.

Dr. Marty Jencius, Assistant Professor at Kent State University is the supervisor of this research project. Please contact myself or Dr. Jencius if you have any questions about the project or your participation in it. This project has been reviewed and approved by the Kent State University Institutional Review Board, log number 05223. If you have any concerns during the course of the study, you may also contact the Institutional Review Board at Kent State University (330.672.0700).

Sincerely,

Ja’Nitta Marbury, M.A., P.C.

Contact Information

Ja’Nitta Marbury
216.295.8395
jmarbury@kent.edu

Marty Jencius, Ph.D.
330.672.0699
mjencius@kent.edu
Demographic Questionnaire

Education Level: *Please Check Highest Grade Completed*

- [ ] Middle School  (5, 6, 7, 8)
- [ ] High School  (9, 10, 11, 12)
- [ ] Some College
- [ ] Bachelors Degree
- [ ] Graduate Degree

Socioeconomic Status: *Please Check the Most Appropriate Yearly Household Income Level*

- [ ] $25,000 or Below
- [ ] $25,000 to $34,999
- [ ] $35,000 to $49,999
- [ ] $50,000 to $74,999
- [ ] $75,001 to $99,999
- [ ] $100,001 +

Current Marital Status: *Please Check the Most Appropriate Answer.*

- [ ] Single
- [ ] Cohabitating
- [ ] Married
- [ ] Divorced
- [ ] Widowed

Please describe the current relationship of you and your child with your child’s biological African American father:

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

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APPENDIX E

INFORMATION INDEX CARD
# BIRACIAL SOCIALIZATION STUDY PARTICIPANT CONTACT INFORMATION CARD

*This information is for the researchers use ONLY!*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym: _______________________</th>
<th>Participant #: _____________</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Please fill out this section ONLY:

- **First Name:** ___________________
- **Last Name:** ___________________
- **Address:** _____________________
- **City:** _______________________
- **State:** ________________________
- **Zip code:** __________
- **Home Phone:** _______________
- **Alternate Phone:** ___________
- **Date of Birth:** ____________
- **e-mail address:** _____________________
- **Best time to contact you:** ________
- **Best time & day for Interview:** _________________
APPENDIX F

PEER REVIEWING CONSENT FORM (PARTICIPANT)
**Peer Reviewing Consent form (Participant)**

As a participant in this study your information will be reviewed by myself and 2 peer reviewers. A peer reviewer is another doctoral student who critiques and questions the data to increase credibility and transferability of the results from the study. This consent form allows for these two outside parties to review the individual interview tapes only.

The two peer reviewers have signed consent forms acknowledging their understanding of the participants right to privacy and their agreement to keep all knowledge of the focus groups content confidential. Participants names will never be released to the peer reviewers, only the participants code will be used for their part in this process.

To protect your rights and privacy all data collected involving participants, including the original of this consent form and the peer reviewers consent forms, will be kept in a locked file in 310 White Hall, Kent State University, Kent Ohio, 44242. If you want to know more about peer reviewing in relation to this study, please call me at 216.371.3420; or my faculty advisor for this study, Marty Jencius, Ph.D. at 330.672.0699. This project has been reviewed and approved by the Kent State University Institutional Review Board, log number 05223. If you have questions about Kent State University's rules for research, please call Dr. John D. West, Vice President and Dean, Division of Research and Graduate Studies (Tel. 330.672.0700). You will get a copy of this consent form.

Sincerely,

Ja’Nitta Marbury, M.A., P.C.

**CONSENT STATEMENT(S)**
I agree to allow the peer reviewers to review the focus group tapes only. I know what I will have to do and that I can stop at any time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signature of Participant</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Consent Form: The Racial Socialization of Biracial Adolescents

My name is Ja’Nitta Marbury, I am a doctoral candidate at Kent State University, in Kent Ohio. I am currently working on completing the requirements for a doctorate of philosophy degree in Counseling & Human Development Services. To complete my degree, I must conduct a research study and write a dissertation. My research area of interest is the Racial Socialization of Biracial Adolescents. No one has researched this topic before and the results may help mental health professionals who work with Biracial clients. If you decide to do this, you will be asked:

☐ To meet with me for one, 60 minute interview
☐ Participate in one focus group session which will last around 90 minutes
☐ Review your dialogue transcript for errors in content.
☐ Report any transcript errors to me during a follow up phone call

To protect your rights and privacy, all data collected involving you will be kept in a locked file in 310 White Hall, the Counseling and Human Development Services Department Kent State University, Kent Ohio 44242. Your participation in this study is voluntary, and your identity is kept anonymous by using coded identifiers on your written documentation and file. Pseudonyms will be used in the reporting of the results of this study and in any future use of your information in presentations and publications. The risks involved in this study are no more than what would be encountered in any other interview situation.

Taking part in this project is entirely up to you, and no one will hold it against you if you decide not to participate. If you do take part, you may stop at any time without any penalty or consequence to you.

If you want to know more about this research project, please call me at 216.371.3420; or the faculty advisor for this study, Marty Jencius, Ph.D. at 330.672.0699. This project has been reviewed and approved by the Kent State University Institutional Review Board, log number 05223. If you have questions about Kent State University's rules for research, please call Dr. John D. West, Vice President and Dean, Division of Research and Graduate Studies (Tel. 330.672.0700). You will get a copy of this consent form.

Sincerely,

Ja’Nitta Marbury, M.A., P.C.

CONSENT STATEMENT(S)
I agree to take part in this project. I know what I will have to do and that I can stop at any time.

Signature ___________________________ Date ____________

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APPENDIX H

AUDIO AND VIDEO TAPE CONSENT FORM
Audio/Video Taping Consent Form

I agree to audio taping
at ________________________________________________________________
on ____________________________________________________________.

____________________________________  ______________________
Signature                Date

I have been told that I have the right to hear the audio tapes before they are used. I have decided that I:

____want to hear the tapes       ____do not want to hear the tapes

Sign now below if you do not want to hear the tapes. If you want to hear the tapes, you will be asked to sign after hearing them.

Ja’Nitta Marbury and other researchers approved by Kent State University may / may not use the tapes made of me. The original tapes or copies may be used for:

____ this research project

____ teacher education

____ presentation at professional meetings

All audio taped data will be kept in a locked file in 310 White Hall, the Counseling and Human Development Services Department Kent State University, Kent Ohio 44242.
** All Audio Taped data will be destroyed 90 days after the completion of the dissertation**

____________________________________  ______________________
Signature                Date

Address:
APPENDIX I

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
Structured Interview Questions

IQ1. What does the term Biracial mean to you?

IQ2. What do you think being Biracial means to your child?

IQ3. What strategies of parenting a Biracial child are you using?

SQ3: How do you process both negative and positive cross-racial encounters with them?

IQ4: How does your child respond to the socialization methods you have tried?

IQ4: Do you have examples of when your child has accepted or rejected your efforts?

IQ5: What impact does the difference in physical characteristics between you and your child have on how you socialize your child?

IQ6: How does your family aid in the socialization of your child?

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

FQ1: What stages if any, of your child’s life have been problematic related to their Biracial existence?

FQ2: How have you and your child coped with and moved past these stages?

FQ3: What impact has your family, and your child’s father’s family had in the socialization process of your child?

SQ3: Do you have examples of when your child accepted or rejected these efforts?

FQ4: How have you prepared your child for negative encounters related to their Biracial heritage?
APPENDIX J

PEER REVIEWING CONSENT FORM (PEER REVIEWER)
Peer Reviewing Consent Form (Peer Reviewer)

As a peer reviewer in this study the information you review is solely for the triangulation of data in this study. You will critique and question the data to increase credibility and transferability of the results from the study. You will only review the taped data from the individual interviews.

By signing this consent form you acknowledge your understanding of the participants right to privacy and you agreement to keep all knowledge of the focus groups content confidential. Participants names will never be released to you in this process, only the participants code will be used as an identifier in this process.

To protect your rights and privacy, all data collected involving participants and the original signed consent form will be kept in a locked file in 310 White Hall, Kent State University, Kent Ohio, 44242. If you want to know more about your role as a peer reviewer in relation to this study, please call me at 216.371.3420; or the faculty advisor for this study, Marty Jencius, Ph.D. at 330.672.0699. This project has been reviewed and approved by the Kent State University Institutional Review Board, log number 05223. If you have questions about Kent State University's rules for research, please call Dr. John D. West, Vice President and Dean, Division of Research and Graduate Studies (Tel. 330.672.0700). You will get a copy of this consent form.

Sincerely,

Ja’Nitta Marbury, M.A., P.C.

CONSENT STATEMENT(S)
I agree to abide by the privacy and confidentiality regulations set forth by the Kent State University Institutional Review Board, and The State of Ohio Counselor and Social Worker, Marriage and Family Therapist Board. I understand my role as a peer reviewer in this study, and if I violate the privacy or confidentially of any participant in this study I understand I will be reported to the faculty advisor in this study as well as the Kent State University Institutional Review Board. As a peer reviewer I understand I am only to review the focus group tapes. I know what I will have to do and that I can stop at any time.

Signature of Peer Reviewer       Date
APPENDIX K

RESEARCH QUESTION 1: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW
Research Question 1: Individual Interview

R1: How do White mothers of Black/White Biracial adolescents racially socialize their children?

IQ1: What does the term Biracial mean to you?

IQ2: What do you think being Biracial means to your child?

R1: Research Question 1
IQ1: Individual Interview Question
SQ: Individual Interview Sub-Question
APPENDIX L

RESEARCH QUESTION 1: FOCUS GROUP
R1: How do White mothers of Black/White Biracial adolescents racially socialize their children?

FQ3: What impact has your family, and your child’s father’s family had in the socialization process of your child?

FQ4: How have you prepared your child for negative encounters related to their Biracial heritage?
APPENDIX M

RESEARCH QUESTION 2: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW
Research Question 2: What are the common racial socialization processes of Biracial adolescents by their White mothers?

IQ3: What strategies of parenting a Biracial child are you using?

SQ3. How do you process both negative and positive cross-racial encounters with them?

IQ4: How does your child respond to the socialization methods you have tried?

SQ4. Do you have examples of when your child has accepted or rejected your efforts?

R2: Research Question 2
IQ: Individual Interview Question
SQ: Individual Interview Sub-Question

Research Question 2: Individual Interview
APPENDIX N

RESEARCH QUESTION 2: FOCUS GROUP
R2: What are the common racial socialization processes of Biracial adolescents by their White mothers?

FQ3: What Impact has your family, and your child’s father’s family had in the socialization process of your child?

SQ3: Do you have examples of when your child has accepted or rejected these efforts?

FQ4: How have you prepared your child for negative encounters related to their Biracial Heritage?

**Research Question 2: Focus Group**

R2: Research Question 2
FQ: Focus Group Question
SQ: Focus Group Sub-Question
APPENDIX O

RESEARCH QUESTION 3: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW
Research Question 3: Individual Interview

R3: Does phenotypic difference between mother and child impact the racial socialization process?

IQ5: What impact does the difference in physical characteristics between you and your child have on how you socialize your child?

IQ6: How does your family aid in the socialization of your child?
APPENDIX P

TREE NODE DIAGRAM FOR RESEARCH QUESTION 1
Research Question 1: How do White mothers of Black/White Biracial adolescents racially socialize their children?

Interview Question 1. What does the term Biracial mean to you?
- Black & White Mixed
- Any Two Races Mixed

Interview Question 2. What do you think being Biracial means to your child?
- Uncertain
- Child Self Identifies As Black

Tree Node Diagram for Research Question #1
APPENDIX Q

TREE NODE DIAGRAM FOR RESEARCH QUESTION 2
Research Question 2: What are the common racial socialization processes of Biracial adolescents by their White mothers?

Interview Question 3. What strategies of parenting a Biracial child are you using?
- No Identifiable Strategy
- Racial Considerations When Parenting

Sub-Question 3. How do you process both negative and positive cross-racial encounters with them?
- Supportive
- Uncertain

Interview Question 4. How does your child respond to the socialization methods you have tried?
- Not Sure

Sub-Question 4. Do you have examples of when your child has accepted or rejected your efforts?
- No

Interview Question 6. How does your family aid in the socialization of your child?
- Racial Considerations When Parenting
- Primary Family Participation
- Maternal Family Participation
- Paternal Family Participation

Tree Node Diagram for Research Question #2
APPENDIX R

TREE NODE DIAGRAM FOR RESEARCH QUESTION 3
Research Question 3: Does phenotypic difference between mother and child impact the racial socialization process?

Interview Question 5. What impact does the difference in physical characteristics between you and your child have on how you socialize your child?

Tree Node Diagram for Research Question #3
REFERENCES
REFERENCES


Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537, (1896).


