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The Beliefs of Self-esteem among Biracial Individuals

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A Project

Presented to the

Faculty of

California State University,

San Bernardino

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In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Social Work

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by

Rebekah Brittany Harmon

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Approved by:

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ABSTRACT

With the increase in interracial marriage researchers have begun to thoroughly assess how self-esteem and racial identity are affected. Recent studies have revealed that the construct of biracial identity is complex in forming a sense of self and racial identity. This inability to identify with a specific race is not only an issue to our entire population but especially to the biracial community. The social work profession has an array fields and services that become flexible to diverse populations; yet, the biracial population has not be explored in depth which may result in not fully understanding the dynamics of the culture that play into the individual.

This study utilized a qualitative analysis consisting of interviews with nine participants who shared their experiences of self-esteem as being a biracial individual.

The purpose of this study is to explore the perception of self-esteem among biracial individuals. Biracial in this current study refers to an individual being biologically mixed with two different races, yet one biological parent is African American. Biracial females, not to exclude biracial males, are dealing with a complex issue because they are placed in a predicament of trying to parallel their identity from Western culture. The findings of the study will increase the awareness and cultural humility within a new growing population, impact future social work policy, practice, and research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to every biracial person, male or female, who has ever felt that they did not belong and felt that they did not have a voice.

To my niece and two nephews, may this work inspire you to excel in life and encourage you to never give up! Follow your dreams and what your heat desires! Philippians 4:13 I love you!

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

With the increase in interracial marriage researchers have begun to thoroughly assess how self-esteem and racial identity are affected. In 2013, 12% of all newlyweds' significant other was someone of a different race (Wang 2015). With mixed marriages on the rise, biracial individuals are now representing a large portion of our current society. Recent studies have revealed that the construct of biracial identity is complex in forming a sense of self and racial identity. According to Terry and Winston (2010) forming a sense of racial self-identity is a complicated process and may continue through the life course. There is a copious amount of research that focuses on the ethnic identity of minorities and how this population has trouble defining their racial identity among society. Hurtado, Alvarado, and Guillermo-Wann (2015) concluded that African Americans, Latina/os, and American Indians eventually developed a high salience of racial identity but it is not an easy task.

Development of identity usually occurs during the period of adolescents, and this is also a time when they are enduring an array of physical, emotional, and physiological changes. Erik Erikson (1968) who is solely responsible for defining the construct of identity has emphasized that personal identity is heavily influenced by the interrelationships of family. Racial identity cannot be generalized from one ethnic group to the next because there are variations within

each group. There has been a plethora of research on racial identity as well as mono-racial identity; however, there seems to be a lack of research on biracial identity. This inability to identify with a specific race is not only an issue to our entire population but especially to the biracial community. Unfortunately, certain situations only become a concern when it is a personal level or it affects individuals directly. However, being able to understand the differences of race and how it affects others is imperative to culture and even our society. Self-identity is a critical time in life. Experiencing the categorization from others may prompt additional feelings (i.e., stereotypes) within the individual and it is important to understand this issue further so that we may be able to apply some form of intervention. When an individual is fully aware of their racial identity it may promote confidence of their skills and abilities within their racial group. Understanding the severity of racial identity could potentially create a united awareness that this in fact is a problem that faces our society

Problem Statement

The purpose of this study is to explore the perception of self-esteem among biracial individuals. Biracial in this current study refers to an individual being biologically mixed with two different races, yet one biological parent is African American. Monoracial refers to having both biological parents from the same ethnic group. In addition, the term self-esteem in this study refers to an individual's value and perception of themselves (himself or herself) with the

influence from society. Racial Identity in this study refers to the attitudes, values, and beliefs an individual has on his or her ethnic group.

Societal attitudes as well as parental involvement definitely play a role on racial identity and how the biracial indivdual decides to categorize herself. According to Bowles (1993), the sense of self becomes concealed within an individual between the ages of 6 and 12 and continues to evolve throughout the course of life. When there is dual parental ethnicity (Bowles 1993), the identity system from the parents contributes to the biracial individuals overall feelings about themselves.

Biracial females, not to exclude biracial males, are dealing with a complex issue because they are placed in a predicament of trying to parallel their identity from Western culture. Urdy, Li, and Hendrickson-Smith (2003) concluded that individuals who identify themselves as being biracial are at a higher behavior and health risk than those who identify as monoracial. Biracial individuals are subjected to scrutiny because they physically differ in skin tone, hair texture, and body image from the normalized individual within Western society and this may influence their self-esteem. Research has shown that individuals derive self-esteem from multiple sources within their life (Oney, Cole, & Sellers, 2011). Similarly, Swenson and Prelow (2005) examined the direct and indirect relationships of self-esteem and ethnic identity, concluding that racial identity is highly correlated to self-esteem among monoracial identity. There continues to be a deficit in research among self-esteem and biracial individuals.

The social work profession needs to become aware of the effect of self-esteem on biracial individuals. Currently, the profession is lacking knowledge in this area and it would be beneficial for the social work profession, in terms of intervention. Contingent on the findings of this study may contribute in micro settings when assisting individuals that are finding difficulty with their self-esteem. By examining and researching racial identity, through the lens of the biracial individual will allow us access into this realm. Racial identity tends to be more prevalent within the minority community because of the history of the culture. Unfortunately, there tends to be a hierarchy with different racial groups and even within one's own race. By not acknowledging the whole self of an individual is in a sense disowning a part of the self (Bowles 1993). It is imperative not to strip an individual from who they are especially at a critical time when they are coming to grips with their racial identity. The profession must be an active advocate for the voiceless.

In addition, social workers that are working with biracial individuals have to be culturally competent and be able to distinguish what may be considered cultural norms. However, if the social work profession is ignorant to the norms of this sub-culture then it may be a struggle to assist these potential clients effectively. Hepworth, Rooney, Rooney, and Strom-Gottfried (2013) expound on cultural competency and how crucial it is when assessing clients. Serious errors could present themselves during assessment without having some form of cultural knowledge, and could lead to overgeneralizing. Cultural competency is

pivotal within the social work profession because it creates a common

understanding of differences from oppressed groups as well as biases and

prejudices. It is extremely significant for professionals to understand the

dilemmas that different cultures may endure, especially if they are biracial.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Identity Development

Identity development occurs during adolescence and many conflicts are presented socially, cognitively, emotionally and especially biologically. During this time adolescents begin to learn new things about themselves and even try different roles. Identity is formed through experience and changes as the individual begins to evaluate their own self-image, self-esteem, and social expectations. Erikson (1968) developed a theory of psychosocial stages that individuals go through as they develop throughout their lifespan. The fifth stage of the psychosocial theory from Erikson (1968) focuses on *identity vs. role confusion*. It is through this stage where the individual begins to explore his or her own identity and transition from childhood to adulthood. The individual during this stage begins to view himself or herself and consider how they will be an active member in society.

Erikson (1968) indicates that if adolescents are not given the opportunity to try different roles they may not be secure with their identity. Erikson (1968) states that the adolescent will endure crisis as they begin to develop their identity as they face issues regarding their beliefs, morals, and values. Powell (2004) exclaims that adolescents need to be able to explore these different tasks of identity and apply the necessary adjustments to be able to find their own

individualized identity. The ability to resolve conflict, through role confusion, will allow the adolescent to become secure with his or her own identity.

Malin, Reilly, Quinn, and Moran (2013) examined the types of purpose that appear in adolescents and how youth's purpose is altered over time and across diverse cultures. *Purpose* is formed through the relationship between the individual and the environment. There have been multiple factors associated with purpose and identity formation during adolescents, as young people's goals merge and respond to change. Malin, Reilly, Quinn, and Moran (2013) defined youth purpose by three distinct elements (a) intention (b) engagement and (c) desire to connect with contribute to something beyond the self. These three different dimensions are influenced by location, family members, peers, and even school transition. In addition, adolescents' purpose and identity may derive from social norms and they evaluate their success against these norms, and if they do not meet this 'expectation' they may continue to be stuck in transition of their purpose. Thus, the lack of purpose reflects the disengagement of identity.

<center>Identity Development in Biracial Individuals'</center>

The pursuit for identity becomes more complex when other factors are added into the equation. Individuals that are biracial, one parent being African American and the other not, have more confounding factors associated with their search for identity (Bowles 1993). Historically, children that were biracial were automatically identified as African American because of the 'one drop of black

<center>7</center>

blood' rule (Roth 2005). Clearly, this historic viewpoint has unknowingly carried its way into current society and it continues to have an impact on individuals that identify as biracial. In essence, identifying a biracial individual as strictly African American completely disregards their other heritage. Embracing both heritages has had negative connotations by the African American community, because they physically do not look 'black' but they are claiming the community (Bowles 1993). Ultimately, disregarding one heritage of a biracial person disowns a part of them, which may promote confusion of identity.

Nuttgens (2010) discusses some vital issues that the biracial individual experiences as they develop. Regardless of the increase of interracial marriages, race is still a main component when it comes to political and societal views. Racial identity development theory provides a holistic view of understanding and shaping an individuals' attitude towards oneself, toward others within the same racial group as well as other racial groups, and even integrating the minority and majority groups (Nuttgens 2010). Racial identity models have been created in order to help biracial individuals develop a positive racial identity about themselves; even though most racial identity developmental models have their focus on monoracial, they are able to act as a precursor for the biracial community (Nuttgens 2010).

In addition, Nuttgens (2010) emphasizes that it is not until the biracial individual reaches adolescence that they are presented with racial identity issues. The biracial individual has no role model within the family to be able to

base a sense of identity because he or she is unable to clearly identify strictly with one parent. Ultimately, this will create issues with the adolescent in various environments because they are forced to choose an identity that may not fully represent their racial background. Cruz-Janzen (2000) found that his or her peers and teachers antagonized the biracial individual if they wanted to be identified as a member of more than one racial group. Biracial individuals are being forced to conform to one specific race, which will promote continuous confusion about his or her own racial identity.

Self-esteem

Self-esteem, which is the overall perception of one's self, is derived from an array of sources within an individual's life both socially and physically. Self-esteem may be related to negative emotions of feelings based on a person's ethnicity. According to Swenson and Prelow (2005) self-esteem and ethnic identity are highly related; and both contribute to the biracial adolescents' attitudes about themselves. In addition, Nuttgens (2010) states that the identity of the biracial child is primarily focused on the self-esteem and self-worth that comes from the family.

Stets and Burke (2014) suggest that in order to gain a clear understanding of self-esteem it must be investigated through an *identity* lens. The identity is the central theme of defining an individual's social identities; it is necessary because it allows for a general sense of being found worthy and valuable within a group.

Research shows that when an individual is able to identify with a group they portray a higher sense of self-esteem. Similarly, because of the negative stigma that this country holds on African Americans would assume they have lower self-esteem than their Caucasian counterparts (Bachman, O'Malley, Freedman-Doan, Trzeniewski, & Donnellan, 2011). Though this holds a copious amount of validity, it does not mean that this is the specific reason for the low self-esteem among the African American population.

Clark and Clark (1940) examined the self-esteem of African American children by having them point to either a Black or White doll after responding to a series of questions. Their research concluded that minority children showed out-group biases, meaning their perception of their ethnic group was equivalent to what other groups thought. The lack of self-esteem within the minority community is being affected by how others perceive them.

Corenblum (2013) indicates that racial identity and self-esteem are strong attributes of a healthy mental status and academic success. There have been numerous studies which have found higher rates of self-esteem among African Americans than Caucasian; however, their continues to be a deficit in studies of their Biracial counterparts. Historically, racism plays a significant role in minorities self-esteem, specifically African Americans. In our country's history, biracial individuals were known as Mulatos and were treated better because they had a lighter skin complexion (Watson 2001). Unfortunately, because of the treatment the lighter skinned individuals were being shown created hostility and

tension within the African American community. It had been perceived that because biracial individuals had lighter skin and were treated better meant that they had a more secure self-esteem.

<p style="text-align:center">Biracial Individuals' Physical Features: Skin Tone</p>

Colourism has been associated with African American population since the time of slavery. Bodhen and Ruebeck (2007) explore the racial hierarchy among society and the effect that it has on lighter complected individuals. Historically, light-completed African Americans slaves were preferred to slave owners as opposed to their darker complected counterparts; however, most of the light-completed African Americans were indeed biracial. According to Frazier (1957) a woman or a man that had a fairer complexion had more privileges than those who were not; yet, these fairer complected individuals were still slaves and were not on the same plateau as the slave owners. Overtime, skin color has continued to have a significant impact on African American females and their personal view on attractiveness as well as the treatment on their biracial counterparts (Hill 2002).

In today's society the biracial individual continuously views images of advertisements that look similar to him or her, and with this type of constant reminder may create insecurities and confusion with securing their racial identity. In a recent study, Dagbovie (2007) provided insight from biracial celebrities and how society automatically assumes they are African American and not paying

homage to their other heritage. Dagbovie (2007) continues to expound on the issue that mixed-race identity, in the media, will never be fully satisfied among other individuals because if they appear to be African American they must be. Unfortunately, our society still holds vintage ideologies about race and brings them to the forefront.

Biracial females, not to exclude their male counterparts, exhibit unique physical characteristics because of their variation of race. Some biracial females experience different forms of discrimination from other ethnic groups because they are able to physically 'pass' for one of their heritages. Allen, Garriott, Reyes, and Hsieh (2013) suggest that the 'passing' phenomenon, which allows minority individuals to conform and be accepted into the majority of society based upon their European physical features; i.e., light skin color, blue/green eyes, and straight hair. For those individuals that are able to pass heavily impacts their circumstantial identities in which they are able to consciously and unconsciously go in and out of an array of social and cultural environments. In addition, research literature is growing in the area of skin tone and how discrimination is highly associated with the impact it has on self-esteem (Bowles 1993).

Ingram, Chaudhary, and Jones (2014) suggests that physical appearance is highly significant in regards to biracial students being accepted in group settings. Monoracial groups, ones that share one of the heritages of the biracial individual, may not want to incorporate a biracial individual into their group because they are labeled as imposters. Biracial individuals are feeling pressure

about where they fit into groups because their identity is being challenged. Ingram, Chaudhary, and Jones (2014) found that biracial individuals with one white parent have a greater tendency to select a white best friend, and biracials that have one black parent tend to have a black best friend. Unsure of the specific reason, it is presumed that if one of the parents' cultures is more prevalent the child will tend to associate and identify with that culture (Bowles 1993). Membership within the group is mostly defined by physical appearance, which is a socially defined criteria (Robinson 2000).

In addition, to biracial individuals having a physically altered skin tone, they also have a different hair texture that is very distinct from their peers and may create issues with their self-esteem. Within the African American community, hair is more than hair, it is used as a way to express oneself and it holds more value than most other ethnic groups. Black hair, in its natural state, often has a negative connotation associated with it and is either defined as having 'good hair' or 'bad hair' (Thompson 2009). Many African American women struggle with their hair while trying to define their identity. Hair, natural hair, is a sensitive subject for the Black female community and because of societal norms many woman have assimilated to what others define as beautiful, 'straight hair'. However, beauty is subjective. Thompson (2009) examined the issue of hair with a biracial woman and she stated, "shade and its companion hair, matter for acceptance into Black community". The biracial woman continued to express that because her hair resembled more of her Caucasian

heritage, she endured a lot of negative attitudes and bullying from the African American community because she was not 'black enough' (Thompson 2009). Though this issue cannot be generalized to every biracial woman, it does emphasize the exclusion she faced from the African American community because she did not look like the rest of the group. Similarly, it also affected her self-esteem because as the interview continues, she stated that she began to wear different things the African Americans women were wearing in their hair to 'fit in' (Thompson 2009). Because the biracial individual does not specifically fit into a standard racial category, they will continue to experience marginalization (Nuttgens 2010).

Theories Guiding Conceptualization

There are not many theories that guide this issue of the perception of self-esteem among biracial individual. However, *racial development identity theory* has been used mostly to identify with monoracial individuals, but has recently been adjusted to help the biracial population be able to find some identification. Being able to have security and clearly identify one's race will assist the biracial population and may help these individuals not to internalize the negative outcomes of discrimination (River-Drake et al., 2014). In order to guide the biracial individuals' racial identity we must first explore his or her personal identity; however identity of the self is strongly associated with the racial identity (Nuttgens 2010).

Helms (1990) researched the *racial developmental identity* model in more depth and added stages to this model in order to show the diversity among different ethnicities. Helms (1990) continues to state that racial identity theory disregards the tradition that is associated with race and tries to incorporate the culture aspect of it. Socially, individuals are categorized by race, which is clearly viewed by skin tone and this classification further oppresses the population (Helms 1990). Initially, racial developmental theories were created in order to assess how African Americans were able to adapt to their environment when their White counterparts viewed them as an inferior race. The African American population was clearly denied many resources that were readily available to the Whites. In addition, these models were developed in order to show that the White race was superior than any other race (Helms 1990).

Giamo, Schmitt, and Outten (2012) examined the *rejection-identification* model which recognizes that the pervasive discrimination within a race may create tension as well as rejection among biracial individuals. This particular theory focuses on biracial individuals and how they endure discrimination and in turn encourages biracial individuals to identify with others similar to them. Giamo, Schmitt, and Outten (2012) found that this theory emphasized discriminations relation to stereotypes of biracial people and that they were associated with the African American community. Unfortunately, regardless of being biracial, society views biracial individuals as being African American and not biracial and this heavily weighs on their self-esteem.

Thompson (2009) examined the *social comparison theory* in regards to African Americans fitting into society; however, she also minimally focused on the biracial individual. Yet, *social comparison theory* 'provides a measure to understand how and why people compare themselves to societal standards when assessing their own behavior' (Thompson 2009). This particular theory is crucial when looking into the world of a biracial individual because they are having difficulty fitting into society; it becomes easier to conform to societal views. Social comparison theory is useful with many aspects of the proposed study because the biracial individual has two heritages and is unsure where to fit specially. Based on this theory, the biracial individual may deviate from both heritages and conform to the pressures of society.

Poston (1990) states the biracial demographic was lacking vital information about the biracial person. In recognizing the lag, he created the biracial identity development model that focuses exclusively on dual racial identity. The model contains six concepts based on past research that has been completed on the biracial individual; including, Personal Identity, Choice of Group Categorization, Enmeshment/Denial, and Integration. Poston (1990) believes that this is a vital topic that needs to be added to the literature and continued involvement in this area will positively increase the knowledge of the biracial individual and her self-esteem.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

Introduction

Chapter three describes the methodology used within this current study on the perception of self-esteem among biracial individuals. The design of the study, sampling, data collection and the instrument will be discussed on how the data will be obtained. In addition, this chapter will discuss the procedures and the protection for all participants within the study. Finally, this chapter will discuss how the data will be analyzed.

Study Design

This research study aims to examine beliefs of self-esteem among biracial individuals. Data were collected using a non-random purposive sampling approach. This approach is extremely useful when targeting a specific population to research, instead of random sampling; this approach will allow us to expedite the sampling process. For the purposes of this study a qualitative design will be used to explore in depth the issue of self-esteem among biracial individuals. Qualitative design can reveal the target audience's behavior and perception because they are active members within the research topic. Potential limitations may arise when using a qualitative design because there is a decrease in the number of questions one may pose to the interviewee. The

research question for this study is: Is there a relationship between the construct of self-esteem among biracial individual? Specifically, it is hypothesized that the biracial individual will experience self-esteem issues while trying to secure their racial identity.

Sampling

Eight biracial individuals between the ages of 23 to 24 were randomly recruited from no official affiliation. In an effort to obtain confidentiality each interviewee was coded numerically so that their identity was sealed.

Data Collection and Instrument

This study will build on but not copy the work of Charlotte Yen Adermann, which completed a dissertation on "A Narrative Approach to Biracial Identity Development" (Appendix A). Participants were asked eighteen detailed questions concerning their biracial identity. The questions were formatted to collect detailed information about the participants' experience as a biracial individual. The questions that were used within this research study were strategically chosen created by the researcher of this current study. Before completing the interview, the participants were required to read and sign the informed and audio consent. After completing the interview, the participants will be given a debriefing form. The form reiterated what the study is about and provide information for the results of the study. The implications of using some questions from Appendix A provide a platform for reliability as well as validity because they

have been used as research methods prior to this current study. The independent variables examined within this include the perception of being biracial (e.g. skin tone, hair texture, and physical features). The dependent variables are the construct of self-esteem and racial identity.

<u>Procedures</u>

Participation was implored through verbal forms of communication. The researcher coded all interviewees prior to data collection, so that all of the participants would be identified as a number. Participants were given a consent form prior to the interview to allow for an understanding of the current research study. In addition, participants were informed that the interview would take approximately 45 minutes to an hour. Participants will be alone in the room with the researcher to ensure confidentiality during the interview process. The participant was asked eighteen specific questions and they spoke about the topic as long as they felt they need to. They were also guaranteed that there were no right or wrong answers during the interview, and if they felt uncomfortable answering a specific question they could decline to answer. Once the interview was finished, each participant was thanked for their time and each received a complimentary gift card.

<u>Protection of Human Subjects</u>

At the end of the data collection process, all of the coded information were placed in a locked filing cabinet to ensure confidentiality. In addition, the participants were not identified by their name; each participant was provided with

an identification number. Participants were thoroughly informed of their confidentiality and the details of the research study through the informed consent and the debriefing statement.

Data Analysis

For the purposes of this study, a qualitative method was utilized in order to assess the self-esteem level of the biracial individual. The questions that were designed for this study was specific and the conversation was guided by themes (e.g. Skin tone, hair texture, and physical features). This analysis was conducted in order to determine the following: whether skin tone, hair texture, and physical features affected their self-esteem; and if self-esteem was influenced by an inconsistent racial identity. Once the interview is conducted, the participants' responses were analyzed by themes that are common amongst all participants. It is anticipated that skin tone, hair texture, and physical features of a biracial individual will be discovered through this analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

Findings

This chapter presents the findings of the study in the form of short narratives, which give further description of the following categories: belonging (fitting in), hair, skin tone, and self-esteem. A brief description of demographics will be expressed as well.

<u>Demographics</u>

The sample was comprised of 8 biracial adults, 3 women and 5 men, who identified as biracial. Biracial in this current study refers to an individual being biologically mixed with two different races; yet, one biological parent is African American. Of the 8 respondents, four were African American and Caucasian, three were African American and Hispanic, and one was African American and Native American. The age range of the sample was 20 to 42 years, with a mean of 33 years.

After transcription, the 8 one-on-one interviews were analyzed using thematic analysis (Svoboda, Williams, Jones, & Powell, 2013). In using this model, common themes and trends were identified in each interview. These themes were then analyzed to determine the important aspects of self-esteem according to biracial individuals themselves.

Belonging/fitting in

Under the main theme "belonging", the majority of participants believed belonging or fitting into a culture was essential to their self-esteem. Out of the eight participants interviewed, all of them stated that fitting into a racial community was not easy to be fully accepted by the community, which affected their self-esteem. Find below quotes regarding belonging from the perspective of the biracial individual.

Table 1: Direct Quote Regarding Belonging/fitting in

Participant #	Direct Quote Regarding Belonging/Fitting In
1	"I struggled making friends because I did not fit into one racial category. I was not black enough or Mexican enough to fit in with a specific group". (Survey Interview, February 2016)
4	"It is weird to fit in, you never feel that you completely fit in". I see characteristics in me that are not necessarily, like white, but then I don't think that I would socially identify as a black person because that isn't my culture". "It is kind of hard to entirely fit in because its like a glaring difference". (Survey Interview, February 2016).
5	"Just knowing where to fit in racially. I don't know. When it comes to school, growing up. I don't know, I kind of fit in with the black people but I'm not fully black and I kind of fit in with the white people but I'm not fully white". "But you know sometimes in a friend group, comments like, "Oh you're not even fully black", like comments like that. "Oh, you can't even dance because you aren't fully black, things like that. I have had racial comments made against me from white people because I am black" (Survey Interview, February 2016).
6	"There were different times in my life where I didn't like each side of my race. It was something confusing, I can guarantee that it isn't a healthy position to be in" (Survey Interview,

	February 2016).
7	"I didn't fit in. I didn't fit in with black people, but I had to fit in somewhere". (Survey Interview, February 2016).

Hair

The main theme "Hair" will be discussed. Three of the eight participants identified as female. All of the female participants described hair as having a negative stigma within one of their ethnic communities. Also, hair was portrayed as negative by others and used as a way to demean the participants, even if the participant did not feel that way about their own hair. Ultimately, affecting their self-esteem.

Table 2. Direct Quote Regarding Hair

Participant #	Direct Quote Regarding Hair
1	"When I was younger my hair was different and I could feel the separation, especially when it came to my hair, because my hair was not 'black enough' or 'mexican enough'. As soon as I was able to, I straightened it so that I could look 'normal'. (Survey Interview, February 2016).
5	"People have said, 'Oh you have good hair'. "I was going to visit my potential college after high school, and it was this week long trip. We went from California and the school was picking us up and we were going to stay on campus for the week. And I knew that I was going to be there with all white people because the school was predominately white. So I purposefully straightened my hair, I got like all the clothes that I think that White people would wear, and yea, that when I got the full instance of racially profiled for being racially profiled". (Survey Interviewed, February 2016).

| 7 | "You know hair, hair was always a big thing. Oh, she cant do hair, this that and the other." "It goes back to not fitting in. It goes back to my hair isn't straight enough or my hair is too straight". (Survey Interview, February 2016). |

Skin Tone

The unspoken topic of skin tone also presented themes among all participants. When asked about their experience of their skin tone, all eight participants described skin tone as an immediate difference between either culture they tried to belong. Skin tone unanimously affected participants' self-esteem, whether positively or negatively.

Table 3. Direct Quote Regarding Skin Tone

Participant #	Direct Quote Regarding Skin Tone
1	"I mostly hung around the Hispanic community because my skin tone was closer to theirs. My skin tone definitely affected my self-esteem especially because I am the darkest sibling in my family, and I am not even that dark. However, there is a clear distinction between my siblings and I. I was dark, more tan. So I wasn't dark enough to hang with the black kids and although I was tan and looked like a Mexican I didn't speak Spanish, so you're not accepted in that aspect either. So you just kind of become in the middle and you fit with whatever group is willing to accept you". (Survey Interview, February 2016).
2	"I feel that skin tone affected my self-esteem a lot because I see my brothers, all my brothers are dark. Two of my brothers are dark skin, so when I go out in public with them, we are followed at stores, people look at us weird. The level of service we get, when I bring my black brotha from the same motha, they seriously look at us and they'll ask me first, 'what can I get you'. They talk directly to me and don't even

	look at him. It's really weird. Especially the ethnicity of my friends. So when I'm light skin and have curly hair, people are like 'oh your hair is so curly, it's so gorgeous', 'oh I like your skin color, its cream color'". (Survey Interview, February 2016).
3	"I think it has a sense because I am more towards the light end of things and people are unsure what I am, you know, so I can go either way" . (Survey Interview, February 2016).
4	"The social, society, or culture that I more identify with and it is kind of weird visiting my black family because I think, not racism, but its part of a black community thing, like skin color is probably the first thing that is going to be noticed in that culture. And it is kind of hard to entirely fit in because it's like a glaring difference. Skin color is the first thing we see". (Survey Interview, February 2016).
6	"I felt that being part white, and lighter, that I was smarter than a lot of my black friends". (Survey Interview, February 2016).
7	"My skin is dark, but not dark enough or its not light enough". (Survey Interview, February 2016).

Self-esteem

The main theme "self-esteem" was discussed with each participant. The majority of participants considered their self-esteem to fluctuate throughout their life. Self-esteem appeared to be situational and circumstantial across participants.

Table 4. Direct Quote Regarding Self-esteem

Participant #	Direct Quote Regarding Self-esteem
1	"My self-esteem is fairly high. But it fluctuated throughout my life". (Survey Interview, February 2016).

2	"My self-esteem is very high". (Survey Interview, February 2016).
3	"My level of self-esteem, I would say is high. I think for me being in the upbringing that I was, being a Christian had its way into the African American culture, as a sense of hope and direction". (Survey Interview, February 2016).
4	"Pretty decent". (Survey Interview, February 2016).
5	"I would say that it is high". (Survey Interview, February 2016).
6	"I'm probably the most egotistical person anyone has ever met. I'm lucky enough to have been doing theater since I was about 8, and I am highly intelligent and I have a very high IQ. So I haven't failed as many times as the average person has. So my self-esteem based off of that alone keeps me higher than most people". (Survey Interview, February 2016).
7	"I would not use a 1 to 10. I would use, like a pie chart I guess. It would likely be a 65 to 75% of a radius, range". (Survey Interview, February 2016).

Challenges

Under the main theme "challenges", all participants described challenges in terms of social situations that occurred from other racial groups. These challenges that are described attributed to the variation of the participants' self-esteem. Additionally, most challenges occurred in school settings or within family gatherings.

Table 5. Direct Quote Regarding Challenges

Participant #	Direct Quote Regarding Challenges
1	"When I was in middle school, I was in band, and the director was a white male and he yelled a lot. However, he targeted me

	for reasons I still do not know to this day. He would pick on me, he would yell at me, he would single me out. And there were not a lot of African American people in the band, nor a lot of biracial people. So he then labeled me, I felt like he labeled me as an African American and that's why I was targeted, for being biracial because I was at least African American, and you could tell because of my skin color and my hair". (Survey Interview, February 2016).
2	"Just because of my light complexion, people say I am white. But when they know I'm black, they realize that I can't be racist. And then in the black community, I speak what they call 'proper' or I speak "white' is what they would say. So I was, the only kid that was light skin, that talked proper who could play basketball". (Survey Interview, February 2016).
3	"In the culture that I was presented and brought up in there were challenges that I faced when I was in an environment that was outside the culture that I grew up in". (Survey Interview, February 2016).
4	"Most racial tension came from the family on my mom's side. I did notice the same tension expressed by my dad's family in relation to my mom, but not us kids. So it was weird that us kids were 'blamed' for my dad being black where my mom was the main focus by my black family". (Survey Interview, February 2016).
5	"The challenges come from not knowing where to fit in racially". (Survey Interview, February 2016).
6	"I endured more social challenges than any other". (Survey Interview, February 2016).
7	"When I was growing up, seeing my mom and my dad, with us. It wasn't that good, especially my mom being a single parent. It looked bad when we weren't dressed well or whatever. You know hair; hair was always a big thing. 'Oh she (my mom) can't do hair". (Survey Interview, February 2016).

Summary

The results of this study indicated that the self-esteem level of the biracial individual was affected by multiple elements. The majority of participants experienced different challenges while growing up which was related to their physical appearance. However, all participants expressed having a higher self-esteem as adults and it fluctuated throughout their life. Additionally, all participants experienced difficulty fitting into one racial group and some even endured bullying or alienation.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

Introduction

Chapter five contains a discussion of the five core themes that developed from the study, belonging (fitting in), hair, skin tone, self-esteem, and challenges. The limitations of the study are explained as well as the implications for practice. Also, this chapter addresses implementation for social work practice and future research with biracial individuals.

After review of the data, the study presented several themes that were common among biracial individuals. The study identified commonalities among participants regardless of gender and age. All participants understood the obstacles that are associated with being biracial and the inability to belong to a group entirely. The term biracial in this study refers to an individual being biologically mixed with two different races, yet one biological parent is African American. The exposure from both heritages played a significant role in the lives of these participants.

In this study, belonging/fitting in is interpreted as a type of community to which biracial people belong. This community becomes a membership in which one is given access to be able to be accepted and be viewed as an equal member of the community (group). For example, participant 4 stated,

it is weird to fit in, you never feel that you completely fit in. I kind of fit in

with the black people but I am not fully black and I kind of fit in with the

white people but I am not fully white (Survey Interview, February 2016).

The inability to belong or fit in with a community due to the lack of being

monoracial leaves the biracial individual searching for a place to fit in

exclusively.

Everyday interaction occurs with other individuals that belong to an array

of communities and the lack of belonging to a specific community may prompt

feelings associated to self-esteem. In essence, not having full access to a

community limits the understanding as well as not being fully immersed into the

community.

Participant 1 stated, I struggled making friends because I did not fit

into one racial category. I was not black enough or Mexican enough to fit

in with a specific group (Survey Interview, February 2016). It has been

interpreted that not being able to belong to a group that some participants

found it necessary to down play certain aspects of their heritage to fit in.

For example, participant five expressed how she was going to blend in, so

I purposefully straightened my hair, I got like all the clothes that I think that

White people would wear, and yea, that when I got the full instance of

racially profiled for being racially profiled. (Survey Interviewed, February

2016). This is interpreted as downplaying assets from the other heritage

in order to blend in and fit in with the dominant group you are trying to belong to.

In this study, hair is viewed as a privilege, which may elicit exclusion from certain ethnic groups. Additionally, it is interpreted as both a gateway and potential barrier which may or may not promote approval. All of the female participants interpreted hair as a bridge of acceptance and has ultimately affected their self-esteem. Unlike their African American counterparts, black hair has often been associated with a negative stigma. Whereas, the participants may not have to alter their hair in order for it be deemed 'good hair'. This distinction has been interpreted as having an impact on his/her self-esteem. Thompson (2009) stated that shade and its companion hair matter for acceptance into the black community. For example, participant 1 stated, "when I was younger I could feel the separation, especially when it came to my hair, because my hair was not 'black enough'". (Participant 1, February 2016).

In essence, female participants had difficulty fitting into the black community because they had 'good hair'. It has been interpreted that these female participants did struggle with acceptance which conflicted with their self-esteem. Female participants' faced more exclusion than their male counterparts. The response by one biracial female participant was, "You know hair, hair is a big thing. It goes back to not fitting in. It goes back to my hair isn't straight enough or my hair is to straight" (Participant 7, February 2016). This is interpreted that the

biracial females' hair was used as a way to demean her because her hair does not fit into the negative stigma.

Conversely, the male biracial participants have interpreted hair as a privilege and acceptance. For example, one biracial male participant stated, "I was, the only kid that was light skin, that talked proper who could play basketball" (Participant 2, February 2016). It is interpreted that the male participants' experience with hair has been associated with more positivity, regardless of skin tone. However, it has been interpreted that there is a self-awareness and avoiding potential harm that occurs within the biracial individual.

Participant 4 states, The first thing we see when we look at people is appearance, and I don't have straight blonde hair and its things like that, that you notice, and I think it makes me more apprehensive because when you see groups composed of those types of people, you kind of already have something in your head, like yea we won't be friends (Participant 4, February 2016).

The importance of skin tone or skin color has always been historically relevant. Unfortunately, these historic ideologies have remained and made their way into different racial groups and have created an imaginary standard. In this study, skin tone is interpreted as a type of immediate classification among members and non-members. A lighter complexion individual may find acceptance more difficult into the black community, because it has been interpreted that they are viewed as imposters. For example, one biracial female

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stated, "My skin is dark, but not dark enough or it's not light enough" (Participant 7, February 2016). This is interpreted that the biracial individual is being forced to group with others alike or be placed into their own category.

One of the contributions of this study is to interpret skin tone as a type of distinction. Bond and Cash (1992) expound on the importance that has been placed on skin color and the separation it has evoked within the black community.

Participant 4 expressed the distinction of skin tone, The social, society, or culture that I more identify with is not black. And it is kind of weird visiting my black family because I think, not racism, but its part of a black community thing. Like skin color is probably the first thing that is going to be noticed in that culture. And it is kind of hard to entirely fit in because it's like a glaring difference (Participant 4, February 2016). This has been interpreted as positive for the dominant culture; however, it has had negative effects when the biracial individual is trying to gain an affiliation with the black community but is viewed as being fraudulent.

A lighter skin tone has been interpreted as having a positive experience with the dominant culture; yet, there is still a separation placed to physically set the biracial individual aside.

For example, a male biracial participant stated, I feel that skin tone affected my self-esteem a lot because I see my brothers, all my brothers are dark. Two of my brothers are dark skin, so when I go out in public with

them, we are followed at stores, people look at us weird. The level of

service we get, when I bring my black brotha from the same motha, they

seriously look at us and they'll ask me first, what can I get you. They talk

directly to me and don't even look at him. It's really weird. Especially the

ethnicity of my friends. So when I'm light skin and have curly hair, people

are like oh your hair is so curly, its so gorgeous, oh I like you skin color, its

cream color. (Participant 2, February 2016).

It has been interpreted that even within biracial siblings that differ in skin

tone has marginalized them and set them apart from the lighter complected

individual. Participant 6 states, "There is no way that I would be able to hide my

black ancestry, I have had a big fluffy afro since the age of three and every year I

got darker". It is interpreted that having more features that were relatable was

able to be a gateway for acceptance.

Another contribution of this study is to interpret self-esteem as both a

personality trait and situational. The majority of participants considered their self-

esteem to fluctuate throughout their life. Currently, all participants stated that

their self-esteem was high. Swenson and Prelow (2005) found that self-esteem

and ethnic identity were highly associated, which affected an individuals' overall

perception of themselves. For example, one participant stated, "My self-esteem

is fairly high but it fluctuated throughout my life" (Participant 1, February 2016).

It has been interpreted that the high level of self-esteem is associated with the

participants light complexion. However, the influence of others has been

reflected onto themselves and their perspective on how they feel about themselves. The participants that stated that their self-esteem was situational express different challenges that they faced throughout their life.

One participant expressed self-esteem as being founded upon culture, "My level of self-esteem is high. I think for me being in the upbringing that I was, being a Christian had its way into the African American culture, as a sense of hope and direction" (Participant 3, February 2016). Self-esteem has been interpreted to not be exclusively impacted by race or situation; however, self-esteem has been interpreted to be subjective.   Yet, the influence of others has been reflected onto themselves, and their perspective on how they feel about themselves. There are multiple confounding factors that are associated with an individual's' self-esteem, and in this particular study all of the themes have played a role on the participants' self-esteem.

The inability to fit in with a particular racial group has been interpreted to affect self-esteem. Identity is vital to self-esteem. When an individual is able to identify themselves or claim membership within a group, one may portray a higher sense of self. Participant 6 stated, "There were different times in my life where I didn't like each side of my race. It was something confusing; I can guarantee that it isn't a healthy position to be in" (Participant 6, February 2016). It has been interpreted that biracial individuals may exhibit social comparison theory. According to Thompson (2009) social comparison theory provides a measure to which one is able to understand how and why individuals compare

themselves to societal standards when assessing their own behavior. In essence, it may be interpreted that self-esteem is derived from a variety of visual categories setting one apart from society based on a specific standard.

Another contribution of this study is to interpret challenges as a type of labeling and issues with other racial groups. Also, it can be interpreted as uncomfortable situations related to race and not knowing how to respond appropriately. Unfortunately, our society continues to hold race as value, though it may not be explicit in process. However, all participants experienced challenges throughout their life and shared racial connected experiences. It has been interpreted that many of these challenges link back to other common themes such as hair and skin tone.

For example, participant 1 explains a challenged that she faced, When I was in middle school, I was in band, and the director was a white male and he yelled a lot. However, he targeted me for reasons I still do not know to this day. He would pick on me. He would yell at me. He would single me out. And there were not a lot of African American people in the band, nor a lot of biracial people. So he then labeled me, I felt like he labeled me as an African American and that's why I was targeted, for being biracial because I was at least African American, and you could tell because of my skin color and my hair. (Survey Interview, February 2016). Similarly, an additional participant stated, When I was growing up, seeing my mom and my dad, with us. It wasn't that good, especially when my

mom became a single parent. It looked bad when we weren't dressed well

or whatever. You know hair; hair was always a big thing. oh, she (my

mom) can't do hair (Participant 7, survey interview, February 2016).

Uncomfortable questions in this study could imply awkward moments.

For example, Just because of my light complexion, people say I am white.

But when they know I'm black, they realize that I cant be racist. And then

in the black community, I speak what they call proper or I speak white is

what they would say. So I was, the only kid that was light skin, that talked

proper who could play basketball (Participant 2, survey interview,

February 2016).

Also, challenges could be interpreted as negative situations where judging

and generalizing was deflected on the participant because of their physical

appearance.

For example, Most racial tension came from the family on my mom's side.

I did notice the same tension expressed by my dad's family in relation to

my mom, but not us kids. So it was weird that us kids were blamed for my

dad being black where my mom was the main focus of my black family

(Participant 4, survey interview, February 2016).

The inability to exclusively fit in implies that many challenges occurred in

foreign and unexpected situations. For example, one participant stated, "In the

culture that I was presented and brought up in, there were challenges when I was

in an environment that was outside the culture that I grew up in" (Participant 3,

survey interview, February 2016). When entering a new environment, it can be interpreted that the majority is the novice when trying to gain an understanding of the biracial individuals presence. A novice lacks knowledge and may be misinformed about the biracial population, and has been interpreted to create difficult social interactions.

For example, one participant stated, A lot of people were making fun of me, until I heard them saying, you know, he's all mixed up. And then it was kind of like I didn't really understand and then all of a sudden it was someone bringing it to my attention, that I realized, oh its because you don't look like that or this (Participant 3, survey interview, February 2016).

Upon analysis of the qualitative data, the study ascertained that most challenges affected the participants' self-esteem; however, though it was complicated it was never hostile enough to limit their self-esteem from increasing. After a thorough analysis, this study supports the hypothesis and these participants stated that they experienced self-esteem issues while trying to secure their racial identity. Additionally, it has been interpreted that most of the challenges that the participants endured have been socially and racially focused. For example, one participant stated, "I endured more social challenges than any other" (Participant 5, survey interview, February 2016). Also, most challenges "come from not knowing where to fit in racially" (Participant 5, survey interview, February 2016).

Limitations

The study acknowledges that it is not without limitations. One of the study's limitations was the sample size. The sample size consisted of eight participants. Due to restrictions concerning students on campus, it was difficult to elicit the desired population from an unofficial affiliation. Participates were informally recruited without a formal affiliation, may have limited the amount of participants to interview for this particular study. In order to effectively grasp a more in-depth comprehension of the perception of self-esteem among biracial individuals, a larger sample size is required.

Another limitation in the study was the instrument that was utilized. The questions within the instrument were strategically chosen and created by the researcher. In addition, the number of questions that were asked was limited because of the nature of the study, being qualitative. More demographics including socioeconomic status should be asked in order to evaluate if it is a factor that may potentially affect self-esteem. Future research should take these issues into consideration.

Recommendations for Social Work Practice, Policy, and Research

Clinicians working with biracial individuals should consider the impact of how being biracial affects the inability or ability to gain a secure racial identity. The findings of this study may support social work practice in general when assisting individuals that may be having a difficult time forming their racial-

identity. There is not a copious amount of current research about this particular

issue; however, by examining and researching racial identity we were able to

gain a clear and concise understanding about this problem. Racial identity has

always been an issue within our country and there has always been a hierarchy

with different ethnicities, and even within ones own race. Unfortunately, it has

carried the same stigma throughout history and individuals, that have two

biological parents that are not the same race, continue to battle with determining

their racial identity. The inability to secure racial identity has made

    Social workers are trained to be culturally humble. It is imperative to

understand that this population is dealing with an array of heritages and

differences because they are biracial. Additionally, it is necessary that the

conversation about how to assist biracial individuals with self-esteem issues

begin. The lack of research and knowledge in this particular area would benefit

the social work profession. Exploring self-esteem through the lens of the biracial

individual will allow us access in order to assist them effectively. It is imperative

for social workers to be culturally competent when assessing our clients

(Hepworth, Rooney, Rooney, and Strom-Gottried 2013). The biracial population

is not spoken about and it is critical that the social work profession have some

cultural knowledge about this population. Cultural competency is a critical

element of our profession and it is imperative that we incorporate this component

into our repertoire.

Conclusion

Self-esteem affects all individuals and at different stages within his or her life. Self-esteem has multiple definitions and has been interpreted to be subjective and not based solely on his or her appearance. As a result, the biracial individual has endured challenges throughout their life and it has impacted their self-esteem both positively and negatively. Overall, the biracial individual has perceived their self-esteem as relatively high; yet, it was not always that way. Over time, the self-esteem of the biracial individual thoroughly increased but it was affected by racial and social issues while growing up. Social workers should strive to educate themselves on issues surrounding the biracial population and be able to implement techniques to assist while trying to gain their racial identity

APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT
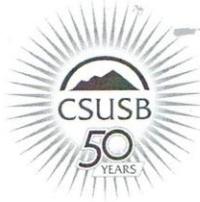
California State University, San Bernardino
Social Work Institutional Review Board Sub-Committee
Transfer APPROVED *1 25 2010* VOID AFTER *1 24 2017*
IRB# *S61616* CHAIR *[signature]*

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

INFORMED CONSENT

The study in which you are being asked to participate is designed to investigate the beliefs of self-esteem among biracial females. This study is being conducted by Rebekah Harmon under the supervision of Associate Professor Thomas Davis, Professor of Social Work, California State University, San Bernardino. This study has been approved by the Institutional Review Board, School of Social Work Sub Committee California State University, San Bernardino.

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to explore beliefs about self-esteem among biracial females. The results of this study may provide the social work profession, educators, and other professionals with awareness and knowledge about how biracial female's self-esteem and racial identity may be influenced, positively and negatively, by society. With this knowledge, they might be able to assist these issues and secure a stronger self-esteem and racial identity.

Description: You will be asked 18 detailed questions concerning your biracial identity. These questions were formatted to collect detailed information about your experience as a biracial female.

Confidentiality: All markings of participants will be removed.

Duration: The interview will take approximately 20 to 30 minutes.

Risks: No anticipated harm will emerge as a consequence of this study.

Benefits: Participants in this study may increase the awareness of the beliefs about self-esteem among biracial females.

Audio: I understand that this research study will be audio recorded (initials) _____

Contact: If you have any questions you are encouraged to contact Associate Professor Thomas Davis at (909) 537-3839.

Results: If you would like to obtain a copy of the group results of this study, please contact Associate Professor Thomas Davis (909) 537-3839 or tomdavis@csusb.edu.

I have read and understand the consent document and agree to participate in your study.

Signature: _____   Date: _____

5500 UNIVERSITY PARKWAY, SAN BERNARDINO, CA 92407-2393

The California State University · Bakersfield · Channel Islands · Chico · Dominguez Hills · East Bay · Fresno · Fullerton · Humboldt · Long Beach · Los Angeles
Maritime Academy · Monterey Bay · Northridge · Pomona · Sacramento · San Bernardino · San Diego · San Francisco · San Jose · San Luis Obispo · San Marcos · Sonoma · Stanislaus

APPENDIX B

DEBRIEFING STATEMENT

Debriefing Statement

In order to gain a clear and concise understanding of self-esteem it must be investigated through the lens of identity. Racial identity cannot be generalized from one ethnic group to the next because there are variations within each group. This inability to identify with a specific race is not only an issue to our entire population but especially to the biracial community. Experiencing the categorization from others may prompt additional feelings (i.e., stereotypes) within the individual and it is important to understand this issue further so that we may be able to apply some form of intervention.

This study you have just completed was designed to investigate self-esteem among biracial females; you have just helped the researcher study the association between racial identity, skin color, physical features, hair texture, and self-esteem in biracial females. The eight questions that you were strategically chosen to assess how you feel about yourself as a biracial female.

Thank you for your participation and for not discussing the contents of the decision question with other students. If you have any questions about the study, please feel free to contact Rebekah Harmon or Professor Thomas Davis at (909) 537-3839. If you would like to obtain a copy of the group results of this study, please contact Professor Thomas Davis at (909) 537-3839 at the end of Spring Quarter of 2016.

APPENDIX C

AUDIO CONSENT

AUDIO CONSENT

This study involves the audio recording of your interview with the researcher.

Neither your name nor any other identifying information will be associated with

the audio, audio recording, or the transcript. Only the research team will be able

to listen (view) to the recordings.

The tapes will be transcribed by the researcher and erased once the

transcriptions are checked for accuracy. Transcripts of your interview may be

reproduced in whole or in part for us in written or presentations that result from

this study. Neither your name nor any other identifying information will be used in

presentations of in written products resulting from this study.

I have read the above description and give my consent for the use of the

audiotape as indicated above.

Signature: _____   Date: _____

Developed by Rebekah Harmon (2016)

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INSTRUMENT: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. AGE?
2. HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION?
3. WHAT DOES BEING BIRACIAL MEAN TO YOU?
4. HAVE YOU EVER ENDURED CHALLENGES BECAUSE OF BEING BIRACIAL?
5. DID YOU STRUGGLE MAKING FRIENDS IN SCHOOL BECAUSE YOU ARE BIRACIAL?
6. DO YOU FEEL THAT YOU HAVE BENEFITED FROM BEING BIRACIAL?
7. HAVE THERE BEEN TIMES WHERE YOU DID NOT LIKE BEING BIRACIAL?
8. DID OTHER PEOPLE EVER ASK "WHAT ARE YOU"? REFERRING TO YOUR ETHNICITY.
9. BEING BIRACIAL, DID YOU PREFER ONE RACIAL IDENTITY OVER THE OTHER?
10. WITHIN YOUR HOUSEHOLD, DID ONE RACIAL IDENTITY TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER THE OTHER?
11. WHAT WAS THE RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF YOUR FRIENDS?
12. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOU LEVEL OF SELF-ESTEEM?
13. HAVE YOU EVER FELT THAT BEING BIRACIAL AFFECTED YOUR SELF-ESTEEM?
14. DO YOU FEEL THAT YOUR SKIN TONE AFFECTED YOUR LEVEL OF SELF-ESTEEM?
15. DO YOU FEEL THAT YOUR SKIN TONE AFFECTED YOUR ELIGIBILITY TO MAKE FRIENDS?
16. DID YOU EVER ENDURE BULLYING FROM A SPECIFIC RACIAL GROUP?
17. DO YOU FEEL THAT YOU HAVE A STRONG IDENTITY AS A BIRACIAL PERSON?
18. HAVE YOU EVER TRIED TO 'PASS' OR PREVENT YOUR NON-WHITE ANCESTRY FROM BEING DETECTED?

Developed by Rebekah Harmon (2016)

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