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BELL CURVE, THE

The Bell Curve was published in 1994 by Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray. This book reviewed the research on group differences in standardized intelligence tests and made some startling social policy recommendations. Given the persistent pattern of differential performance between minority groups and European Americans on intelligence tests, the authors concluded that social programs to increase the intelligence of minority group members are ineffective, that intelligence is genetically transferred and not amenable to intervention, and that we need to accept that our society has a cognitive elite (i.e., European Americans and a few representatives from minority groups) and a permanent working class (most minority members and a few representative European Americans). These conclusions led them to make social policy recommendations that included discontinuing all social programs designed to assist disenfranchised citizens from minority groups. These are not novel concepts, but *The Bell Curve* lent to them an unusual amount of visibility and seeming credibility. The attention paid to the book by both the political Right and Left marked an unprecedented politicization of the use and interpretation of intelligence tests and the validity of cross-racial comparison.

Many of the conclusions presented by Herrnstein and Murray have been present for a century. In the 1920s, the eugenics movement in the United States made similar claims about the inheritability of intelligence and the need to "clean up" the genetic pool through involuntary sterilization of individuals. The Third Reich explicitly based its scientific rationale for Aryan supremacy on the eugenics movement's

arguments. Following World War II, the concepts received little attention, except as they related to individuals with disabilities.

One of the primary proponents of related concepts is J. Philippe Rushton. Rushton made the argument that the three main racial groups are at different stages of evolution. His conclusions were based on reviewing research on racial differences, on such divergent topics as size of cranium, age at which infants walk, age at first intercourse, aggressiveness, impulsivity, frequency of intercourse, and size of genitalia. According to Rushton, across these domains, there is a linear pattern: Asians > Caucasians > Negroid groups. He concluded that these patterns show that the three racial groups are at different evolutionary stages, with Asians having evolved to the highest degree, followed by Caucasians and the "Negroid" groups. Rushton's research is seen as being of questionable quality (relying on inadequate source data) and is widely ignored, if not ridiculed, by social scientists.

Herrnstein and Murray explicitly credited Rushton and cited his work in support of their contentions. The most significant aspect of *The Bell Curve* was its widespread acceptance among journalists and politicians of the political Right, as compared with Rushton's relative obscurity.

The conclusions and research approaches used by Herrnstein and Murray were widely criticized by many social scientists. The first criticism was the use of g as a global measure of intelligence. Advocates of intelligence research argue that it is possible to measure a single factor that is related to an individual's intelligence (g). Many researchers suggest that intelligence is a multifaceted construct and that there are multiple intelligences. A second

criticism of the use of *g* is that it explains a small amount of variance in school or work success. Other criticisms attacked the authors' use of statistical techniques as inappropriate.

One of the most compelling criticisms against the research findings in *The Bell Curve* is that the authors viewed race as a biological rather than a social construction. They ignored the fact that within-racial-group differences are greater than between-group differences. Additionally, the argument for the genetic superiority of Asians is weakened by the inability to genetically differentiate members of racial groups.

—Paul E. Priester

See also Intelligence Tests; Scholastic Assessment Test

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BICULTURALISM

Biculturalism describes the characteristics of persons whose psychological experiences have been shaped, to varying degrees, by two cultures. *Biculturalism* may also refer to the strategies that such individuals learn to use in response to cultural conflicts between two sets of cultural norms, values, or practices. Psychology's understanding of biculturalism is constantly evolving, and controversies regarding its conceptualization, assessment, and mental health implications abound. Nevertheless, the surge of psychological literature on biculturalism over the past decade indicates that this construct is of central importance not only for ethnic minority psychology, but also for the general field of psychology.

The current knowledge base regarding biculturalism can be traced to two major lines of research, one arising from acculturation research and the other reflecting the cognitive processes involved in being bicultural.

BICULTURALISM AS AN ACCULTURATION STRATEGY

When two or more intact cultures come into contact, as in cases of immigration and globalization, the involved individuals may experience change or conflict. How an individual deals with the contact and the subsequent changes and conflicts gives rise to the concept of *psychological acculturation.* Acculturation scholars have long debated which strategy for acculturating individuals results in optimal well-being and successful functioning. In this line of research, *biculturalism* has come to signify more than a state of being of two cultures. Within acculturation research, biculturalism *connotes* an optimal state of being able to function well in two cultural settings.

Early conceptualizations of acculturation have assumed that assimilation to the dominant society was the only psychologically healthy form of acculturation. This view contends that acculturating individuals need to shed their heritage cultures and completely adopt the new culture to eliminate acculturative stress and function well. Others, however, argued that preserving one's affiliation to one's heritage culture leads to better adaptation. Both of these views subscribe to the *unidimensional model* of acculturation, which holds that acculturating individuals can be placed on a continuum from being not at all assimilated to the second culture, to being highly assimilated to it. In this model, it is unclear how an individual who can be described as being at neither extreme of this continuum identifies or functions.

A more contemporary view of acculturation, however, has introduced the concept of *biculturalism*— an acculturation strategy in which an individual (or a group) identifies with and possesses the knowledge and skills to highly function within both cultural settings. This *bidimensional model* argues that processes of enculturation within one's heritage culture and acculturation to a second culture are independent of one another such that an individual may be highly functional in only one culture, in both cultures, or in neither culture. An example of this bidimensional model is John W. Berry's fourfold theory of acculturation strategies: assimilation (when an individual chooses not to value one's heritage culture and exclusively prefers the adopted culture instead), separation (when one seeks to operate within one's heritage culture almost exclusively and actively avoids interactions with the host culture), marginalization (isolation

of an individual from both the heritage and host cultures), and integration (when one holds positive attitudes toward the host and heritage cultures).

The integration strategy is believed to lead to biculturalism. Researchers have empirically demonstrated that integration, and consequently biculturalism, is the most psychologically adaptive way for individuals to respond to the demands of acculturation. Studies show that the integration strategy is the least stressful among the four acculturation strategies. Furthermore, research suggests that relative to the separation and integration strategies of acculturation, marginalization and assimilation strategies are associated with more stress and psychological difficulties. Marginalization has been associated with dysfunctional behaviors such as delinquency and familial abuse, as well as increased depression levels. Assimilation has been associated with lower self-esteem.

The set of desirable characteristics of acculturating individuals has also been discussed as *bicultural competence.* Researchers have proposed that bicultural competence is composed of six dimensions: (1) *knowledge of cultural beliefs and values*—the degree to which one is aware of and knowledgeable about the history, institutions, rituals, and everyday practices of a culture; (2) *positive attitudes toward both groups*— the degree to which one regards both cultural groups positively; (3) *bicultural efficacy*—one's confidence to function effectively in both groups without compromising one's cultural identity; (4) *communication ability*—the ability to effectively communicate verbally or nonverbally in both cultural groups; (5) *role repertoire*—the range of culturally appropriate behaviors or roles a person possesses; and (6) *groundedness*—the degree to which one has established social networks in both cultural groups. It has also been argued that *biculturally competent* ethnic minority individuals have better physical and psychological health as well as academic and vocational success than those who lack bicultural competence.

A recent review of the psychological literature on biculturalism, however, suggests that there may not be consensus evidence supporting the notion that biculturalism is most adaptive. On the contrary, some scholars have argued that biculturalism is maladaptive because it is existentially inauthentic, inherently unstable, and thus may result in psychological conflict, distress, insecure self-identity, and alienation. Furthermore, the popular fourfold theory proposed by Berry and the associated constructs of integration and marginalization have been criticized by some scholars as lacking in explanatory and predictive powers. In summary, mental health implications of various acculturation strategies constitute an active area of scholarly inquiry.

THE BICULTURAL MIND

Another line of biculturalism research focuses less on its mental health implications and more on understanding the underlying cognitive processes of being bicultural. This line of research assumes that bicultural individuals will be able to behave in culturally appropriate ways depending on the context and that the cognitions behind such behaviors may operate without conscious awareness, intention, or control. Thus, studies investigating the automatic and unconscious cognitions associated with biculturalism typically use implicit methodologies.

One implicit method that researchers use to study the underlying cognitive processes involved in biculturalism is *implicit priming techniques.* Researchers employ implicit priming techniques to test whether individuals who live within a multicultural context (i.e., Chinese American and Hong Kong biculturals) have the ability to cognitively and behaviorally function in an appropriate way within each of the multiple cultural settings. Results show that the Chinese American and Hong Kong bicultural individuals exhibited thoughts and behaviors that are more characteristic of Chinese culture when primed with Chinese cultural icons, but exhibited thoughts and behaviors that are more consistent with American culture when primed with American cultural icons. These results demonstrate that bicultural individuals are capable of *cultural frame switching*—the ability to access multiple cultural meaning systems and switch between different culturally appropriate behaviors depending on the context.

The bicultural mind approach to the study of biculturalism has also empirically demonstrated that cultural frame switching is influenced by the extent to which bicultural individuals perceive their two cultural systems as oppositional or compatible, a concept researchers labeled as *bicultural identity integration.* Researchers argue that some bicultural individuals consider their two cultures to be conflicting and difficult to integrate. This perceived cultural conflict, in turn, may discourage the development of biculturalism. Other bicultural individuals, however, may perceive their two cultures as compatible and easily

integrated. Thus, these individuals may be more adept at developing biculturalism. Using implicit priming methods, researchers have shown that bicultural individuals who perceived their two cultural systems as compatible were able to appropriately frame switch. For example, only those Chinese Americans or Hong Kong Chinese biculturals who perceive the two cultures as compatible behaved in a characteristically Chinese manner when presented with Chinese primes and characteristically American manner when presented with American primes. However, bicultural individuals who perceived their two cultural systems as conflicting or oppositional were not able to frame switch quite as easily.

CONCLUSION

Theoretical and empirical explorations about biculturalism continue to enhance psychology's understanding of this construct. However, there are still many critical questions left unanswered. For example, is the current manner in which biculturalism is conceptualized and measured the best way of doing so? Is biculturalism psychologically adaptive or maladaptive for which individuals under which contexts? These questions will continue to fuel the growth of the biculturalism literature and contribute to the ever-increasing vibrancy of multicultural psychology.

—E. J. R. David

See also Acculturation

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Bilingual education has often been defined simply as the use of two languages as the medium of instruction within a school curriculum. One of the languages used is the students' native language, and the other is the language used to educate students in a particular country—that is, the majority language. The specific purpose of bilingual education is to teach academic content to nonmajority language students and, in some models, to majority language students. A multitude of bilingual education models have developed over time.

The development of numerous bilingual education models, and whether they have predominant components of intercultural or assimilationist orientations, has been a reflection of the historical, political, economic, and social issues under debate at the time, all of which influence an individual's attitudes toward immigrants or nonmajority language speakers.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION MODELS: INTERCULTURAL AND ASSIMILATION ORIENTATIONS

Bilingual education models have usually been developed to give support to children who are not speaking the majority language or language of instruction used in a school setting. Bilingual education models can be characterized as having an intercultural orientation or an assimilationist orientation. The micro-interactions that take place among students, teachers, and parents foster one of these orientations. An intercultural orientation leads to collaborative empowerment.

Intercultural Orientation

The intercultural orientation tends to empower students personally and academically. Teachers with an intercultural orientation see their role as assisting in adding a second language and culture while also maintaining the primary language and culture. This orientation leads to the creation of an atmosphere of collaborative empowerment. Teachers taking an intercultural orientation are more collaborative with parents, as they tend to encourage them to actively participate in their children's academic development at home and in school activities. Transformative instructional methodologies that are used by teachers involve the teaching of oral and written language through collaborative inquiry where social issues relevant to the students are included. Students use critical thinking as they describe, interpret, analyze, and use language creatively in the learning process. These

instructional methods focus on student-centered rather than teacher-centered learning.

Assimilationist orientation

The assimilationist orientation tends to academically disable students. Teachers with an assimilationist orientation may see their role as assisting in subtracting the primary language and culture while assimilating students to the majority culture. An assimilationist orientation diminishes the possibility of creating an atmosphere of collaborative empowerment. Teachers taking an assimilationist orientation will be less collaborative with the parents as they fail to see the importance of parent involvement for students' academic success. The traditional instructional methodologies that are used by teachers involve the teaching of language through simple language components such as phonics, grammar, and vocabulary. Teaching moves sequentially in parts isolated from the whole. The lessons contain more emphasis on correct recall, drills, and isolated exercises. The social component students bring with them into the classroom is not drawn upon. These instructional methods focus on teacher-centered rather than student-centered learning.

MODELS CONSISTENT WITH THE INTERCULTURAL ORIENTATION

Enriched Immersion (Canadian Model)

The French immersion program in Canada is an example of an enriched immersion model. Students who are dominant in one language or are monolingual will study in both the majority and minority language from kindergarten to sixth grade. They are first immersed in the second language in the earlier grades and begin to develop literacy in their first language in second grade. For example, an English-speaking student will be immersed in French instruction until second grade, when English literacy is introduced.

Late-Exit Transitional Bilingual Education

Late-exit transitional bilingual education is also called *maintenance* or *developmental* bilingual education. In these classrooms, the students receive continued minority language support for an extended period of time, parallel with instruction in the majority language. In other words, the native language is maintained and developed, and the second language is acquired and developed. All of the students in these classrooms are second language learners.

Dual Language/Dual Immersion/ Two-Way Bilingual Education

In dual language or dual immersion or two-way bilingual education, language minority and majority students are taught at the same time in the same classroom, with the goal for each group of students that of becoming fully bilingual. In these programs the students' knowledge of their native or first language is used as a foundation on which a second language is acquired. Students will become highly proficient in both languages.

MODELS CONSISTENT WITH THE ASSIMILATION ORIENTATION

English Immersion

Minority language students are immersed in the classroom where only the majority language is spoken. The approach is often referred to as the *sink-or-swim* approach to teaching nonnative speakers.

Structured Immersion

Minority language students are immersed in the classroom where only the majority language is spoken. However, the teachers have received training in sheltering techniques using visuals and carefully structured lessons to make the lesson content easier to understand for the minority student. The state of California uses this method since the passage of the English-only legislation under Proposition 227.

Traditional English-as-a- Second-Language (ESL) Pullout

Many different English-as-a-second-language (ESL) pullout methods are used. Some schools offer ESL on a daily basis whereas others offer ESL support a few times a week. The length of the ESL sessions may vary, as well. Also, students from different grade levels may or may not attend the same ESL sessions. In some schools, the ESL teacher is pulled into the classroom to work with students. Students who have a strong language foundation in their native or minority language may benefit more from ESL

instruction than those who do not. The content of the traditional ESL pullout instruction consists of drilling language structure and memorizing vocabulary.

Content-Based English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) Pullout

The content-based ESL pullout models use the themes of the content that is taught in the mainstream classroom while teaching the majority language. The students in these programs tend to perform better academically than those in the traditional ESL pullout programs.

Early-Exit or Transitional Bilingual Education

In early-exit programs, students are supported in some content areas in their first languages, although the amount of first-language support varies widely. When the student has acquired sufficient ability to demonstrate basic majority language proficiency, the student exits the program. The goal is that the child ends the bilingual education program in one to three years and transfers into a mainstream classroom.

—*Marie Vanja Simonsson*

See also Bilingualism; Academic Achievement; Education

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BILINGUALISM

RELEVANCE

Bilingualism refers to the individual's ability to be fluent in two distinct languages. Bilingualism is becoming increasingly relevant to the work of clinical professionals, given the rapidly changing demographic makeup of the United States. The 1996 U.S. Census attributed much of this change to increased birthrates among Latino and American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut populations, as well as a substantial increase in immigration rates. Consider, for example, that in the year 2000, ethnic minority youth constituted approximately 30% of the entire U.S. population. Some demographers estimate that almost 3,000 immigrants arrive in the United States each day, contributing approximately 1 million individuals to annual population figures. Because large numbers of immigrants in the United States speak their language of origin and subsequently acquire the ability to speak English, there is a vast need for bilingual clinical professionals.

Although not often a focus of psychological literature and clinical training, language is incredibly relevant to the enterprise of psychotherapy. Its relevance becomes especially apparent when we consider that what psychotherapists engage in is frequently referred to as "the talking cure." Thus, it is important that the clinical professional be conversant in the language through which the patient experiences his or her world. When working with the bilingual patient in psychotherapy, it is important not only to understand the verbal meaning of what the patient is saying, but also to understand the cultural representations that are communicated through the use of one or more languages. In this sense, language is representational of the cultural context in which psychotherapy occurs. Understanding the complexity of the cultural values associated with a language is critical for understanding the dual language systems of the bilingual patient.

HISTORY OF BILINGUALISM IN PSYCHOTHERAPY

Bilingualism was a part of early psychoanalytic work, as Sigmund Freud spoke German, a second language for many of his English-speaking United States patients. It was only in 1949, however, that bilingualism began to be written about in the psychoanalytic literature. This work involved the presentation of a case with a bilingual woman who spoke English and German. The woman's language of origin was German and she acquired English as a second language when she immigrated to the United States during her adolescence. Seeking psychotherapy as an adult, the patient refused to speak German and spoke only English in psychotherapy. Ultimately, it was only when the patient shared her anxieties in German, the language of her childhood, that she was able to share infantile sexual material. In this case, it was important

to acknowledge how the context in which the patient's language capabilities were encoded had an influence on the language the patient chose to speak in psychotherapy. The author of the aforementioned case, for example, talked about how the patient came to the United States during World War II at a time in her life when survival was not taken for granted. Hence, to speak in German, her native language, would have called up the traumatic experiences associated with having to leave her homeland. The author concluded that recollections from a particular time period in one's life were accessed only when discussed in the language in which these experiences were encoded. The opposite was also thought to be true, meaning that the patient might choose to avoid speaking about an experience in the language in which it was encoded as a defense against experiencing painful material. Another early work, published in 1950, looked at psychotherapy processes when treatment occurred between a like-matched bilingual psychotherapist and patient. The focus of this writing was to examine defenses connected to switching languages in the psychotherapy session. The implication of this work was that different self-experiences were organized by language. More recent literature has discussed how language organizes one's sense of self and has explored the duality of the bilingual/bicultural person's world. Neurological research further supports this contention as it indicates that languages are stored in different areas of the cortex for bilinguals.

PSYCHOTHERAPY TOOLS WHEN WORKING WITH THE BILINGUAL PATIENT

There are several psychotherapy tools that clinical professionals may use if patients detach from emotional material through the use of the second language when emotional issues are raised. For like-matched bilingual clinical professionals and patients, one strategy is to analyze the process of code switching within the session. *Code switching* refers to how and when the individual shifts from using one language to another. For example, an analysis of code switching may explore whether the patient consistently shifts to the second language when threatening emotional issues are raised in treatment. Alternatively, the analysis may explore whether the patient is increasingly able to communicate emotional material in the language in which it was encoded, thus tapping into unexplored emotional experiences.

Additional psychotherapy tools in work with the bilingual patient are applicable to the clinical setting where patient and clinical professional are not like-matched bilinguals. Here the clinical professional may recognize that language-related phenomena can be incorporated into the psychotherapy process, despite the difference in language capabilities. One technique that the clinical professional may incorporate is to encourage bilingual patients to explore how they experience themselves in each language. In this sense, the duality of self will begin to get replicated and further understood within the context of treatment. A second strategy that incorporates the use of dual language systems is to have the monolingual clinical professional encourage the bilingual patient to express him- or herself in the language of origin and subsequently translate what has been said. This technique may be particularly useful if the patient has reached an impasse with regard to accessing emotional feelings while speaking in the second language. The patient and the clinical professional can subsequently explore the meaning and experience attached to the discussion of emotional content in the language of origin, as noted by C. S. Clauss in 1998.

A final cautionary note regarding tools that can be implemented in bilingual psychotherapy concerns the use of interpreters. Although psychotherapy through interpreters is not the best situation, it is possible. It is important to find an appropriate interpreter who is given a clearly defined role. It is not appropriate to put a bilingual child in the role of interpreter for the family. This approach can change the power structure of the family and risks having the child viewed as disrespectful to his or her parents and older relatives by being the messenger of delicate material.

—*Caroline S. Clauss-Ehlers*

See also Biculturalism; Bilingual Education; Language Proficiency; Models of Second Culture Acquisition

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BIRACIAL

Biracial people are individuals who have parents or ancestors from two different socially defined racial heritages, such as African American, Asian American, European American, Latino, and Native American. Biracial people have lived in the United States since its inception but have not been officially recognized on the census until the year 2000. As of the 2000 Census, nearly 7 million Americans identified, or were identified as, members of more than one racial group. Today, many grassroots organizations and college student groups exist for the mutual support and enjoyment of interracial families and biracial individuals. The presence of a small yet significant biracial population challenges long-accepted ideas about the concept of race. Biracial persons face unique stressors that their monoracial counterparts do not, such as being forced to identify with, or pledge allegiance to, only one of their ethnic heritages, being told that they are not a true member of one of their racial or ethnic groups, being stared at by strangers, and exposure to racist jokes.

THE AMERICAN LEGACY OF HYPODESCENT

Miscegenation was a major force in pre–Revolutionary War America. *Miscegenation* refers to sexual relations between people of different races leading to the birth of children. During this time, miscegenation occurred most often between men of European descent and women of African or American Indian descent. Quite often, these sexual relations were not consensual; instead, they took the form of rape or concubinage.

Because European Americans held disproportionately more power than other racial groups in early America, they were able to establish the rules that determined the racial identity and social status of the offspring of interracial unions. For various reasons, European Americans forced individuals with multiple racial heritages to identify with and accept the social status of their heritage group that had less social power. This meant that people who had one European American parent and one African American parent were African American; they were not allowed to claim their European or Caucasian heritage. This classification system benefited European Americans in several ways. First, European Americans tended to view sexual relations across racial lines as immoral, illegal, and barbaric. As such, offspring of such unions were thought of as being biologically inferior, immoral, and barbaric. Hence, European American parents were able to distance themselves from their own behaviors and their biracial children by thrusting a non–European American identity onto them. Second, people with multiple racial heritages would serve as a cheaper source of labor if their status was non–European American. Third, and most important, forcing mixed-race individuals to accept a non–European American identity was a way for European Americans to continue to assert their dominance and clearly designate who was a member of their power group and who was not. Any individual with just a fraction of non–European American heritage was automatically excluded from holding the privileges of being European American, thereby clearly designating the lines between European American and non–European American.

This classification system is referred to as a system of *hypodescent,* or a system that forces all people, regardless of their racial heritage(s), to identify with only one race. Individuals with multiple racial heritages must identify with and accept the status of their racial heritage that has the least amount of social power. Therefore, hypodescent denies individuals with multiple racial heritages from having a socially accepted mixed-race identity or status and disallows them from choosing their own racial identity.

Both prior to and after the formation of the United States as a nation, laws were enacted to enforce this system. The One-Drop Law or One-Drop Rule was applied to individuals with less than 100% African ancestry. This law stated that any individual with so much as one drop of African American blood was to be considered African American and hold the social status of other African Americans. In several states, this law declared that an individual is African American if even one of his or her great-great-great-grandparents was classified as African American. The One-Drop Rule was an act of oppression against people of multiple racial ancestries. It limited the life choices of these individuals by assigning them to the lower-status racial group, thereby denying opportunities to vote, own land, advance educationally, secure high-paying jobs, and define the terms of their own existence.

People with multiple racial heritages were not only denied rights, but also were instilled with negative

ideas about the meaning of racial mixing. For example, early research and theory pertaining to biracial people focused on their biological inferiority. Some scientists argued that biracial individuals were putting the human race at risk of extinction because of their inability to reproduce. This belief is demonstrated by the word *mulatto,* which is Spanish for "little mule" and refers to people of mixed European and African ancestry—mules being the infertile offspring between a horse and donkey.

To combat this oppression, some biracial individuals who were phenotypically Caucasian (i.e., having lighter skin and straight hair) publicly took on European American identities. This practice has been referred to as *passing.* Passing could range from drinking at a water fountain designated Caucasian-only, to attending all-Caucasian schools, to abandoning one's home, family, and community to pursue a life elsewhere as a European American person. Some biracial people chose this last option to secure better jobs, education, or housing. In general, the issue of passing was most relevant to individuals who had European American and African American parents and ancestors, as the racial divide between European Americans and African Americans has been most rigorously enforced in the United States.

Passing as European American to gain *legal* rights is no longer applicable, as the One-Drop Law has been revoked and individual rights such as the freedom to dine at particular restaurants or to attend certain schools are no longer based on one's race according to the law. Nevertheless, many individuals with multiple racial ancestries have single-race identities. Some of these individuals are assigned single-race identities by family members, peers, or society, whereas others choose a monoracial identity for themselves. Many factors influence how individuals with multiple racial backgrounds choose to identify racially. Such factors include, but are not limited to, one's phenotype, cultural preferences, socialization, political orientation, talents, and other social identities, and the context in which one chooses an identity (i.e., on a form, or being asked by a friend).

THE MULTIRACIAL MOVEMENT

Until the 1960s, a lack of trust, harsh treatment, contempt, and discrimination toward biracial people dominated in the United States. However, increased exposure between racial/ethnic groups due to the Civil Rights movement, the Vietnam War, and a landmark decision by the U.S. Supreme Court changed this dynamic. The biracial baby boom began with these changes, and attitudes toward interracial marriage and biracial people began to change.

According to Maria P. Root, a leading researcher of biracial people, the biracial baby boom began around 1967, occurring after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Loving v. Virginia* that state laws declaring interracial marriage illegal were unconstitutional. At the time, 13 states, all of which were in the American South, had laws banning some form of interracial marriage. The state of Virginia had had such laws since 1662.

During the 1960s, racial dynamics in the United States were changing, as prolonged and meaningful interaction between members of different racial groups was occurring more than it had at any other point in U.S. history. Throughout the Civil Rights movement, European American sympathizers and supporters worked closely with African Americans who were fighting for their rights. During the Vietnam War, Americans from all ethnic/racial backgrounds fought together and, in so doing, decreased prejudice against one another and increased the likelihood of finding a mate from a different racial background after returning home. Many male soldiers stationed in Asia also married or had children with Asian women, thereby creating a sizable population of children born to American (usually European American or African American) fathers and Asian mothers. Offspring of such unions, who have been called *Amerasians,* have often spent some time growing up on military bases. Some of these children stayed in Asian nations such as Vietnam, Japan, and the Philippines, and others eventually immigrated to the United States, sometimes with their mothers, to live with their American fathers. Some Amerasian children growing up in Asia faced continuous racism and discrimination because of their mixed-race heritage. A small yet significant portion of this population were abandoned by their Asian mothers, who were constantly scorned and shamed for having children with non-Asian men.

Despite large numbers of interracial families and biracial individuals living within the United States, national organizations or local community groups that united such people did not become established until the late 1970s. At that time, families and individuals began meeting and organizing in several cities. Original organizations included I-Pride in San Francisco, Biracial Family Network in Chicago, Interracial

Family Alliance in Houston, and Interracial Family Circle in Washington, D.C. In November 1988, these organizations unified to develop the Association of MultiEthnic Americans (AMEA), which has served as an umbrella organization to unite the local groups.

Today, the multiracial movement continues to expand. For example, the MAVIN Foundation, a Seattle-based organization created by Matt Kelley in 2000, has organized national events such as Generation MIX and MatchMaker Bone Marrow Project. In Generation MIX, five biracial and multiracial young adults visited 16 cities across the United States to promote awareness of the biracial experience through workshops and speakers. In the MatchMaker Bone Marrow Project, the MAVIN Foundation has worked to register mixed-race bone marrow donors. People are most likely to find a life-saving match with donors of similar racial backgrounds. People of mixed heritage often have great difficulty in finding a match because of their unique genetic makeup. In addition to the MAVIN Foundation, there are national conferences focusing exclusively on biracial people, including an annual conference organized by and specifically geared for biracial college students.

THE 2000 CENSUS

During the 1990s, members of AMEA met with members of Congress and the House Subcommittee on the Census regarding the possibility of allowing biracial people to identify with all of their racial heritages on the 2000 U.S. Census. Prior to the 2000 Census, biracial U.S. citizens were forced to indicate their race by checking the box "Some Other Race," or to identify with only one of the racial groups available. If they checked "Some Other Race" and wrote in more than one race, they were counted as members of the first racial group listed. In large part because of the work of AMEA, the 2000 U.S. Census was modified to allow individuals the right to identify with more than one socially defined racial group.

More than 6.8 million Americans (2.4%) identified themselves or were identified by the head of their household as members of more than one race on the 2000 U.S. Census. The majority of these biracial (and multiracial) individuals included Caucasian as one of their races (80.1%), and almost half included Some Other Race (46.3%). Of those who identified as Some Other Race, 58.8% indicated they were also Spanish,

Hispanic or Latino in a separate question about ethnicity. The group Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander had the highest percentage of its members identify with an additional racial group or groups (54.4%). The lowest was Caucasian; among people who identified as a member of this group, only 2.5% identified with a second racial group. Even so, the four largest biracial populations all included Caucasian as part of the combination.

According to this census, the four largest multiracial groups accounted for almost three-fourths of the multiracial American population: 32.3% of multiracial Americans identified as Caucasian and Some Other Race; 15.9% as Caucasian and Native American/ Alaskan Native; 12.7% as Caucasian and Asian; and 11.5% as Caucasian and African American or African American. Although the European American and African American biracial population receives the most attention in the media and popular culture, this was only the fourth largest mixed-race group. It is possible that this is an underestimate of the European American–African American biracial population because more individuals in this group may identify solely as a member of one race (usually African American), owing to America's legacy of the One-Drop Rule, which was most forcefully applied to individuals with both European and African ancestry.

Multiracial Americans are disproportionately young; almost 42% are under the age of 18, compared with just 25% of monoracial Americans. The European American–African American biracial population is particularly young, with 71.7% of this group under the age of 18. Only 5% of multiracial Americans are over the age of 65, compared with 12% of those with one racial background. That the multiracial population is so young reflects the increase in miscegenation within the last few decades. Demographers predict that by the year 2050, between one-fifth and one-quarter of Americans will be biracial or multiracial.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

With the significant increase of the biracial population and an awareness of biracial people in the general public, there continues to be a fascination with people of multiple racial heritages. Biracial people whose physical appearance is racially ambiguous are frequently asked questions such as What are you? Where are you from? What language do you speak? What is your race, nationality, or ethnicity? Where are your

parents from? These questions reflect contemporary society's adoption of the system of hypodescent, in which everyone must be a member of only one race. Although the One-Drop Law has been abolished and civil rights no longer depend on race, people continue to want to know the heritage of the people around them. Frequent questioning about their racial background can be overwhelming to biracial individuals.

A more insidious experience, similar to this line of questioning faced by biracial people, is hazing. *Hazing* is a process that mixed-race individuals endure to prove themselves full members of a racial/ethnic group. Multiracial people do not possess the full privileges that, for example, monoracial European Americans do, nor do they have the guaranteed sanctuary of immersion into a socially defined racial community of monoracial minorities. Instead, multiracial individuals are often forced to endure teasing or peer pressure to prove their conformity and belonging to a racial community. In hazing's most harmless forms, young multiracial people are pressured to say they prefer a certain type of music, dance, or clothing to gain acceptance. More disturbing forms may include being forced to modify one's speech or being teased for phenotypic features such as one's eyes, hair, skin color, body size, and bust size. The most sinister forms of hazing include being forced to say that you hate a particular race to be accepted into a peer group and even extend to physical beatings. When multiracial people are hazed, they are forced to choose between social isolation and compromising their well-being. Hazing can lead to a sacrifice of one's well-being and/or hatred toward one's own heritage group because of such painful incidents.

Other biracial people are never hazed nor asked about their physical appearance because they do not appear to be racially ambiguous. These individuals blend in physically with a monoracial group, usually one from which they have heritage, but occasionally with a group from which they have no heritage. For example, some European American–African American biracial people are mistaken as being Latino. These individuals may be less likely to be questioned about their ambiguous racial appearance, but they do face a different set of interpersonal challenges pertaining to race. They are forced to find a way to assert their racial identity to people in their heritage group whom they do not look like. The heritage group may also be less likely to accept them as part of the group.

As of yet, only a small percentage of the American population has chosen to embrace a biracial or multiracial identity, and relatively few organizations exist that are composed of all, or mostly, biracial people. With these racial dynamics, no natural situations exist in which a group is composed entirely of biracial people. If a biracial person wants to be surrounded by other people who are also biracial, that person must create the situation. Likewise, most biracial children do not have parents who can relate to being biracial from their own lived experience, as opposed to monoracial people, whose parents are the same racially.

For this reason, parallels have been drawn between the biracial experience and transracial adoption. Both biracial people and transracial adoptees challenge traditional notions of family and race; children are expected to look like other members of their family. In these families, however, children typically do not resemble their parents racially. Hence, when biracial children are with their biological parents and when transracially adopted children are with their parents, similar experiences occur. Both of these family types may be stared at and treated differently because of their nontraditional racial status. Biracial children may also be at greater risk for placement in adoptive homes when the biological family is not supportive of racial differences within the family.

PATHOLOGY AND TREATMENT

Because of the stress that can be associated with being biracial, several theorists have posited that biracial people may be at risk for developing psychopathology. For example, researchers have suggested that identity formation, social isolation, constant questioning about one's race, and family dynamics such as increased marital conflict may lead to emotional and behavioral problems within the multiracial population. Investigators, in testing whether biracial people are at risk for developing psychological symptoms, have demonstrated that biracial people are generally well adjusted but may be at risk for developing psychopathology. Fewer studies have examined the positive aspects of the biracial experience, such as growing up with exposure to two cultures.

The results of psychopathology within the biracial population are mixed. Some studies with biracial adolescents have shown that they are as well adjusted as their monoracial counterparts. Other studies have shown that biracial adolescents may be at higher

health and behavior risks and experience more problems than their single-race peers. Conversely, a handful of studies have found some results that suggest that biracial adolescents are better adjusted than their single-race peers.

To date, no empirical evidence exists regarding exactly how having multiple racial heritages might be related to higher levels of pathology, although several links have been suggested. The most common explanation is that individuals with multiple racial heritages struggle to develop a consistent identity. The stress of navigating this process is thought to generate increased levels of psychopathology as well as health problems among biracial people.

Similar to their single-race counterparts, biracial people sometimes seek counseling. In the counseling setting, therapists should be aware of several factors when working with biracial clients as these factors may be related to the presenting problem(s). Issues counselors may want to address with their biracial clients include racial identity, acceptance by heritage groups, experiences with racism and discrimination, perception of one's physical appearance, and sexuality. The therapist should seek to understand how the client identifies racially both in private and in public. It is also important to understand how the biracial client is viewed and treated by his or her heritage groups and what types of experiences with racism he or she may have had, as these experiences may be related to the reason the client is seeking treatment. Because of myths that biracial people, particularly biracial females, are sexually promiscuous, the counselor may also want to ask about sexuality. Finally, the counselor should get an idea of how the biracial client is viewed by strangers in society and whether these perceptions match the client's perception of him- or herself.

The therapist should also be aware that biracial people are often identified as special or exotic and/or rejected by one or both of their heritage groups. If either of these possibilities has occurred, the therapist should know of potential effects. These experiences may produce a sense of uniqueness, which can manifest either positively (i.e., pride) or negatively (i.e., alienation). This feeling of uniqueness should not be pathologized or viewed as narcissistic by the therapist. Acceptance and belonging may also be issues to some biracial people who feel shunned by one or both heritage groups.

Therapists might also benefit from completing a genogram with biracial clients. Genograms are similar to family trees but also address patterns of communication, emotional cutoffs, significant family events, and assignment of roles. Creating a genogram with biracial clients can increase insight into the racial heritage of family members, how family members view and identify the client racially, and lifestyle choices related to ethnicity (e.g., child rearing, diet, stress and coping). The therapist can also take into account large social systems that affect the biracial client, such as work, medical services, social services, education, and peers.

—Joshua A. Singh
—Gayle Y. Iwamasa

See also Biracial Identity

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BIRACIAL IDENTITY

Identity has been noted by psychologists and multicultural scholars alike to be a key psychological process in defining oneself, particularly in relation to other people. One area of identity that has received a great deal of attention in the multicultural literature is *racial identity,* the process of internalizing negative or positive images concerning one's racial group memberships. A number of racial identity development models have been proposed; a critical question has been the applicability of these models to biracial or multiracial people. As well, a number of conceptual models have been proposed describing the unique racial identity development of biracial and multiracial people.

RACIAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT MODELS—APPLICATIONS TO BIRACIAL IDENTITY

Racial identity development (RID) models identifying different themes regarding the quality of identification in one's racial group membership(s) have been applied to the racial identity development of multiracial people. In general, RID models propose that individuals do not react identically to conditions of discrimination or privilege, but develop various schemas or statuses for interpreting these experiences. For example, the person of color (POC) racial identity model describes racial identity development for people of color, according to their experiences with racial oppression and the capacity to relinquish external, generally negative views of people of color in favor of internal, more positive standards. Racial identity development models based on privilege also have been variously proposed by multicultural scholars, one of the better known being the White racial identity development (WRID) model. The WRID model describes cognitive strategies associated with relinquishing power as an aspect of internalized racial identity.

A current criticism of RID models is their applicability to multiracial people, given the monoracial emphases of these models. Thus far, few studies have been published providing empirical evidence concerning the relevance of RID models for multiracial people. However, although it is likely that RID models do not predict several important aspects of racial identity of biracial people, these models highlight critical commonalities of identity development for monoracial and biracial people. These commonalities center on experiences with overt racism and finding supportive others in the community with whom to identify. Common processes of RID models based on privilege also might be examined for their validity and relevance with biracial people. Finally, RID models do not necessarily preclude the development of more specific racial identity models for biracial people.

BIRACIAL AND MULTIRACIAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT MODELS

Beginning with W. S. Carlos Poston, multicultural scholars have proposed unique biracial identity models. For example, Poston proposed a five-stage model of biracial identity development, suggesting that all biracial individuals will experience some conflict and subsequent periods of maladjustment during the identity development process. The first stage of Poston's model, *personal identity,* usually occurs in childhood, when biracial individuals are not aware of their mixed-race heritage. During the second stage*, choice of group categorization,* numerous societal, communal, and parental influences compel individuals to choose one racial or ethnic group identity. The third stage, *enmeshment/denial,* is characterized by individuals' feelings of guilt and disloyalty about choosing one racial group over the other. Unable to resolve feelings of guilt and disloyalty, these individuals may deny racial differences and subsequently identify with both groups. In the fourth stage, *appreciation,* individuals may remain committed to one racial group, but might explore the previously ignored racial group as they experience increased awareness and knowledge of the ignored group. In the fifth stage of Poston's model, *integration,* individuals may still identify with one racial group but value the integration of their multiple racial identities.

Another model of biracial identity development, proposed by Christine Kerwin and Joseph Ponterotto, used age-based developmental markers to illustrate progression in racial awareness. However, unlike other models, Kerwin and Ponterotto's conceptualization incorporates variance in identity resolution styles (e.g., establishing a public racial identity that differs from a private one) that is influenced by personal, societal, and environmental factors. Their model also differed from the other models in that they acknowledged that biracial individuals might experience exclusion from groups of color as well as from the

European American community. In the *preschool* stage, which encompasses children up to 5 years of age, biracial children recognize similarities and differences in physical appearance, and this awareness might be a function of the degree of parental sensitivity to and addressing of race-related issues. In the *entry to school* stage, biracial children are in greater contact with social groups and may be asked to classify themselves according to a monoracial label. In the *preadolescence* stage, there is an increased awareness of social meanings ascribed to social groups as characterized by skin tone, physical appearance, ethnicity, and religion. Environmental factors, such as entry into a more diverse or more monocultural context, and direct or vicarious exposure to racism also may heighten these young adolescents' sensitivity to race. As biracial children enter *adolescence* stage, pressures to identify with one social group may be intensified by expectations of identification with the racial group of a parent of color. In the *college/young adulthood* stage, there may be a continued immersion in a monoracial group, accompanied by an acute awareness of the contexts in which race-related comments are made. The *adulthood* stage is characterized by a continued exploration and interest in race and culture, including self-definitions of racial and cultural identities and increased flexibility in adapting to various cultural settings.

A limitation of some biracial identity development models has been their assumption that a fully integrated biracial or multiracial identity is the desired end state. Maria Root, however, has suggested alternative resolutions of the biracial and multiracial identity development process. She proposed an ecological metamodel for understanding the potential influences of inherited influences (e.g., parents' identities, nativity, phenotype, and extended family), traits (e.g., temperament, coping skills, and social skills), and socialization agents (e.g., family, peer, and community) on resolution of racial identity for multiracial people. Different sources of experiential conflict lead to feelings of alienation and marginality, discrimination, and ambiguity that challenge the development of a healthy sense of self. Root also noted that multiracial individuals can negotiate identity development concerns through four possible "border crossings," or comfort in, across, and between racial categories: ability to carry multiple cultural perspectives simultaneously; situational identity, or shifting racial identity with regard to context or environment; claiming an independent multiracial reference point; and maintaining a monoracial identity when entering different cultural environments. Border identity, or identification with both or many racial groups, may be positive when personality and sense of self remain constant across racial contexts, although social validation of racial identity may be specific to regions of high concentrations of biracial and multiracial people.

RESEARCH ON BIRACIAL IDENTITY

Empirical evidence supporting variations of adaptive identity development resolutions for biracial and multiracial people is in its infancy. This research has grown substantially since 1990 and includes both quantitative and qualitative designs, each with a variety of strengths and limitations. The use of qualitative designs has been promoted by several scholars in the study of biracial identity because of the unique stories of biracial people. Generally, the themes described in such studies point to the fluidity, fluctuations, and variability in the race and racial identity development of biracial people. However, although the findings of many of these studies might be credible, a common problem with qualitative designs is their lack of generalizability (indeed, this is generally not the goal of qualitative studies). It is difficult to ascertain how themes found in one or another biracial participant group might help psychologists and other mental health professionals understand and assess identity development of biracial people in general. Thus, there is currently a need to incorporate designs that have potential for generalizing results (e.g., larger samples, use of control groups, use of standardized measures).

Research on biracial and multiracial people brings a unique set of challenges to overcome to present information that is accurate and applicable to others. Several problems have been common among research on biracial identity, including small, highly regional, and self-selected samples; lack of standardized instruments; lack of consistency in definitions of race identity variables; and lack of clarity or consistency regarding data analytic procedures (e.g., procedures of data analyses were not described). Much of the research has focused on adolescents and young adults, and thus little is known about biracial identity across the life span.

—Marie L. Miville

See also Multiracial Individuals; Racial Identity Development

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BLAMING THE VICTIM

Blaming the victim is an attributional error in which a person is seen as being primarily responsible for his or her own suffering. For example, regarding ethnic minority groups' lower scores on intelligence tests than those of European Americans, Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray argue in *The Bell Curve* that European Americans are innately intellectually superior to minorities and that efforts to eradicate racial discrepancies, such as affirmative action, remedial programs, and welfare are of little use. Gays and lesbians who contract AIDS are accused of deserving their fate because of their "immoral" lifestyle. People with low socioeconomic status are perceived as lazy individuals who are on welfare because they are unwilling to work like the rest of us. Rape victims are blamed for their assault because of rape myths, such as the belief that women can cause rape by how they dress or behave, or because any respectable woman could prevent rape if she wanted to. Women were assumed to stay in abusive relationships because they suffer from battered woman syndrome or a masochistic personality. People with mental illnesses were assumed to be weak-willed, evil, or manipulative.

Blaming the victim can be internalized by the victim him- or herself, usually with negative consequences for the individual. Minorities who internalize the belief that they are less intelligent may not aspire to do well academically, or when they do they may be affected by stereotype threat: anxiety about poor performance may actually interfere with performance. For example, an African American student in an elite university in which there are few students of color may believe that African Americans are less capable than other students and less qualified because they are in the university only because of affirmative action. Thus, internalizing the blame for one's own suffering can become a self-fulfilling prophecy that can put the individual at risk for low self-esteem and other problems.

One reason people have a tendency to blame the victim is another attributional error, called the *just world theory,* which is based on the assumption that people get what they deserve. The just world theory occurs because it helps us to preserve the belief that the world is an orderly place and we can remain safe if we act appropriately. It follows from this assumption that if something bad happens to someone, she or he must have done something to deserve it. Unfortunately, this type of thinking often leads to blaming the victim, lack of empathy for those who are suffering, prejudice, and discrimination.

Another reason for blaming the victim is the tendency in individualistic cultures to locate the cause of behavior within the individual rather than in the situation, or what is called the *fundamental attribution error.* This bias is reflected in our theories of personality as well, in that we tend to think of personality as something that resides within us and is the cause of our behavior. If our behavior is caused by something that is within us, it follows that when something bad happens to us, it must be our fault.

—Christy Barongan

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BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Beginning in the late 1700s, the military arm of the U.S. government had to determine its response to American Indians recently relocated and contained in the western part of the United States. In 1824, the

U.S. War Department created the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) after several years of trying to manage various aspects of different activities surrounding American Indian tribes. Initially, the BIA had jurisdiction over trade between American Indian tribes and non-Indians (trading companies that hired beaver and buffalo hunters who hunted on Indian land), removal and relocation from historical and traditional land bases to reservations and other containment (prisoners of war or crimes committed against non-Indians), and monitoring in an attempt to limit exploitation of natural resources (gold, water, and land). Unfortunately, the BIA was lacking in its efforts and possessed little power to counter the growing power of Congress, which demonstrated an increasing desire to acquire lands held by treaties between the federal government and the various tribes. In 1884, the BIA was transferred to the U.S. Department of the Interior (USDI), which had regulatory authority over lands and natural resources. Little consideration was given to the fact that, based on treaties, the health, education, and welfare of the American Indian people were majority responsibilities of the BIA, and these concerns ran counter to the purpose of the USDI. The Commission of Indian Affairs, as head of the BIA, quickly became the regulatory authority on marriages, orphans, lands, education, health, resolving disputes, clarifying language, and any other aspects of life involving the American Indians. Eventually, the BIA evolved into primarily a land-administration agency, a process speeded up by the Dawes Act of 1887, the Burke Act of 1906, and the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, which resulted in the BIA becoming the trustee over American Indian lands, funds, and resources (i.e., minerals, grazing, leases). It became apparent that increased monitoring and programmatic oversight was necessary within the BIA, leading to different departments being established to regulate housing, education, land, resources, leases, construction, banking, and especially trust issues. All activities involving enrolled American Indians and federally recognized tribes were regulated and controlled by the BIA. Once Alaska became a state, the BIA began to control and monitor programs for Alaska Natives. One effort to decrease the need for the BIA was the termination policy of the federal government in the 1950s. More than 100 tribes were terminated or lost their federal recognition status, and Congress passed Public Law 280, which allowed states to regulate tribes. It was not until the 1960s and the Self-Determination Act of 1975 that changes occurred, creating the climate for many but not all tribes to govern their own affairs without oversight by the BIA. (Certain PL-280 states still maintain control over some federally recognized tribes.) Since then, the BIA has assisted tribes in becoming more independent and moving toward self-governance. The BIA is no longer a regulatory agency for federally recognized tribes; however, it does monitor federal funds contracted by tribes for services, including police, courts, education, and social services. Many tribes have demonstrated their ability to conduct their own government systems and have managed to maintain independence from the BIA. The BIA continues to provide for several boarding schools both on and off reservations for American Indian and Alaska Native children. The U.S. government still has a trustee responsibility that is primarily managed within the Department of the Interior and by the BIA. The BIA remains the agency that receives applications from non–federally recognized tribes seeking federal recognition and determines whether the tribes in question achieve the status of being federally recognized. The BIA has come under increased scrutiny regarding the mismanagement of boarding schools and moneys involved in the Individual Indian Accounts.

—Dolores Subia Big Foot

See also Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood; Indian Health Service; Native Americans

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