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Intra-race Intersectionality: Identity Denial Among Dual-Minority Biracial People

Analia F. Albuja<sup>1</sup>

Diana T. Sanchez<sup>1</sup>

Sarah E. Gaither<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of Psychology, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ; <sup>2</sup>Department of Psychology and Neuroscience, Duke University, Durham, NC

Corresponding author:

Analia Albuja

53 Avenue E, Tillet 407

Piscataway, NJ 08904

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## Abstract

Because many biracial people identify as members of multiple racial groups, they often experience identity denial (e.g., they are told to identify differently) and identity questioning (e.g., they are asked about their background). Though identity denial and questioning are associated with psychological health outcomes among Minority/White biracial people, no work has examined these experiences among dual-minority (e.g., Black/Latino) biracial people who cannot claim a high-status, White identity. We use an intersectional framework to test the association between experiences of identity denial, identity questioning, feelings of freedom in identity selection, perceived conflict between one's identities, and levels of belonging. Results replicate past findings among Minority/White biracial people: greater experiences of denial were associated with lower feelings of autonomy, greater conflict, and lower levels of belonging. Unique to the dual-minority sample, there were indirect effects through multiracial public regard, as more denial was associated with reports that multiracial people are held in lower regard. The findings suggest that identity denial may be associated with greater negative intrapersonal well-being for dual-minority biracial people, highlighting the need for support among policy makers, educators, and practitioners to increase inclusion.

*Key words:* biracial, identity denial, intersectionality, public regard

**Public Significance Statement:** Biracial people with two racial minority backgrounds often have their identity denied or questioned, which is associated with negative consequences for well-being, including perceiving that biracial people are devalued. Because biracial people are among the fastest growing populations in the United States (Livingston, 2017), it is essential to better understand the specific identity challenges of dual-minority biracial people to inform policy and health practitioners.

### Intra-race Intersectionality: Identity Denial Among Dual-Minority Biracial People

*“Being Biracial, I often feel marginalized because I do not fit into a full-blown category or race. I have the mixture of both races. Being Chinese and Puerto Rican is unique to me and many biracial people fall into an unlimited spectrum, thus leading to many different forms of racial or personal identity.”* - Study 2 Dual Minority Biracial Participant, Open-Ended Response

Because many biracial people (those with parents of different racial backgrounds) identify as members of multiple racial groups, they often experience *identity denial* and *identity questioning* (Albuja, Sanchez, & Gaither, 2019; Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Greater identity denial (e.g., being told to racially identify differently) and identity questioning (e.g., being asked about one’s racial background) have been associated with lower feelings of autonomy, greater perceived conflict between one’s identities, and lower levels of belonging among Minority/White biracial people, who have one White and one racial minority parent (Albuja et al., 2019). However, to our knowledge, no research has explored identity denial and questioning among dual-minority biracial people, who have two racial minority parents (e.g., Black/Latino biracial people; Hall & Turner, 2001). Dual-minority biracial people may identify as a mixture of multiple categories, creating a spectrum of identities that can be subjected to identity denial and questioning. Moreover, while Minority/White biracial people may have some access to a privileged White racial identity, dual-minority biracial people identify with two low-status racial groups. Thus, dual-minority biracial people may additionally contend with lower public regard for multiracial individuals (Sanchez, 2010). The present research studies the associations between identity denial and questioning, and identity autonomy, integration conflict, and social belonging among dual-minority biracial people using intersectionality theory.

### **Intersectionality**

Intersectionality describes a theoretical and analytical approach that considers people's simultaneous identities across social categories, arguing that identities are shaped by systems of advantage and disadvantage (Cole, 2009; Collins, 2000; Davis, 2008; Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016; McCormick-Huhn, Warner, Settles, & Shields, 2019; Rosenthal, 2016). Moreover, intersectionality highlights the interdependent nature of systems of oppression, and posits that people who identify with multiple stigmatized groups contend with various systemic disadvantages simultaneously that are qualitatively distinct (Crenshaw, 1991). For example, Black women's gender identity is shaped by their racial identity such that they experience unique forms of discrimination because both identities are perceived as less prototypical of each group, causing Black women to be often overlooked (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Other work has found that Asian men with mental illnesses experience stigma connected to their race, masculinity, and migration history, suggesting that the various identities simultaneously held influence each other (Morrow et al., 2019).

**Within-category intersectionality.** Historically, intersectionality research has primarily examined the interrelation of gender and racial categories and other between-group intersections of oppressed social identities (e.g., Nash, 2016). Intersectionality theory is rarely applied to the study of biracial samples, yet it may be a fruitful lens to understand the experience of individuals who contend with multiple forms of discrimination as a result of their membership in multiple minority racial groups. We posit that dual-minority biracial people's identities are also interdependent and exist within a hierarchy of inequality (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). An intersectional framework has several advantages for the study of dual-minority biracial people. Intersectionality draws attention to a) diversity within groups, b) the interrelations between groups and institutions that create hierarchies of inequality, and c) similarities in the way groups

are treated to advance social activism (Cole, 2009; Crenshaw, 1991). Thus, the present research a) tests the unique experiences of a dual-minority biracial sample that is overlooked within biracial research, b) measures perceptions of public regard for multiracial people, and c) compares these associations to previous findings among Minority/White biracial samples. The present studies focus on the specific contextual experiences (identity questioning and denial from others) that communicate to biracial individuals that their identity is devalued. Moreover, we explore how these marginalization experiences may have downstream consequences for how biracial people think about their disadvantaged minority identities, including how they integrate them.

### **Identity Denial and Questioning**

Like Black women, biracial people are also non-prototypical members of each racial group with which they identify, leading to greater identity denial and questioning (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Pauker & Ambady, 2009). For example, biracial people might identify as biracial but are often directly questioned about their ancestry (identity questioning) or are told that they should identify differently (identity denial; Albuja et al., 2019). Similarly, many demographic forms restrict biracial people's identification options, forcing them to choose one identity (Department of Education, 2008).

Experimental research shows that Minority/White biracial participants whose White identity is denied report greater stress than those in a control condition (Albuja, Gaither, Sanchez, Straka & Cipollina, 2019). Similarly, among Minority/White biracial people, greater denial and questioning is associated with lower self-esteem, greater depressive symptoms, and greater stress (Albuja et al., 2019; Sanchez, 2010; Townsend, Markus, & Bergsieker, 2009).

Lastly, being misclassified into one's lower-status minority identity is associated with poorer physical and emotional health (Stepanikova, 2010).

Identity denial and questioning may be detrimental because each lowers people's identity autonomy, or one's feelings of control in choosing their identity (Sanchez, Shih, & Wilton, 2014). As described by the Identity Autonomy Perspective and Self-Determination Theory, autonomy is a fundamental need that leads to greater self-esteem and lower anxiety and depression (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Sanchez et al., 2014). Thus, as shown in recent work, identity denial and questioning are associated with negative psychological outcomes because they lower Minority/White biracial people's sense of freedom to choose their identity (Albuja et al., 2019).

Similarly, identity integration conflict can mediate the association between identity denial, stress and depressive symptoms (Albuja et al., 2019). Identity integration describes the extent to which biracial people see their identities as conflicting rather than as harmonious (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Minority/White biracial people who reported more identity denial also reported viewing their identities as more conflicting (Albuja et al., 2019). More broadly, intersectionality research has also examined how identity integration is related to well-being (Stirratt, Meyer, Oullete, & Gara, 2008). For example, gay, lesbian, and bisexual participants whose sexual minority identity was more integrated with other identities (e.g., racial and gender identities) reported fewer depressive symptoms, higher self-esteem, and lower internalized homophobia (Stirratt et al., 2008).

### **Multiracial Public Regard**

For dual-minority biracial people, identity denial and questioning may create concern about the value of being members of two oppressed groups (i.e., lower multiracial public regard; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). In previous research, people with stigmatized identities have

reported that their identities are held in lower regard compared to those with non-stigmatized identities because they contend with discrimination and prejudice (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994; Stirratt et al., 2008). Thus, for biracial people, being denied or questioned about their racial identities may communicate that multiracial identities are devalued.

### **Dual-Minority Identity Denial and Questioning**

Here, we use intersectionality theory to examine the potentially unique experiences of identity denial and questioning of dual-minority biracial people. Though research has begun to explore the correlates and consequences of identity denial and questioning (e.g., Albuja et al., 2019; Franco, Katz, & O'Brien, 2016), this literature has several limitations. To our knowledge, no research has examined the denial and questioning experiences of dual-minority biracial people who do not have access to a high-status White identity and who may therefore lack relative privileges afforded to Minority/White biracial people (Hall & Turner, 2001). Second, the existing literature has examined several well-being outcomes including identity autonomy, identity integration, and social belonging (Albuja et al., 2019). Yet, this work has overlooked how identity denial and questioning may inform biracial people's perceptions of their own social status, which may be especially relevant for dual-minority biracial people given their membership in two low-status racial groups. Thus, in the present research, we examined the association between experiences of identity denial, identity questioning, identity autonomy, integration conflict, and social belonging among dual-minority biracial people in order to conceptually replicate existing research. Informed by intersectionality research recommendations, this work critically examines who is included within existing biracial identity denial and questioning research and tests whether these findings replicate among underrepresented biracial groups (Cole, 2009). The importance of this research is underscored by

the rapid growth of the biracial population in the United States (Livingston, 2017), and this work will serve to inform policy makers, educators, and practitioners of the role identity denial and questioning may play in constructing a negative impression of how biracial identities are viewed by others.

### **The Present Research**

The present studies tested the indirect effects of identity denial and identity questioning on autonomy, integration conflict, and social belonging through multiracial public regard (see Figure 1) among dual-minority biracial people. We hypothesized that greater experiences of denial and questioning would be associated with lower feelings of multiracial public regard (Luhtanen et al., 1994), which would in turn predict lower feelings of autonomy (Studies 1 and 2; Sanchez et al., 2014), greater feelings of conflict (Studies 1 and 2; Albuja et al., 2019), and lower feelings of social belonging (Study 2; Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Alternative models tested are reported in the Supplemental Materials. Study procedures received ethics committee approval.

### **Study 1**

#### **Participants and Procedure**

Participants were recruited through list serves for a larger online study on biracial well-being (see Albuja, Sanchez, & Gaither, 2019). Participants must have spoken English fluently, lived in the United States, been at least 18 years old, and either selected “Biracial/Multiracial” as their race, selected two different races for themselves, selected different races for their biological parents, or selected “Biracial/Multiracial” for at least one parent. The present analytic sample also required participants to correctly answer at least two out of three attention check questions and identify with two minority racial groups. The final sample included 83 participants ( $M_{age} =$

22.92 years,  $SD = 5.57$ ; 75% female, 25% male; note more women than men identify as biracial; Davenport, 2017). Most of the sample selected Black as one racial identity, with the three largest groups being Black-Latino (42%), Black-Asian (21%), and Latino-Asian (17%). With four parameters estimated, this sample size exceeds the recommended criteria of 15 per parameter estimate (Kline, 2011). Using Monte Carlo simulations, the average power achieved across path estimates was 56% (Muthén & Muthén, 2017; Thoemmes, MacKinnon, & Reiser, 2010).

Study 1 is a non-experimental secondary analysis (see Albuja et al., 2019 for additional methodological details); however, the analytic sample published in Albuja et al. (2019) only included Minority/White biracial participants. The present sample only includes dual-minority biracial participants, making it a novel analysis independent of that reported in Albuja et al. (2019). Participants completed additional measures not relevant to the analyses presented here. All scales may be found at [osf.io/kpy23/](https://osf.io/kpy23/) and participants completed all measures online in 2015.

## Measures

**Identity denial and questioning.** Participants completed eight items measuring how frequently they experienced identity denial and questioning using a 7-point scale (1 [*never*]; 7 [*always*]; Albuja et al., 2019). This scale measures how often participants experience acceptance threats wherein their identity as members of their racial groups is challenged or questioned by others. This scale has previously demonstrated convergent and criterion-related validity (Albuja et al., 2019). After considering the experiences specific to the makeup of the sample as recommended by intersectionality researchers (Cole, 2009), dual-minority biracial participants did not complete two items specific to being denied a White racial identity, and we conducted an exploratory factor analysis with the current sample to ensure that the measure was appropriate. The eight items were subjected to maximum likelihood factor analysis with oblimin rotation and

Kaiser normalization (see Supplemental Materials Table 1). Based on inspection of the scree plot, we concluded that the items reflected three factors, which cumulatively explained 76% of the variance (Henson & Roberts, 2006). The first factor represents identity denial (two items;  $r(81) = .79, p < .001$ , Spearman-Brown coefficient = .88; “How often are you told you should identify with one racial identity over another?” and “How often are you told you should racially identify differently?”). The second factor represents identity questioning (three items;  $\alpha = .87$ ; e.g., “How often are you asked about your racial appearance?”, “How often are you asked about your racial ancestry?”, and “How often are you asked about your racial identity?”). The remaining items did not create a reliable scale ( $\alpha = -.01$ ) and were therefore excluded.

**Multiracial public regard.** Multiracial public regard was measured through the public regard subscale of the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Participants responded to four items on a 7-point scale (1 [*completely disagree*]; 7 [*completely agree*]; e.g., “In general, others respect biracial people”). Crocker et al. (1994) and Luhtanen and Crocker (1992) established construct validity through factor analysis, group comparisons, and correlations with depressive symptoms, hopelessness, and life satisfaction. Past work has reported Cronbach’s alphas between .70-.88 (Crocker et al., 1994; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), and in the present sample,  $\alpha = .73$ .

**Identity autonomy.** Participants completed five items on a 7-point scale measuring how free they felt to select their own identity (1 [*strongly disagree*]; 7 [*strongly agree*]; e.g., “I feel that I can racially identify as I want”; Albuja et al., 2019). Sanchez (2010) and Albuja et al. (2019) established construct validity through factor analysis, and correlations with depressive symptoms and stress. Past work has reported Cronbach’s alphas between .83-.89 (Albuja et al., 2019; Sanchez, 2010), and in the present sample,  $\alpha = .82$ .

**Identity integration.** Participants completed the Multiracial Identity Integration Scale, which measures how much participants see their racial identities as conflicting or distant on a 5-point scale (1 [*completely disagree*]; 5 [*completely agree*]; Cheng & Lee, 2009). The conflict subscale included four items (e.g., “I feel torn between my different racial identities”). The distance subscale included four items (e.g., “I keep everything about my racial identities separate”). Cheng and Lee (2009) established construct validity through factor analysis, and correlations with multiracial pride. Moreover, past work has reported Cronbach’s alphas between .70-.81 (Jackson, Yoo, Guevarra Jr, & Harrington, 2012). In the present study,  $\alpha_{\text{conflict}} = .84$ , though the distance subscale did not indicate adequate reliability ( $\alpha_{\text{distance}} = .49$ ) and was excluded.

## Results

Greater identity denial was associated with lower multiracial public regard, and greater integration conflict, while lower multiracial public regard was associated with lower autonomy and greater integration conflict (see Table 1). The hypothesized model tested the indirect effect of identity denial and questioning on autonomy and conflict through multiracial public regard using MPlus (Muthén & Muthén; see Figure 1). Because there was no missing data, no imputation was conducted. The model indicated good fit,  $\chi^2(4, N = 83) = 3.83, p = .429$ , RMSEA < 0.001, 90% Confidence Interval (CI) = [0.00, 0.16], CFI = 1.00, SRMR = .05 (Kline, 2011). Reports of more frequent identity denial were associated with lower multiracial public regard, which then predicted lower identity autonomy and greater identity conflict. Identity denial and questioning were positively correlated. Indirect effects were tested by examining the 95% confidence intervals of 10,000 bootstrapped resamples. Results suggest there was a significant indirect effect of identity denial on autonomy through multiracial public regard,  $B = -$

0.14, 95% CI = [-0.26, -0.03]. This indirect effect was not significant between identity denial and conflict,  $B = 0.11$ , 95% CI = [-0.01, 0.22]. Identity questioning was not significantly related to multiracial public regard in the path analysis model. There were no significant indirect effects with identity questioning.

### **Summary**

The results of Study 1 suggest that dual-minority biracial participants experience both identity denial and questioning, though participants reported experiencing questioning more often than denial. However, the path model suggests that experiences of identity denial are more aversive, as participants who reported more frequent identity denial experiences also reported perceiving lower multiracial public regard. Further, lower perceptions of public regard were also associated with lower feelings of freedom in selecting an identity and greater perceived identity conflict. Study 2 sought to replicate this model and expand it by including social belonging—a sense of fit and acceptance among others that is considered a fundamental human need (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Hagerty & Patusky, 1995). Stymied social belonging is associated with numerous psychological outcomes, including greater loneliness, depression, and anxiety (Hagerty, Williams, Coyne, & Early, 1996). Because low multiracial public regard may signal to dual-minority biracial people that they are not accepted, Study 2 tested the hypothesis that greater experiences of denial and questioning would be associated with lower feelings of multiracial public regard, which would in turn predict lower feelings of social belonging, lower feelings of autonomy, and greater feelings of conflict.

## **Study 2**

### **Participants and Procedure**

Using the Study 1 criteria, participants ( $N = 103$ ;  $M_{age} = 32.99$  years,  $SD = 13.08$ ; 74% female, 25% male, 1% selected “Other”; Black-Latino (68%), Latino-Asian (18%), and Latino-Native American (3%) were recruited via Qualtrics Panels in 2018. This sample size exceeds the recommended criteria of 15 participants per parameter to estimate five key parameters (Kline, 2011). The average power achieved across path estimates was 68%. Study 2 was a non-experimental study and participants received \$9 as compensation.

### Measures

Online, participants completed the same measures of identity denial,  $r(101) = .73$ ,  $p < .001$ ; Spearman-Brown coefficient = .85, identity questioning ( $\alpha = .81$ ), multiracial public regard ( $\alpha = .58$ )<sup>1</sup>, autonomy ( $\alpha = .88$ ), and integration conflict ( $\alpha = .71$ ). Using a 7-point scale (1 [*strongly disagree*]; 7 [*strongly agree*]), participants also completed the Sense of Belonging Instrument (SOBI), modified to include more tentative language and seven items to reduce participant burden (e.g., “Sometimes I wonder if there is any place on earth that I really fit in”; Albuja et al., 2019; Hagerty & Patusky, 1995). Hagerty and Patusky (1995) established construct validity through factor analysis, group comparisons, and correlations with loneliness and social support. Moreover, past work has reported Cronbach’s alphas between .89-.93 and test-retest reliability of .84 (Albuja et al., 2019; Hagerty & Patusky, 1995; Hagerty et al., 1996). In the present sample,  $\alpha = .88$ . Participants completed additional measures not relevant to the analyses presented here. All scales may be found at:

[https://osf.io/jysz2/?view\\_only=94b34f3d49bd49fdbbd529fa819b7fa3](https://osf.io/jysz2/?view_only=94b34f3d49bd49fdbbd529fa819b7fa3)

### Results

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<sup>1</sup> The low Cronbach’s alpha was explored in an alternative model, replicating the pattern of results reported here (see Supplemental Materials).

Correlational results demonstrate greater identity denial was associated with greater identity questioning, lower multiracial public regard, greater integration conflict, and lower sense of belonging. Lower multiracial public regard was associated with lower autonomy, greater integration conflict, and lower social belonging (Table 2). Study 2 incorporated social belonging in the model, and replicated the findings from Study 1 (see Figure 2). Because there was no missing data, no imputation was conducted. The model again indicated good fit,  $\chi^2(6, N = 103) = 9.70, p = .138, RMSEA = 0.08, 90\% CI = [0.00, 0.16], CFI = 0.93, SRMR = .06$ . More frequent experiences of identity denial were associated with lower multiracial public regard, which was associated with lower identity autonomy, greater identity conflict, and lower social belonging. Identity denial and identity questioning were positively associated. There was no significant indirect effect of identity denial on autonomy through multiracial public regard,  $B = -0.08, 95\% CI = [-0.17, 0.004]$ , or between identity denial and conflict,  $B = 0.08, 95\% CI = [-0.01, 0.17]$ . There was a significant indirect effect of identity denial on social belonging through multiracial public regard,  $B = 0.12, 95\% CI = [0.02, 0.22]$ . Identity questioning was not significantly related to multiracial public regard in the path model, and there were no significant indirect effects with identity questioning.

### **General Discussion**

The present work expanded intersectionality research by testing the identity denial and questioning experiences of a sample of dual-minority biracial people who have multiple racial minority identities simultaneously. Participants who reported being told to identify differently more often also reported perceiving that multiracial people are held in lower regard. This perception was associated with feeling less freedom to choose an identity, perceiving greater conflict between identities, and feeling less belonging. The positive associations between identity

denial, integration conflict, and social belonging replicate past findings among Minority/White biracial people, suggesting that some processes may be shared across groups (Albuja et al., 2019; Cole, 2009).

However, because the dual-minority biracial population identifies with multiple subordinated groups, the process through which identity denial and questioning influences autonomy, conflict, and belonging may differ from Minority/White biracial people. Thus, we also examined indirect effects through perceptions of how multiracial people are regarded. Indeed, dual-minority biracial participants who experienced more frequent identity denial reported that multiracial people are held in lower regard. Though this is not a direct measure of systematic oppression, these results suggest that identity denial is one pathway devaluing biracial people. These results are consistent with past findings that biracial participants (both Minority/White and dual-minority) who reported more experiences of identity denial also reported lower multiracial public regard and greater depressive symptoms (Sanchez, 2010).

### **Implications**

The present findings have implications for policy makers, educators, and practitioners. For example, inclusive policies such as allowing biracial people to select multiple racial options on demographic forms used in educational, occupational, and health contexts would aid in accurate classification and identification experiences (Hollenbach et al., 2015). For example, current forced-choice identification options, such as those used by the National Marrow Donor Program, indicate low concordance between racial self-identification and genetic ancestry necessary for successful transplant matching (Hollenbach et al., 2015). To date, biracial people have largely been excluded from education and health research because often-used racial

assessments rely on monoracial categorizations that cannot detect the complexity of dual-minority biracial people.

Moreover, of the limited research on biracial populations, most focuses on White biracial identities, marginalizing the experiences of biracial individuals with minority multiracial backgrounds. The intersectional research movement was born from the lack of representation of women of color and the failure to recognize how systems of oppression differ when people are members of multiple marginalized groups (e.g., Collins, 2000). Similarly, the dual-minority biracial experience needs to be considered with the recognition that their multiple minority backgrounds are shaped by each other and associated with unique outcomes. Through its questions and methodologies, future research should consider the unique experiences of dual-minority biracial individuals as qualitatively different than simply the sum of the experiences of people of two minority racial groups (Bowleg, 2008). For example, because African Americans are stereotyped as low status, but Asian Americans are stereotyped as high status (Zou & Cheryan, 2017), the experiences of African American/Asian biracial people will be distinct from the experiences of African Americans and Asian Americans and cannot be summed. Rather, intersectionality research needs to continue to push research to move beyond an additive approach.

Consistent with calls to use research for social action (Moradi & Grzanka, 2017), the findings suggest the identity denial and questioning experienced by dual-minority biracial people may be similar to that experienced by other dual-identity groups such as bicultural and bisexual people (Albuja et al., 2019; Maimon, Sanchez, Albuja, & Howansky, 2019). As such, coalitions may be effective to pursue inclusive policies. Similarly, educators may further promote biracial students' identity autonomy by encouraging identity exploration through interest groups and

student services (Wong & Buckner, 2008). Lastly, the results may improve practitioners' understanding of identity related stressors of dual-minority biracial people (Franco et al., 2016).

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

As one of the first tests of identity processes among a dual-minority biracial sample, this research provides an important contribution to current understanding of the experiences of those with two subordinated racial identities (McCormick-Huhn et al., 2019). However, due to recruitment difficulties, the small sample sizes and overrepresentation of women does not allow us to generalize these results broadly. Because most participants were female identified, they may contend with additional disadvantages through intersections of racism and sexism that were not measured here (Rockquemore, 2002). Moreover, because participants reported their gender identity using only male or female, the present data may not accurately reflect participants' gender identity. Future research should provide inclusive response options that account for diverse gender identities, particularly when taking an intersectional approach.

Due to the correlational data, future research should employ experimental methods to better understand the causal relationships. Additionally, the current model did not directly measure systemic oppression experienced by dual-minority biracial people. For example, future research may examine the unique stereotypes that can be applied to specific dual-minority biracial people because perceiver's stereotypes may motivate identity denial (Skinner, Perry, & Gaither, 2019).

Additionally, in the present model identity questioning was not significantly related to the key variables, perhaps because it is a less direct identity challenge than identity denial. Future work should explore the effects of identity questioning on other outcomes such as self-concept clarity (Usborne & Taylor, 2010), or mechanisms like rumination which may be more related to

subtle experiences of discrimination (Borders & Liang, 2011). Moreover, because low power increases the risk of Type II errors, future research should also replicate these null results with a higher-powered sample for generalizability purposes. Additionally, the impact of identity denial and questioning may also differ based on perpetrator race. Approximately half of participants in Study 2 reported being challenged by other racial minorities (e.g., “Usually it's either another Korean or Mexican telling me I am not either.”; “Other Asians when speaking with Asians - I'm Filipino, Chinese, Japanese - each one wants me to identify in that group.”). This suggests there is variation in perpetrator race that may also influence downstream consequences.

Lastly, the studies present a replication of previous findings with Minority/White biracial samples, with the addition of multiracial public regard in the model. To ensure high reliability, researchers could expand this model by including larger measures specific to dual-minority biracial people, such as whether participants experience discrimination based on their two racial group memberships. Similarly, because public regard may differ based on participants' specific background, future research should examine variations in public regard for specific dual-minority racial groups (e.g., “In general, others respect Black/Latino people.”). Through these changes, and by expanding the existing identity denial and questioning scales to include more items, future research can improve reliability and reduce measurement error in the models (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006).

## **Conclusion**

Across two samples of dual-minority biracial people, we provide the first examination of the processes of experiencing identity denial and identity questioning and their relation to well-being. Our research applies intersectionality to the study of dual-minority biracial people, whose identities and experiences are shaped by their simultaneous membership in two racial groups.

The results suggest that dual-minority biracial people who experience more denial and questioning also perceive lower multiracial public regard, which in turn influences their identity autonomy, identity conflict, and sense of belonging. Thus, it is critical for future researchers examining pathways to well-being to apply intersectionality not only to distinct social identities such as race and gender, but also to apply within-category intersectionality that considers identities that co-exist within the same social domain. This approach expands the intersectionality framework to be inclusive of the unique experiences of dual-minority group members such as biracial people.

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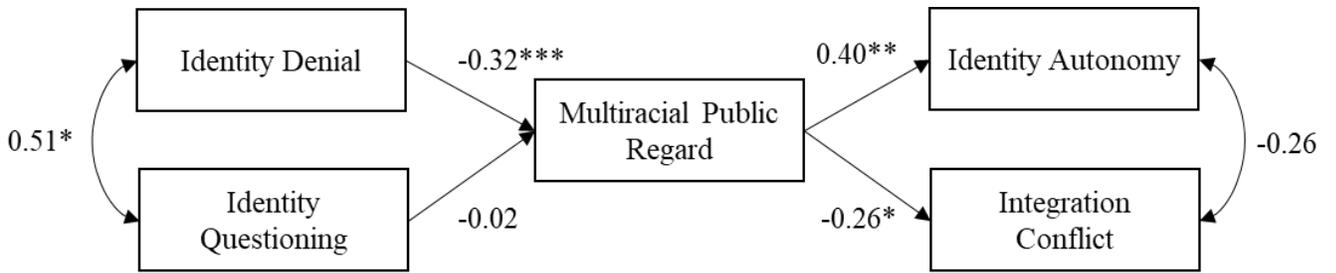
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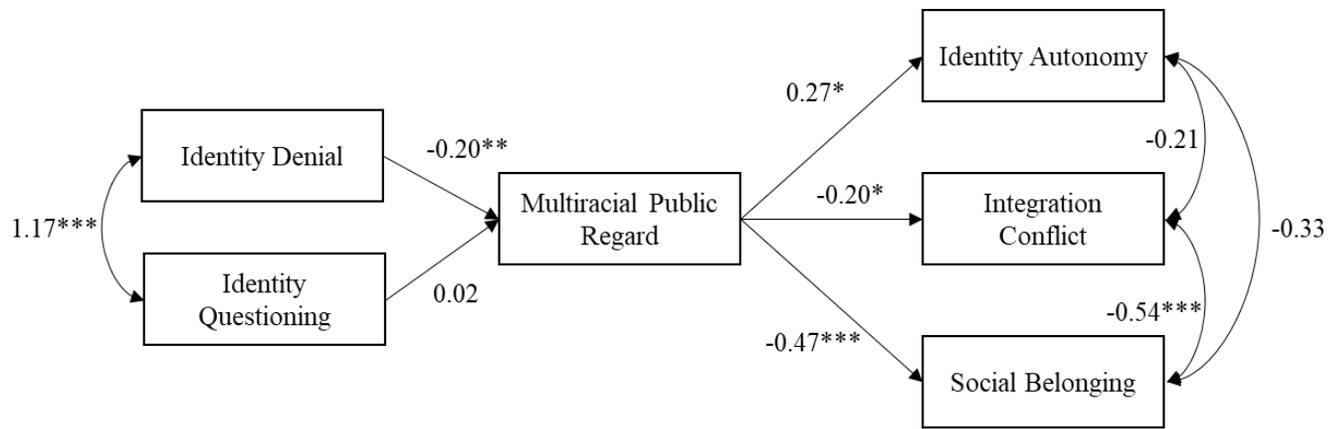
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**Figure 1.** Unstandardized path coefficients for the hypothesized model in Study 1.

*Note.* \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .



**Figure 2.** Unstandardized path coefficients for the hypothesized model in Study 2.

*Note.*  $*p < .05$ ,  $**p < .01$ ,  $***p < .001$ .

**Table 1.** Correlations and Descriptive Statistics for Study 1

	<i>M (SD)</i>	Range	1	2	3	4
1. Identity Denial	2.16 (1.44)	1-7	--			
2. Identity Questioning	4.10 (1.81)	1-7	.20	--		
3. Public Regard	4.97 (1.13)	1-7	-.42***	-.11	--	
4. Identity Autonomy	5.03 (1.31)	1-7	-.15	-.03	.35**	--
5. Integration Conflict	2.71 (1.13)	1-5	.27*	.15	-.26*	-.27*

*Note.* \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

**Table 2.** Correlations and Descriptive Statistics for Study 2

	<i>M (SD)</i>	Range	1	2	3	4	5
1. Identity Denial	3.67 (2.03)	1-7	--				
2. Identity Questioning	5.33 (1.40)	1-7	.42***	--			
3. Public Regard	4.67 (1.21)	1-7	-.33**	-.11	--		
4. Identity Autonomy	5.43 (1.35)	1-7	-.10	.06	.24*	--	
5. Integration Conflict	2.29 (0.97)	1-5	.21*	.09	-.24*	-.22*	--
6. Social Belonging	4.02 (1.60)	1-7	-.36***	-.17	.35***	.24*	-.43***

*Note.* \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .