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Volume I

The Major Research Project

Volume II

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Major Research Project

Psychological well being, self-esteem, and ethnic identity among adolescents

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1. Abstract

This study examined the relationship between ethnic identity, self-esteem and psychological well-being among adolescents of mixed parentage. This was done in order to examine the impact of ethnic identity upon self-esteem & psychological well-being. Questionnaires were used to gather quantitative data regarding self-esteem and psychological well-being from a total of 190 participants. Results showed no differences in self-esteem scores, but mixed parentage adolescents scored significantly worse than their white counterparts on measures of psychological well-being, with black adolescents occupying an intermediary position.

The personal & environmental influences on the development of ethnic identity were examined via interviews with fourteen of the mixed parentage participants. No conclusions were reached regarding the relationship between ethnic identity & either self-esteem or psychological well-being. The results of this study demonstrated the complex nature of ethnic identity, gave indications for successful future methodologies, & generated hypotheses for possible future research.

2. Introduction

2.1. Background

This study examines the relationship between ethnic identity, self-esteem and psychological well-being among adolescents. In particular it focuses on the effect of being mixed-parentage on the self-esteem and psychological well-being of the individual.

It is necessary as part of the introduction to this study to say why it was felt that such a piece of work was required.

2.1.1. Britain's ethnic population

Britain is a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society. The 1991 census of England and Wales was the first one which asked people to state their ethnicity. Previous censuses collected information by country of birth. However, this approach resulted in the omission of the British-born second generation. Country of birth is becoming increasingly unreliable as a proxy of ethnicity as a growing proportion of ethnic minorities are being born here, (Balarajan and Raleigh 1992). For example, Pringle and Rothera (1995), suggest that *"75% of the ethnic minority groups under twenty-five years of age were born in this country"*.

The 1991 census found that approximately 5.9% of the population could be classified as coming from an ethnic background. The largest group within this total were those who described their ethnicity as belonging to the Indian sub-continent (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh), who together constituted 2.9% of the total. The second largest group was the Black group (Black Caribbean, Black African and Black other), who together accounted for 1.8% of the total. The remaining proportion was accounted for by those defining themselves as Chinese or as "other ethnic group", (Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, 1993).

In terms of geographical spread, London has a high concentration of people who identify themselves as being of an ethnic minority, with 26% of people in Inner London, and 17% of people from Outer London belonging to such groups. Whereas people who identify with the Indian sub-continent are concentrated in the West Midlands and West Yorkshire, nearly 60% of the Afro-Caribbean population and 80% of the African population live in London, (Balarajan and Raleigh 1992). An indication of the high concentration of ethnic minorities in London is the fact that 45% of all people from ethnic groups in England and Wales live in London, (Barker 1996).

Evidence from the 1991 census also indicated the numbers of individuals who belonged to ethnically mixed groups. Although there was no separate section within which mixed parentage people could classify themselves, a total of 54,569 claimed to be of black / white mixed parentage with 9,665 of these individuals living within the area of Greater London, (Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, 1993). Evidence also suggests that these numbers are destined to rise. For example, it has

been found that 40% of young black men and 20% of young black women has a white

partner (Barker 1996), and that half of all of the mixed white and Afro-Caribbean

people in this country are under the age of 10 years (Coleman 1985).

2.1.2. Social conditions pertaining to ethnic minorities

Perhaps the first question to be answered when looking at the issue of ethnicity and

mental health is to look at the available evidence of prevalence of mental illness

amongst different ethnic groups.

Differences in prevalence of mental illness have been found within the arena of mental

health. For example rates of schizophrenia have often been found to be higher among

black people than white people, (e.g. Harrison, Owens, Holten, Neilson, and Boot,

1988; King, Coker, Leavey, Hoare, and Johnson-Sabine, 1994). The NHS began the

task of mandatory collection of ethnic group data for admitted patients from 1 April

1995 (Horton, 1994). However the system of ethnic monitoring used by the NHS, like

the census forms, does not contain a category for people of mixed parentage. It is

therefore difficult to be confident about any estimates of the numbers of mixed-

parentage individuals suffering from mental illness.

Social conditions also vary between ethnic groups. The majority of the black

population in the UK belongs to the lowest social classes, with the worst living

conditions and the lowest paid and most dangerous jobs (Ahmed 1992).

Within the education system there are increasingly high number of young black boys excluded from school because of behavioural problems. Recent findings, (Gillborn and Gipps 1996), indicate *"the figure for Black Caribbean young people is the worst; almost six times the rate of exclusion for whites"* (p52). The same authors also conclude that in terms of academic achievement, *"on average, Caribbean young men in particular appear to be achieving considerably below their potential."* (p.28).

Within the criminal justice system black people are over represented. Recent evidence is that within the prison system, 10.7% of men and 20.1% of women are classified as West Indian / Guyanese / African. (Prison Statistics England and Wales, 1989).

In conclusion, it can be seen that black people endure worse living conditions and come to the attention of statutory bodies such as health, education and the criminal justice system to a higher degree than do white people. In addition, ethnic monitoring of the numbers of mixed parentage individuals within these particular populations has yet to be systematically undertaken.

Before going further, it is necessary to ground the arguments that I am presenting within a historical framework. This will examine how classification systems developed, and how relationships between black people and white people came to be deemed problematic. Furthermore, it is hoped that this will provide an explanation of why it has been felt that there is a need to keep 'races' separate.

2.1.3. The historical context of race

Ehlich (1977) describes Linnaeus' (1758) racial classification as the earliest that distinguished between Native Americans, Europeans, Asians, and Africans, giving details of physical features and psychological attributes. During the 19th century, scientists began to measure heads, noses, jaws, limbs and skulls in order to provide objective evidence for their racial taxonomies. As Foster (1993) points out,

"The chief characteristic of race-science was that 'race' increasingly came to refer to a fixed condition of biological types; discrete groups which could be ordered in hierarchical relationships". (p 60).

These hierarchical relationships invariably placed white people at the top and black people at the bottom. These attempts to subdivide ethnic groups into distinct races based on differing levels of abilities are still apparent within science and psychology today. The recent publication of "The Bell Curve" (Hernstein and Murray, 1994), attributing differences in IQ performance to genetic inferiority of intelligence in Africans, and the socio-biological theories of Rushton (e.g. 1988a), suggest that Africans are evolutionary more primitive than Europeans.

The major opponents of the view of races being distinct from each other argue that race is primarily a social construction, that has no biological basis. They point out that perceived physical and cultural differences are used to infer biological differences. More importantly, they point out that the amount of genetic difference found within

racial groups is greater than that between racial groups. As an illustration of this idea

of 'greater similarity than difference', Zack (1995) argues,

"race is at best a loose description of isolated breeding population that

have rarely been sufficiently isolated so that all of their members have

more physical traits in common with each other than with any members

of other races". (introduction, p xvi).

He goes on to give an example of this by examining the genetic heritage of blacks in

the US,

"more than 75% are estimated to have white racial genes, and the

designated American black population shares 30% of its genes with the

designated white population." (introduction, p xvi).

This information is important when thinking about what may underlie the apparent

need to maintain clear classifications for 'racial' groups. As part of this discussion it is

vital to consider how the African slave trade impacted upon the question of racial

mixing, which may partly explain why racial mixing appears to be still far more

frowned upon in the US than it is in this country.

It could be argued that in order to allow slavery to continue, it was necessary to view

Africans as not only different to Europeans, but as a separate species, as sub-human.

However, the clarity of this position was challenged because of the large number of

slave owners who had sexual relationships with their female slaves, thus producing

mixed offspring. These offspring then came to occupy a somewhat intermediate

position, not enjoying the same privileges as whites, but being treated preferentially to

blacks.

As a reaction to the increased incidence of 'racial' mixing, various states in the US

brought in anti-miscegenation laws, prohibiting relationships between 'racial' groups.

To enforce such laws there was a need to classify people according to ethnic group.

This led to the emergence of the law of hypodescent or the "one drop rule". This in

effect meant that if it could be shown that someone had at least one black ancestor,

they were then regarded as black.

Williams (1997) in her discussion of contemporary attitudes among white people in the

US regarding racial mixing argues that such assumptions have changed little in the last

sixty years. She presented a story of a Haitian statesman who was visited by an official

from the US during the 1930's. The American asked the Haitian how many of the

island's population were white. When the Haitian said that it was ninety-five percent

the American assumed the Haitian was mistaken. The conversation that followed was

reported as,

> US: *"I don't understand - how on earth do you come up with such a figure?"*
>
> Haitian: *"Well - how do you measure blackness in the US?"*
>
> US.   *"Anyone with a black ancestor."*
>
> Haitian: *"Well that's exactly how we measure whiteness."* (p.5).

Historically, a 'racial' hierarchy also existed among US blacks. As is stated above, lighter skinned blacks did receive preferential treatment over darker skinned blacks. This hierarchy was rarely officially acknowledged, but was expressed via art through novels such as "The Blacker The Berry" (Thurman, 1921). The opposition to mixed relationships that occurs within the black population today in the US may be at least partly explained by this historical context.

These historical factors may also go some way in explaining why there does not appear to be the same degree of opposition to racial mixing among the black population in this country that seems to exist in the US. For example the British figures quoted earlier show relatively high numbers of both black men and women who have white partners. This contrasts with the position in the US where in 1980, only 3.6% of black men and 1.2% of black women were married to white people, (Spickard, 1992).

In addition the history of black people has been very different in Britain than it has been in the US. In contrast to the history of slavery, most of Britain's black population arrived in this country during the forward-looking era of emancipation and post colonialisation of the 1950's and 1960's. For example, in 1951 only 15,000 'West Indians' were living in Britain (Walvin 1973).

Attitudes toward ethnic mixing among Britain's white population are probably varied. However, what can be shown from the figures quoted is that ethnic mixing involves a large percentage of Britain's black population and only a much smaller percentage of Britain's white population.

2.1.4. Definitions of specific terms

'Race' and ethnicity are concepts that have not been well researched in this country. The language used to describe such concepts is continually evolving, and so to avoid confusion definitions of some of the terms used throughout this paper are given below.

'Race'

Criticisms of the concept of 'race' have been presented earlier. Most contemporary writers would probably agree with Spikard (1992),

> *"that race, while it has some relationship to biology...is primarily a socio-political construct."*(p.18).

The word is still very much within common usage, and to some extent may be used unproblomatically to describe the colour of someone's skin. However, it should be recognized that dissatisfaction with this term springs from the recognition that it has eurocentric connotations and carries with it an implied sense of hierarchy.

'Ethnicity'

As a replacement for the term 'race', the term 'ethnicity' is becoming more widely acceptable. Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) define ethnicity as,

> *"a characteristic of shared unique cultural traditions and a heritage that persists across generations"* (p.292).

'Ethnic self-identification'

This is defined by Rotheram and Phinney (1987) as,

"the accurate and consistent use of an ethnic label, based on the

perception and conception of themselves as belonging to an ethnic

group". (p.17).

'Mixed-parentage'

In the US terms such as 'dual-ethnic identity' and 'biracial' are commonly used to describe people who have one white and one black parent. However, 'mixed parentage' is currently the most favoured terminology used within the research literature in Britain, e.g. Tizard and Phoenix (1995). This is because it is viewed as being less problematic than terms such as 'mixed race' and 'half-caste'. While the term 'mixed parentage' is probably not used as often as some of these other terms, because it is less problematic it is used throughout this paper.

2.2. Ethnic identity

Before looking in detail at the concept of ethnic identity, it is perhaps best to examine the wider issue of identity in light of the work that has been done in this area. This will be done firstly by examining in more detail the contribution of Erik Erikson and secondly the findings from social psychology.

2.2.1. Erik Erikson

Developmental psychology research into the concept of identity can be traced back to

Erikson (1963, 1968). He outlined 8 stages, each of which involves specific personal

and social tasks that must be accomplished if development is to proceed in a healthy

fashion. For the purposes of this study, stage 5 (identity vs. role confusion) is the most

important. This stage occurs from about age 12-18. The individual's major task at

this point is to establish a stable personal identity. According to Erikson, this stage is

when the individual is required to integrate all of his / her experiences in order to

develop a sense of 'who I am'. He argued that the most important tasks during this

time are to:

1. Establish a personal identity

2. Establish autonomy and independence.

3. Relate to members of the same and other sex.

4. Commit to a career choice.

The young person unable to reconcile all their various roles into one enduring, stable

identity, will experience role confusion.

Development through the stages occurs at points of crises when old ways of behaving

must be abandoned and new habits developed. Crises are divided into 'developmental'

and 'accidental'. Developmental crises are described in terms of normal developmental

milestones that occur throughout life, e.g. beginning and ending school, starting work,

getting married. Accidental crises are the untimely death of family members, loss of a

job, illness etc. Developmental crises can usually be planned for, and the person is

usually able to adjust quickly through the process of learning. If the person is not

prepared, because the crisis is untimely, or social training has been lacking, a person

may go through a period of instability and distress while new ways of coping are

developed.

Erikson believed that race was a vital topic in the arena of identity, devoting a chapter

of his 1968 publication to the subject. In his view, identity development may be

viewed as a process that involves making decisions about fundamental aspects of the

self, such as gender and ethnicity.

Recent research has questioned the stability of ethnic identity achieved during

adolescence. For example, Plummer (1995) points out,

"because adolescence is a time of change in every aspect of a young

person's life, their racial identity attitudes are often considered to be

unstable or not representative of their own attitudes" (p171).

She points to the work of Phinney (1989) who suggests that the attitudes that

adolescents have towards ethnicity may simply be a reflection of the attitudes of their

parents and other adults.

Marcia (1966) explained such a position as 'foreclosure' (the first of her 4 identity

status'), in which the adolescent had made a commitment without exploration, usually

on the basis of prescribed parental values. In the second stage (diffusion), the

adolescent is described as experiencing a degree of confusion and uncertainty and

having not made a commitment. The third stage (moratorium) describes a young person in the process of seeking out information in order to make their own decisions. The final stage is that of 'identity achievement' in which the adolescent has progressed through the moratorium status, now possessing values and beliefs, and choosing courses of action they define as their own.

Poston (1990) points out that lack of identity development is a central aspect of two disorders discussed in DSM-IV (A.P.A., 1987), namely borderline personality disorder and identity disorder.

2.2.2. The contribution from social psychology

Within social psychology there have been a number of important theoretical and empirical works which have examined the issue of identity. Particularly important for the research question in this study are Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity theory, and Philogene's (1994) use of social representation theory to explain the importance of race labels.

Lewin (1948) argued that it was important for individuals to have a strong sense of group identity in order to maintain a sense of well-being. The social identity theory of Tajfel and Turner (1979) developed this idea further. They argued that simply being a member of a group enables an individual to develop a sense of belonging that contributes to a positive self-concept.

Social psychologists have also looked at how the group identity impacts upon the development of an individual's sense of identity. It has been argued that the self-concept is divided into two sub-systems, one relating to personal and the other to social identities. Turner (1984) argued that once people have located themselves with respect to society at large, they then define themselves using personal terms that single them out within their particular social groups. The first class of terms correspond to 'social identity' the second class to 'personal identity'. He went on to argue that at one level, social identities are determined through comparisons between groups, and at another level, personal identities are determined through comparisons between the self and other members of the group.

There has been debate about whether the self-concept possesses unity, continuity and consistency across situations, or whether it is multi-dimensional, transient, inconsistent and situation-specific. Turner (1984) cites experimental evidence for the situational specificity of the perception of self and how it is more influenced by group memberships in some contexts than in others. These findings led Turner (1984) to suggest that different situations tend to be associated with different conception of self.

When examining the issue of ethnic identity, social psychologists argue that it is vital to consider the hierarchical nature in which racial and ethnic groups have come to be ordered. For example, Tajfel (1982) argues that difficulties can emerge if the characteristics of the group to which the individual belongs is evaluated negatively within wider society, as is often the case with minority ethnic groups. He agues that under these conditions, ethnic group members may develop a negative social identity.

Furthermore, there is evidence that this negative social identity can lead to negative effects upon the individual's feelings of self-worth. Clinical evidence for the existence of self-hatred among low status ethnic groups has been documented. For example, Grier and Cobbs (1968), in a review of some of their work with black Americans argued,

"They decide to reject their blackness and... embrace whiteness. They identify with white men... and add to that a contempt for black people...In this way they develop a contempt for themselves, because...there are things about themselves that will remind them of their blackness and... will evoke feelings of self-hatred and self-depreciation." (p.193-4).

Tajfel (1982) agreed that negative psychological consequences may occur when members of low status groups attempt to leave the group by "passing" as members of the dominant group. Social identity theory has not specifically addressed the issue of what it means to be of mixed parentage, but does view the participation in two cultures as potentially problematic. Both Lewin (1948), and Tajfel (1982) believed that identification with two different groups could lead to difficulties in identity formation in ethnic group members because of the conflicts in attitudes, values, and behaviours between the minority and the majority group. The potential for conflicts of this nature have been expressed by clinicians working with mixed parentage individuals simply because,

"for the adolescent who has one black and one white parent the question

of ethnic identity raises questions which a person with a single racial

heritage would not face." (Gibbs, 1987; p.265).

One question posed is the way in which the individuals should refer to themselves, and

the way that individual will expect to be referred to by others. The issue of race

labeling has been recognized as an important issue among researchers examining the

development of racial identity among black people. For example, Cross's (1971)

model of black identity development, entitled "the Negro to black conversion

experience" viewed the rejection of the Negro label during the 1960's and the adoption

of the term 'Black' as a positive step in identity development for black people.

Writers examining the phenomenon of ethnic identity in Britain have argued that this is

a factor that is applicable in this country. For example, Ferrell (1995) stated:

"A rejection of terms like 'Negro', 'coloured', and 'West Indian' in

favour of the political term 'Black' in the 1960's made an important

contribution to the personal and collective (social, political, and

psychological) movement towards self-definition and empowerment of

African people in the Diaspora." (p.25).

The process of the development of self-naming was examined by Philogene (1994).

She draws on Moscovici's (1984a) theory of social representations to argue that this

process occurs because people adopt names for themselves in order to elaborate their

social reality. The naming process is one way by which people define themselves and others so as to distinguish social groups, and that furthermore any name carries certain meanings that characterize the group in question. This enables the development of a common language based upon a shared reality so that when a group is talked to or about, the names used define and represent the group for anyone involved in the interaction. *"This dynamic transforms the name itself into a shared reality."* (p.91).

She examined the process of change from the term 'Black' to 'African American' as the preferred term amongst this population in the US during the late 1980's. She argues the switch from 'Black' to 'African American' is only the latest manifestation of a continuos effort by Americans of African descent to find a label that will instill pride and self-esteem.

Therefore, just as Cross (1971) saw the adoption of the term 'Black' as a positive step, its rejection and replacement twenty years later by a new term, (African American), has also been seen as similarly positive. Only when placed in this broader context does a group denomination itself acquire significance for people in terms of shaping identity, directing attitudes about that identity, and providing a figurative core for interaction and symbolic relation between social actors. The central importance of the process of naming was powerfully described by Ferrell (1995) who argued that,

"names, both individual and collective can empower or dis-empower people. They are important because they link people to families, status.

national groups, nation states (land), and to their personal and collective

histories". (p24)

Having established that names are important for people of African descent, it is no

surprise that they are equally or perhaps even more important for people of mixed

parentage. Individuals who have one black and one white parent have been given

many different titles throughout history and in different places, and depending on the

exact nature of the mix. Terms such as half-caste, half-breed, mulatto, coloured,

brown, tan, red-skin, and light skin have all been used to denote such individuals. It

must be remembered however, that in most classification systems in which an

individual is asked to describe their race, they are not usually encouraged to describe

themselves as mixed-race or mixed-parentage. For example in the 1991 census in

Britain, the first in this country to ask respondents about their ethnicity, there was no

'mixed' category. (A replication of the census question relating to ethnicity was used

in this study and is included in Appendix I). While all such classification and coding

systems are inherently difficult to construct, the difficulty that mixed-parentage people

have in being accommodated within such systems is perhaps an indication of the

difficulty they face in resisting being inappropriately slotted into other pre-existing

categorization systems within a wide variety of contexts.

2.3. Theoretical and methodological developments in ethnic identity research

The three major paradigms that exist for the study and explanation of ethnic identity development are:

1. Models based on data obtained from 'doll studies'

2. Cognitive models

3. Stage models.

2.3.1. Doll studies

Research into racial identity can be traced back to Horowitz (1939), who used photographs as a tool to measure racial self-identification. Building on this work, Clark and Clark (1947) used dolls to measure racial awareness, self-identification and racial preference. The methodology developed in this classical study has been the basis for hundreds of replications and refinements and so will be presented in some detail. The technique they used for the administration of this test was to present the black child with four dolls, (two with black skin and two white). The child was then asked four questions to express their ethnic preference by asking them to attach value to the dolls appearance, i.e. which doll looked 'pretty', 'naughty', 'nice', etc. Three questions followed to test racial awareness in which the child was asked to say which doll looked like 'a Negro', 'a coloured person' and 'a white person'. Finally the children were asked to point to the doll which looked most like him/herself.

The most interesting results they found were that 33% of the sample identified themselves with the white doll while about two-thirds of the sample preferred the white doll to the black one.

Over the past fifty years, psychologists have continued to study children's racial attitudes with the use of doll studies (Burnett and Sisson, 1995). The results have been inconsistent, but it has often been found that black children prefer the white doll as opposed to the black doll, (e.g. Gopaul-McNichol, 1988). These findings have been interpreted as 'out-group orientation' and have been used to infer poor racial self-esteem and identity confusion.

The Clarks' (1947) doll-test measure has been widely adapted and used for children who have many different physical characteristics. Therefore the children tested have varied in terms of sex, age, and shade of colour. Many different variations of testing conditions and interview have been used in an attempt to provide a 'pure' result.

These different methodologies have often resulted in different results and doll tests have been criticized for problems such as inconsistent and poor methodology (Banks 1976). Problems surrounding both internal and external validity have also been suggested. There are a number of reasons for doubting whether children's responses to identity tests give a reliable indication of their attitudes and behaviour in everyday situations. Goodman (1964) for example, found that children tend to show more prejudice in projective tests than they do in real-life situations and he argued that it is not possible to accurately measure children's racial attitudes using inanimate

representations of different races. Partly for this reason the design of the materials used in the assessment have been criticized. For example, the Clarks' (1947) used only female dolls, though tested both boys and girls. Aboud (1987) pointed out that the 'dark-skinned dolls' as used in many of the past studies did not represent blacks adequately. In fact many of the black dolls used were actually unfamiliar to the black children due to their strange physiognomy and skin colour. An argument put forward by Jones (1972) was that brown-skinned dolls are relatively unusual and that the bias may therefore be viewed simply as a bias toward familiar objects. Gopaul-McNichol (1988) for example found that the majority of the black parents she studied bought their children white dolls.

2.3.2. Cognitive models

'Doll' methodology has continued to be used, but more recent models have explicitly acknowledged the need to incorporate the cognitive ability of the child to make perceptual distinctions when interpreting results.

Spencer (1982) found that African American children show decreasing white preference with age and cognitive sophistication, she argued that children develop their social knowledge of race at a later age than that at which they are able to perceive objective skin colour. Aboud (1987), drawing on the work of Piaget (1968), argued that children's concept of racial differences follows a developmental sequence that is correlated with their understanding of physical phenomena such as conceptions of causality and conservation of matter.

The latest and most sophisticated adaptations have expanded the use of stimulus materials which allow the child a greater degree of flexibility in their responses. Such variation has been shown to be vital when applying such methodology to measure ethnic self-identification among mixed parentage children (e.g. Wilson 1987; Jacobs 1992). The Jacobs study presented their sample with an extensive range of dolls to choose from and asked their sample to choose the most pertinent characteristics which were a combination of skin colour, gender, age, and ethnic features.

Aboud (1987) has argued that the forced-choice technique which was the main technique used in most of the doll studies, is in itself problematic. She contended that this technique requires selection of one stimulus and rejection of the other and in effect could be just confounding attitudes toward another group with attitudes toward one's own group. Another major area of difficulty surrounds the way in which most of the studies have conceptualized black children's out-group orientation as black self-hatred. From this conceptualization, many inferences were made. According to Stephen and Rosenfield (1979) it was,

> *"assumed that black and white stimuli...represent black and white*
>
> *people; second it is assumed that choosing the white stimuli implies a*
>
> *rejection of the black stimuli and thus the 'rejection' of black people;*
>
> *and third, it is assumed that this failure to prefer and identify with black*
>
> *people implies rejection of the self"*

Several researchers (most notably Cross, 1987) have argued that in conceptualizing identity it is necessary to make a distinction between racial identity, which he refers to as "reference group orientation", (RGO) and other measures of self-esteem, self-concept etc. referred to as "personal identity", (PI). The Clarks' doll test did not measure racial and personal identity as separate aspects of identity. Rather the choice of the white doll was seen as rejection of both race and self. The equation between the two aspects of identity was an assumption that was not empirically tested, (Maxime, 1989). However, probably the most damaging criticism of 'doll' methodology have been the finding from researchers who have measured black and white clients self-esteem using validated inventories of self-esteem have found no significant differences, (Rosenberg, 1979; Coopersmith 1981). The low correlations found between the results of doll studies and measures of self-esteem among black children calls into question the validity of doll measures. This has led many to argue that 'racially symbolic assessments' cannot be viewed as a measure of self-esteem, (Whaley, 1993).

2.3.3. Stage models

The stage models of racial identity development have similarities to other stage models of development (e.g. Erikson 1968; Piaget 1968; Kohlberg 1964). That is that they are monotonical (an individual must start at the first stage, and only by successfully negotiating the demands of each stage can the individual move up to the next stage. In addition, regression to a previous stage does not occur). There are also differences to these other stage models of development. For example, no descriptions in terms of

chronological age are suggested. Two stage ethnic identity models are described in detail in this section, these are:

1. Cross's (1971) 'nigrescence' model of black racial identity development. This was the first stage model of ethnic identity development and provided a template which all subsequent models have used. Although it has been refined and updated (e.g. Cross 1987), indeed perhaps *because* it was possible for it be refined, it remains an influential description and explanation of the development of ethnic identity among this group.

2. Poston's (1990) model is included because it is the only stage model that specifically looks at the development of ethnic identity among adolescents of mixed parentage.

Cross's (1971) model was the first to suggest a sequential development of ethnic identity, and his ideas have been built on by a number of researchers since. His model proposed a 4-stage model of *nigrescence* or black self-actualization in which he suggested that black people move from a stage of ethnic consciousness characterized by self-abasement and denial of their blackness to a stage of positive acceptance of their blackness. Racial identity attitudes are hypothesized to involve simultaneous beliefs, emotions and behavioural styles directed toward blacks and blackness and whites and whiteness.

Cross' (1971) model of black identity development:

Stage I. (Pre-encounter)

The black person conceptualizes life from a white frame of reference. This person may deny or denigrate his / her blackness, while whiteness will be idealized. This person may be said to be in a state of prediscovery of ownership of their racial identity.

Stage II. (Encounter)

This stage may be described as awakening. Is often the result of a critical incident, e.g. experiencing a white individual with racist attitudes and practices.

Stage III. (Immersion)

The individual makes a decision to 'become black'. This attitude is illustrated by an investment in black culture. There is an idealization of blackness and a rejection and denigration of whiteness.

Stage IV. (Internalization)

The person is now comfortable with self-identification as black. Other ethnic heritages acknowledged and appreciated.

After the publication of Cross's seminal work, there were a number of other authors who developed or refined the use of stage models to describe the development of ethnic identity among black people, (e.g. Jackson, 1975). There have also been a number of authors who have formulated stage models for the development of ethnic identity in white people (e.g. Helms, 1984; Ponterotto, 1988). Just as there are negative consequences for the black person with an undeveloped sense of ethnic

identity, it has been argued that there are implications for the psychological health of a white person with a similarly undeveloped sense of their racial being. For example Tokar and Swanson (1991) found a significant relationship between stages of racial identity and measures of self-actualization among whites, while racist attitudes have also been found to be related to lower levels of racial identity development among white people, (Carter, 1991).

An attempt to look at similarities of ethnic identity development across different racial groups was the five-stage, Minority Identity Development Model (MID), Atkinson, Morton and Sue (1983). Their work is based on the premise that minority groups share similar patterns of adjustment to cultural oppression. They argue that a 'Third World Consciousness' has emerged with cultural oppression as the common unifying force. The model defines five stages of development that oppressed people experience as they struggle to understand themselves in terms of their own culture, the dominant culture, and the oppressive relationship between the two cultures.

Researchers looking at the development of ethnic identity among mixed parentage individuals have also, perhaps not surprisingly used the paradigm of the stage model, (e.g. Kich,1992; Jacob 1992). They both concentrated on the development of ethnic identity among young children. In contrast, Poston's (1990) model is the only one to look specifically at the development of ethnic identity among mixed parentage adolescents. For this reason it will be examined in some detail.

Poston's (1990) work begins with an examination of how three earlier models of racial identity development, (Cross, 1971; Atkinson, Morton and Sue, 1983; and Stonequist, 1937), are deficient in explaining the development of racial identity among mixed parentage individuals. Poston makes a number of criticisms which he applies to all three models:

1. All these models imply that an individual might choose one group's culture or values over another's at different stages; so that an individual may first reject their minority identity and culture and then the dominant culture. However, biracial people may come from both of these groups.

2. According to these models, self-fulfillment is based on integrating one racial / ethnic identity and accepting others. They do not therefore recognize the possibility of dual or multi-ethnic identity.

3. All the models require some acceptance into the minority culture of origin, particularly during the immersion stage. Many biracial persons do not experience acceptance by parent cultures, minority or dominant.

After this critique of these earlier models he goes on to present his own 5-stage model:

Poston's (1990) model of mixed parentage identity development:

Stage I. (Personal identity)

Individuals at this stage are often young, and membership to an ethnic group is just becoming salient. The child's understanding of race/ethnicity will be idiosyncratic and inconsistent. In essence, their RGO attitudes are not yet developed, so their identity is primarily based on PI factors such as self-esteem and feelings of self-worth that they develop and learn in the family.

Stage II. (Choice of group categorization)

Individuals at this stage are pushed to choose an identity, usually of one ethnic group. The primary choices probable at this stage are between identity with the majority or the minority group. It would be unusual for an individual to choose a multi-ethnic identity, since this requires some level of knowledge of multiple cultures and a more advanced level of cognitive development.

Stage III. (Enmeshment / denial)

This stage is characterized by confusion and guilt at having to choose one identity. Individuals at this level often experience feelings of guilt, self-hatred, and lack of acceptance from one or more groups.

Stage IV. (Appreciation)

Individuals begin to appreciate their multiple identity and broaden their RGO, though they will tend to identify with one group.

Stage V. (Integration)

At this level individuals develop a secure, integrated identity, tending to recognize and value all of their ethnic identities.

Poston's model places an individual at the most developed stage when they are able to successfully integrate both aspects of their cultural and ethnic heritage.

An important similarity that these models have with Erikson's model, is the concept of 'crisis' being necessary for an individual to develop. Cross's stage II (encounter), and Poston's stage III (enmeshment / denial) are times of the individual's life during which internal conflict, questioning, and feelings of dissonance lead to development.

Researchers in the US suggest that these types of descriptions of development are becoming more common and that changes are occurring in the way that mixed parentage people view their ethnicity. In place of the "one-drop rule" by which an individual with even the smallest amount of black ancestry was labeled as black, mixed parentage people are claimed to be increasingly taking on an identity which is neither black or white, but a synthesis of the two, (Root 1992).

2.4. The relationship between self-esteem and psychological well-being

Before examining the links that may exist between ethnic identity, psychological well-being (PWB), and self-esteem (SE), it is first necessary to demonstrate an empirical link between the concepts of PWB and SE. There are a number of ways to approach this, but one requirement is to demonstrate that lowered levels of either construct measured at a particular time do have some degree of ability to predict later mental health problems.

2.4.1. Psychological well-being

The concept of psychological well-being (PWB) is an amorphous one that has been described by different authors in different ways. It is said to refer to a subjective state of psychological health, self-esteem, happiness, etc. It could also be said to be an absence of more serious psychological problems such as anxiety and depression.

Many different scales for measuring PWB have been developed. These are sometimes used as screening tools within psychiatric services. They are also used for research purposes, particularly in community samples which was the case in the present study. The value of these tools when used in this manner centres on their predictive ability, i.e. the degree to which they are able to highlight those individuals or groups that are particularly susceptible to psychological problems. This type of usage was illustrated in the longitudinal study over a thirty year period by Moen, Robison, and Dempster-McClain (1995). They looked at the relationship between woman's roles and PWB, and found that the effects of care-giving on Ss emotional health were found to be mediated by their previous PWB. Therefore, the Ss previous psychological well-being was a good predictor of future functioning.

2.4.2. Self-esteem

Self-esteem (SE) is a concept that has been regarded as a subset of PWB by some authors and by others is regarded as a concept in its own right. There is therefore no universally accepted definition of what SE is, however the definition provided by Coopersmith (1981) is as informative as any;

"Self-esteem expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval and indicates the extent to which a person believes him or herself capable, significant, successful, and worthy." (p.5).

Why is it necessary to measure self-esteem in adolescents? What is it hoped that such information will give us? Part of the answer to this question is that if it can be shown that lowered self-esteem is a predictor of later psychological problems, then it becomes an extremely important measure in this study. Many of the problems already highlighted within the background section suggest that there may be levels of disturbance which are not being picked up by the mental health services as they presently exist. Other types of behaviour disturbance, anti-social behaviour etc. may be at the sub-clinical level but still have a marked effect upon functioning. It may be for example that self-esteem mediates psychological well-being to some degree. It may also be possible to show that individuals who have low levels of self-esteem are more likely to go on to develop psychological disorders.

A deficit in self-esteem has been found to correlate with many different psychological problems. For example, Silverstone (1991) measured the self-esteem levels of psychiatric outpatients and found that those with depression *"had lower self-esteem than most of the other subjects"*. However, there are cause and effect problems in this context since an extremely common result of some psychological problems (e.g. depression), is a lowering of self-esteem. To counter this problem, Wing (1980), in a retrospective study noted that in people with psychiatric disorders, their disorder was often precipitated by a loss of self-esteem. Retrospective studies are themselves

problematic in that they rely on self-reported memories which may be more or less accurate. A longitudinal study which was able to measure symptoms at different time intervals was that of Brown, Bifulco, Harris, and Bridge, (1986), among working class women in Camberwell, South London. They found low self-esteem to be one of a number of factors of particular importance in the development of depression.

In addition to the adult population, a number of studies have found low self-esteem to be associated with psychiatric problems among younger age ranges. For example, Fleming and Offord (1990), reviewed a number of studies looking at childhood and adolescent depression and found depression to be significantly associated with low self-esteem. Similarly, Kashani, Dandoy, Vaidya, Soltys, and Reid, (1990) assessed the pervasiveness of psychopathology in psychiatrically hospitalized children. In their conclusion they stated, *"low self-esteem was one of the factors that differentiate the severely disturbed Ss from the less disturbed."*

As has already been mentioned, it is difficult to be certain about the cause and effect nature of self-esteem and psychological problems. This problem surrounds the difficulty of assessing whether the low self-esteem was a factor in the etiology of the disorder, or whether it occurs as a result of the disorder. There have been a number of published studies that shed light on this issue however. These studies use community rather than clinical samples, therefore ruling out the possibility that the low self-esteem is a product of diagnosis. The studies quoted below used adolescents as their sample and in this respect are comparable with the present study. For example, Kashani, Beck, Hoeper, Fallahi, Corcoran, McAllister, Rosenberg, and Reid (1987), found that

18.7% of their sample of fourteen to sixteen year-olds had some type of psychiatric disorder, and that these individuals had lower self-esteem than the rest of the sample. Similarly, Reinherz, Giaconia, Lefkowitz, Pakis, and Frost (1993) within a community sample of working class white adolescents found a "sizable proportion" who met lifetime criteria for selected DSM-IV (A.P.A., 1987), diagnoses. Adolescents with specific psychiatric disorders demonstrated "significantly poorer functioning" on measures of self-esteem.

2.5. The relationship between psychological well-being, self-esteem and ethnic identity

Now that the relationship between self-esteem and psychological well-being has been demonstrated, it is possible to show how both of these factors interact with an individual's ethnic identity.

The relationship between ethnic identity and levels of SE and PWB is one that has been researched extensively in the US. As an introduction, the research evidence for the black population will be presented. Secondly, the more recent work indicating the influence of these factors among individuals of mixed parentage is presented.

2.5.1. The relationship between psychological well-being, self-esteem and ethnic identity among the black population.

As stated in earlier sections, the doll studies looking at ethnic identity carried out in the US assumed that when black children indicated that they preferred the white doll that this meant that they lacked self-esteem. However, as has also been stated, this conclusion was called into question after no significant differences were found between the scores for whites or blacks on validated measures of self-esteem.

As a way of explaining what appeared to be an anomalous finding, Cross (1987) updated his previous theory of black identity development by incorporating the notion of a distinction between personal identity (PI), and racial identity, or 'reference group orientation' (RGO). He describes 9 factors which contribute to PI, including self-esteem, self-evaluation, interpersonal competence, and personality traits. He conceives RGO as being comprised of 8 factors, including racial identity, group identity, racial awareness, and racial self-identification.

The empirical basis for such a distinction was tested by Spencer (1985). She included a measure of self-esteem when she conducted studies using dolls and found that black children had a positive sense of self-esteem even when they exhibited white preference. Cross (1971) in his explanation of his original stage model argued that individuals engaged in this process of racial identity development were likely to experience a range of affective states that paralleled their stage of development. A number of authors have provided specific descriptions of what these potential affective states might be.

Butler (1975) hypothesized that persons at the pre-encounter stage would tend to be self-deprecating and exhibit poor self-concept. Persons at the encounter stage were assumed to have a more positive self-image, accompanied by feelings of confusion, guilt and anxiety. Immersion-emersion stage persons were expected to feel guilt and rage, whilst persons at the internalization stage were believed to have transcended emotional reactions to their racial identity, except to generally hold themselves in positive regard and to maintain high self-acceptance.

Parham and Helms (1985) attempted to demonstrate an empirical relationship between racial identity attitudes and particular affective states. They administered a racial identity scale and a self-esteem scale to black undergraduates. They found that high levels of pre-encounter and immersion (despite their pro-black perspective), attitudes were consistently associated with less self-actualization, low levels of self-esteem, and were also found to be positively linked to feelings of anxiety, inferiority, personal inadequacy and hypersensitivity. In contrast, encounter attitudes were positively related to feelings of self-acceptance, and self-esteem. Internalization attitudes were positively but not significantly associated with measures of self-esteem. The authors concluded that emotions are not only linked to racial identity development, but are probably vital to the conversion experience.

Pyant and Yanico (1991), examined the relationship between black females' ethnic identity and PWB, comparing students with non-students. They found that ethnic identity attitudes predicted mental health. Pre-encounter attitudes were a negative predictor of general well-being and self-esteem among both groups and a positive

predictor of depression in non-students.   Encounter attitudes also significantly predicted mental health variables for the non-student sample, in an identical manner to that of pre-encounter attitudes.

A number of clinical examples of the problems that can occur when low self-esteem is associated with ethnic identity problems have been documented, e.g. Maxime (1983b). Her work demonstrated the possibility of an individual having high levels of PWB until a crisis occurs in the individual's sense of ethnic identity, at which time levels of PWB become lowered.

Fordham and Ogbu (1986), attempted to shed light on this issue from a different angle, by looking for the factors that enable academically successful African American students to achieve their success. They found that to achieve this success students often adopted behaviours and attitudes that distanced them from their culture of origin. This distancing then led to increased feelings of depression, anxiety, and identity confusion.

All of the above studies have demonstrated the relationship between PWB, SE and ethnic identity among the black population. For the purposes of this study it is vital to examine how these factors are inter-related within the mixed parentage population.

2.5.2. The relationship between psychological well-being, self-esteem and ethnic identity among the mixed parentage population

Most of the research into the psychological impact of being of mixed parentage has taken place in the US. Evidence from a number of case studies has been put forward to indicate that mixed parentage people are troubled by their status and confused about their identities (Gibbs, Haung, and Associates, 1989). It has been suggested that these difficulties may include incorporating two different heritages into one identity, experiencing racism from two ethnic groups, and dealing with and integrating two distinct parenting styles and beliefs. Because of these potential obstacles, some have suggested that biracial adolescents face greater risk of depression, conduct problems, low self-esteem, and peer conflicts (Gibbs, 1987, 1989; McRoy and Freeman, 1986; Faulkener and Kich, 1983; Ladner, 1987).

Evidence for such a position is also illustrated by some of the life-story research within social psychology. One of the major areas of focus within this area has been to examine the experience of marginality, i.e. living across two or more social domains. As far back as sixty years ago, Stonequist (1937) examined the experience of mixed parentage people in the US and argued that such a position led to negative effects, with the marginal person being one;

"who is poised in psychological uncertainty between two or more social

worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and

attractions of these worlds, one of which is often "dominant" over the

other; within which membership is implicitly based on birth or ancestry

(race or nationality); and where exclusion removes the individual from a

system of group relations. "

Gibbs (1987), in her clinical work with mixed parentage adolescents in the US noted the following clinical issues and problems; identity confusion, self-hatred, substance abuse, suicide, delinquency, alienation, denial of self, gender identity confusion, and feelings of guilt and disloyalty. She offers a number of case examples to illustrate her findings. The first case is 'Marcia', referred by white adoptive parents because of rebellious behaviour, truancy, and stealing from family members. It is reported that *"Her behavioural problems surfaced when she entered high school and felt she didn't belong to any of the cliques"* (p.269).

Another case is that of 'Jill', who was referred for treatment following an overdose. She grew up in a white neighbourhood, and found black people hostile. *"She felt as if she had a foot in two worlds but couldn't stand on both feet in either one"* (p270). She reported being angry toward her parents for treating her as if she were white and not preparing her to be able to integrate into the black community.

Both of these cases provide evidence of a critical incident that can then lead to an individual entering the 'encounter' stage (Cross 1971) or 'enmenshment' (Poston 1990), it's equivalent within the mixed parentage typology. What is apparent at this stage is how a previously well-functioning individual comes to face severe problems at a transitional time in their lives. What is also apparent from the example of 'Jill' is the experience of marginality, of not being able to feel that she felt comfortable as either

black or white. This phenomenon is described in another example provided by Gibbs (1987), of a patient known as 'Marcia'. Again, problems occurred when she began to venture away from the confines of the parental home and she started to attend college. She began to feel socially isolated and lonely and was referred for treatment for a suspected eating disorder. *"She explained that she felt 'special' at home...and was unprepared for the freedom of college and couldn't seem to fit in with either the whites or the blacks"*. (p.272).

The central role that family members can play in the development of ethnic identity in mixed parentage adolescents is illustrated in the case presented by Lyles, Yancey, Grace, and Carter (1985). Their patient was an 11 year old mixed parentage girl who had problems with self esteem after being reared by her white grandmother in the southern states of the USA, in which she was made to feel ashamed of her black heritage.

All of these examples involved adolescents, but older individuals have also been noted to experience problems. For example, Pinderhughes (1995), offers the clinical example of 'Henry', a 28 year old, raised in a completely white environment by his white mother. Things seemed fine until he had to work within the black community, whereupon he developed anxiety symptoms.

This example again reinforces the idea of 'encounter', but suggests that this experience need not occur during adolescence, although the other examples quoted suggest that this is probably the most likely time.

Clinical evidence from this country is more difficult to find, but does exist, mainly from workers who have dedicated themselves to working with individuals from ethnic minorities. For example, Maxime (1993b), provides a number of case examples of racial identity problems among the children she has treated in clinical practice. Among these was 'Charles' a mixed parentage youth of white / African parentage. She describes how he was brought up by his white mother in an all white rural environment until the age of 14, when they moved to inner-city London and he found himself in the playground on his first day at school having to identify himself racially for the first time in his life,

"He was asked by some white boys, "whose side are you on?", to which

Charles said he had never given the question serious thought. The black

boys on the other hand, stood looking unsympathetically at Charles in

his dilemma" (p.34).

This individual is another who is best described as being at the encounter stage. Maxime (1993a), provides details of clinical work with a patient she describes as being at the internalization stage. She names him 'Paul', a boy of mixed parentage, who was rejected by his white foster mother after her black husband left her. Maxime describes how he worked through the stages and his pain but felt he could not trust white people again. At one point he even wanted to leave the youth club he was in as he felt he could no longer trust his white friends there. However, within therapy, the reality of this situation was examined and Paul began to appreciate that he did have white friends.

"What he found most significant at this time was that he could for the

first time love his white friends without feeling 'bad' about being black."

(p.108).

For this patient he needed to integrate his feelings for others in order to be able to successfully integrate his feelings about himself. This is also found in the earlier examples in which the patients have a sense of not belonging to a particular ethnic group. This feeling of not knowing where to locate themselves ethnically, then appears to be mirrored by their difficulty in 'locating' themselves in a psychological sense. This difficulty and the potential difficulty is summed up by Pinderhughes (1995),

"Those unable to reconcile their dual identifications into an integrated

sense of self and group connection, wherein both heritages are positive,

will not resolve this developmental stage, and will become trapped in

conflict". (p.81).

These case examples illustrate some of the factors that have been found to have a negative impact upon the ability of the individual to attain a positive ethnic identity. These factors include the individual's experience within several different 'systems' their family, friends, schools and other institutions. The role of the family appears vital in preparing the individual for the reality they will find when they leave its confines.

There is a problem however in using these types of clinical examples to the wider population of mixed parentage individuals. This is recognized by the clinicians who work in this area. Gibbs (1987) for example, is explicit in expressing that her work is based on clinical populations and that therefore her findings should not be viewed as representative of mixed parentage individuals in general. It therefore appears necessary to extend the range of this research in order to discover the extent of these types of problems within the mixed parentage population as a whole. There also appears a need, having discovered the difficulties involved for those who have come to the attention of mental health services, to examine the experiences of those who have been successful in creating ethnic identities with which they feel comfortable. The specific research questions to address these and other issues are presented in the next section.

2.6. Research Questions

Research that has taken place in this country looking at mixed parentage identity has tended to focus on particular groups, e.g. middle-class females, (Tizard and Phoenix 1993). The studies by Wilson (1984, 1987), recruited samples from a group called Harmony, a multi-racial group. Wilson (1984), recognizes the influence that such sampling may have had on her results,

> *"I may have selected a sample of women who were not only highly reflective of racial issues, but who were also in some measure of*

agreement with the sociologists about defining their children as being 'of

mixed race'". (p408).

Wilson's work also tended to focus on pre-adolescent children and as was pointed out

by Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson, and Harris, (1993), the transition period of

adolescence has been described as a particularly difficult time for mixed parentage

individuals. Notwithstanding any particular shortcomings of any of the previously

published research, it seem difficult to disagree with the same authors when they go on

to argue,

"Clearly little is known about the critical issues in biracial identity

development, and limited research has examined or validated the

conjectured problems of biracial identity discussed in the non-empirical

literature" (p222).

There does therefore appear to be a need to extend the base of this research in order to

give a voice to others who have not previously been consulted on these issues, and to

examine how the situation here is different or similar to the US. Do developmental

models of mixed parentage identity developed in the US, (e.g. Poston 1990) have any

utility when applied to the mixed parentage population in this country? Does the

different historical context and present day demographic structure of the mixed

parentage population in this country that were presented earlier, create significant

differences in ethnic self-definition? Are differences in ethnic identity associated with

psychological well-being in general and levels of self-esteem in particular?

The research could be described as having a number of aims, although the broad objective might be described as an attempt to look at issues of identity among mixed parentage people in the UK. Within this there are a number of more specific aims;

1.   To see if there are differences in terms of psychological well-being between mixed parentage adolescents and those of a single ethnic heritage.

2.   To see if there are differences in terms of self-esteem between mixed parentage adolescents and those of a single ethnic heritage.

3.   To see if there is a relationship between the developmental level of ethnic identity of the mixed parentage individual, and their level of psychological well-being and / or self-esteem.

4.   To see what factors (psychological, familial, social, environmental, economic etc.) allow for or mitigate against the attainment of a positive ethnic identity among mixed parentage people.

5.   To discover if the theoretical models that have emerged in the US have utility among the mixed parentage population in the UK; i.e. is the degree of synthesis that has been found to exist in the US also found here.

In conclusion, it seems necessary to see if mixed parentage people do suffer particular ethnic identity difficulties, to discover what strategies may exist to deal with such

difficulties, and to see what role self-esteem and psychological well-being play in such

a resolution.

Therefore the central question of this research may be summed up as,

> *"Is there a relationship between the development of ethnic identity, and*
>
> *levels of self-esteem and psychological well-being among mixed*
>
> *parentage adolescents?"*

Contemporary research into the development of ethnic identity has been located largely

in the US and has tended to focus on black identity development, this project tackles

the impact of mixed parentage within the British social context.

3. Method

3.1. Design

The gathering of data in this study was divided into two sections, part I (quantitative), and part II (qualitative).

3.1.1. Quantitative data

The quantitative element was designed to compare the psychological health of the three different groups involved in the study, by the use of standardized questionnaires.

The quantitative element examined how mixed parentage adolescents compare to both black and white adolescents in terms of self-esteem and general psychological well-being. In order to control for the possibility of potentially important differences emerging between the white and black participants on these measures, a three group design was used within which the results of white, black, and mixed parentage participants responses were analyzed separately. Therefore, for each mixed parentage participant there were both black and white matched controls.

3.1.2. Qualitative data

The decision to use qualitative methodology in addition to quantitative methodology was based on a number of factors, the most important being the nature of the research question. While the use of quantitative methodology was considered suitable to

measure differences in psychological health, it was felt that such methods would not be an optimum way to examine the specific nature of individual experience that leads to the development of ethnic identity. As has already been stated, the empirical literature pertaining to mixed parentage identity is sparse, and because of the lack of data on this topic, this part of the study should be viewed as exploratory. Furthermore, in the examination of little understood phenomena it may be argued that there is a need to more fully enter the psychological world of the individual. In this world it is the respondent who is the expert on the subject rather than the investigator.

Quantitative approaches cannot supply all the answers - they tell us little about how certain patterns come to emerge. Whereas quantitative methods are only able to report what is happening, qualitative methodology looks at the why and the how. Qualitative data are open to multiple interpretations. When conducting qualitative research the measure of internal validity must be the degree to which there is agreement about the results gained from the obtained data. The potential hazard of lack of validity was also partly tackled by presenting both quantitative and qualitative data to support the analyses. As Gillborn and Gipps (1996) point out, it is necessary only to persuade the reader to agree that the explanation is *a* plausible one, but not that it is the only plausible one.

Proponents of these techniques claim,

> *"semi-structured interviews and qualitative analysis are especially*
>
> *suitable where one is particularly interested in complexity of process or*

when an issue is controversial or personal", (Smith, Harre and Langenhove, 1995, p10).

The same authors argue that the use of such methodology marks the development of a new paradigm in psychology. They go on to list four principles of this new paradigm which all seem to be relevant to this study:

1. Research conducted in the 'real world'.

2. A recognition of the central role of language and discourse.

3. Life and research perceived as processual or as a set of dynamic interactions.

4. A concern with persons and individuals rather than actuarial statistics and variables.

In addition, a number of researchers interested in the study of ethnic identity issues generally and biracial identity issues specifically, have recommended the use of qualitative methodology, (e.g. Helms 1989; Root, 1992).

It was decided that the investigation of ethnic identity using qualitative methodology would be limited to the mixed race sample. The reason for this was essentially practical, being that it was felt it would be extremely difficult to design a qualitative interview, looking at ethnic identity, that could be applied in the same way to black, white and mixed-parentage individuals. This is perhaps not surprising given that depending upon the characteristics of the particular individual, some aspects of that identity will have more salience than others. For example, when Powell (1973), asked black adolescents in the United States to respond to the question "Who are you?", it

was found that 95% mentioned their ethnicity. In contrast Sue and Sue (1990) found

that "*many whites deny that they belong to a race*" (p114).

Recent attempts have been made to examine ethnic identity among white people using

qualitative methodology, but these have also ended in failure. For example, Phinney

(1989), conducted interviews with black, Hispanic, Asian and white adolescents. She

found that the responses of the white Ss was impossible to code because,

> *"ethnicity was not an identity issue to which they could relate; that is,*
>
> *they did not think of themselves as having an ethnicity other than simply*
>
> *"American". The term tended to be interpreted as referring to minority*
>
> *groups."* (p.41).

Interviews could have been conducted with the black Ss, and indeed a comparison of

the experiences and attitudes of mixed-parentage and black adolescents would be a

valuable exercise, but was not felt to be within the remit of this study.

Therefore the qualitative element of the study selected a sample of the mixed parentage

group which was approximately 10% of the total sample and invited them to take part

in hour-long audio-taped interviews. These interviews were then transcribed for

detailed analysis using QSR NUD-IST, a commercially available qualitative data

analysis package. This was done by examining the data and simultaneously

constructing a hierarchical coding frame to enable analysis to begin. As an attempt to

capture as wide a range of experiences as possible it was intended that those chosen to

take part would reflect the widest possible range of responses to the quantitative measures. However, because of the difficulty in recruiting a large sample size of mixed parentage adolescents, all those who completed the questionnaires were invited to participate in the interview stage.

All of the interviews were conducted by the author and principal researcher, a mixed parentage man aged in his early 30's.

3.2. Subjects

Identity issues are often at their most pressing during the adolescent phase of development (Erikson 1968). Therefore this was the target group for this study. Those within the fourth and fifth year of secondary school were asked to participate, thereby including adolescents aged fifteen and sixteen years.

The quantitative element of the study included sixty-four white participants, sixty-five black participants and eighteen mixed parentage participants, giving a total of one hundred and forty-seven participants in total. Each of these participants was asked to complete the demographic questionnaire, the self-esteem inventory and the measure of psychological well-being. Only a handful of those asked to participate in this stage of the study declined to do so. From the group of eighteen mixed parentage individuals, fourteen agreed to participate in the qualitative analysis.

The initial stages of recruitment made use of a method described by Tizard and Phoenix (1993). This involved approaching local education authorities (LEAs) within geographical areas containing a high population of black people in order to seek approval to approach individual head-teachers, in order to approach individual pupils. A total of ten schools provided participants for the study, originating from six LEAs across the London area. The study was conducted solely within the state sector. All of the schools that agreed to participate were located in areas containing high levels of ethnic diversity, and contained children from a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds.

An attempt was made to enlist participants from as wide a socio-economic background as possible and to ensure that equal numbers of male and female participants were included.

The definition of mixed parentage used in this study was that the child required one parent who he/she identified as white and one identified as black. The black parent's ancestry needed to be described by the child as pertaining to the African Diaspora. Of the mixed parentage sample, all those who participated had white mothers and black fathers.

No individual who had one white parent and one Asian parent was included. Although these are obviously an important group to consider within the context of mixed parentage identity, it was considered that the historical and cultural differences between those of Asian backgrounds and those of African backgrounds would introduce variables that would make the obtained results unreliable. In fact, individuals with Asian backgrounds were excluded from all parts of the study. The logic of having a three-group design would have required the extension to a four-group design if individuals of Asian ancestry were included.

While it was recognized that no sampling procedure is likely to be 100% reliable, on balance it was felt that the methods used would be the least likely to result in systematic bias.

3.3. Materials

The measures used in this study consisted of;

1.   Demographic measures of social-class, family composition and other variables

       considered important, plus questions probing identity issues, (see Appendix II).

2.   A standard, age appropriate measure of self-esteem, i.e. the Coopersmith (1981)

       Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI).

3.   A measure of psychological well-being, i.e. the 28-item version of the General

       Health Questionnaire (GHQ), (Goldberg, 1978).

4.   An individual semi-structured interview with each participant to look at identity

       issues, (see Appendix III).

3.3.1. Demographic questionnaire.

The first section (A) was entitled "About You". It contained a total of 10 questions

regarding the participant's personal characteristics such as age, sex, ethnicity.

A considerable amount of time was spent deciding what would be the best way to

phrase the wording of the question regarding ethnicity. Much of the difficulty involved

in this process, surrounded finding the best way to code the answers provided by

participants. It was decided that it was necessary at this stage to ask the participants

to include themselves within pre-determined categories. However, this was

problematic because it was then necessary to decide how specific to make particular

categories and therefore how many particular categories it would be necessary to

include within the question. As a compromise it was felt that the best solution was to use the same wording as used in the 1991 England and Wales census.

The second section (B) was entitled "About Your Family" and contained a total of 8 questions. Within this section there were questions concerning the participant's parent's birthplace, education history, occupation, languages spoken and ethnic group.

3.3.2. The Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI)

The Coopersmith SEI was developed in the US and is published in three versions. The one chosen for this study was the 'school form', because its use has been validated within school settings. It has also been widely used with males and females and across ethnic groups. No significant differences between the scores for these groups have been found (Coopersmith 1981).

The SEI consists of fifty items within four sub-scales; general self (twenty-six items), social self - peers (eight items), home - parents (eight items), and school - academic (eight items). In addition there are eight items which constitute a lie-scale. All the SEI items are short statements, half of which are positively worded, (e.g. "things usually don't bother me"). The other half are negatively worded (e.g. "I don't like to be called on in class"). The participant is then invited to place an "X" in one of two columns, "like me", or "unlike me".

Scoring is relatively straightforward. Positive items score one point if they have been answered "like me". Negative items score one point if answered "unlike me". In order to arrive at the total score, the total number of points is multiplied by two. This results in a total possible score of one hundred. Normative data produced by Coopersmith (1981) indicates mean scores across a range of studies of between 57.3 to 69.9. Within the same range of studies test-retest reliability coefficients of between 0.70 and 0.88 were recorded.

3.3.3. The General Health Questionnaire (GHQ)

The GHQ was chosen for this study because of its proven research and clinical record. Goldberg and Williams (1988) claimed that the scale had at that time been translated into over fifty languages and over fifty validity studies had been published.

The 28-item version was used in this study. This consists of four subscales of seven items each, (A) - somatic symptoms, (B) - anxiety / insomnia, (C) - social dysfunction, (D) - severe depression. The participants are asked to complete a Likert-type four-point scale. Two alternate scoring procedures are possible. One gives a separate value to each point on the scale depending upon severity, i.e. 0-1-2-3. The other scoring procedure recommended by the authors is to simply distinguish between the presence or absence of a symptom, i.e. 0-0-1-1. The authors claim that using this "GHQ-scoring" procedure, the threshold score for 'caseness' should be considered to be 4 - 5 from a possible total score of twenty-eight.

Goldberg and Williams (1988) claim no significant differences have been found among respondents due to age, ethnicity, or social class. Some studies have shown higher rates for females but this has not been consistent.

3.3.4. Semi-structured interview

The process of designing the semi-structured interview was a complex one in which an attempt was made to simultaneously examine several different factors. The available literature highlighted the main areas to be examined. These were, definition of self and definition of others, experience of racism, parental attitudes and behaviour, any subjective positive or negative feelings from the participant regarding being of mixed parentage.

Once these main areas had been highlighted it was possible to construct a number of core topic areas around which the interview was then constructed. Five core questions were generated. These were:

1. How do you describe your ethnicity and has this changed over time?

2. What is the term that you use to describe other people who have one black and one white parent?

3. What does racism mean to you?

4. What are the attitudes of your parents toward these issues?

5. How do you feel about being of mixed parentage?

These questions are shown in bold type in appendix II.

It was recognized that different participants would respond in different ways to the core questions. Based on the previous research, it was possible to predict the possible range of likely responses. From discussions with the researchers involved in the study, who between them either had considerable and extensive research knowledge, knowledge of the particular client group, or knowledge of the particular methodology, a number of prompts and more detailed questions were then generated, (shown in ordinary type, appendix II). Not all participants were asked all of these supplementary questions since it was intended that the participants would themselves raise these as issues. However, for some participants who struggled to generate examples from their own experience or to think in less concrete ways about their views, these prompts proved to be useful in enabling them to think about the issues involved.

3.4. Procedure

3.4.1. Pilot Study

Prior to the collection of data a small - scale pilot study was undertaken. This involved

two Participants of mixed-parentage who participated in both the questionnaire and the

interview stages of the research. The pilot testing revealed a number of important

findings which were incorporated when the research proper was undertaken.

Questionnaires:

The main finding here related to the time allowed for completion. It had originally

been intended that the questionnaires would take about ten minutes each to complete,

(thirty minutes in total). However, it was found that this was overly optimistic and

that around forty to fifty minutes was far more realistic. This also allowed time for the

participants to ask questions both before and after taking part.

Interview:

Both participants took part in the semi-structured interview. These were recorded,

although it was not considered necessary that they be transcribed. A number of

important points concerning technique emerged here. Both participants made

comments regarding the wording of particular questions that they felt were unclear and

asked for greater clarity. These particular questions were therefore reformulated to be

less ambiguous and more easily understandable. By reviewing particular sections of

the audio-tape it was possible to see how the interviewer had tended to ask closed

questions at certain points of both interviews and therefore to restrict the types of

responses gained. This information was used to think about the type of inquiring, open-ended and reflective responses to use in the future interviews. Also of importance was the opportunity for the interviewer to gain practice using the audio-taping hardware used in the research.

3.4.2. Recruitment of the sample

The procedure used to establish contact with schools has been explained within the 'Subjects' section. A total of forty-three schools were written to and asked whether they would consider participating. Several commented that they were very interested and that while they recognized the value and indeed the necessity of such research, under the strain of their present commitments they did not feel that they could commit themselves to taking part. A number of schools requested a personal visit from the researcher to explain more details. All those that were personally visited in this way agreed to participate. A total of ten schools finally agreed to take part.

3.4.3. Quantitative data - Questionnaires

Once permission had been obtained to conduct the research within a particular school, teachers were asked to select a number of whole classes who would then be required to complete the questionnaires. Questionnaire data was therefore collected within groups. This approach carried with it advantages and disadvantages. The disadvantages were that many children were tested whose data was then not used in the analysis, e.g. those of Asian background. It was recognized that sampling in this

way was going to be wasteful to some extent, but it was felt that it produced a number

of important advantages:

1. It allowed a large amount of data to be gathered relatively quickly, albeit not all

was used in the statistical analysis.

2. One of the main concerns expressed by schools was the fear that data collection

would interrupt their teaching schedule. This was especially pertinent when

considering that many of the participants were completing course work for their GCSE

examinations. By explaining that the vast majority of the data could be collected

within the space of approximately 50-60 minutes more schools appeared willing to

take part.

3. Perhaps most importantly it prevented the need for participants to be selected prior

to the questionnaire stage, when in fact part of the rational for the questionnaire was

the intention that it should be used as a selection tool. Any pre-selection would have

required teachers to select children who they felt fell into particular ethnic categories.

This technique has been used previously (e.g. Tizard and Phoenix 1995), however a

basic premise behind the current research was a recognition of the importance of the

individual assigning their own ethnic identity. Therefore teacher pre-selection was not

considered a viable option.

Prior to testing, all participants were issued with an information sheet (see Appendix

III) and a parental consent form (see Appendix V). Only if the parental consent form

was signed and returned were the individuals allowed to participate. A date and a time

was then agreed when testing would take place. All participants were asked to

complete a consent form (see Appendix IV), after a check was made that all had read

through the information sheet. The questionnaires were then administered. Total

testing time took on average approximately 40 - 50 minutes. Not included within this

time was time for de-briefing that occurred when participants made inquiries

concerning the background theory, the role of the researcher and specific questions

regarding the content of the questionnaires.

3.4.4. Interviews

For details of the topic areas covered within the interview, see Appendix II. All

participants that indicated that they had one black and one white parent were invited to

participate in the interviews. A total of eighteen participants were invited to take part

in the interviews of whom fourteen agreed to do so. All interviews took place within

the Participant's school. The interview lasted for about 1 hour.

All interviews began by the interviewer spending a few minutes attempting to develop

rapport with the participants. The aim was to allow the participants to feel relaxed and

in the frame of mind to talk about themselves. This process was more easily achieved

with some participants than it was with others. As part of this discussion it was also

necessary to remind the participants of what they could expect from taking part in the

interview process concerning participation and confidentiality.

For purposes of accuracy, the interviews were audio-taped, later transcribed, and then

analyzed. Several participants appeared initially to be somewhat uncomfortable being

audio-taped, however, it was noticed that after just a few minutes the intrusiveness of

the audio-tape lessened considerably.

The interviewer introduced the topic in the same way for each Participant by saying,

"I have a number of subjects that I would like to discuss with you today.

I have no clear idea about what you are likely to say. Instead I want you

to talk about what you feel is important. I'd like to begin by talking

about some of the things that you wrote down on the questionnaire.

Under the section on ethnicity and race, you described yourself as x,

would you say some more about that".

After the interview was finished, participants were thoroughly de-briefed. All of the

participants expressed that they had enjoyed taking part. Most said that there were

issues discussed that they had not thought about quite so deeply before and they felt

they had gained something from the experience.

All interviews were later transcribed. This was a time-consuming process, with each

one hour interview taking approximately 7-8 hours to transcribe. The length of the

transcribed interviews ranged from 14-22 sides (A4, double spaced).

The data analysis began with the production of verbatim transcripts of the audio-taped

interviews. Next, the transcripts were read and reread. This allowed certain sections

of the data to be coded and for logical relationships to be identified. General

properties of the data became evident and from the examination and sorting of findings across the interviews the major themes emerged. With the aid of computer assisted analysis (QSR NUD-IST), these themes were categorized hierarchically. The validity of the findings was strengthened through the sharing of thoughts and ideas about the data between the researchers.

A coding frame was designed in which the hierarchies were positioned and given titles. This coding frame and its definitions are included in appendix VIII.

4. Results

4.1. Demographic data

Demographic data is shown below in terms of ethnicity, sex, age, social class, and family composition.

4.1.1. Ethnic group

The group testing procedure used to gather the questionnaire data produced results from a total of 190 participants. As was previously mentioned, for theoretical reasons, not all of this data was subsequently analyzed. However, in order to provide details of the range and extent of different ethnic groups of which the sample were a part, the ethnic group data of all the 190 sets of questionnaire data was analyzed and the results are produced below in table I. This shows the total numbers and the percentages of participants within each ethnic group.

Table I: Totals and percentages of each ethnic group for the whole sample.

Ethnic group	Frequency	Percent
White	64	33.7%
Black Caribbean	31	16.3%
Black African	25	13.2%
Black Other	9	4.7%
Indian	10	5.3%
Pakistani	8	4.2%
Bangladeshi	5	2.6%
Chinese	6	3.2%
Other	14	7.4%
Mixed Parentage	18	9.5%
Totals	190	100%

For the purposes of the remainder of the analysis, participants were grouped under 3

headings (1) white, (2) black, and (3) mixed parentage. The results from the Indian,

Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese, and 'Other' were removed from the analysis. This left

a total of 147 sets of data which were used within the statistical analysis.

Allocation to ethnic group was based on the data that participants gave concerning the

ethnicity of their parents. Participants who classified both parents as white were

allocated to the white group. Participants who classified both parents as black were

allocated to the black group. Participants who classified one parent as white and one

as black were allocated to the mixed parentage group. Therefore the three groups of

participants considered eligible because of their ethnic group to be used within the

analysis were;

1. A white group consisting of 64 participants (43.2%).

2. A black group consisting of 65 participants (44.2%), (the totals of the black

Caribbean, Black African, and Black other groups).

3. A mixed parentage sample consisted of 18 participants (12.2%). Of the mixed

parentage group, all had white mothers and black fathers.

These numbers are shown below in Table II.

Table II: Totals and percentages of the ethnic groups used in the statistical analyses.

Ethnic group	Frequency	Percent
White	64	43.2%
Black	65	44.2%
Mixed Parentage	18	12.2%
Total	147	100

A check was made to see if these allocations were in accord with the way that participants reported their own ethnicity. It was found that the white and the black groups allocation was in total agreement with the self-definitions they provided. However, of the mixed parentage group, three of the eighteen in the sample defined themselves as white.

4.1.2. Ethnic identity

Participants were also asked an open-ended question to which they were asked to respond in any way they felt appropriate. The question simply stated "I am..........................." The number of participants that answered this question by using some sort of ethnic self-description was calculated. The results are shown below in table III.

Table III: The frequency and percentage of participants from each ethnic group who used an ethnic label to describe themselves.

Ethnic group	n.	%
white	12	18.8
black	25	38.5
mixed	3	16.7

It can be seen that black participants were more likely than either white or mixed parentage participants to use their ethnicity as a way of describing themselves. The

scale of the difference between responses was found to be statistically significant (chi-square = 7.477, d.f. = 2, p.< 0.002).

4.1.3. Sex

Below in table IV is shown the frequencies and percentages of sex and age in relation to ethnic group.

Table IV: Frequencies and percentages of sex in relation to ethnic group.

	sex					
	male		female		Sample Total	
	n	%	n.	%	n.	%
white	36	56.3	28	43.8	64	43.2
black	30	46.2	35	53.8	65	44.2
mixed	8	44.4	10	55.6	18	12.2
Sample	74	50.3	73	49.7	147	100

The statistics of note from above are that both the black and the mixed groups tended to have more females than males, whereas the reverse is true for the white sample. This difference was not sufficiently large to be significant.

4.1.4. Age

Below in table V is shown the frequencies and percentages of age in relation to ethnic group.

Table V: Frequencies and percentages of age in relation to ethnic group.

	Age								Mean	S.d.
	14		**15**		**16**		**17**		**Mean**	**S.d.**
	n.	**%**	**n.**	**%**	**n.**	**%**	**n.**	**%**		
White	10	15.6	43	67.2	11	17.1	0	0	15.01	0.57
Black	2	3.1	43	66.2	18	27.7	2	3.1	15.30	0.58
Mixed	0	0	11	61.1	6	33.3	1	5.6	15.44	0.61
Sample	12	8.2	97	66%	35	23.8	3	2	15.19	0.60

The mean ages of the three groups was analyzed using ANOVA and found to be significantly different, (F=5.85, df.=2, p.<0.003). Post hoc comparisons using Tukey's honestly significant difference were also conducted. These revealed that the mean age of the white group was significantly older than both the black and the mixed parentage group.

4.1.5. Social Class

Social class of participants was measured using the registrar general classifications. Under this system, social class is defined by the occupation of the head of household. All participants were asked to state the occupations of their parents. This information was then used to categorize the participants according to social class. Below in table VI is shown the frequencies and percentages of social class in relation to ethnicity.

Table VI: Participants categorized according to social class.

	I		II		III		IV		V		Totals	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
white	2	6.3	5	15.6	10	31.2	4	12.5	11	34.4	32	100
black	7	19.4	6	16.7	9	25	4	11.1	10	27.8	36	100
mixed	1	7.1	2	14.3	7	50	2	14.3	2	14.2	14	100
total	10	12.2	13	15.9	26	31.7	10	12.2	23	28	82	100

Using Kruskal-Wallis 1-Way ANOVA, no significant differences were found between each ethnic group in terms of social class (chi-square = 1.809, d.f. = 2, $p < 0.404$.).

4.1.6. Family Composition

Family composition was considered to be important theoretically because of its potential for impact upon the results. In order to classify participants according to their family structure, a hierarchical system was developed. Any families that included a step-parent were counted first, next any that contained members of the extended family were then counted. Then families that contained two parents were recorded as 'nuclear' families, while one-parent families were counted last. Below in table VII is shown the frequencies and percentages of these different types of family structures in relation to ethnic group.

Table VII: Frequencies and percentages of participant's family structures for each ethnic group.

	nuclear		one-parent		extended		step-family		Totals	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
white	40	63.5	11	17.5	8	12.7	4	6.3	63	100
black	16	26.2	23	37.7	10	16.4	12	19.7	61	100
mixed	5	27.8	8	44.4	1	5.6	4	22.2	18	100
total	61	43	42	29.6	19	13.4	20	14.1	142	100

The table above shows a large difference in the numbers of the participants who were within nuclear families, with whites more likely to be in nuclear families than were the black or the mixed parentage participants. The rate for white participants was over twice that for either black or mixed parentage participants. A chi-square test was used to discover if the scale of the difference was statistically significant. This showed that the differences between the three groups in terms of family composition were statistically significant, (chi-square = 23.092, d.f. = 6, p < 0.001).

4.1.7. First language

Participants were asked to indicate the first language that they had learned to speak. This data was analyzed by comparing how many of each of the three groups had learned English as their first language. The results are shown below in table VIII.

Table VIII: Frequencies and percentages of participants first language in relation to

ethnic group.

	English		Other	
	n.	**%**	**n.**	**%**
White	61	95.3	3	4.6
Black	47	72.3	18	27.6
Mixed	18	100	0	0
Total	126	85.7	21	14.3

It can be seen that the black participants were more likely than either the white or the

mixed parentage group to have first learned a language other than English. All of the

18 mixed-parentage participants indicated that English was their first language spoken.

This data was analyzed using chi-square and the differences between the three groups

were found to be significant, (chi-square = 17.35, d.f. = 2, $p < 0.001$). Therefore the

mixed parentage group and the white group were more similar than the black group in

terms of English being their first language spoken. This result was in some ways

predictable given that all the mixed parentage group had white mothers.

4.2. Analysis of the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ)

The data for this questionnaire was coded using a 1-2-3-4 method of data entry into

SPSS. Using this method of scoring the possible range of scores for each Participant

was 7-28 (each section), and 28-112 (whole questionnaires).

Only those participants who had less than 10 missing items on the GHQ were included in the analysis. This resulted in 56 participants being included for the white group, 54 included in the black group, and 14 being included within the mixed parentage group. Therefore 124 Participant's scores were included in this analysis. The frequency of scores of all three groups of participants for the whole questionnaire was plotted to produce the histogram shown below.

Figure I: Histogram showing the frequency of GHQ scores for the three ethnic groups.

Std. Dev = 12.50
Mean = 46.4
N = 124.00
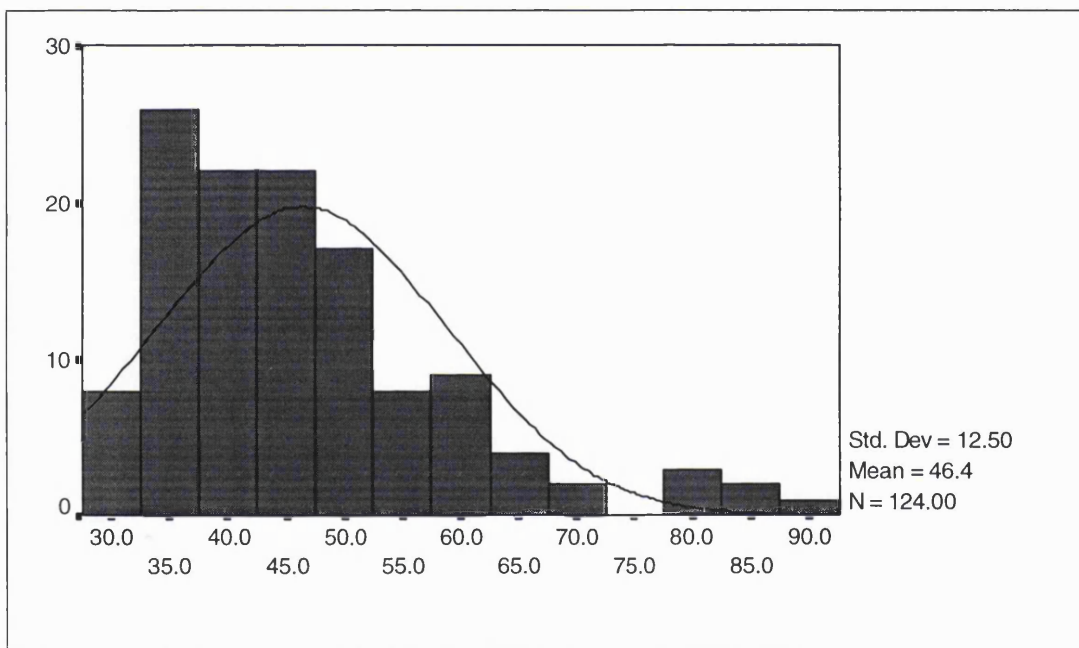
The distribution of scores can be seen to be fairly normally distributed. The obtained scores ranged from 28 - 98. The scores for each of the three ethnic groups were similarly plotted for each of the four sub-scales. These graphs revealed a similar pattern of distribution of scores.

To begin this analysis, the four subscales of the GHQ were analyzed. Below in table

IX the mean scores and standard deviations (SDs) from the four subscales and the total

GHQ scores are shown.

Table IX: Mean scores and SDs from the four subscales of the GHQ.

	Somatic		Anxiety		Social		Depression		Total	
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
White	10.98	3.40	10.38	3.18	13.18	2.40	8.64	2.75	43.20	8.98
Black	12.03	4.33	11.75	4.83	12.92	3.42	11.16	4.92	47.87	13.65
Mixed	13.85	4.55	13.42	5.18	15.07	5.09	10.28	3.58	52.64	16.30
Sample	11.78	4.04	11.34	4.31	13.28	3.29	9.96	4.11	46.37	12.49

In order to discover if any of the obtained mean scores on the subscales differed

significantly between the 3 groups, one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was

performed.   Post-hoc comparisons (Tukey's honestly significant difference) were

conducted to see which if any of the three groups differed from the others.   These

results are shown below in table X.

Table X: Results of the analysis of variance of the subscales of the GHQ.

Scale	Somatic	Anxiety	Social	Depression	GHQ total
F.	3.10	3.31	2.46	5.56	4.09
d.f.	2, 121	2, 121	2, 121	2, 121	2, 121
p.<	**0.048**	**0.039**	0.089	**0.004**	**0.018**
Significantly different groups	white and mixed	white and mixed	-	white and black	white and mixed

The significant results have been highlighted. These show that for the GHQ as a whole, the mixed parentage group's scores were significantly higher than the white groups scores. This suggests a higher rate of incidence of 'caseness' or lack of psychological well being among the mixed parentage group compared to the white group. These higher rates can be seen to be primarily located within the somatic and anxiety subscales. It was also found that the black group's depression scores were significantly higher than the white group, indicating a greater incidence in this group as a whole than for the white group.

4.2.1. GHQ and social class

An analysis was carried out to examine the possible effect of social class upon GHQ scores. The frequencies and mean scores of the five social classes in relation to GHQ scores are shown below in table XI.

Table XI: Frequencies and mean scores of the five social classes in relation to GHQ scores.

	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
n.	10	12	13	9	8	52
mean	43.80	41.83	45.69	49.00	54.75	46.4
sd	7.31	10.96	8.74	10.97	19.55	11.93

These figures indicate that GHQ score (and therefore psychological 'caseness') was found to be higher in social classes four and five compared with social classes one, two

and three. The mean GHQ scores for the five social classes were then analyzed using

ANOVA analysis of variance. This revealed no significant differences between the five

groups (F.=1.751; d.f. = 4, 47; p.< 0.154). It was therefore shown that social class

was not a significant factor in determining GHQ scores.

4.2.2. GHQ and family composition

An analysis was carried out to examine the possible effect of family structure on GHQ

scores. The frequencies and mean scores of the four types of family structures in

relation to GHQ scores are shown below in table XII.

Table XII: The frequencies and mean scores of the four types of family structures in

relation to GHQ scores.

	nuclear	one-parent	extended	step-family	Totals
n.	54	34	15	17	120
mean	43.48	47.55	51.33	50.35	46.59
sd	10.06	12.33	18.42	12.86	12.60

These figures indicate that GHQ score (and therefore psychological 'caseness') was

found to be highest in extended families and lowest in nuclear families. The mean

GHQ scores for the four types of family structure were then analyzed using ANOVA

analysis of variance. This revealed no significant differences between the four groups

(F.= 2.460; d.f. = 3, 116; p.< 0.066). It was therefore shown that family composition

was not a significant factor in determining GHQ scores.

4.3. Analysis of the Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI)

The possible range of scores on the SEI was 0-50. For purposes of comparison with other published studies, obtained scores should be doubled to produce a score out of 100. Only those participants who had ten or less missing items on the SEI were included within the analysis. In addition, only those participants whose scores had been included within the earlier analysis of the GHQ were included within the analysis of the SEI. This allowed 45 of the white group, 54 of the black group, and 13 of the mixed parentage group to be included. The total number of participants scores included in this analysis was therefore 112. The frequency of SEI scores for this sample was plotted to produce the distribution shown below in figure II.

Figure II: Histogram showing the frequency of SEI scores for the three ethnic groups.
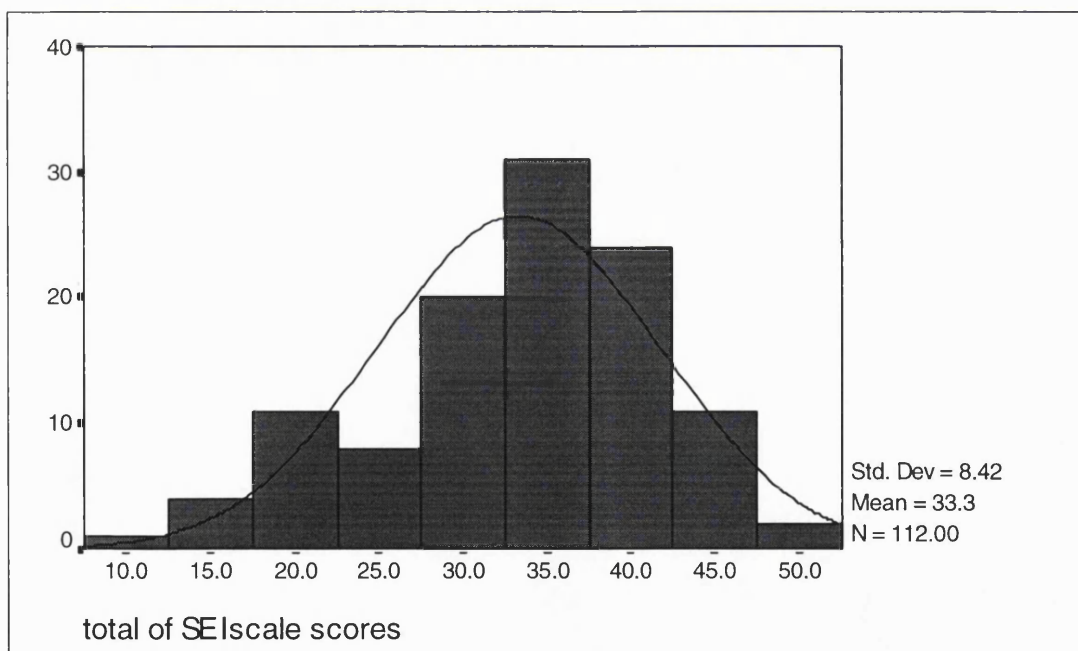
The frequency of scores can be seen to be fairly normally distributed. The participants scores on the other sub-scales were also similarly plotted, again producing graphs that

were fairly normally distributed. Next, mean scores and SDs from the four subscales

of the SEI were calculated. These are shown below in table XIII.

Table XIII: Mean scores and SDs from the four subscales of the SEI.

	Social		Home		School		General		SEI total	
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
White	6.68	1.97	5.33	2.29	5.00	1.77	18.95	5.22	34.28	9.16
Black	6.64	1.69	3.79	2.37	4.57	1.34	18.38	5.23	32.31	8.09
Mixed	7.07	0.75	4.30	2.09	4.46	1.66	19.15	4.25	34.23	7.07
Sample	6.71	1.73	4.55	2.43	4.73	1.56	18.70	5.09	33.33	8.42

The SEI has a built-in lie scale. This was analyzed separately using ANOVA analysis

of variance. No significant difference was found between the three groups on this

measure (F.=1.885; d.f.=2, 121; p.< 0.155). In order to discover if any of the obtained

mean scores on the subscales differed significantly between the 3 groups, one way

analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed. Post-hoc comparisons (Tukey's

honestly significant difference) were conducted to see which if any of the three groups

differed from the others. The results of this analysis are shown below in table XIV.

Table XIV: Results of the analysis of variance of the subscales of the SEI.

Scale	**Social**	**Home**	**School**	**General**	**SEI total**
F.	0.32	7.00	1.13	0.20	0.75
d.f.	2,109	2,109	2,109	2,109	2,109
p.<	0.723	**0.001**	0.326	0.814	0.472
Significantly different groups	-	white and black	-	-	-

It can be seen that there was only one significant difference on the SEI. This was located on the "home-parents" subscale, showing a significantly higher level of self-esteem on this measure for the white group than the black group.

4.4. Comparison of quantitative & qualitative measures

The theoretical model reviewed in this study predicts high level of psychological well-being to be associated with high levels of ethnic integration. An independent rater was asked to rate the participants upon the criteria of level of ethnic integration. The results of these ratings were analyzed using Cohen's Kappa, a measure of agreement between raters that takes into account chance agreement, this provided a value of 0.081. With such a low agreement between raters it was not possible to then attempt to assign an accurate level of ethnic integration to each participant. Because no agreement was found it was not possible to come to a definitive statement regarding the relationship between psychological well-being & level of ethnic integration.

However, within the qualitative results verbatim accounts of parts of each of the participant's interviews are reproduced. It is therefore possible for the reader to come to their own conclusion concerning level of integration of each participant & to view this in terms of the relationship to their measured level of PWB.

To facilitate this task the mixed-parentage participants scores on the GHQ were categorized according to whether they were high (>12), medium (5-12), or low (<5),

with low GHQ scores representing a high level of psychological well-being.   This

information is presented below in table XV.

Table XV: Categorization of mixed-parentage participants according to GHQ score.

GHQ Score	Low (< 5)	Medium (5 - 12)	High (> 12)
Subject	#1, #3, #5, #6, #8, #10, #14	#2, #4, #7, #9, #12, #13	#11

4.5. Qualitative analysis

Fourteen participants took part in the qualitative interviews. The following results are based on the data gained from these interviews. The demographic details of the fourteen participants, plus their scores on the questionnaires is shown in Appendix VI.

Each interview was scheduled to last for about one hour. Some respondents gave full answers to questions while some tended to take a longer time to 'warm up' and feel at ease to talk. This resulted in variations in the amount of data collected from different respondents. This difference resulted in some interviewees appearing to contribute more to the analysis and results than others.

The qualitative analysis employed computer aided data analysis using QSR NUD-IST. This analysis allowed the construction of a hierarchy of themes to describe the obtained data. These themes were:

1. Definition

2. feelings regarding being mixed race

3. Racism

4. Parental attitudes

5. Future identities

The data discussed will be presented in accordance with this set of five themes. See appendix VIII for more details of the layout of the coding frame & themes used.

4.5.1. Definition

Under (1), definition, it was found necessary to subdivide the data into responses

which were then categorized into six smaller subgroups. These were: self-definition,

skin colour vs. cultural or national identity as the basis for self-definition, inconsistency

of self-definition, explanations given for ethnic identity choice, the impact of context

on self-definition, and the participants use of ethnic labels.

4.5.1a. Self-definition.

All of the participants described themselves as either "half-caste", or more commonly

"mixed race".

#14 "if anybody asks me I always say mixed race."

#4   "I'd never say black, I'd never say white, yea I'd say half-caste or

mixed race."

#7 "Well, I'm not black and I'm not white, I'm mixed race."

#1 "I just usually describe myself as half-caste."

Although it can be seen that the terms "mixed race" or "half-caste" were often used as

self-descriptions, these phrases often appeared in the form of a statement that the

individual was neither black nor white. Common to both was a denial of belonging to

a single ethnic group, and more particularly, a statement that the individual was not

black.

> #6 "other people often say that I am black, and mistake me for black, but
>
> no, I see myself as being of mixed race."
>
>
> #4 "If they say "you're black", I say "no"."
>
>
> #1 "if somebody asked me I wouldn't say I was black, I would say I was
>
> half-caste."
>
>
> #13 "It's difficult to say really, my friend is mixed like me, she calls
>
> herself black, but I prefer mixed race."

This denial of being black seemed to emerge from a belief that other people viewed the

participants as black

> #3 "I'm mixed race but, people see me as black."
>
>
> #13 "I know that white people see me as black, but I know I'm white as
>
> well."

> #2 "Now a black person now would just...see all kinds of black people, they see half-caste, coolie people, whereas from the time that a white person sees that you're black...you're just black."

One participant talked of how he was aware that society viewed him as black, but he felt that because of the lightness of his skin colour, it was strange that he was not considered white.

> #3 "when it comes down to it basically "you're black", and I suppose that's society, you're either black or you're white...people that are light, who have a white parent and a black parent, why are they classed as black, why aren't they classed as white?

There were few statements made by participants in which they directly said that they viewed themselves as black. One subject did say that he viewed himself as black, while another talked about a recent development in which he had changed from viewing himself as black to viewing himself as mixed parentage.

> #1 "Yea, I class myself as a black person really."
>
> #10 "when I was younger I used to describe myself as black, and think of myself as black but in the past couple of years I think of myself more as a mixture of both white and black."

Most of the participants placed an emphasis on the having at least a partly black identity, and how this part of them was pre-eminent. This was interesting, given their earlier statements about being mixed race. This suggests that for these participants there was not a complete integration of two sides,

---

#6 "well I do think of myself as more black than white. I don't know why really."

#13 "there are times when I feel as though I am more black than white."

#1 "I think I do see myself as black, more than white sometimes, I don't know why...I just feel more comfortable with my black side."

#7 "Because...even though the shade of my skin is light and...but I feel more closer to black."

#8 "Well I know that I've got black in me and that side feels stronger than the white side, I don't know why."

Two of the participants described themselves as white. In fact these were the two participants with the lightest shade of skin colouring compared to the rest of the interviewees.

4.5.1b. Ethnicity based on skin colour vs. cultural or national identity

One of the participants said that his self-definition was based on shade of skin colour,

> #11 "I ticked white because when people see me they assume that I'm
>
> white."

But, he then went on to say that in another way he considered himself to be,

> #11 "...mixed race, but...my skin is white you know what I mean."

This Subject agreed with the concept that ethnic identity should be based primarily on skin colour, for him societal definitions were given little or no importance,

> #2 "like in my mum's case, she has to see herself as white, because her
>
> complexion is white and she is taken for a white woman, not a mixed race
>
> woman."

When asked if he could also see himself as white, because, like his mother he has mixed ancestry, he elaborated on his view of ethnicity based on shade of skin colour,

> #2 "No that would be stupid...if you look at my skin, It's not white, and
>
> that would just be like making my colour out to be something inner, like
>
> something inside, but colour's on the outside, that's how I see it."

Some participants viewed ethnicity primarily as a function of skin colour, while for others nationality or cultural identity appeared to predominate. These factors were not however mutually exclusive and there was inconsistency in the way in which these concepts were applied to particular situations. One Subject stated the importance of nationality in ethnic identity.

> #5 "Well like I'm saying, for black people who are born here, it doesn't make any difference, just the colour of their skin, they're still British."

Another Subject also viewed nationality as important in determining ethnicity. However, in her view it was the country of birth of the father rather than the individual that was of primary consideration.

> #7 "I often think of myself as Bajan because that's where my dad is from."

Another participant also mentioned the importance of nationality in ethnic identity, but felt that while it was important it was 'trumped' by the transcendent nature of 'culture'. His view was that it was impossible to view people as simply 'white' or simply as 'black', and that consideration had to be given for the impact of nationality and culture.

> #2. "there's different kinds of black races and there's different kinds of white races...it would be different to be a white English person than being

> a white Irish person, or Spanish,...And maybe the same for black West
>
> Indians, black Somalians, its very different"

He then went on to explain the impact that nationality can have on culture in terms of

his own knowledge of the relationship between ethnic groups in his father's home

country of Trinidad.

> #2.   "Their cultures are Trinidadian cultures... there are so many
>
> categories in this country....there's people over there, they live as
>
> Trinidadians, all different colours, there's white Trinidadians living exactly
>
> the same as black Trinidadians. Over here, they're segregated."

In this way it appears that greater recognition of variety leads paradoxically to a

situation in which there is less acceptance of variety. He seems to be describing a

situation in Trinidad where it is recognized that differences exist, (he recognizes

'white' Trinidadians and 'black' Trinidadians), but that the boundaries between the

groups are ill-defined (perhaps because they are not very important). He seems to be

suggesting that the effort at categorization in this country is about preserving

difference and the way that he uses the concepts of 'categorization' and 'segregation'

almost interchangeably suggests an awareness of the hierarchies within the British

system.

4.5.1c. Inconsistency of ethnic identity

For this Subject it seemed that there were times when he described himself as black, half-caste, and at other times he felt he was Indian:

> #2   "if someone says "Are you black", I say "Yea, of course I'm black"...But if they say "where are you really from?" I would say my dad's so and so, my mum's so and so, and "I'm half-caste".
>
> #2   "I used to cut my hair really short because it was kind of straight, and my hair was jet black I used to get treated different... I used to even feel that maybe I had Indian in me."

This Subject seemed to find the whole process of self-definition extremely difficult. It was noticeable that as the interview progressed she appeared to alter the way in which she described the process of discovering her identity.

> #9 "My friends and me don't really think of ourselves as a colour, it's not something we think about really".

Later during the interview, this changed to,

> #9 "I've just started to talk about it and feel strongly... I seem to change my mind.

She went on to describe how she asked others for help but found that the answers she received did not help.

> #9 "Like this thing with writing what you are on these sheets, I don't really know what to put, I don't want to put anything...they don't have mixed race, they just have one or the other...Sometimes I will talk to my best friend, and ask her what she thinks, but she can't really say much because she doesn't know what it's like...like these college applications, I decided to ask my sister what to put and she said to put white-other, because of racism, so that's what I put...but I didn't want to."

4.5.1d. Explanations given for choice of particular ethnic identity

It seems that for the Subject above, the act of having to 'tick a box' has brought to her attention the need to define her ethnicity in a way that she feels comfortable. Other Subject talked about the importance of particular events, or defining moments, in their process of self-definition. One example was an educational event that happened at this girl's school, and what also comes across in her description of this event is a sense of exclusion,

> #7 "up until then I never really thought about what I was in a way in which I had to define myself, but it was like they could have a black history month and a white history month, but never a mixed race history month.

As with #10 quoted above, several participants talked of a maturation process in which

their identity emerged as they grew older and learned more about themselves and the

world,

> #1 "I think that when I was younger, I was a bit sort of, in between, not
>
> really bothering or really knowing or understanding race, and in between I
>
> started to understand it. I was a little bit confused, because having white
>
> friends and black friends, you don't really know what you're supposed to
>
> be like..."

A number of the participants who had previously described themselves as "mixed race"

or "half-caste" went on to talk of how they saw the importance of the black part of

their identity and of the processes that had led to this development.

> #1 "I prefer seeing myself as black, I feel more comfortable, it's more like
>
> it's me."

This participant gave a reason why he thought this change had occurred.

> #1 "Maybe it's because I'm around my father's family more and just... I
>
> think that's one of the reasons why."

This same participant then went on to give a view of what he perceives as a wider

cultural norm, the respect he has for this norm, and how the adoption of an altered

identity has enabled him to gain some of these positive aspects for himself.

#1 "They don't take it to heart if somebody loves them or agrees with

what they think...There sort of more, I don't know, self-confident and...as

I've started to hang around with black people more than I did with white

people I've got more confident."

This view that there are particular aspects of black cultural life that are positive and

should be aspired towards were common among a number of participants.

#10 "I look to Africa and black traditions...I like to read books by black

writers about black topics."

#4 "when black people have a party they just go all out, they more enjoy

it, and if she hears a little bit of base she's fretting, you know, she's saying

"they shouldn't let these black people go on after twelve", and why?, do

they have to be boring or something?"

Another concept that emerged for the participant above was one of 'strength'

#4 "black people are more strong, more strong minded, where white

people, because they get things kind of easy, they don't, they don't even

> know where they're coming from, they don't know about their
>
> background, it might be because they get things too easy in life, black
>
> people, not that they've got more self-respect, but they're got more
>
> strong, not fighting but they're more stronger about their background and
>
> their culture."

This Subject also highlighted cultural differences and talked of his feelings regarding

the assimilation of black culture into mainstream culture.

> #3 "there was this chat show on telly, chatting about wiggers, pretending
>
> to try to dress like you and try and act like you. From the dressing aspect,
>
> that doesn't bother me...it's when you get them trying to talk like us."

One Subject said that one of the reasons she did not describe herself as white was

because she thought that doing so would mean she was being racist

> #9 "because I'm not racist, I don't say white-other."

It emerged later that this Subject held this belief because she felt that others would

regard her as being racist if she classified herself as being either black or white.

4.5.1e. The impact of context on the definition of the self

There were a number of responses from participants that indicated that the context or

situation in which they found themselves had an impact on the way in which they chose

to behave or to define themselves. Several talked about adapting their self-definition

according to context,

> #12 "sometimes black, sometimes mixed race, it depends."

This boy, who had earlier described himself as "half-caste", was quite clear that his

choice of self-description was directly linked to the way in which others described him.

> #1 "because that's how I've always been described by other people, and
>
> that's what I describe myself as, as well."

A number of participants talked of the ethnicity of those around them as being a

significant factor in the way they felt about their own ethnicity at a particular time.

> #7 Sometimes I would say that I'm black, even though I've got light skin,
>
> particularly when I'm with white people."
>
> #10 "....But I know a number of people who are mixed race, and if I'm
>
> with any of them, then I do feel more that I'm mixed race rather than just
>
> black."
>
> #11 "Depends where I am, if I am at home its anything, but say I'm with a
>
> bunch of white friends, I probably react more white, but if I'm with a
>
> bunch of black friends I probably react more black."

This was not a universal view however, with one Subject saying that the colour of

those around her had no influence on the way that she thought of herself.

> #9 "No, if I'm with white friends I don't think of myself as white and if
>
> I'm with black friends I don't think of myself as black."

This Subject talked about a process of change in which he felt that his behaviour had

previously been influenced by the colour of the people around him, but that now he felt

this tendency was a thing of the past.

> #1 "If I was with my white friends then I would sort of act as expected by
>
> white behaviour, and if I was with my black friends I would do the same,
>
> but that just sort of went away"

What is also interesting from the data above is that while #7 and # 10 seem to feel that

the presence of white people leads them to regard themselves as more black, #11 and

#1 describe situations in which when around white people they feel white, and when

around black people they feel black.

4.5.1f. The participants use of ethnic labels

Participants were asked their opinion about the adequacy of the labels used to describe

people with different colour parents.

A couple of participants gave reasons for the why they used the phrase 'mixed race'.

> #1 "I think mixed-race is not insulting or anything, its quite accurate."
>
> #4 "I don't really like half-caste because it's like two different things that don't really meet. But mixed race, it's like you're coming from two different cultures but you're still one person."

It is also noticeable from the participant above that she regards the idea of being integrated as "one person" as being of importance, and that for her the term 'mixed race' is able to achieve this. This view may be seen as a contrast to other views of the self presented earlier which appear to be more 'split'. Although most participants described themselves using an integrated type of terminology ("half-caste" or "mixed race"), there was a feeling expressed that these phrases were inadequate. Some talked of an inherent difficulty in finding an adequate description.

> #9 "I don't think any word could describe me well.
>
> #6 "I think mixed race is about the best, its not perfect but its better than half-cast or something like that...There isn't really a very good way to describe someone like me.

Others however, stressed the lack of definition and accuracy in such descriptions.

One of the most common difficulties / dilemmas cited was whether 'mixed race' should only be used to describe people with a black / white mixture, or if it should also be

used to describe other ethnic mixes. Some thought that only a black / white mixture

should be described as 'mixed race'.

> #11 "people assume when you say mixed race that you mean white and
>
> black."
>
>
> #9 "when I think of the words mixed race I think of black and white
>
> people mixed together. Like, I wouldn't call someone who was Indian
>
> and black mixed race.

However, some did think that mixed race should be used for any combination of ethnic

groups:

> #6 "mixed race can be used for other mixtures, not just for black and
>
> white."
>
>
> #8 "you don't have to have white to be called mixed race, any colours can
>
> be called mixed race, you don't need to have white in you."
>
>
> #1 "if it was a Chinese person mixed with a black person, something like
>
> that, I would just describe it as mixed-race."

> #8 "if I was to say on a form that I'm mixed race people wouldn't know what to expect, like I could be black and Chinese not necessarily black and white."

In fact one Subject felt that the strength of the term 'mixed race' was that it could be applied to a variety of ethnic mixes.

Other people felt that these types of definitions are inherently problematic because they are not 'owned' by the people they attempt to describe.

> #10 "they don't really describe anything, plus they are names made up by white people to describe us. That's why I say European African because it's my name, I made it up to describe me..."
>
> #7 "Well, I don't like half-caste, because its not a word that black people have chosen ourselves to use, it doesn't mean anything."
>
> #12 "They're stupid ways to describe people, you need to have a name you are proud of."

This subject went on to give a historical perspective on how the use of particular ethnic labels have been used by powerful ethnic groups to the detriment of less powerful ethnic groups.

> #7 I don't like the word coloured because that's what they used in South
>
> Africa to separate black people from each other, and its something white
>
> people have used to order black people."

A couple of suggestions were put forward by participants. One placed a pre-eminence on the need to highlight an individuals nationality, while the other suggested skin colour be used as the defining characteristic:

> #9 "I really would prefer it if there was a phrase, that really described me
>
> as I am, you see I'm English and St. Lucian...but there isn't a word for
>
> that."
>
>
> #7 "in the Caribbean they use colour words to describe differences in
>
> colour and that makes sense because it tells you what shade somebody is."

4.5.2. Feelings regarding being mixed race

Participants talked about both positive and negative aspects in regard to being mixed parentage. Only one Subject talked about his ethnicity and produced a response that lacked an affective component,

> #13 "It's just normal, I don't really think about it."

4.5.2a. Positive feelings regarding being mixed race

A couple of participants made statements that simply being different was a good

experience and they viewed as something positive, without any additional reasons.

#5 "I like it because it makes me different from everybody else. If I was

just British it would be the same as everybody else."

#9 "I think it's good being mixed race because it's different...I like being

different."

Another Subject mentioned this feeling of difference, but did so in what might be called

a neutral manner.

#1 I just feel different really... I'm not... I'm different to black people and

I'm different to white people, sort of in between."

Several participants explained that they felt that they had some kind of additional

insight that came from their dual-heritage.

#11 "I think it's good because you know about both"

#8 "I've got experience of the white world and of the black world which

other people don't have."

> #10 "I think that it's good...I can see things from two different points of
>
> view, I'm not biased."
>
>
> #4 "I know my mum's white and my family's white but I've got black
>
> blood in me as well, so it's like two, it's like the best of two worlds."

Others talked about feeling positive about being of mixed parentage, in spite of a

realization that some others did not see it as positive.

> #14 "I think it's good, if white people or black people don't like it then
>
> that's there problem."
>
>
> #7 "I now know who I am, and if some people don't like that...fine, it
>
> says more about that person than it does about me."

4.5.2b. Negative feelings regarding being mixed race

Some talked of what they thought the positive aspects of being 'one or the other'

might be. This seemed to spring from a belief that to be 'one or the other' would have

resulted in some kind of simplification of their experiences.

> #10 "I suppose there have been times when I thought it would have been
>
> easier to have been either just black or just white."

> #1 "when you don't know what you're supposed to...if you're supposed to be like something, to do this, do that, then you get a little bit...not unhappy, extremely unhappy, just unsure."

This participant talked of examples of how he felt white people had reacted to him negatively in the past because of his ethnic background. He gave this as a justification of his decision to describe himself as white.

> #11 "Yea, I used to want to tell everybody...and then in time, they would start like treating me different, not really like big differences, but you'd notice the little things."

He was however quite aware that such a strategy could create problems and talked of the future in terms of a fantasy about possible future dilemmas that such a strategy might produce.

> #11 "I was joking with my mum and said that I could join the army, even though I know that they're racist it doesn't matter to me because I can pass as white, and she said "but wait, what if they're being racist to the person next to you, what would you do then."

This participant talked about how she felt pressurized into making a choice between black and white, and how she refused to make such a choice.

> #4 "I always get asked this question, "if the world was divided into black and white, which side would you go?" and I'd go about my business in another direction."

She went on to mention the types of particular difficulty that such a strategy caused for her however.

> #4 "when it comes to filling out forms there isn't really a space for mixed race, so sometimes I don't know what to write because they don't give you a space to write something, unless you want to explain yourself...

Some participants mentioned times when life would have been simpler to have been one or the other but they contrasted this with something inside them which did not wish to change.

> #11 "Sometimes when I was smaller I... I wished that I was a bit darker so that people knew and they wouldn't say things in front of me, and I wouldn't have to deal with it... but I've never wished that I was one or the other."
>
> #1 "when I was younger I sort of thought if I was with white people it may have been better if I was white, and when I was with black people it may have been better if I was black. I never really felt that I wanted to be black or that I wanted to be white."

One Subject mentioned a lack of acceptance from others as being particularly difficult.

> #4 I've never wanted to be white, I haven't wanted to be black but I've
>
> wanted people to accept me... I wish people would accept me as I am."

4.5.3. Racism

The data within this section was analyzed in terms of the participants explanations of racism, their experience of racism from white people, black people, and sometimes from both. A number also commented on what they considered to be their own racist beliefs or actions.

4.5.3a. Explanations of racism

As an introduction to the topic of racism, participants were asked to simply respond to the question "What does racism mean to you?". This question resulted in a range of answers. The most common response was to make a statement deploring racism. Beyond this, several gave quite sophisticated descriptions and explanations of the way in which racism functions. For example, some made statements that suggested that racism could not be viewed as a single entity, but instead should be seen as operating at a number of different levels.

> #11 "Yea, like people who will say it to your face, people who do it
>
> behind your back, and then there's what I think like the majority of people
>
> are, people who don't really know that they're doing it."

This Subject stated that it was important to make a distinction between racism that

causes offence, and racist violence.

> #3 "Its like, you may be offended by it, but you can still get on with your
>
> life. Things like, death, some people might get beaten, I mean near where
>
> I used to live it was near Lewisham and people used to put lighted
>
> cigarettes through the letterbox."

The same Subject made a comment that he thought that it was possible to have

humour that looked at ethnic differences without this necessarily being offensive.

> #3 "its important for people to be able to laugh about themselves
>
> sometimes, about their own race. People have to accept that, that people
>
> don't really mean anything by it... It affects them more than it should."

This was in contrast to another Subject who stated that although he knew those that

made jokes meant no harm, it did cause offence to him.

> #11 "people saying stuff like... "mongrel", and stuff like that, yea, but like
>
> the majority of people they say it like joking, so you can't...but I don't
>
> know how to handle it... really get annoyed at them."

Another common response was to view racism as bad, but to see it as universal.

> #2 "almost everyone's got a little racism in them somewhere, or prejudice."
>
> #1 "I think its one of those things, like, my dad was attacked by a group of men... I don't think much can be done. I believe that racism happens not just to black people but to white people as well."
>
> #6 "There are always people who don't like others because of their race or religion, that's bad, and there are black people who are racist as well, just not so many."

There was also evidence of it being viewed as something that was not possible to overcome. Even when the results of the racism were physical assault, it was still explained in a manner that viewed it as 'normal'

> #1 "when I remember the comments that they made, and its was only me and another black boy that got thrown in to the canal, I...didn't feel any different really, I just accepted it. There's not a lot you can do about it really."
>
> #7 "I suppose you will always have people who don't like or who will be prejudiced against other people, but it gives people a reason or an excuse not to like other people."

4.5.3b. Experiences of racism from white people

These stories were common. Experiences from the male participants who were the

ones most likely to report incidents involving violence.

#5 "Yea, there was actually a meeting last month at the mosque, and

there were some young guys outside shouting, and my dad's friend went

outside and they kicked and punched him"

#10 " last year I was with a group of black friends and a car crossed the

road and nearly hit us, I had my back to them and saw them jump out of

the way, I did the same... otherwise I would have been hit."

#1 "We saw 3 white men walking down... We tried to run out of their

way... One of my friends... got punched and went into the canal and then

one man threw me into the canal...But while they were throwing us in and

attacking my friend they were making racist comments."

Examples that were more subtle and did not involve violence were more likely to be

reported by the females. What was interesting about these was that they were often

reported with a higher degree of associated emotion than was the case with the violent

incidents from the males. This perhaps says something about the way in which subtle

racism from unexpected sources in everyday situations can be very powerful and

upsetting to the individual.

> #4 "me and my sister were getting on a bus the same day after the riot in Brixton... and there were all white people looking at us black people like we were dirt, I never knew it was like that, I thought that was in the olden days."

A number of participants talked about their experiences in areas with small ethnic populations.

> #2 "When I was little, about 5, we came down from a black area, Paddington, we came down to Burnt Oak and... all the white people there not used to black people so...they used to like...be racist towards you."
>
> #7 "Yea, there weren't any black people down in Dover really and I suppose I didn't really realise that people down there were staring at me until I came here and noticed that people didn't do it here."
>
> #8 "some of them stopped what they were doing and put there bags down to stare at me, I suppose they're just not used to seeing black people there, even my white friend said she thought it was weird."

This Subject talked about how these more subtle forms of prejudice led him to want to respond in negative way.

> #3 "sometimes I go to ask someone the time...or to change some money for the phone, and they're like, really hanging onto their bag, sort of walking away, I want to say something, but also when you're in the shops as well, them security guards that follow you around, it's like I could just pick up something yea, pretend to thief it, you know, just to get on their nerves."

One person mentioned the paradox in being on the receiving end of racist attitudes from white people when she herself was partly white.

> #4 "but to those people who are racist, I've got some of your genes too."

This was really the only comment throughout any of the interviews in which any of the participants mentioned racism from whites and linked this to their mixed parentage. No comments were made suggesting that the participants had ever felt that they had been the subject of racism from white people because they were mixed, but rather because they were seen as black.

4.5.3c. Experiences of racism from black people

Several participants gave reports of being on the receiving end of racist attitudes or abuse from black people. No acts of violence were reported.

> #11 "Some people say "you aint black, you just wannabe"."

> #3 "Yea, I can remember on occasion black people saying 'you're not black'.
>
> #7 "I remember one of them said to me and my sister, "Oh you can't play here with us because you're light skinned".
>
> #4 "she says I aint going out with no white boy because I don't want no mix-up children, she won't even say mixed race, she has to say mixed up, that's not right."

There were a couple of comments which suggested that, even in the absence of any comments being made, the participants detected feelings of hostility.

> #4 "Yea, it's like this girl... she just looks down on me like, your below white people and just below all human beings."
>
> #1 "when I'm with my white friends they may have sort of looked on me as if to say "You're a black person", you can tell that's usually what they're thinking, "You shouldn't be going around with white people."

This same Subject went on however to talk about how he had received preferential treatment from some older black youths in his area.

> #1 "there was me and my white friend Paul, and they pulled us aside and said "yea, we want you to go and get something to eat out of the shop, otherwise we will have to hit you or something like that", and they said to me, "Oh, we wasn't going to do anything to you because like you're half-black anyway".

4.5.3d. Experiences of racism from both whites and blacks

One Subject compared the racism she received from whites and from blacks. She talked about how she was hurt more by the racist attitudes of black people than she was by the racism from whites.

> #7 "I see racism from black people as more because they're supposed to be my friends, they're black like me, black people have to put up with the same thing, sometimes it seems they don't think of me as black or as though I'm not the right shade for them.

Another Subject described how her fears of racism from both blacks and whites had had a direct affect upon the way in which she described herself.

> #9 "it's because of racism, if I say I'm white, black people might go against me and if I say I'm black, white people might go against me."

Within the context of the discussion about racism, a couple of people mentioned black

opposition to ethnic mixing. Both said that they did not view such attitudes as racist

while one said that he agreed with such views.

#13 "you hear some black people say that black people shouldn't mix

with white people, but I don't think they are really being racist."

#10 "some black people will say that they think its wrong for black and

white to mix, and they know that my mum's white... anyway I kind of

agree with that in a way...I don't think I would call that being racist."

One Subject described how he saw his past preference for white rather than black girls

as probably resulting from a racist attitude.

#1 "when I sort of thought about it, why I'm only or mainly attracted to

white girls... and so maybe in a way I was...you could call it racist."

4.5.4. Parental attitudes

Information in this section came from the participants interactions with their parents

and other important family members.

4.5.4a. Mothers responses to their children

All the participants interviewed had white mothers. When asked about how their mothers dealt with having mixed parentage children, the reports were all positively presented.

#10 "I remember my mother saying to me that I'm as good as anybody else and it doesn't matter what colour you are, it's the person you are that counts."

#7 "She just says that I've got both sides in me and that I've got to know about both. I think that that is quite positive."

It was clear that the participants had remembered quite clearly the ethnic identity statements that their mothers had said to them.

#8 "When I was little my mother used to say to me that I've got both black and white in me and she's told me things about black history, it was good she did that."

#2 "she tells us that you're black, but she makes us know that still we have white as well."

#14 "I can remember her saying that I was mixed race and that meant I was black and white and that was better than just being one or the other, but that was when I was really little"

There appears to be something cathartic in the memory of the way that this boy's

mother handled this situation involving racism with his younger brother.

#2 "My brother was playing at the side, and the kids were calling him

some names. He was crying, so my mum was right outside, and my mum

told him to go back down there and stick up for yourself and not to cry."

4.5.4b. Fathers responses to their children

It is necessary when thinking about this data to bear in mind that of the fourteen

interviewees, eight did not have their father living as a member of the household.

Regarding the content of interviews, what emerged strongly was a lack of advice or

direction given to the young people from their fathers regarding racial matters. In

contrast to the positive way advice was received from mothers, the fathers advice was

often seen as negative or was criticized by the participants.

#1 "the only time I can really remember is when my dad recently was

because the police... because they tried to pick on young black youths,

and, that was basically it, the only time I can really remember."

#10 "the only things I really remember him saying was that it was hard

for black people, that black people have to work twice as hard to achieve

the same thing but that was all. I don't remember him saying anything to

me about being mixed race."

> #2 "He never talks about my black side"

Another theme which emerged from the fathers was a recognition of how difficult it was sometimes being black. However, this seems to have been interpreted in a negative way and a sense of a devaluing of 'blackness'.

> #2 "my dad was kind of happy that I turned out looking not as black as they did, so he thought that when I grow up I wouldn't find it as hard".
>
> #7 "my dad, he's more prejudiced, and not against white people, it's more towards black people...I think he has a lot of hatred, maybe he sees black people as a let down".

In addition to parents, this Subject found that there was another member of his family that he was often better able to talk to. He suggests that this is due to her young age.

> #1 "I if I really wanted to talk about...I would probably speak to my aunt, because she's not that much...she's like 20 something, so I can speak to her."

4.5.4c. Responses from other family members

Most of the data regarding responses from other white family members was presented

in a negative way.   One common response was to feel that other family members

ignored the Subject's black heritage.

> #8 "none of the white people in my family ask me about it."

Other participants talked of family members making insensitive comments about black

people in their presence, e.g.

> #4 "I think the worse thing is being with my white family when they're
>
> saying things about black people and they expect me to agree with them,
>
> but I'm like thinking forget it because if you don't like the black in me
>
> obviously you don't like me,".

This example suggests that the Subject felt that her family would not have made such

comments if they had been sensitive and had considered what her feelings were likely

to be. What this Subject seems to be suggesting is that these family members regarded

her as white.

4.5.5. Future identities

Respondents were asked if they had any preference for the ethnicity of a potential partner. All of the male respondents felt that they did not or should not have any preference based on ethnicity:

> #10 "I've had a white girlfriend and a black girlfriend. I don't think I would choose to go out with someone because of their colour."

However, the views expressed by the female interviewees was somewhat different, this girl based the reason for her preference in terms of 'attractiveness'. She seemed to be able to split the principle of ethnic mixing away from the actually mixing.

> #7 "I don't find white boys attractive, they just don't appeal to me, but you shouldn't just judge it on colour, if you find someone attractive...then it's who they are that is most important".

Other females were prepared to say that in principle they considered ethnic mixing to be undesirable,

> #4 "Like some of my friends and even my cousin say they don't like black boys going out with white girls...I know what they're talking about and I agree with them".

> #8 "I suppose that white people want to have white children and black
> people want to have black children, there's nothing wrong with that, if
> everybody mixed together then you would lose the differences between
> people and everybody would be the same, so...I don't think that would be
> a good thing."

The implications of these results will now be discussed.

5. Discussion

5.1. Ethnic identity

Quantitative measures invited the participants to ethnically define themselves using the format devised in the 1991 census. On the basis of these results the participants were divided into three groups for the purposes of the statistical analyses. These three groups were defined as white, black, and mixed parentage. In addition to this question participants were also asked to define themselves using more open-ended questions. The results of these questions showed that black individuals were more likely than their mixed race or white counterparts to use definitions that were ethnically based. This result was in line with the study of Powell (1973) quoted in the introduction in which he found that black people were more likely than white people to classify themselves using an ethnic description.

Of the mixed parentage group, fifteen described themselves as either mixed race or half-caste. The remaining three described themselves as white. None of this group described themselves as black.

The qualitative interviews examined ethnic identity issues among fourteen of the mixed parentage group. All of the mixed parentage group who had described themselves as mixed race or half-caste on the quantitative measures did so again within the interviews. However, this identity was not consistently adhered to. Reported feelings about being mixed parentage were both positive and negative. Positive feelings tended to be associated with the perceived advantage of knowing two cultures or ethnicities.

Negative feelings tended to be associated with experiences of non-acceptance by others. Among those of mixed parentage there emerged an awareness of themselves as possessing a dual cultural / ethnic heritage, and a conscious desire for others to accept them in this way.

While all of the participants described themselves using a dual-ethnic self-description, a number of them talked of situations in which they placed greater emphasis on one aspect of their ethnic background over the other aspect. This lack of consistency prevented any definitive conclusions being reached concerning the relationship of ethnic identity development to either self-esteem or psychological well-being.

For example, one participant said that he also described himself as black. Of the remainder, several denied that they viewed themselves as black, although several did say that they viewed their black identity as more dominant than their white identity. A number of reasons were given as to why and how participants had come to this decision. Ideas such as feeling more "confident", "strong", and "comfortable" were highlighted. This feeling of viewing the black part of themselves to be dominant was found to be commonly expressed.

A more detailed examination of the interview transcripts revealed more subtle ways in which the participants could be seen as viewing themselves as black in particular situations. For example several participants appeared to argue particular points from what seemed to be a black standpoint. For example #4 had said, *"If they say "you're black", I say no."* However, later when talking about an incident of racism in which

she felt that white people had stared threateningly at her, she said *"...and there were*

all white people looking at us black people like we were dirt". Similarly, #8 talked of

being stared at by white people while in an area with few ethnic minorities and said *"I*

suppose they're just not used to seeing black people there." Similarly, #3 described

his annoyance at the emergence of 'wiggers' (white people that 'act' 'black'). He said

he didn't mind seeing the imitation of styles of dress but what he objected to was,

"when you get them trying to talk like us." What seems clear here is that the "us" that

he is referring to is not mixed parentage people in particular, but rather to a wider

black collective. Similarly, #7 in describing how hurt she felt when black people

behaved in a racist manner towards her said, *"they're supposed to be my friends,*

they're black like me".

It can be seen that for these participants there is a link between their experience of the

racist attitudes of others and the way in which they go on to think about themselves in

terms of being black.

The negative reaction of others was also found to be one of the main factors that led to

a white self-description. Of the three mixed parentage participants that recorded their

ethnicity as white on the questionnaire, two were subsequently interviewed. They both

explained that they did regard themselves as mixed parentage, but described

themselves as white because of the negative consequences they had experienced when

they had attempted to describe themselves as such. For example, #11 explained how

he had initially attempted to explain his ethnicity to others but because he found

himself having to do this repeatedly he now tended to avoid doing so by describing

himself as white. This same participant realized the potential psychological conflict that such a position could cause. He described a hypothetical situation (see p.51) in not knowing what he would do if placed in a situation in which he had to choose to face up to white people acting in a racist manner toward a black person. This was interesting in as far as it seemed that in order for him to 'defend' a black person in such a situation would require him to publicly acknowledge the black part of himself.

What is noticeable from the above accounts is that when the participants appeared to think of themselves as subject to racist attitudes or actions of others that this tended to polarize their views of themselves as either 'black' or 'white'. These and other types of contextual influences upon the ethnic identity of the individual will be examined in more detail later in the discussion.

What starts to emerge from this analysis of ethnic identity is the complexity of the issue and the danger of accepting uncritically a single statement made by the participants as a definitive assessment of how they viewed themselves. The participants demonstrated that they were aware of a necessity to differentiate between an external reality within which others viewed them as *either* black or white, and an internal reality that included *both* black and white. Even those participants who initially described themselves in ways that emphasized just one side of their ethnic heritage, were able, when asked to go into more detail to counter this view and to describe themselves in more complex ways. Much of the research cited in the introduction suggests that the most positive state of ethnic identity is reached when the individual has integrated both sides of their ethnic heritage. From the evidence found in this research it seems that an inference

about integration based on questionnaires asking about ethnic categorization may be overly simplistic, (in a similar way that levels of self-esteem were inferred from the results of the doll studies). These findings suggest that it is not possible to infer a state of ethnic integration simply because an individual decides to define him / herself in this way rather than mono-ethnically. This is important in considering the types of methodology used in researching ethnicity and the need to use qualitative methods to gain this type and depth of information.

There was only one interviewed participant (#9) who consistently admitted that she felt confused and often did not know how to classify herself. She describes her decision to classify herself as mixed race as a way of avoiding being viewed as racist, which is what she thought likely to happen if she identified as either white or as black. Therefore, what would be regarded by identity theorists as an ostensibly positive statement about being mixed race was in fact a negative choice of avoidance, rather than a positive choice. There does appear to be some way for this participant to go in having a positive view of her ethnicity that is not based on fear. It also adds further caution in relying on statements that participants may give regarding ethnic grouping as indicative of level of ethnic identity development. Once again it is possible to see a connection between concepts of racism and identity.

5.2. Self-esteem

No significant differences were found on the quantitative measure (SEI) in terms of self-esteem between any of the three groups. In some ways a non-significant result on

this measure is of great interest, particularly in view of the significant differences that were found on the measures of psychological well-being. It suggests that the way in which self-esteem remains protected for black individuals in spite of racism (see p. 23) may also be true for individuals of mixed parentage.

Again, the qualitative interviews are able to shed some light on to what might be some of the processes at work which enable the self-esteem of the individual to remain protected and isolated when other aspects of psychological functioning may not be operating in such a positive way.

A number of the participants told of memories of their mothers telling them about the necessity of feeling good about their ethnic heritage, and were given knowledge about black history. In talking about the way in which they saw their black identity as heightened over their white identity, they mentioned concepts such as confidence, strength, enjoyment, and traditions. An internalization of these kinds of qualities for these individuals, may have served as some kind of insulating function to protect their self-esteem.

5.3. Psychological well-being

Quantitative results (GHQ) demonstrated significantly higher levels of psychological well-being among the white sample when compared to the mixed parentage sample. The black participant's scores were located in an intermediary position, not significantly different from either the white or the mixed parentage sample. In

considering where the mixed-parentage participants were located in terms of psychological well-being, they may therefore be viewed as allied closer to the black group than to the white group. The relationship between social class and GHQ score was examined and no significant differences were found. Although there were significant differences between the three ethnic groups in terms of family composition, there was no significant difference in terms of GHQ score relative to type of family structure.

The difference in psychological well-being was found in particular to be located within certain sections of the scale. The largest degree of difference between the white and the mixed parentage groups was located within the 'somatic' and the 'anxiety' sub-scales. The black group scored significantly higher on the 'depression' subscale than did the white group.

In thinking about these results the obvious question to ask is why the results from the mixed-parentage group were lower than those from the white group. Perhaps the obvious answer to this question would be to consider the effect that racism has as a psychological pathogen (Fernando 1984). However, the difficulty with this is that if racism was to have such an effect it would be expected to be reflected within the black participant's scores, (black scores and white scores were not significantly different). What might then have been the specific factors that had a detrimental effect on the mixed parentage participants scores? Again, it is illuminating to review the interview data.

While on the subject of the possible effects of racism on psychological well-being,

some of the mixed parentage sample talked of receiving racism not just from whites

but blacks as well. Furthermore, this may not just have resulted in a quantitative

difference, but also a qualitative difference. Most of the participants seemed to accept

racism from white people as an unpleasant fact of life, even when it included acts of

life-threatening violence. However, those that talked of experiencing racism from

black people tended to mention how difficult they found this to cope with. This may

not be surprising given that many of the participants talked about the positive aspects

of having a partly black identity.

A denial of the black part of their identity on the part of others was also picked up

when the participants talked about what they considered problematic in their

relationships with family members. While they acknowledged the positive role played

by their mothers in helping them to shape a positive identity, they tended to be critical

in the lack of positive messages received from their fathers. What also seemed to be

damaging was the way in which the participants felt that other white family members

did not recognize the participant's ethnic difference. They felt that this occurred when

these particular white family members talked in negative ways about black people in

general and seemed to expect the participant to be in agreement with them.

What was it about these types of situation which was so difficult? Again it seems to

surround the individual's sense that a part of themselves was being denied. This was

also found to have a negative effect when the ethnic difference was reversed. One

participant (#9) talked of how her older sister had adopted an outwardly black identity

and that the participant felt that her sister ignored her white identity. Perhaps in a similar way to the examples given above, this participant felt uncomfortable with the implication that this ethnic part of herself was unacceptable.

5.4. Influence of context

Evidence for the context-driven nature of identity mentioned by Turner (1984) was demonstrated. He had argued that different situations tend to be associated with different conceptions of self. It was apparent in the present study how identity was more influenced by group membership in some contexts than in others. For example, amongst the mixed parentage sample there was evidence that the ethnicity of those around the individual played an important part in how they viewed themselves ethnically at any particular point in time. The lack of consensus found lends support to Plummer's (1995) view of ethnic identity among adolescents being unstable. Some participants described their ethnic identity being influenced to run in accord with those around them, while others felt that being around white people made them feel more 'black'.

This leads to interesting questions about what it was about particular situations that led some participants to feel ethnically identified with others in their environment. No participants were asked for this information, but one hypothesis might be that the experience of same or opposite ethnicity might be a product of how the individual views the particular situation. The way in which concepts of racism and ethnicity were linked by the participants has been highlighted earlier. It may have been that the

participants who described feeling an opposite identity are describing situations which they regarded as ethnically hostile in some way, while those that felt comfortable with those around them and did not have this feeling. The perceived lack of status differential may then have made the question of ethnic difference less pertinent.

This is a question that can only be answered by further research, however it does demonstrate the existence of what have been called 'fluid' identities (Root 1992), that can adapt and change according to circumstances and situations. It was here that developmental aspects appear to have had most impact. A number of participants talked of feeling "confused" when younger and altering their behaviour to fit in among others according to whether the other people were white or black. The way in which the participants described growing more comfortable with themselves and not being so concerned with how others perceived them seems to lend support to the existence of Marcia's (1966) final stage of identity achievement. However, the existence of environmental influence on even those individuals who appeared to have achieved a high level of identity achievement seems important. It may be for example, that ethnic identity cannot really be viewed as a linear process, but should instead be viewed as a circular process that is revisited over a period of time. Furthermore, it may also be necessary to think of it in terms of being multi-dimensional, so that the particular environmental context in which the individual finds him / herself carries with it its own associated level of ethnic identity. In this way it would be possible for an individual to have a different concept of identity at home, at school, during leisure activities etc.

5.5. Other influences on ethnic identity

5.5.1. Important influence of family or friends

The differing impact of the mothers and fathers approaches has already been mentioned. This finding may to some degree be confounded by the high proportion of absentee fathers. However, there were particular aspects of the mother's approach that appear to have been particularly beneficial. Many participants reported receiving what they perceived as positive messages about their identity from their mothers. These were usually in terms of them acquiring a knowledge of themselves as both black and white. Another commonly expressed memory was of instances during childhood where the mother had defended the child against racism or given him / her coping strategies and an ability to 'fight back'.

These kinds of findings are the antithesis of the examples quoted by Gibbs (1987), who reported the cases of a number of adolescents that she saw in clinical practice who complained of the psychological harm caused by their parents non-acceptance of their child's black part of their identity. Phinney's research (1989) also emphasized the pivotal importance of parents views on the positive attainment of ethnic identity of the mixed parentage child.

Evidence also emerged of the importance placed on shared experiences. One participant talked of how supported she felt by a particular mixed-parentage friend. In addition all of the participants lived within areas of high ethnic diversity & none of the participants talked of feeling alienated from 'their' community. These findings are in

accordance with those of Tizard & Phoenix (1995). They argued that living within an ethnically diverse environment was important in the attainment of a positive ethnic identity. They go on to criticize the notion of a single black identity or culture, & furthermore suggest that colour of parent is of less importance than these other aspects of environment in this development. However, this research shows that any concentration on the colour of the parents really misses the point. What the participants in this study commented on was the quality of the interactions with their parents, but also a belief on the participants part that the white parent understood the difficulties faced by the child. This was demonstrated by the accounts of the white parent giving useful guidance on identity & how to combat racism. It may also have been that the white parents demonstration of their willingness to be part of *a* black culture (by entering into a relationship with their father), having black friends, cooking 'black' food etc. was of vital importance in allowing the participant to feel that both sides of the ethnic heritage were equally valued.

5.5.2. Importance of ethnic names or labels.

Evidence was found to support the view of the important role that ethnic labels have in influencing the way the individual thinks about him / herself, (Philogene, 1994; Cross 1971). There was general dissatisfaction with the term 'half-caste', with 'mixed race' being the most popular choice of ethnic label. However, this often took the form of a grudging acceptance rather than a willingness to adopt this label. Several reasons were given for the rejection of the term 'half-caste', & the difficulty in fully embracing the term 'mixed race.'

Several participants talked of how important they felt it was to have an ethnic self-definition 'owned' by those that use it. One participant, (#10) had even gone so far as creating his own name ("European African"). Part of the difficulty with the term 'mixed race' seemed to arise because of a lack of a universal acceptance of exactly what it describes. Some participants felt that it should and did apply only to those who were mixed black / white. However, a number felt that any ethnic mixture should be described as 'mixed race'. Clearly a label that is not understood by those it is intended to describe is of little use. So what might be the factors that lay behind dissatisfaction with this term? Firstly, it is an ethnic label that has no basis in a country or national group. The way in which some participants described themselves in cultural or ethnic terms may well have been as a response to this. The ethnic label chosen by #10 above can be seen to serve the function of a description of national background in which colour is not seen as important. It would seem likely therefore that the term 'mixed parentage' will either not be universally adopted or will come to be discarded for the same reasons.

5.5.3. Differences between the US and Britain

It is interesting to consider the type of factors that might lead to differences between the US and Britain in terms of how mixed parentage people define themselves. In terms of how mixed parentage people are viewed by black people in this country, what came across from the research was that the mixed parentage people did not view themselves as any way higher or superior to black people. There was also no evidence that they felt black people regarded them in any elevated manner. This is different to

the historical situation in the US, (& other countries such as South Africa) where light - skinned blacks were awarded elevated status over other blacks due to their white ancestry. There appears to be no such process at work here.

The reasons for this difference may well have historical foundations. As was noted in the introduction, the major status differential in the US between whites & blacks occurred as a result of slavery. The mixing of whites & blacks at this time also resulted in status differentials between black and mixed parentage people. In contrast, there were relatively few black people in Britain prior to 1950 (Walvin 1973). Those that came from the Caribbean arrived with a history of ethnic mixing which placed a prominence on nationality rather than colour. The national motto of Jamaica, "out of many we are one", refers directly to the central place that the mixing of ethnic groups has had in the current population of that country. This sentiment was also echoed by one of the participant whose black ancestry he located in Trinidad, (#2). He talked of both white & black Trinidadians sharing a common culture & a similar life-style in which their nationality was a far more important defining feature for their identity than their colour.

This is not to say that there is no ethnic hierarchy based on colour within the Caribbean, but that it appears to be far less important than it is in the US. This historical feeling of comfort with ethnic mixing in the Caribbean may help to explain why there is a much higher frequency of ethnic mixing in this country than in the US. Having said this, it was found that a number of participants, who mainly happened to be females, talked about the advantages of not mixing. This was expressed in terms of

the benefits of cultural pluralism & what would be lost if a true 'melting pot' was ever

achieved. It may be that this fear of loss occurs as result of the knowledge that aspects

of cultural identity are often subjugated rather than acknowledged. This was well

illustrated recently after the sporting success of US golfer Tiger Woods & the interest

that was generated because he was the first black gofer to achieve such a high honour.

This public & media interest was recently reported in "The Observer" newspaper,

(27th April 1997). It was reported that in receiving his award he paid tribute to

pioneering black golfers who had led to way by appearing in the tournament.

However, during a later discussion of his ethnicity he,

"contradicted his own father's assertion that he is black. Instead the

golfer identified himself as 'Cablinasian', a name he invented to reflect

his Caucasian, black, Native American, Chinese & Thai roots." (p.31).

This demonstrates the complexity of ethnic identity. As was found in this research,

this individual recognizes his public profile as black, & talks in a positive way about

being associated with other black people. Yet when the opportunity arrives to provide

more detail he attempts to describe himself in a way that encompasses the totality of

his ethnic heritage. He finds the current classification system unable to accommodate

this ethnic heritage & so he decides to create his own ethnic label.

5.6. Review of the theoretical models

The theoretical models of ethnic identity development that were presented in the introduction will now be re-examined. All of the stage models presented put forward the notion of a sequential development. Cross's model of black identity development discussed the idea that what moved an individual beyond the first stage of racial naiveté was often an important event, either personally or within wider society. A number of participants provided evidence to support this. For example #4 talked about an episode concerning a school trip to a black museum and having to think about whether as a mixed parentage person this qualified her also to think of herself as black. Again this appears to be evidence that it seems possible for an individual to use a dual-ethnic self-description, without having actually developed an integrated sense of oneness. This seems true also when one considers that many of the participants reported describing themselves as being mixed race or half-caste from an early age, apparently without really understanding about its meaning.

There does therefore appear to be evidence of identity development occurring as a result of internal conflict, or crises. A number of participants mentioned the way in which important milestones in their lives, moving home, ending school, & starting work were the ones identified as being times when they needed to think about their ethnic identity. The occurrences of crises lends support to the idea of the individual passing through a 'stage' of development. However, contrary to this theory would seem to be evidence of the effect that context has on the identity of the individual. This suggests that the emphasis placed on a linear development of identity is not supported by the evidence found in this study.

It is important to consider how the observed differences between psychological well-being scores & the lack of difference between self-esteem scores is able to be accommodated within a theory of ethnic identity development. Cross' (1987) theory made a distinction between personal identity (PI) factors, & reference group orientation (RGO). Such a distinction may be seen as a specific way in which personal identity & social identity (Turner 1984) may exist in terms of ethnicity. The findings of this research suggest that PI factors were not able to differentiate the three ethnic groups, rather it was the social identity or RGO factors which exerted the major influence. The evidence from this research supports those theorists (e.g. Cross 1987; Spencer 1985), who argue for the necessity of viewing ethnic identity & self-esteem as separate factors.

5.7. Methodological considerations

The sample size of 18 mixed parentage individuals who took part in the statistical analyses was less than was optimally desirable. However, 14 of these individuals were interviewed. Therefore, despite the relatively small numbers involved in the study the variety of methods used provided a large amount of data about the way in which they thought about themselves. In addition, it may be argued that given the resource limitations on the research, this was a reasonable sample size. The only published study in Britain to have located a larger sample size was that of Tizard and Phoenix (1995). They managed to recruit 58 Ss, although only 26 of these attended local authority schools (in many ways the comparison group with the present study).

Nevertheless, a larger sample size would have been preferable. A check was made on the statistical power and the effect size available with the type of sample size used in this analysis. It was found that the probability of finding a statistical difference (statistical power), between the mixed parentage group and either of the other ethnic groups with a sample of 14 (mixed) and 56 (white or black), was 27%, given the current effect size of 0.315. It was calculated that attempting to gain statistical power to meet the convention of 80% would require groups sized 78 (mixed) and 312 (white or black) respectively.

It is widely recognized that ethnicity of interviewer will have an effect when psychological data is being gathered. Within the present study, the interviewer was a mixed parentage male aged in his early 30's. Several of the participants commented on the ethnicity of the interviewer either during or after the interview. It is not possible to say definitively what impact the ethnicity of the interviewer had with regard to the data obtained. It is necessary to accept that it is not possible to have an ethnically 'neutral' interviewer, but the possible effects of ethnicity, gender, and age of the interviewer this should be borne in mind when considering the results.

5.8. Contributions of this research

One of the major differences between this and other research with mixed parentage participants was the way in which the sample was recruited. By locating the research within a community rather than a clinical sample the problems of pathologising the experiences of mixed parentage adolescents was eliminated. This was one of the main

drawbacks of several of the studies quoted in the introduction. For example, the case examples quoted by Gibbs (1987), give details of individuals who for one reason or another have come to the attention of psychiatric or social services. This is also true of the examples quoted by Lyles *et al* (1985), Pinderhughes (1995), and Maxime (1993b), who all described problems encountered by individuals living within mainly white areas.

The value of this research was that it was located within mainstream schools and ethnic identity was designated by family of origin, rather than being ascribed by others (parents or teachers). By deliberately avoiding using participants who had already been diagnosed as suffering from psychiatric problems it was possible to look at more common experiences. The sampling methods used in previous research gives a more limited picture of the mixed parentage individual. For example, Wilson (1987) recruited her sample from a mixed parentage support group. She describes the potential influence that such a recruitment method may have had on her results, (see introduction). The Tizard and Phoenix (1995) sample is seen to have a middle-class bias because of the number of individuals involved who did not attend state schools. In addition, part of their technique for recruitment was also to ask teachers to identify the mixed-parentage pupils. It is likely that at least some individuals would have 'missed the net' of such an approach. In addition, the results from this study suggest such an exclusion may have been systematic, i.e. that the very light-skinned individuals would be the ones most likely to be not chosen.

By asking participants to define both themselves and their parents ethnicity it is possible to see the degree to which individuals with one black parent are likely to classify themselves as white when using the census forms. The qualitative measures give some indication of how mixed parentage individuals view these types of question. In particular it was found that these type of official forms highlight the type of dilemmas that surround not fitting in that mixed parentage people may face in other situations. The way in which objective skin colour & nationality may be viewed as all having their own impact on ethnic identity is implicitly recognized in the way that the census question has been formulated. The census uses a mixture of categories based on racial group (white / black), nationality (Pakistani, Indian), and geographical origin (African, Caribbean). The way in which these different concepts are mixed within the census question reflects the diverse influences upon ethnic identity.

It is also hoped that this research will add to the knowledge base from which clinicians can draw when working with mixed-parentage clients. Sue & Sue (1990) found that *"a minority individual's reaction to counseling, the counseling process, & the counselor is influenced by his / her cultural / racial identity & not simply linked to minority group membership"*. (p.94). The authors go on to argue that the failure of many therapeutic interactions with ethnic minority clients occurs because the therapist fails to take account of the client's level of ethnic identity development. By alerting clinicians to the factors that influence such a development & their relationship to PWB, it is hoped that the number of such treatment failures may be reduced.

5.9. Conclusion

No differences in self-esteem were found between the mixed parentage group & either the white or the black group. Significant differences were found between the mixed parentage group & the white group in measures of psychological well-being. The relationship of these factors to level of ethnic identity development among the mixed parentage group was examined. This was done by utilizing a model in which development was defined in terms of 'degree of integration of dual ethnicity'.

The assessment of degree of integration was a complex one due to the lack of consistency displayed by the participants. This lack of consistency prevented any definitive conclusions being reached concerning the relationship of ethnic identity development to either self-esteem or psychological well-being. Positive feelings regarding being mixed-parentage seemed to derive from the idea of having 'the best of both worlds', i.e. a knowledge of two different cultures & life experiences. This suggests that it is not the effect of being different which is difficult. Instead it appears that what is of more importance is the participant's perception of other people's attitudes toward them. This environmental context appeared to be a significant factor in the participants view of their ethnic identity.

The way in which some participants felt that their black ancestry was not accepted by their white relatives was singled out by those participants as the most damaging aspect of white racism. However, experiences of racism from black people although of a relatively minor nature appear to have been far more traumatic to the individual than more major incidents perpetrated by white people.

The effect of being the target of racism seemed to polarize an individual's view of their identity as being mono rather than dual-ethnic. The process of this development appears to lend weight to Cross's (1971) hypothesis that ethnic identity emerges as a response to internal conflict, which in itself occurs because of the individual's experience of racial oppression. The way in which the 'one drop rule' developed in the US out of institutional racism seems have been mirrored to some extent in this country & appears especially virulent during episodes of racial oppression.

In contrast to these negative factors there were a number of protective factors in the participant's lives which seemed to enable them to enjoy a level of self-esteem comparable to that of their white & black peers. The most important of these factors appears to have been the support & guidance the participants felt they received from their mothers in combating racism & developing a positive identity that was able to take account of both sides of their cultural & ethnic heritage. Accounts of racism tended to coincide with the participants finding themselves in geographical areas of low ethnic diversity. The negative effects on ethnic identity suffered by mixed-parentage individuals that have been found by some workers (Pinderhuges 1995; Maxime 1993b; Gibbs 1987; Lyles *et al* 1985), were not repeated in this study.

It seems extremely unlikely that quantitative methods alone would have been as successful in uncovering the complex nature in which personal & environmental factors were seen to influence each other in determining ethnic identity. This suggests that in terms of empirical measurement, the development of a validated scale to measure ethnic identity among people of mixed parentage may not be easily achievable. It

therefore seems potentially more profitable to attempt to continue to examine these factors using qualitative methodology. Other areas for future research include an examination of being mixed-parentage from the Asian / white & Asian / black perspective. This question has not been tackled within this study, but it would seem helpful for these individuals to identify the factors that mediate mental health within these populations.

Of particular value in the research of ethnic identity development would be the use of longitudinal studies, able to focus on the process of identity change & development to a far greater degree than was possible within the present study. Such work may lead to the development of models that are able to accommodate the apparently circular & 'fluid' nature of ethnic identity that the stage models have difficulty coping with.

Ethnicity & ethnic identity are not areas that have been well researched in this country, (Maxime 1993b). This research has deliberately focused on a non-clinical population with the intention that its findings will give greater insight to those working with this particular population at all levels to prevent them adding to the over-representation of ethnic minorities in the mental health statistics.

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7.1. Appendix I

Letter of ethical committee approval

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON MEDICAL SCHOOL

Administration
Gower Street
London   _All_ correspondence to:
WC1E 6BT   Mrs Vanessa Revill
                                   Committee Secretary
Telephone 0171 387 7050   Joint UCL/UCLH Committees on the Ethics of
Direct Line 0171 209 6305   Human Research: Committee Alpha
Fax 0171 383 2462   *(External ac. ress as above.*
                                   Internal address/deliveries by hand - 6th Floor, St.
                                   Martin's House, 140 Tottenham Court Road
                                   (opposite Warren Street Underground Station).
15 July 1996

Professor Chris McManus
Department of Psychology
UCL

Dear Professor McManus,
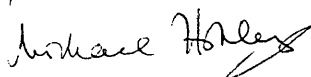
Joint UCL/UCLH Committees on the Ethics of Human Research: Committee Alpha

No: 96/3418   *(Please quote in all correspondence)*
Title: Self-esteem and psychological well-being among adolescents

Thank you for your letter of 17 June 1996 supplying further information at the request of the Committee. I am writing to let you know that this application is now approved. You may therefore go ahead with the study.

Please note that it is important that you notify the Committee of any adverse events or changes (name of investigator etc) relating to this project. You should also notify the Committee on completion of the project, or indeed it the project is abandoned. Please remember to quote the above number in any correspondence.

Yours sincerely,

Professor M Hobsley
Chairman

7.2. Appendix II

CONFIDENTIAL

Demographic questionnaire

A. About You

1. Name ....

2. Date of birth ....

3. Sex Male / Female (please delete)

4. Where were you born? ....

5. Nationality ....

6 Ethnic group. Please tick the appropriate box.

White	
Black - Caribbean	
Black - African	
Black - Other	

Please describe................................
....

Indian	
Pakistani	
Bangladeshi	
Chinese	
Any other ethnic group	

Please describe................................
....

If you are descended from more than one ethnic or racial group, please tick the box to which you consider you belong, or tick the "Any other ethnic group" category and describe your ancestry in the space provided.
Note: we are not asking about your nationality which has already been asked about.

7. "The above categorization is able to adequately describe the ethnic or racial group to which I belong". Do you:

Strongly agree	
Slightly agree	
Slightly disagree	
Strongly disagree	

(Please tick only one box)

8. Was English the first language that you learned to speak?   Yes / No
If no, what was your first language?   ....
At what age did you first speak English?   ....
What languages are spoken in your household?   ....
                                                            ....

9. From the list below, please rank the four items which you believe are the most important words that describe who you are as a person by placing a number to the right of the word in the box provided. These items should be ranked so that the most important item is given the number "1", the next most important item the number "2" and so on. For example, if you think that the word "able-bodied" is the most important word that describes you, then you should write "1" next to it. If you believe that artistic is the second most important word that describes you then you should place a "2" next to it and so on until four words have been numbered.

able-bodied		artistic		atheist		bad	
black		creative		disabled		extrovert	
female		good		healthy		heterosexual	
homosexual		ill		intellectual		introvert	
lovable		male		mixed-race		political	
practical		religious		sporty		white	

10. Without including words from the above list, please write down three further words that describe who you are as a person.

        1...
        2...
        3...

B. About your Family

1. Apart from yourself who else lives in your household?

....
....
....
....

2. Mother's:
        - place of birth   ....
        - age of leaving full-time education   ....
        - occupation   ....
        - If English is not her first language, what is? ....

3. Father's:
        - place of birth   ....
        - age of leaving full-time education   ....
        - occupation   ....
        - If English is not his first language, what is? ....

4. Ethnic group of parents. Please place a tick in the appropriate boxes

	Mother	Father
White		
Black - Caribbean		
Black - African		
Black - Other		

Please describe...

....

Indian		
Pakistani		
Bangladeshi		
Chinese		
Any other ethnic group		

Please describe.......................................

....

If one or both of your parents are descended from more than one ethnic or racial group, please tick the box which the person considers he / she belongs, or tick the "Any other -ethnic group" category and describe the person's ancestry in the space provided.

5. Do you have a brother or brothers?   Yes / No
If yes, how many?   ....
What are their ages?   ....

6. Do you have any sisters?   Yes / No
If yes, how many?   ....
What are their ages?   ....

7. Concerning your grandparents:
        - Where was your mother's mother born?   ....
        - First language spoken?   ....

        - Where was your mother's father born?   ....
        - First language spoken?   ....

        - Where was your father's mother born?   ....
        - First language spoken?   ....

        - Where was your father's father born?   ....
        - First language spoken?   ....

8. Please complete this sentence;

        "I am ...."

7.3. Appendix III

Semi-structured interview

1. How do you describe your ethnicity and has this changed over time?
- In addition to the way that you described yourself, do you ever consider yourself to be black/white/mixed race?
- Is this the same way that you have always described yourself. If not, what terms have you previously used, and what do you think caused the change to occur?
- Do you ever feel that there are influences to change or alter the way that you define yourself now?
- Are there any other terms which you feel better describe your ethnicity?
- Do you find yourself more drawn toward or influenced by white culture and ideas, e.g., music, language, friends, food etc., or by the black equivalents of these.

2. What is the term that you use to describe other people who have one black and one white parent?
- Would you describe all people who have parents of different colours with this term?
- If not which particular ethnic groups come under this term?
- Which groups do not come under this term, e.g. how do you refer to people who have one white parent and one Asian parent?
- What do you think of the terms mixed race, coloured, half-caste, brown.

3. What does racism mean to you?
- Have you got particular memories of incidences of racism involving white people?
- Have you got particular memories of incidences of racism involving black people?
- Did these experiences impact upon you in a different way?

4. What are the attitudes of your parents toward these issues?
- Do your parents discuss race issues with you?
- What do they say?
- How do you feel about what they say?
- Do you ever feel divided loyalties toward your parents?

5. How do you feel about being of mixed parentage?
- Have you ever in the past wished to be a different ethnicity?.
- If so, why, and what would you have chosen?
- Have you recently ever wished to be another ethnicity?
- How do you feel about having one black and one white parent?
- If you had to choose to be of a different ethnicity, what would it be and why?
- Have you any preference for the ethnicity of a potential partner?
- Within such a relationship, how would you view the ethnicity of any children that you may then have.

7.4. Appendix IV

INFORMATION SHEET
<u>Title of Study:</u>
Self-esteem and psychological well-being among adolescents.
<u>Investigators:</u>
Prof. Chris McManus, Dr Helene Joffe, Dr Jocelyn Maxime, Mr Robert Halsey

When children become teenagers they will often begin to question things about themselves and the world in which they live that they previously accepted uncritically. In an ever-changing and more complex world, issues of morality and justice etc. come to be questioned. Perhaps more importantly, questions will be asked at a more personal level to try to gain an answer to the question as "who am I". There exists a need for the individual to think about the way they interact with the world and for some individuals this might be in terms of, for example, their sexual or racial identity. This process of questioning and the way in which these questions are resolved have consequences for the way in which the individual will go on to lead their adult life.

We are doing a large study to examine the ways that teenagers resolve questions such as this, and also to discover how they feel about themselves and their abilities. In particular we are interested to discover if the way that the individual views him/herself has any impact on their psychological well-being.
We are inviting you to participate in the study. We believe that the opinions of teenagers are rarely asked and when they are they are often ignored. By taking part in this study you will have the chance to talk about issues that are important to you and to other young people who do not have this opportunity.

<u>What does the study involve?</u>
It is hoped that a large number of young people in a number of schools will take part in this study. All those who volunteer will take part in stage one of the study. They will be given three questionnaires to complete, asking about how they see themselves and the world around them.
A much smaller number of children will then be asked to volunteer to take part in stage two of the study which consists of an interview with a researcher. These interviews will look in greater depth at the areas included in the questionnaire and will last for about one hour. Because of the need to accurately record information, these interviews will be audio-taped. However, all stages of the research will be strictly confidential and anonymous. Agreement to take part in the first stage of the study will not place any obligation on the individual to participate in the interview part of the research.

<u>Where will the study take place?</u>
The researcher will complete the study either at your school or within the family home, whichever you prefer.
Note: You do not have to take part in this study if you do not want to. If you decide to take part, you may withdraw at any time without having to give a reason. Your decision whether or not to take part is completely your choice. All proposals for research are reviewed by an ethics committee before they can proceed. This proposal was reviewed by the joint UCL/UCLH committees on the ethics of human research.

7.5. Appendix V

CONFIDENTIAL

Participant Consent Form

Title of Study:
Self-esteem and psychological well-being among adolescents.

Investigators:
Prof. Chris McManus, Dr Helene Joffe, Dr Jocelyn Maxime, Mr Robert Halsey

delete as necessary

1.   Have you read the information sheet about
       this study?   Yes / No

2.   Have you had an opportunity to ask questions
       and discuss this study?   Yes / No

3.   Have you received satisfactory answers to all
       your questions   Yes / No

4.   Have you received enough information about
       this study?   Yes / No

5.   Who did you speak to about this study?   ....

6.   Do you understand that you are free to stop
       taking part in this study
                            - at any time   Yes / No
                            - without giving a reason   Yes / No

7.   Do you agree to take part in this study?

       Signed.. Date...............................

       Name in block letters...

       Investigator...

7.6. Appendix VI

CONFIDENTIAL

Parental Consent Form

Dear parent,
We are a group of researchers based at University College London who are intending to do a piece of research within a number of schools within London. We are currently seeking permission of parents to allow their children to participate in the study.

Title of study:
Self-esteem and psychological well-being among adolescents.

Purpose:
This study is designed to investigate the ways in which adolescents perceive themselves and the world around them. In particular we are interested to discover if the way that the individual views him/herself has an impact on their psychological well-being and self-esteem. We hope that as many individuals as possible will have the chance to participate in this project and to have their views represented. Included with this correspondence is an information sheet for your child that gives more detail about the background and the procedure of the study.

Participation:
All proposals for research using human subjects are reviewed by an ethics committee before they can proceed. This proposal was reviewed by the joint UCL/UCLH committees on the ethics of human research. Permission has also been sought from the local education authority and from head-teachers. However, it is obviously only with your approval as a parent that your child will be allowed to participate in this study.

Investigators:
Prof. Chris McManus, Dr Helene Joffe, Dr Jocelyn Maxime, Mr Robert Halsey.

Please remove below the dotted line and return with the participant consent form to your child's school secretary as soon as possible. Thank you.

Title: Self-esteem and psychological well-being among adolescents.

		delete as necessary
1.	Have you read the information sheet?	Yes / No

2.	Do you understand that you are free to withdraw your consent for your son / daughter to take part in the study	
	- at any time	Yes / No
	- without giving a reason	Yes / No

3.   I do / do not (please delete) give consent for my son /daughter to participate in the study if he / she wishes.

Signed...   Date................................

Name in block letters...

Name of child...

7.7. Appendix VII

Individual Demographic & Questionnaire Results for the interviewees

Subject 1. (#1)

male, 16 years, born UK, Mother born UK, Father born Caribbean, Both parents

unemployed, both left school aged 16. Has one brother and two sisters. GHQ total =

2, SEI total = 58. Barnet LEA

Subject 2. (#2)

male, 17 years, born UK. Mother born Europe, Father born Caribbean. Mother

unskilled, left school 13. Father left school 18. Skilled occupation. Three brothers,

one sister. Ss is youngest child. GHQ total = 8, SEI total = 72. Barnet LEA

Subject 3. (#3)

male, 15 years, born UK. Mother born UK, father born Caribbean. Currently living

with grandparents. No information regarding parents. GHQ total = 0, SEI total = 26.

Lambeth LEA.

Subject 4. (#4)

female, 15 years. Born UK. One parent family. Mother born England, left school 16.

Father born Caribbean. One brother, one sister, middle child. GHQ total = 7, SEI

total = 58. Lambeth LEA.

Subject 5. (#5)

female, age 15 years, born UK. Nuclear family. Mother born UK, left school 18 partly skilled occupation. Father born Egypt, working as professional. Father Muslim. Three sisters. GHQ total = 4, SEI total = 70. Greenwich LEA.

Subject 6. (#6)

female, age 15 years. Born UK. One parent family. Mother born UK, left school 16, unskilled occupation. Father born Caribbean, left school 16, skilled occupation. Two sisters. Youngest child. GHQ total = 1, SEI total = 80. Greenwich LEA.

Subject 7. (#7)

female, age 15 years. Born UK. Step-family. Mother born UK, left school 18, skilled occupation. Father born Caribbean, left school 13, skilled occupation, Two sisters. Middle child. GHQ total = 10, SEI total = 66. Lambeth LEA.

Subject 8. (#8)

female, age 15 years. Born UK. One-parent family. Mother born UK, left school aged 18, working as a manager. Father born Caribbean, left school 18. One brother. Oldest child. GHQ total = 0, SEI total = 94. Lambeth LEA.

Subject 9. (#9)

female, age 15 years. Born UK. Step-family. Mother born UK, left school 16, unskilled occupation. Father left school age 20, skilled occupation. Three brothers, two sisters. GHQ total = 12, SEI total = 62. Brent LEA.

Subject 10. (#10)

male, age 16 years. Born UK. One parent family. Mother born UK, left school 16,

unemployed.   Father born Caribbean, left school age 14, unskilled. One sister.

Youngest child. GHQ total = 0, SEI total = 66. Merton LEA.

Subject 11. (#11)

male, age 16 years. Born UK. Nuclear family. Mother born UK, professional. Father

born US, managerial. Two brothers. Youngest child. GHQ total = 22, SEI total = 0.

Islington LEA, boys only school.

Subject 12. (#12)

male, age 16 years. Born UK. Nuclear family. Mother born UK, left school 16,

skilled occupation. Father born Caribbean, unskilled occupation. Two sisters. Middle

child. GHQ total = 7, SEI total = 88. Islington LEA.


Subject 13. (#13)

female, age 16 years. Born UK. One parent family. Mother born UK, left school 16,

partly skilled occupation. Father born Caribbean, skilled occupation. One sister.

Oldest child. GHQ total = 9, SEI total = 42. Brent LEA.

Subject 14. (#14)

male, age 16 years. Born UK. Nuclear family. Mother born UK, left school 16,

skilled occupation. Father born Caribbean, left school 16, partly skilled occupation.

One sister. Youngest child. GHQ total = 3, SEI total = 66. Brent LEA.

7.8. Appendix VIII

Plan & Definitions of Coding Frame
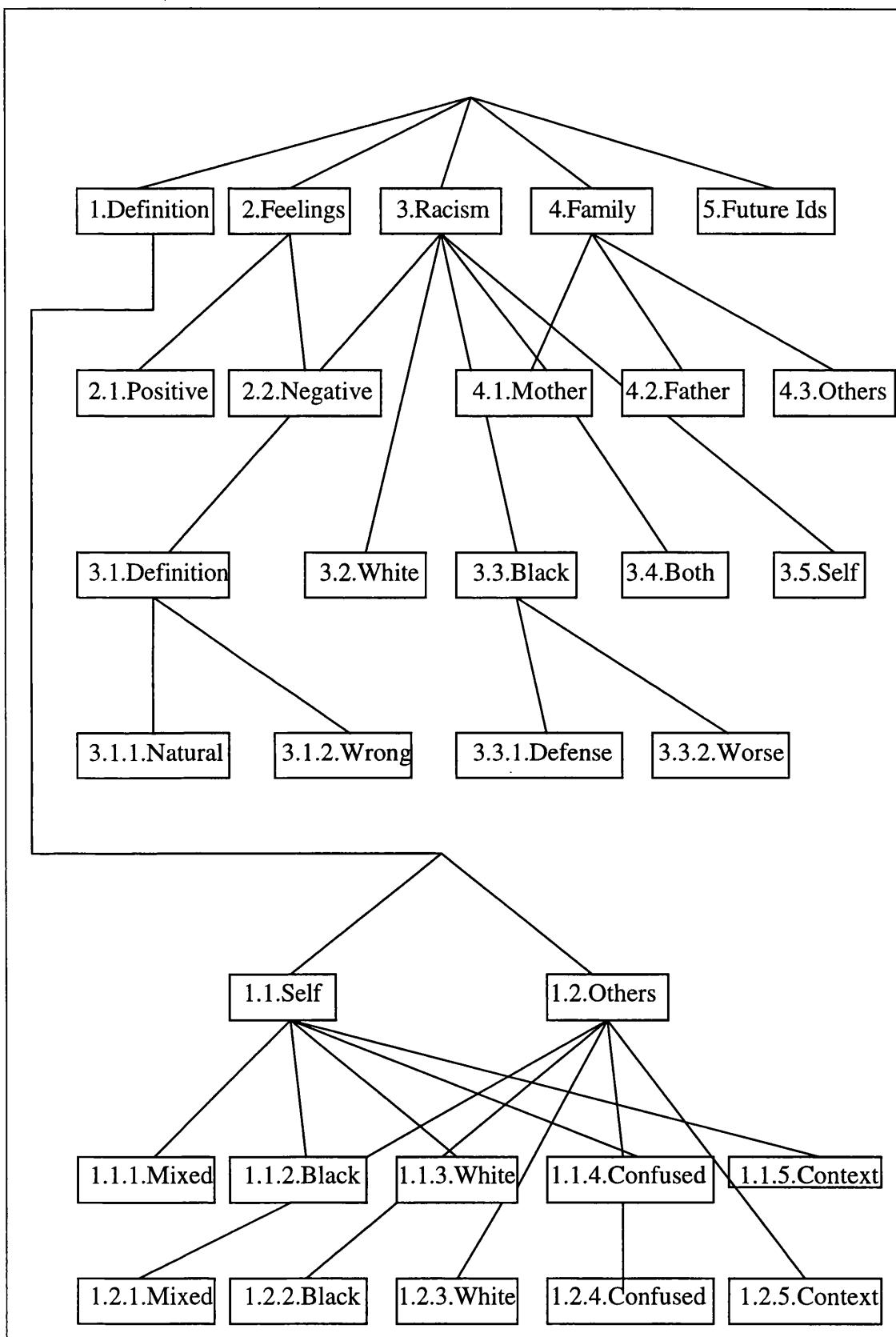
The boxed titles refer to the following:

1. Definition

1.1.   Self definition

1.1.1.   Self definition as mixed parentage

1.1.2.   Self definition as black

1.1.3.   Self definition as white

1.1.4.   Self definition confused

1.1.5.   Self definition influenced by context

1.2.   Definition of others

1.2.1.   Definition as mixed parentage

1.2.2.   Definition as black

1.2.3.   Definition as white

1.2.4.   Definition confused

1.2.5.   Definition influenced by context

2. Feelings regarding being mixed parentage

2.1.   Positive feelings

2.2.   Negative feelings

3. Racism

3.1.   Definition of racism

3.1.1.   Definition of racism as natural

3.1.2.   Definition of racism as wrong