Changing Answers but Not Identities:
A Qualitative Investigation of Race Responses in a Longitudinal Survey

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April 16, 2009

Paper to be presented at the 2009 annual meetings of the Population Association of America

ABSTRACT

We seek to understand why people change their race responses over time. We use longitudinal survey responses to selectively recruit individuals for in-depth interviews about the reasons behind their changing responses to questions about their race(s) and primary racial or ethnic identities between 1988 and 2007. We find a wide variety of changes in 33 individuals' answers to questions about their race, ancestry, and Hispanic origin. To date, we have completed in-depth interviews with nine of these individuals. In many cases, respondents do not remember changing their answers and do not consider themselves to have changed their identities. Respondents' post-hoc accounts of varied answers often focus on events or thoughts near the time of the survey and on details of question wording. Many also report a rationalized process for selective reporting of their race(s), depending on the purpose of the form (e.g., job application versus social club).

Race has long been thought of as an immutable ascribed characteristic. However, this assumption has been undermined as scholars have noted that the boundaries of race categories are contingent on the historical and social circumstance. Others have noted that individuals' racial identities are also subject to change. Changes over time in individuals' answers to survey questions about race may reflect changes in their racial identities, may reflect changing historical or social circumstances, or may be a reaction to changed question wording. For example, recent revisions of federal guidelines to allow respondents to mark one or more race categories to indicate racial identity, millions of people have changed their race response from single race to multiracial. We do not know whether these changes reflect a new racial identity, the current socio-historical context, or are simply a response to the new instructions.

In the present study, we seek to understand more about why people change their race responses over time. We used individuals' longitudinal survey responses to identify 33 people who have changed their race response substantially. We then recruited these individuals to participate in in-depth face-to-face interviews about the person's racial identity, race responses, and changes in each of these over the 20 year period covered by the longitudinal survey.

It is important to understand why people change their race responses. At a practical level, policy evaluation and population projections require a strong understanding of race group boundaries. For example, a policy aimed at improving the education of an American Indian population may be erroneously determined to be successful if relatively educated individuals join the population via identity change. Demographers and policy makers trying to project this same population's growth will need to make assumptions about whether the changes are likely to be permanent and transmitted to the younger generations, or whether this is a more optional ethnicity which is very likely to ebb and flow with changing circumstances.

At a more basic level, we hope to use these cognitive interviews to provide a better sense of how respondents interpret the racial and ethnic categories presented in surveys. For example, if questions are interpreted to be assessing biological descent, a respondent might change their response only when new family information has been revealed. In this case, the new response might be stable over the long term. On the other hand, if questions are interpreted as assessing everyday experience, responses may change with such things as residential mobility or social movements and may change repeatedly over time.

PRIOR RESEACH ON INCONSISTENT RACE REPORTS

Background Information

In 1997, The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) made significant changes to the standards on race and ethnicity which were implemented in the 2000 Census (de Pinal 2002). Since the 2000 Census, which allowed respondents to mark one or more race categories to indicate racial identity, there is a newly identified population of people who report themselves as being multiracial or having mixed heritage (Lieberson and Waters 1993; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002). The numbers of multiracial marriages and of children of mixed racial heritage have been increasing. People with mixed racial heritage may be especially likely to answer race questions inconsistently from census to census. Especially among people who identify themselves as multiple-race there has been an inconsistency in survey responses over time depending on the way questions were asked and on their context (Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002; Harris and Sim 2002).

Race Reporting Consistency: Effects of Wording, Format, and Mode

Several researchers have studied effects of the new race question format on consistent race reporting. Studies conducted by the Census Bureau have focused specifically on the effects of changing wording, response categories, and question order. In a program to assess how the changes in wording, question sequence, instructions, examples, and the option of "more than one race" affects respondents' answers, the testing, experimentation and evaluation program of the Census Bureau conducted the Alternative Questionnaire Experiment (AQE). The AQE is a 1990-style short form survey which preserves the 1990 question wording, format, categories, and order along with incorporating some of the 2000 graphic design (del Pinal, Martin, Bennett, and Cresce 2000; Martin, de la Puente and Bennett 2001; del Pinal 2002). A control panel of 25,000 households received the Census 2000-style questionnaire and 10,500 random households were mailed the AQE form. Findings showed that race categories white, black, and Asian had a good consistency level. Race categories American Indian and Native Hawaiian had a moderate consistency level, and the 'some other race' and 'two or more races' groups had a poor consistency level (de Pinal 2000). It was found that the Hispanic population contributed greatly to the variability in race data. According to Singer and Ennis (2002:52-53) "changes in the Hispanic origin question, including sequencing it ahead of race, the dropping of examples, changing the question wording and adding 'Latino,' and the new instructions to answer both Hispanic origin and race may have influenced consistency" (del Pinal, 2000:16). Another possible reason for inconsistency in race reporting could have been because the 2000-style race question instructions might have been perceived by respondents as suggesting or encouraging reporting more than one race.

The Census Quality Survey (CQS) administered by the Census Bureau in 2003 for the purpose of comparing race data obtained using the words "mark one race" to that using the

words “mark one or more races” (Bentley, Mattingly, Hough, and Bennett 2003). Of those non-Hispanic respondents to the Census 2000 who marked more than one race, only 40 percent also reported two or more races when re-interviewed by the CQS (Bentley, Mattingly, Hough, and Bennett 2003). Overall there was a low level of consistency in reporting two or more races, and mode effects (effects of survey question wording and formatting) explained a good deal of this inconsistency.

Inconsistent race responses can also be a result of the survey mode. In a self-administered questionnaire it is fairly easy to present a long list of categories. But in a survey administrated by an individual interviewer it can be difficult and awkward to communicate a long list of categories, which is done by either reading each category out loud individually or presented by a flashcard (Bentley et al. 2003). It is also common during individual interviews for respondents to interrupt the interviewer with their answer before the interviewer read all the categories or interviewers may abbreviate the list (Bentley et al. 2003).

Some people cannot find a category that expresses their own sense of racial identity. According to Bentley and colleagues (2003) many Hispanics and other participants have inconsistent race responses because of the classification system used by the census. Hispanics have a difficult time understanding and selecting an appropriate race category that reflects their identity as a result of the wording of the race question.

Race Reporting Consistency: Minimal Identification with Some Heritages

Besides effects of question wording and format, respondents might be inconsistent with their racial and heritage answers over the years if they do not strongly identify with all of their racial heritages. Recent research has shown that white/Native American young adults are a large group which is relatively uncommitted to their race responses. Some who identify themselves as

multiple-race have few cultural connections to Native Americans (Harris and Sim 2002). Past research seems to suggest that these racial inconsistencies among youth will dissipate over the years and become more stabilized in their adulthood (Harris and Sim 2002). Although there are a large number of respondents who are inconsistent in their answers on race and heritage, there are also evidence that indicates that racial identity for many people with mixed heritages can be fairly stable over time; not everyone has an ambiguous idea of their racial identity (Harris and Sim 2002; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002).

Qualitative Research using Cognitive Methods

In order to test how effective a new format for the race question would be, researchers at the Census Bureau preformed several cognitive studies in which surveyed individuals were interviewed in depth about their responses to the survey questions. These studies tested a variety of different formatting and wording options with the aim of developing a new race question. A 1995 study performed by Ruth McKay and Manual de la Puente tested the effect of having a multiracial and Hispanic categories included in the race question. They conducted face-to-face interviews with participants in the Current Population Survey (CPS). The study was separated into four different panels where participants were asked different CPS race questions. There were three phases involved in this study, each one adapted from the results of the last to improve the format and wording of the race question.

Initial findings showed that respondents were unfamiliar and had problems differentiating between the terms race, ethnicity, and ancestry. Phase one asked anywhere from 21 to 27 questions depending on race and many respondents felt the questions to be redundant which invoked negative responses from the majority of participants. Also many respondents were uneasy answering questions about race because many thought it was a covert attempt to

determine if they were racist. By the third phase, interview questions were reformatted and grouped into three separate sections: self-identification, preference, and conceptual. McKay and de la Puente found that conceptual questions were not appropriate for asking about race and ethnicity because respondents were still having problems distinguishing between the concepts. Grouping questions into sections did eliminate the respondent's feelings of redundancy and suspicion of a covert intent.

Another cognitive study was performed by Eleanor Gerber and Manuel de la Puente. It consisted of two sub studies of people from a variety of race/ethnic backgrounds in order to develop two different new race questions for the National Content Survey (NCS) and the Race and Ethnic Targeted Test (RAETT). NCS interviewed 32 respondents, 14 during Phase one and 18 during Phase two (Gerber and de la Puente 1996). RAETT interviewed a total of 92 respondents and consisted of four phases of refinements. The study also included experimental forms, which were self administrated prior to the start of the interview. The forms incorporated the experimental questions that "were adapted from the 1995 Census Test form" (Gerber and de la Puente, 1996:199). During the interviews participants were probed on all questions. One of the probes included, "What are you thinking?" (Gerber and de la Puente, 1996:199).

Results showed that the term "race" was for the most part easy for respondents to define and understand, but was occasionally defined as a person's skin color (Gerber and de la Puente, 1996). Typically, most respondents' defined race as a group you belong to or as a background. Most respondents were familiar with the term ethnicity, but were unable to distinguish it from the concept of race. Some respondents stated that that race and ethnicity were identical terms, and "when probed about the meaning of 'ethnic group' they said it was 'the same thing' as race" (Gerber and de la Puente, 1996:210).

Gerber and de la Puente also found that that whether a respondent had participated in prior surveys that included race and ethic origin questions was an crucial "determinant of how they interpret and respond to race and ethnic origin questions" (Gerber and de la Puente 1996:215); people had developed a habit of response. Because of this, any unexpected changes to the instructions of the race questions such as, "mark one or more race" went unnoticed by a few respondents (Gerber and de la Puente, 1996). Based on these results, Gerber and de la Puente concluded that because of various segments of the population there is no ideal or perfect way to ask the race and ethic origin question (Gerber and de la Puente, 1996).

Remaining questions

There are several studies that have been done to test the consistency and accuracy of particular questionnaire wording, format, and design issues. Although these studies are rarely published, they have provided important background information about how particulars of wording can solicit differing answers. Much work remains to be done in understanding reasons for changing answers in less official situations – i.e., in surveys not conducted by the Census Bureau. The prior research has also been very focused on short term changes in responses, rather than changes over the course of an adult's life. We strategically utilize a longitudinal study to identify patterns in answers to various questions about heritage and reasons why people change their race responses over a longer period of time.

DATA and METHODS

To address the question of why people are inconsistent with their race responses in longitudinal surveys, we are conducting open-ended qualitative interviews with individuals chosen strategically from among participants in the longitudinal Youth Development study

(YDS). The YDS survey began with about 1,000 individuals who were enrolled in 9th grade of a public school in St. Paul, MN, in 1988 and have been followed with another 17 survey waves over the course of the next two decades. Respondents were asked various questions about their race in 1988, 2004, 2005, and 2007. Appendix A lists the YDS survey questions and possible responses in each of these years.

Thirty-two of the YDS respondents changed their answers to questions about race over the course of the 20 year period between 1988 and 2007. Twenty-nine potential interview participants have been invited to participate in this interview study (the others live more than 100 miles away from St. Paul, MN). At this point, we have conducted open-ended qualitative interviews with nine individuals in this pool of 29 potential respondents. All interviews were conducted in person by the second author (a white woman in her mid-30s) and were audio-recorded using an MP3 digital recorder. For the preliminary analyses presented here, the audio recordings were partially transcribed. Further interviews and complete transcription are planned in the future.

CHANGING ANSWERS

In Table 1, below, we report the YDS survey responses of the 33 participants with seemingly inconsistent responses to the questions about race, ancestry, and primary identity. When they were in 9th grade, in 1988, twenty-one of these respondents reported that they were mixed race. Thirteen of these 21 people reported a single race in 2004. This is especially surprising because the race question used in 2004 was in the Census 2000 format, which allows respondents to mark as many races as necessary. One person reported a single race (Filipino) in 9th grade and reported two races in response to the 2004 race question.

Ten respondents reported a race group in the 2004 ancestry question that they did not report in the race question. Two people reporting only American Indian race indicated that they have white (Swedish or Italian) ancestry. Seven people listed white, black, or both white and black as their race(s), and reported American Indian in their ancestry only (not among their races, even though this was allowed). No respondents reported black, Asian, or Pacific Islander ancestry without reporting that group among their races. This pattern of reporting American Indian as an ancestry but not a race may reflect a general perception that American Indians are peoples of America's past, and not especially relevant to their descendant's current lives.

American Indian as a multiple race also has a pattern of disappearing. Four people who report single-race black in 2004, and three people who report single-race white in 2004 reported that they were multiracial part-American Indians when first surveyed as 9th graders in 1988. Two multiracial part-American Indian 9th graders reported single-race American Indian in 2004, reporting their white heritage as ancestry only. Perhaps people have different understandings of socially appropriate ways to answer heritage questions when they are younger than they do when they are older. Again, however, the American Indian race seems to hold a special place in the minds of some YDS respondents.

Other substantial changes are evident when we compare answers to "What is your primary ethnic and/or racial identity?" This question was asked in 2004 in conjunction with several other questions, and was asked alone in 2005 and 2007. About one-third of respondents in our study substantially changed their answer to this question over the three survey waves. Most changes involved moving from mixed to single-race or vice versa.

After examining these data and considering prior research such as that discussed above, we developed an interview schedule (see Appendix B) and began interviewing these

respondents. The identification numbers of the nine respondents interviewed are: 772, 1124, 1191, 1492, 1503, 1548, 1664, 1833, and 2177. These respondents' "ID" numbers are underscored and in bold in Table 1. All respondents were in their mid-30s when interviewed in the Minneapolis/St. Paul metro area in August 2008. Four interview respondents are women (ID: 772, 1191, 1548, and 2177) and the other five are men.

PRELIMINARY RESULTS FROM INTERVIEWS

Interview respondents have come from a wide variety of family backgrounds. Three respondents (1492, 1548, and 1833) reported in 1988 that they were black and white, with varying reports since then. Two respondents (772 and 1124) have white and Mexican heritage, and a third is white and Filipino (2177). Two respondents (1503 and 1191) mention American Indian heritage in 1988 and do not report it in other years. And respondent 1664 reported in 1988 that he was black but identified in 2007 as simply "human."

We highlight two themes in these preliminary results. First, many respondents expressed surprise to hear that they had reported other races in the past and do not feel that they have had an identity change or awakening. Second, many respondents discuss strategic thinking their answers to race questions on job applications; these strategies are based on thoughts about affirmative action. In contrast, they are more free form with their answer questions to survey questions (such as the YDS) and membership applications for such things as voluntary organizations. As we continue to explore these data and gather more interview data, we expect to provide evidence on additional themes.

Because of time constraints, we present only quotes at this point. Future versions of this paper will include comments, transitions, and conclusions.

Changing race response but not identity: quotes from respondents

- **1124 when told about race reported in 1988**: "Might have been type of day or who I was, see that's how it can go its ongoing, yeah definitely ongoing. I think maybe depending on who I was, friends I was hanging out with in 9th grade, maybe family or if I was doing the survey in front of them, in front of my mom then I probably would have put Hispanic or if I was mad at her I probably would have put White . . . it's ongoing daily thing kind of like a juggling act".

- **1191 when told about race reported in 1988**: "I think probably around this year was probably like just a couple years after like my parents told me ya know 9th grade, or 10 years old just a few years and I think in my mind I think, I think @ that point in my mind I was focusing on that quite a bit, you know trying to find him and why he would wanna".

- **1503 when told about race reported in 1988** "Wow Okay. No I don't remember that at all, the only thing I can think of for the reason why I might have wrote that is I was, I was dating a girl at the time who was Native American and I kinda I've always kinda been drawn to that culture, and when I met her dad he looked at me, 'you know what, you look like you've got some Indian in you, you look like you could be one of our people' and I think I might have just kinda ran with that . . . at that time I was trying to figure out you know where you place is in the world".

- **2177 when told about race reported in 1988** "Really? Okay . . . was it written the same way? . . . I suppose maybe in 9th grade you had to ahh understand where you are coming from ya know because there are so many different groups at my High School at who you are going to identify yourself with. I went to Laurel grade school and so of course I was going to identify myself with more of a Caucasian person, because I was the only person of color probably in three grades before me and three grades after me, but I didn't really consider myself a person of color I was just a little bit darker so and because we also I don't quite identify myself with the Filipino culture because my dad's, dad who was from the Philippines died when he was 8 and then my grandmother had remarried two times after that and so there umm was like no Filipino culture in our family whatsoever. So I always kinda identify myself with Caucasian race. So maybe I was going to try it out when I went to High School and I thought yeah I can actually identify myself as someone who is not a 100% Caucasian ".

- **772 when told about race reported in 1988** "Oh? No, maybe I was ashamed, I don't know. All my friends were Caucasian, I don't know".

- **1833 about filling out YDS survey in 2007** "No I don't remember. Usually I put Mixed; I don't know why I put Black this time. I still feel that I am Mixed and that is what I will always be, I guess I don't know why". …. "No should have said mixed, but I just I dunno maybe I did it real quick or something, I dunno".

- **1492 about pattern of responses to YDS**: "Wow!!... That's really weird…Well, maybe it was worded differently or something…. [Interviewer: Well, these ones were the same, those

three.] Really? ((Embarrassed laugh)) [CL: I'm not trying to call you out, I'm just trying to like….] Well, you know, maybe I just… Maybe… I can't say for sure, but maybe I was taking a little more time than the other ones, you know what I mean? Instead of rushing through it. [CL: Oh, okay, so if you were rushing you would just write 'African American'] More than likely. I would assume. Yeah. [CL: Because it's shorter than going into it.] I would assume. Yeah. …. I hate to say it…. More than likely, that's probably what happened. [CL: That's okay! So you don't feel like you've had a big identity shift sometime in your life…] Not at all. [CL:…and you're exploring this…] Not at all.

Job applications and other official forms: quotes from respondents

- **1124**: "I've worked for a couple of jobs where they've needed to hire people of minority and they've asked 'Oh we heard you are half Mexican is there anyway you could check the other one?' yeah sure, I guess, kinda weird, but usually I check the White, usually".

- **1124**: "Like in jobs where I know its more of a White run company or sumthin I'd definitely put White . . . ya know just for that chance that they might not you know that they would look down on it . . . but if I know the person who is hiring is Hispanic I write Hispanic down".

- **1664:** "I turn away from the idea is because a lot of times like if you fill out a job application. They wanna know your race because they get a ahh percentage on havin a diversity ratio from the government, they get kickbacks. Why do you deserve a kick back because you hire four black people that you are going to fire in six months later and then hire four more black people to make it seem like you had 8 black people working in one year at the same time? Loop hole to get extra money and get incentives".

- **2177**: "But like if I'm at the doctors office I pretty much say I'm Caucasian because as a medical person I know that they are asking for more a predispositions to certain kinds of diseases".

- **1548** "I don't like to say I'm just a primary anything, but they make you say that you are black because if you have black in you. [Interviewer: Who makes you say that?] I had to put black on their [my children's] birth certificates because they have black in them they said dominant gene".

- **1492**: "You know, that's a good question. I consider myself African American, but I'm multiracial, but when you go to most places they ask you to only check one. So if you're applying for a job or going to fill out a survey or you're doing whatever, they generally ask you to choose only one. And I generally choose African American. BUT, if they have… I got a good example. About a month and a half ago, I started taking classes at a place called Alwea and it's primarily black men there and they're real strict about their background checks and everything like that. They have one of them forms that you gotta fill out. Well it has black, white, American Indian, multiracial, a couple other ones, and then over in the

corner it says “Choose one.” Well, I had already chosen multiracial and then I went up and I chose ‘African American.’ And they still haven’t asked me about that. They still haven’t.”

- **1492**: “I’ll give you a good example, like, you know, when I was out looking for jobs and stuff like that. And I may have been looking for the advantage you know looking for jobs, filling out applications and stuff like that. A lot of times_____ (can’t hear it) cause a lot of places have to hire an African American guy. So, that has a LOT to do with it, too. I didn’t really think about it that till just now. But yeah. That has a LOT to do with it. [Interviewer: So that helps you get hired.] Yeah, helps you get your foot in the door. Yeah, I didn’t even think about that earlier, but that has a lot to do with it. [CL: Huh. So, job applications would make you…]. To be honest with you, uh, 100% of job applications I would check African American. So… [CL: so what kinds of forms would you say ‘mixed’? Like, Census?] Yeah. The census form; uh, something like Alwea; uh, something like the Youth Development Study ((laughs)). I’m surprised… Why I … I really can’t answer that… yeah, but a hundred percent chance on job applications. I’m not even gonna lie about it. [CL: Huh… that’s interesting.] Yeah.

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APPENDIX A:

1988 University of Minnesota – Youth Development Study – Questionnaire for 9th Graders

C3. How would you describe yourself? (Circle ONE number)

1. White
2. Black
3. Hispanic
4. Southeast Asian
5. Other Asian
6. Native American
7. Mixed Race, please specify_____
8. Other, please specify _____

2004 University of Minnesota – Youth Development Study

J1. Are you Spanish/Hispanic/ Latino?

1. No, not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino
2. Yes, Spanish/Hispanic/Latino (Please specify) _____

J2. What is your race? **Please mark one or more races to indicate what you consider yourself to be.**

1. White
2. Black, African American
3. American Indian or Alaskan Native. **J2A** What is Your Principle Tribe? _____
4. Asian (Please specify) _____
5. Pacific Islander (Please specify) _____
6. Other (Please specify) _____

J3. What is your ancestry or ethic origin? (**For example; Swedish, Russian, African American, Hmong, Norwegian, American Indian, Dominican, German, Korean, Nigerian, Mexican)**

_____

J4. Considering all the ethnic and racial categories, what is your **primary** ethnic and/or racial identity?

_____

J5. What ethnic and/or racial category do most **others** put you in?

_____

2005 University of Minnesota – Youth Development Study

13. What is your primary ethnic and/or racial identity?

_____

2007 University of Minnesota – Youth Development Study

H6. What is your primary ethnic and/or racial identity?

_____

Appendix B: Interview Schedule

First: Consent form
Second: $40 cash
Third: turn on MP3 recorder

Current racial identity:
I'd like to start by finding out how you currently think and talk about your race or heritage.

- What do you tell people about your race? How do you answer the "what are you?" question?
    - Does this ever change depending on circumstances? If so, what kind of circumstances? Can you give me some examples of when it has been different?
    - What race or races do you put on forms like the census or job applications?
- What do you, personally, consider your race or races to be? What's different, if anything? Why? When? Can you give me some examples? What's consistent?
- On your most recent YDS survey, you said your primary racial or ethnic identity is ____. What does that term mean to you? Is this still how you feel? Why or why not?

Racial identity history:

- Tell me about how you came to think of your race and talk about your race like this. Please start as early as you can remember and go forward from there.
- Do you think of yourself as someone who has changed his/her racial identity?
    - If so, how did this change happen? Tell me that story.
    - If not, please help me understand why your survey question answers vary.

Specific influences on racial identity:

- Tell me about your family tree with respect to race. Who's who?
    - Which people (if any) did you spent time with or feel close to while you were growing up.
    - Did any of these people have a particular effect on the development of your sense of your own race? Can you give me an example?
- I'd like to know more about how parents raise their kids.
    - Did your parents explicitly teach you anything about your race(s) or race options? Did they transmit information or opinions in other ways? How? Can you give me an example?
    - How do you think your parents would answer a survey question about your race? Has this changed over time?
- Do you have any kids? If so,
    - What do you tell your own kids about yourself?
    - What do you tell them about themselves? Do you think you transmit information other ways besides telling them? How? What messages do you think get across?
    - How would you answer a survey question about your child's race? Is it the same for each child?
- Do you have any siblings? If so,

    - What do you know about how they identify racially? Is this a subject of conversation? Or do you get messages in other ways?
- Did any teachers, community leaders, or other authority figures have any particular influence on your racial identity development? In what ways? When? Can you give me some examples?
- Has anyone else ever encouraged (or discouraged) you to see yourself a certain way? Maybe other relatives, friends, neighbors, coworkers, or strangers? Who? How? Why?
- Do you feel like the media has had any influence on how people see you? Do you think it affects how you see yourself? Can you give me some examples?
- Do you feel like your economic situation or social class has had any influence on how people see you? Do you think it affects how you see yourself? Can you give me some examples?
- Where have you lived? Did you see yourself differently when you lived in [each location]? Did others see you differently? Do you think living there had a long-term effect on how you think of your race(s)? Can you give me an example?

Dealing with questions on forms:

- Census question: What do you think of this question? What do you think it's trying to ask? Is there any part of it that is confusing to you or hard to answer? Why?
- Primary identity question in YDS: What do you think of this question? What do you think it's trying to ask? Is there any part of it that is confusing to you or hard to answer? Why?
- Do you feel that your 'true' racial identity is reflected in your survey answers? Please explain.
- Do you think different survey questions prompt you to give different answers? What about the question matters for this?
- In your opinion, what's the difference between the term "race" and the term "ethnicity"?

Do you have any questions for me? Or anything you'd like to add?