Most observers subscribe to the view that race is a social taxonomy loosely based on shared phenotype, differences in which presumably reflect the diverse geographic origins of human populations. To the extent that physical markers of race have shared meaning in society, racial discrimination requires the recognition or attribution of a person's race by individual and institutional actors, as do more benign forms of racial identification, such as those used in administrative records of births and deaths. For much of U.S. history, external classification based on racial appearance was more or less uncontroversial. The Census, the definitive source of population data in the U.S., measured race by enumerator observation well into the mid-20th century.

In modern times, race is no longer measured in this fashion, particularly in the census and social surveys, the former having transitioned to using self-reports of race mid-way through the 20th century. By most accounts, this transition had little impact on the race/ethnic composition of the nation, which would suggest that folk understandings of race/ethnicity, while shaped by cultural and political forces, were fairly uniform in the eyes of observers and individuals alike.

The sole exception to this rule was Native Americans, who grew at a faster than expected pace between 1950 and 1960. Similar rates of unexplained growth in subsequent decades brought the potential demographic implications of self-reported identity into focus. Intermarriage blurs the boundaries between race/ethnic groups, and the emergence of mixed race offspring result in a growing share of the population with complex racial ancestry. Recent revisions to the system of race/ethnic measurement have attempted to track these changes by allowing multiple responses to the race question, which started in Census 2000. The resultant proliferation of racial categories and combinations has created a number of methodological challenges, particularly in the area of bridging the new race data with those from earlier censuses, in which individuals could only choose one race.

More importantly, these changes have raised fundamental questions about 1) the value of discrete racial categories in an era of increasingly mixed populations, and 2) the extent to which contemporary racial identities continue to reflect perceived differences in physical appearance. The former question has received considerable attention, and the prevailing opinion, given the low levels of multiracial reporting, is that the simplification of race/ethnic identities will continue to be the norm for the vast majority of Americans. The latter question, by contrast, has received very little attention, due in large part to the omission of "observed race" measures from most large datasets. This omission is troubling, not only because racial discrimination is often perpetrated on the basis of recognition by individual (hate crimes) or institutional (racial profiling) actors, but also because discrepancies in observed and self-reported measures of race can have serious repercussions on the measurement of the size and character of race/ethnic populations.

In this paper, we seek to address these limitations by presenting findings from a recently collected, first-of-its-kind data set that contains independent, third-person measures of "observed race" for nearly 10,000 individuals in Washington state. These data were collected as part of the University of Washington Beyond High School Project (Charles Hirschman, PI), which contains an extensive battery of questions on the race

and ethnic identities of high school seniors and their parents. As an extension to the project, we developed and fielded a web-based questionnaire that recorded three independent observations of race, attractiveness, and body type for each UW-BHS respondent (N=9565), using pictures from high school yearbooks. Observations were supplied by a representative cross section of current UW undergraduates (N=570), who were asked to rate 25 to 50 photos each.

In this introductory paper, we will examine the overlap and divergence between expressed and observed race for every major race/ethnic group as well as detailed Asian/PI and Hispanic sub-populations. As shown in the preliminary results listed in Table 1, there is considerable heterogeneity in the "visibility" of race/ethnic identities both within and between major population groups. Whites and blacks show high levels of intermeasure agreement, while self-reported American Indian/Alaska Natives (AIAN) are all but invisible to observers, who overwhelmingly see them as white. Pacific Islanders are also fairly unlikely to have their identities confirmed by third-person observation, while Hispanics (of any race) and Asians receive confirmation between 34% and 79% of the time. In the coming months, will examine these issues in much greater detail, and present additional findings on the demographic implications of relying on self-reported data to determine the size and characteristics of race/ethnic groups.

Table 1: Observed Race by Self-Reported Race

	Observed Race							
Self-reported Race	Hispanic	Black	Asian	AIAN	NHOPI	White	Other	
Hispanic	**34.3%**	14.0%	9.0%	8.0%	6.7%	27.6%	0.4%	100.00%
Black	8.1%	**81.2%**	2.0%	1.7%	3.4%	3.6%	0.1%	100.00%
East Asian	6.3%	0.9%	**64.7%**	4.9%	8.3%	14.8%	0.0%	100.00%
Cambodian	18.4%	11.1%	**47.4%**	6.8%	13.7%	2.6%	0.0%	100.00%
Vietnamese	3.9%	1.2%	**78.7%**	4.3%	8.3%	3.5%	0.0%	100.00%
Filipino	25.2%	3.0%	**37.2%**	6.8%	19.7%	8.1%	0.0%	100.00%
Other Asian	26.2%	5.7%	**49.2%**	6.6%	7.4%	4.9%	0.0%	100.00%
American Indian	11.0%	2.3%	3.2%	**3.7%**	4.1%	**75.7%**	0.0%	100.00%
NHOPI	**25.0%**	12.5%	19.2%	10.0%	**25.0%**	8.3%	0.0%	100.00%
White and Others	5.2%	0.9%	1.5%	1.5%	0.8%	**89.8%**	0.3%	100.00%