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ACTING WHITE OR ACTING BLACK:
MIXED-RACE ADOLESCENTS' IDENTITY AND BEHAVIOR

Christopher Ruebeck
Susan Averett
Howard Bodenhorn

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ABSTRACT

Although rates of interracial marriage are on the rise, we still know relatively little about the experiences of mixed-race adolescents. In this paper, we examine the identity and behavior of mixed-race (black and white) youth. We find that mixed-race youth adopt both types of behaviors -- those that can be empirically characterized as "black" and those that can be characterized as "white". When we combine both types of behavior, average mixed-race behavior is a combination that is neither white nor black, and the variance in mixed-race behavior is generally greater than the variance in behavior of monoracial adolescents, especially as compared to the black racial group. Adolescence is the time during which there is most pressure to establish an identity, and our results indicate that mixed-race youth are finding their own distinct identities, not necessarily "joining" either monoracial group, but in another sense joining both of them.

Christopher Ruebeck
Simon Center
Department of Economics
Lafayette College
Easton, PA 18042
ruebeckc@lafayette.edu

Howard Bodenhorn
Department of Economics & Business
William Simon Center
Lafayette College
Easton, PA 18042-1776
and NBER
bodenhoh@lafayette.edu

Susan Averett
Simon Center
Dept. of Economics
Lafayette College
Easton, PA 18042
AVERETTS@LAFAYETTE.EDU

1. Introduction

The constant of the postwar American family is change. Abundant scholarship documents the increasing likelihood of divorce and single parenthood, later age at first marriage, and the rise of extramarital cohabitation, same-sex unions, and interracial marriage (Stevenson and Wolfers 2007). The rise of interracial marriage since the US Supreme Court struck down state anti-miscegenation laws in 1967 is notable. Between 1970 and 2000 the number of black-white marriages increased five-fold (Rosenfeld and Kim 2005). By 2000 over seven percent of black men were married to white women, and nearly 3 percent of black women were married to white men (Fryer 2007). Although interracial marriage remains relatively rare it is on the rise.

Scholars have focused on several features of interracial marriage, including sociological and economic studies of the marriage market (Rosenfeld and Kim 2005; Joyner and Kao 2005; Fryer 2007), how the law accommodates nontraditional unions (Kennedy 2003; Romano 2003), the consequences of interracial mating for the psychological health and sociological adjustments of these unions' mixed-race offspring (Tizard and Phoenix 2002); the educational achievement of mixed-race children (Kao 1999; Harris and Thomas 2002; Herman 2002); risk taking by mixed-race youth (Udry et al 2003); as well as the personal and social construction of mixed-race identities (Harris 2001; Harris 2002; Harris and Sim 2002). Our study addresses the last three of these issues in that we investigate how a mixed-race identity influences a wide range of teenage academic and risk-taking behaviors relative to the behaviors of their monoracial peers.

The first systematic social science studies of mixed-race people in the early twentieth century argued that, because they were perpetual outsiders, mixed-race individuals were more prone to psychological disorders and social pathologies than monoracial individuals (Park 1929; Park 1931; Stonequist 1937). But recent increases in interracial marriage and the number of mixed-race children have spawned a new interest in their experiences and development. While the modern literature accepts that modern mixed-race individuals must navigate certain strains, conflicts and ambiguities not faced by monoracial individuals, there is abundant evidence that mixed-race youth develop positive self-images and healthy identities (Daniel 1996; Tizard and Phoenix 2002).

We investigate the extent to which mixed-race youth adopt the behavioral norms of their white or black peers or whether they sometimes adopt distinct behaviors that are neither stereotypically black nor white. We find that mixed-race youth struggle to establish a unique identity in at least some dimensions. It is important not to equate identity with behavior, of course, but much behavior is purposeful and designed to project a public image or persona not inconsistent with the person's beliefs or the salience an association holds for that individual.

One of this study's contributions to the literature is our rejection of the standard economic practice of viewing race, like sex, as immutable and an exogenously determined datum. Sociology and psychology have long recognized that race, like any other personal characteristic, is socially constructed and therefore changeable. Economists have only recently begun to investigate the extent to which economic processes influence racial determination and vice versa (Darity et al 2006). Although macro-level social processes establish the choice set of identities available to the individual, there remains an element of choice in racial identification. Moreover, racial identification and the resulting behaviors translate physical characteristics into human capital with an economic value.

It is also important to emphasize that this study focuses on mixed-race youth defined by ancestry or parents' races. It addresses issues of complexion or phenotype indirectly, if at all. An emergent economic literature connects phenotype and outcomes, and generally finds that lighter complected individuals earn higher incomes, accumulate more wealth, and generally fare better in several dimensions than their darker complected peers (Bodenhorn 2003; Goldsmith et al 2006; Hersch 2006; Gyimah-Brempong and Price 2006; Bodenhorn and Ruebeck 2007; Goldsmith et al 2007). We cannot draw a connection between mixed-race individuals and complexion-based differentials because, as Rangel (2007) shows, race mixing does not uniquely map into phenotype because parents of given phenotypes produce offspring drawn from a distribution of potential complexions. The data we employ identify mixed-race individuals, but reveal nothing definitive about their complexions.

Specifically, we use a rich data set on adolescents to test hypotheses about differences in mixed-race and monoracial behaviors as evidence for differences in identity. Although complexion is not definitively measured,

the data do allow us to use a number of different definitions and so compare our findings across the various measures of adolescents' racial group. The rest of this paper proceeds as follows. In section 2 we introduce a model of identity and behavior which provides a framework for our empirical analysis. In section 3, we discuss our data and our different measures of race. Section 4 presents our empirical model and summary statistics. Section 5 presents the results of our classification of adolescent behavior along racial lines, while section 6 presents our results aimed at determining the variation in mixed-race individual's identities. Section 7 provides the results of a sensitivity analysis while section 8 concludes our analysis.

2. Conceptual apparatus

In this section, we outline a stylized model of identity and behavior inspired by Akerlof and Kranton (2000; 2002), one that follows from Benjamin et al. (2007). The model organizes our thinking about the issues of racial identity and behavioral choices among mixed-race children, but we do not provide a formal test of the theory *per se*. It nevertheless remains a useful heuristic and the empirical results reported below are consistent with the model's predictions. In our framework, peer and familial pressures to adopt certain identity-related behaviors influence the individual's choice of activities, based on his or her personal preferences and the salience of racial identification. Models based on Akerlof and Kranton's framework (see also Bodenhorn and Ruebeck, 2003) also recognize that economic incentives can influence the choice of identity directly. In fact, it is the tension between pecuniary and psychic incentives that motivate these and related theories.

Let x be some decision variable, such as how much of a certain activity an individual may engage in. The choice of activities may or may not be associated with existing racial behavioral norms. Individuals identify with a given racial category R with salience s . Let x_0 denote the optimal engagement in activity x absent racial identity considerations. Similarly, let x_R denote the existing racial behavioral norm associated with an activity and prescribed for members of race R by the members of each race. The behaviors are stereotypical in the sense that members of each race collectively define what they believe to be appropriate behavior for others of the same race.

We assume there are two races, $R = w$ (white) or b (black), each with reasonably well established behavioral norms. There exist as well members of a third, emergent mixed-race group for whom a prescribed norm does not yet exist. Mixed-race individuals face peer and familial pressures to adopt behaviors consistent with one of the existing racial norms, while personal preferences and economic incentives may imply higher levels of utility from alternative behaviors consistent with neither existing racial norm. Assume further that mixed-race individuals place weights $0 \leq w_b(s), w_w(s) \leq 1$ on conforming to either the black or white behavioral norms, where s represents the salience or strength of a particular racial identity to the individual.

The individual chooses x to maximize

$$(1) \quad U = - (1 - w_w(s) - w_b(s))(x - x_0)^2 - w_w(s)(x - x_w)^2 - w_b(s)(x - x_b)^2 .$$

We further assume that $w_b(0) = w_w(0) = 0$ and that $w'_b(s), w'_w(s) > 0$. The assumptions and the form of the utility function imply that deviations from a racial norm prescribed by peers or family members cause disutility that is increasing in the salience of racial identity s , the power of the individual's affiliation with a racial norm, and the distance between a given activity and the racial norm. The individual also suffers disutility when she deviates from her personal optimum level of activity x . Thus, the individual faces a tradeoff between being true to herself and being true to social expectations regarding her behavior based on the racial image she projects.

The first-order condition of (1) defines the optimal level of x ,

$$(2) \quad x^* = (1 - w_w(s) - w_b(s))x_0 + w_w(s)x_w + w_b(s)x_b ,$$

a weighted average of the individual optimum and the existing racial norms. This specification does not limit mixed-race individuals to adopt behaviors that are convex combinations of existing black and white behaviors, rather they are convex combination of existing black behaviors, white behaviors and behaviors consistent with the individual's personal optimum behavior absent identity pressures. The first right-hand side term affords the

mixed-race youth the opportunity to adopt behaviors that are neither stereotypically black nor stereotypically white, behaviors that may be “outside” the established racial norms.

The model yields two predictions that bear on our study of mixed-race youth.

Prediction 1: The stronger the salience of a given racial behavioral norm, the closer the individual x^* will be to either x_b or x_w .

An example, although not one that we test directly here, is the still-controversial “acting white” hypothesis (Fordham and Ogbu 1986; Austen-Smith and Fryer 2005; Fryer and Torelli 2005; Ferguson 2006; Tyson and Darity 2005). If a mixed-race youth faces peer pressures to express black identity through engagement in stereotypically black behaviors, and black behaviors are “oppositional” in that they reject white norms of academic achievement, peer pressure may lead him to achieve a lower grade point averages. If the “acting white” phenomenon is real and black racial salience is powerful for mixed-race youth in academic matters, we may observe lower grade point averages among mixed-race youth than would be predicted by observable family, personal and school characteristics. Although Ferguson (2006) fails to find evidence of them, sociologists and psychologists report pressures placed on mixed-race youth by monoracial youth to demonstrate racial authenticity in various dimensions, so we may observe multi-race youth adopting a wide range of behaviors, depending on the salience of white or black race in a particular circumstance (Tizard and Phoenix 2002; Williams 1996; Root 1997).

Prediction 2: The responsiveness of the individual’s engagement in activity x to racial salience is determined by

$$(3) \quad \delta x^* / \delta s = w'_w(s)(x_w - x_0) + w'_b(s)(w_b - x_0) .$$

The sign of which depends, of course, on the signs of $(x_w - x_0)$ and $(w_b - x_0)$ and the relative magnitudes of the relevant terms, which cannot be known absent a specific parameterization of the model. Nevertheless, the

general result reveals that the individual's adjustment to changes in salience depends on the relative distances of the mixed-race youth's personal optimum engagement in an activity and the prescribed racial behavioral norms.

Suppose, without loss of generality, that $x_w - x_0 > 0$ and $x_b - x_0 < 0$ (or, that the mixed-race youth's personal optimum is closer to the black than the white behavioral norm), then the effect of racial salience on the behavioral choice will be determined by

$$(4) \quad \delta^2 x^* / \delta s^2 = w_w''(s)(x_w - x_0) + w_b''(s)(x_b - x_0) .$$

By assumption $(x_w - x_0) > (x_b - x_0)$ and we then have

$$(5) \quad \delta^2 x^* / \delta s^2 > 0 \text{ if and only if } w_w''(s), w_b''(s) > 0 \text{ and } w_w''(s) > w_b''(s) .$$

Given the assumptions, equation (5) implies that the salience of whiteness for mixed-race youth increases more rapidly the greater the initial distance between the white norm and the youth's optimum engagement in x . But depending on the forms of the $w(s)$'s and the value of s itself, $\delta^2 x^* / \delta s^2$ might be either positive or negative. As Benjamin et al (2007) note, it may be that individuals with greater racial salience are more accepting of racial norms ($w'' > 0$); or it might be that individuals become saturated with the racial norm ($w'' < 0$).

To summarize, mixed-race youth behaviors may reveal greater diversity than monoracial behaviors. Because they face conflicting familial and peer pressures regarding "correct" behavior, mixed-race youth will sometimes engage in stereotypically white behaviors, stereotypically black behaviors, and unique behaviors that are neither black nor white. Moreover, because the salience of race is likely to vary more across mixed-race than monoracial youth in at least some circumstances, we expect to observe a greater variance of mixed-race behaviors driven by the absence of established mixed-race behavioral norms.

3. Data

To assess the connection between behaviors and identity among mixed-race individuals, we use data collected by the Adolescent Health Survey (commonly referred to as AddHealth), a school-based nationally representative survey of students, parents, and school administrators concerning the health-related behaviors of adolescents in grades 7 through 12. Research dating to at least Erikson (1968) reveals that the initial steps toward identity formation are taken in adolescence, when youth have accumulated enough experience to adequately assess life goals and personal values (see Furstenberg 2000 for a recent review). Archer (1982) argues that adolescence, especially early to mid-adolescence, represents a critical period in identity formation because the physical changes surrounding puberty and the widening of the circle of acquaintances typically result in self-appraisal and emergent concerns about behavior. Given the increasing number of mixed-race individuals going through the process of identity development, sociologists and psychologists have grown increasingly interested in their experiences (Tizard and Phoenix 2002). We consider the choices that adolescents make, choices that are not only a function of their emergent identity but determinants of their future livelihoods as well. Thus, our research contributes to this emergent literature because it is among the first to offer an empirical assessment of mixed-race behaviors and identity formation through the lens of “the economics of identity.”

Adolescents were interviewed for the AddHealth study in consecutive academic years, 1994-95 (Wave 1) and 1995-96 (Wave 2). In each wave, information on a wide range of risky and pro-social behaviors, academic outcomes, and family characteristics was collected. The Wave 1 survey included two components: an in-school survey and an at-home survey. The in-school survey was given during one class period (45 to 60 minutes) to more than 90,000 students and was administered between September 1994 and April 1995. The at-home survey, a sub-sample of the in-school sample, was administered to 20,745 adolescents, and was typically conducted in the adolescent’s home in a one to two hour period. The Wave 1 survey was administered between September 1994 and December 1995. To reduce the likelihood of purposive misreporting on sensitive topics, interviewers assured students that their answers could not be matched to their names and questions were

answered on a computer controlled by the adolescent student. Wave 2, which was also conducted at-home, was administered to nearly 15,000 of the same students surveyed in Wave 1 approximately one year later. At Wave 1, the mother (or other female head of the household) of the originally-sampled adolescent was asked to participate in a 40-minute, interviewer-administered survey regarding the health status and behaviors of the adolescent, home environment, and the adolescent's interpersonal relationships. AddHealth preferred to have the mother fill out the parent's questionnaire because mothers are generally believed to be more familiar than fathers with the schooling, health status, and health behaviors of their children.

We make use of responses collected from the in-school, at-home, and parental components of the survey. Our first task is to identify mixed-race adolescents, and towards this purpose AddHealth provides multiple sources. Although the in-school survey asked each adolescent to self-report her or his race with the option to select more than one racial category, self-reported race is potentially endogenous to identity development and to the observable behaviors and other outcomes we study. We thus use as our primary source of racial identity the parental survey conducted in the Wave 1 at-home survey in which a parent (usually the mother as explained above), was asked to report their own race, as well as the race of their partner. Information on the parents' races should be less endogenous than the adolescent's self-reported race is to the adolescent's outcomes. Parents, too, could select more than one racial category. Because our interest is in the black/white dichotomy which characterizes the "acting white" research, we limit ourselves to considering those respondents who noted that they were black and/or white. Respondents who did not check either black or white are not included in our analysis. Note that if an individual marked white, black, or both but also marked one of the other three categories that AddHealth records (asian, American Indian, other), we did not drop them because we already have a small sample of mixed race adolescents. Thus, when we use the term "mixed race", we use it to refer to those individual who are reported (by themselves or their parents) to at least be both black and white.¹

¹ We label this group "mixed-race" for convenience and expositional clarity. In so doing, we sacrifice precision, but because no generally acceptable terminology has yet emerged, we trade precision for a greater rhetorical clarity. Other studies have investigated the experiences of children from racially mixed parents and have drawn parallels between their experiences and those of black-white mixed race (Kao 1999; Harris and Sim 2002).

Our use of parental-based adolescent race forces us to limit our sample to adolescents living in intact families because single parents are not asked to report the other biological parent's race. Although this poses some disadvantages, mostly because black youth are significantly less likely to live in intact families and children in single-parent homes are more likely to engage in risky behaviors than children in traditional two-parent households (McLanahan and Sandefur 1994), focusing our attention on this group reduces racial identification endogeneity and eliminates at least one confounding source of variation (Bryson 1995). Another disadvantage to using the at-home sample is that we have few adolescents whose parents report a racially mixed relationship. To address this drawback, we merge the data from both Waves 1 and 2 of AddHealth so that each mixed-race adolescent is observed twice. As is typical in longitudinal data sets, the racial identification questions were asked at baseline (Wave 1) and not at Wave 2. After linking the parental race information with the adolescent information in Waves 1 and 2 (we refer to the combination of Waves 1 and 2 as the at-home sample) and dropping those observations without a sample weight, we identified 63 adolescents who had one white parent and one black parent and from whom we draw our principal conclusions about mixed-race behavior and identity. We take care not to draw sweeping generalizations based on our modest sample size. To address the more general population and increase the sample size of all racial groups, but at the potential expense of endogenous racial identification, we then repeat our analysis with racial group identified directly by the surveyed adolescent, widening the sample to include non-intact families in Waves 1 and 2 and then the larger in-school sample. The advantage of the in-school data is that it includes responses from more than 90,000 respondents and about 800 of these self-report being mixed-race. We will report on results using the following five samples: (1) Waves 1 & 2 at-home survey, intact families, race based on parents; (2) Waves 1 & 2 at-home survey, intact families, race based on adolescents' self-report; (3) Waves 1 & 2 at-home survey, all adolescents, self-reported race; (4) in-school survey, intact families, self-reported race; and (5) in-school survey, all adolescents, self-reported race. We choose these samples to logically expand beyond the first (preferred) sample and make relevant comparisons among the results. The at-home samples have, in addition to parents' race, a more rich set of behaviors; our analysis of the two in-school samples thus depends on a smaller set of behaviors and control variables.

Using our preferred sample (intact families from Waves 1 and 2 of the at-home sample), Table 1 reveals that there is not perfect agreement between adolescents' self-reports and parental racial categorizations. Of the 63 adolescents in Wave 1 from intact inter-racial families, 26 identified themselves as mixed-race: 3 with a black mother and white father, and 23 with a white mother and black father. The thirty-seven remaining with racially mixed parents mostly identified as "Black" (17), some as "White" (7) and the rest as "Other" (13). The category "Other" is small because we have excluded adolescents whose parents did not check either black or white. Although it captures potential errors in coding or completing the survey, most of these "Other" observations are purposive choices by adolescents of one of the other three categories provided by AddHealth.

Table 1: Adolescents' and parents' self-reported racial categories—Wave 1 only, intact families

Adolescent's Self-reported race:	Parents' reported race								Tot.	
	Mother:	B	W	Mix	Mix	B	W	B		W
	Father:	B	W	B	W	Mix	Mix	W		B
Black	935			4		2		3	8	952
White		5532			1			3	3	5539
Mixed (black and white)	5	3						3	23	34
Other				1				4	8	13
Totals	940	5535		5	1	2		13	42	6538

Notes to Table 1: The grey cells are the 63 adolescents identified as mixed-race by their parents' racial identification. B = black; W = white; Mix = mixed-race for parents. Parents, like their adolescent children, could self-report more than one racial identifier and several did. We consider that person's child to be mixed-race (black and white) if one parent selected black as at least one identifier and the other chose white as at least one identifier. We have a greater number of observations in later tables that use both Waves 1 and 2; this table only reports on Wave 1 observations.

Our focus is on the adolescents' race as implied by parental race and we find results robust to our methods of measuring adolescent race when we extend our results to include samples in which adolescent race is self-reported, but we conclude this section with a discussion of the disagreements between the measures. Using a different subset of the AddHealth data, Harris and Sim (2002) conclude that race is fluid among a significant proportion of adolescents. Their study finds that, whereas 6.8 percent of survey respondents report a mixed racial heritage when completing the in-school survey, only 3.6 percent responded similarly on the at-home portion. When considering intact, two-parent families they find 4.8% of students come from mixed-race

backgrounds. Hitlin et al. (2006) extend the work of Harris and Sim by using Waves 1 and 3 of the Addhealth survey and report that between Waves 1 and 3 there are racial identification changes.²

AddHealth interviewers were also asked to “Code the race of the respondent based on your observation alone.” Unlike respondents, however, interviewers were not allowed to select more than one racial category in describing respondents, and they answered this question after respondents provided their self-identification. As it stands, interviewers coded 14 of those who self-reported black as white and 18 of those self-reporting white as black. Of those who self-reported mixed, 70 percent were classified as black by the interviewers, indicating that the classification heuristic used by the interviewers appears consistent with Davis’ (1991) contention that the “one-drop rule” still holds sway in modern America. That is, any individual with any trace of black heritage is more likely to be viewed as black. When we use parental race reports (the group described in Table 1), we find that of the 63 adolescents with one black and one white parent, 31 are categorized as black by interviewers, 20 as white, and the remaining 11 as one of the other three racial categories. It appears that when the parental race reports are used to classify the adolescent the “one-drop rule” tended to break down.³

4: Empirical method and summary statistics

Our analysis of mixed-race behaviors and their relationship to identity choices unfolds in three steps. We first look for differences in average behaviors between the monoracial white and black adolescents. These differences are *predominant* or *typical* rather than *stereotypical* because our data-driven method sometimes produces results that differ from popular portrayals. That first step allows us to empirically identify behaviors that are predominantly white, predominantly black, or neither. Our second step investigates differences in mean behavior between the black, white, and mixed-race groups, allowing us to categorize mixed-race behavior

² We not make use of the Wave 3 data for our analysis as the youth were no longer adolescents at the time Wave 3 was fielded.

³ To offer some insight into the factors influencing adolescent racial self-reporting, we regressed a binary identifier of the adolescent’s self-reported mixed-race identity against mother’s race, father’s race, whether the parent was born in the U.S., parents’ social status, and parental education using a standard probit specification. The results (not reported here) reveal that adolescents with black mothers and white fathers are significantly less likely to self-report as mixed-race than adolescents with white mothers and black fathers, as Table 1 would lead us to expect. Those with native-born fathers are also more likely to report being mixed. When parental education is included, we find that those with college-educated mothers are more likely to report being mixed-race, as are those with mother’s who receive welfare.

relative to other racial groups. Our analysis then turns to inter-group differences in the intra-group variance of behaviors. Throughout these analyses, we investigate the sensitivity of the results to alternative samples of the AddHealth data and alternative measures of racial identity.

Our empirical model is

$$(6) \quad Y_{its} = \alpha + \beta_b B_{is} + \beta_{bw} M_{is} + X'_{its} \gamma + \delta_s + \varepsilon_{ist},$$

where i subscripts individuals, s subscripts schools, and t subscripts time (Waves 1 and 2). AddHealth is a school-based sampling design, so δ controls for school-level fixed effects⁴ to net out time invariant heterogeneity that may be correlated with unobservables in the idiosyncratic error ε . Y represents the behavior under study, and X is a vector of demographic characteristics. Our explanatory variables of interest are the racial categories: white is the omitted category, $B = 1$ if the individual is identified as black by their parents and zero otherwise, and $M = 1$ if the respondent is identified as mixed (black and white) by their parents and zero otherwise. Note that race is only subscripted over i and s because individuals were only asked their race in Wave 1. Because Y is sometimes measured as a dichotomous variable and sometimes as an index or the frequency of an event, we estimate the parameters in (6) using linear probability models. This specification (rather than probit or logit) is also necessary in order to include the school fixed effects. Because we observe some adolescents more than one, robust standard errors are reported.

Table 2 presents the variable definitions and the sample means for the more than 40 behaviors and attitudes we analyzed as dependent variables. The variables can be grouped into five broad behavioral categories: sexual activity, substance abuse, delinquent behaviors, time use and school-related behaviors. Most responses to survey questions regarding behavioral choices are recorded as dichotomous variables; for example, “Have you ever been a regular cigarette smoker?” Some, however, are recorded as frequencies; for example, “How many hours did you spend watching television last week?”

In addition (and included in Table 2), we also created three behavior indices by summing a student’s responses across several survey items and then dividing by the number of items over which the index was

⁴ Random effects specifications were rejected by the Hausman test in almost every case.

created. The question groups were implied by the survey structure because they were asked in a sequential manner, as in: “How often have you had trouble at school with: homework? teachers?” etc. The first index combines attitudes towards school and includes six questions. The second index summarizes four negative school-related troubles, such as having difficulties with teachers, with fellow students, with paying attention in class, or with completing homework assignments. A third index averages over nine behaviors to create a delinquency scale similar to that created by Resnick et al. (1997). In every case, a calculation of Cronbach’s alpha produced a statistic exceeding 0.7, a commonly used cutoff for inferring that the indices are internally consistent.

Taken on their own and without controlling for any other factors, the behavioral questions and the behavior indices summarized in Table 2 present a complex portrait of mixed-race behaviors. Although mixed-race adolescents, on average, report higher satisfaction with school than whites or blacks, they simultaneously report having more troubles in school and skipping school more often. Mixed-race adolescents are also more likely than either blacks or whites to report having had sexual intercourse, to watch more television, and to exhibit higher delinquency rates. If behavioral choices are indicative of identity development, the simple averages reported in Table 2 suggest that, as a group, mixed-race adolescents are engaged in a wide range of activities. The averages conceal whether each mixed-race individual is experimenting with a wider range of behaviors or whether there is a wider variance of behaviors across individuals. The third step of our empirical analysis confronts this issue.

Racial behavioral differences documented elsewhere for adolescents are evident here. We find that, for example, white adolescents are more likely to have regularly smoked cigarettes, drank alcohol, and smoked marijuana in the 30 days prior to the survey, while blacks were more likely to report having been sexually active. These differences are consistent with data from the 2005 National Youth Risk Behavior Survey. Because our preferred sample includes only intact families, the results are not necessarily representative of adolescents in other family types. As explained in Section 3, we also expand our investigations to include wider samples from the AddHealth data. In the appendix, Tables A1 and A2 report summary statistics for the behaviors and

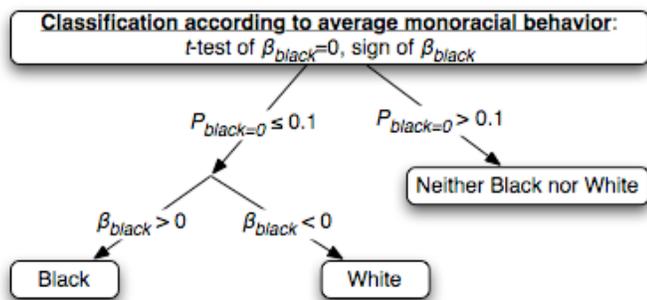
attitudes of our four additional samples; Table A1 for the at-home samples and Table A2 for the in-school samples. For details, see the discussion in the appendix.

Table 3 presents the means of our control variables: the adolescent’s age, sex, place of residence, and religiosity, as well as controls for parental income, age, education, nativity and occupation. Dummy variables are included to account for missing data in the relevant cells. Similar tables for the other samples are reported in the appendix Tables A3 and A4. The controls reveal some additional notable differences between mixed-race adolescents and their monoracial peers. Mixed-race youth reside in households with lower average incomes, are more likely to live in an urban environment, are more likely than black youth to be Catholic, are more likely to have foreign-born parents, to have an unemployed parent, and to live in a household receiving welfare payments.

5: Race and behavioral propensities: Which behaviors are “black”? Which behaviors are “white”?

Figure 1 provides a heuristic for interpreting the first step in our analysis. Behaviors are classified as predominantly black or white depending on the statistical significance of the coefficient on the black indicator variable estimated by Equation 6 for each behavior or attitude. The first significant contribution of our research is that this approach itself yields some interesting and potentially counterintuitive results. Those behaviors that are not associated with either monoracial group are not included in subsequent analyses.

Figure 1. Classifying behavior as Black or White



Tables 4a, 4b, and 4c present the results of classifying behaviors according to Figure 1. To conserve space, we do not report the estimated coefficients on the control variables for our preferred sample in Table 4a.

For the same reason, we summarize only the classifications from Figure 1 for our other four samples in Tables 4b and 4c, omitting the estimated coefficients entirely. The classification results from Table 4a are repeated in Table 4b, along with the other two samples from the at-home survey. Table 4c reports the classification results for our two samples from the in-school survey. Notably, with respect to black and white behaviors, there are no contradictions in categorization among the three samples in Table 4b, nor between the two samples in Table 4c. We do see that larger sample sizes (recorded in Tables 2, A1, and A2) generally lead to fewer categorizations as “Neither”. Our discussion of the results focuses on the parent-identified adolescent race results presented in Table 4a and repeated in the first column of Table 4b.

Of the 45 behaviors and outcomes, *ceteris paribus*, only five are clearly associated with black adolescents, while 23 are associated with white adolescents, and the remaining 17 are not associated with either monoracial group. Blacks are more likely to have engaged in sexual intercourse, to spend more hours watching television, to spend more hours watching videos, and to spend more time playing video or computer games. One outcome, which is more suggestive of a host of attendant behaviors rather than any one behavior (and of particularly ambiguous causality), is that blacks are more likely to have been suspended from school during the academic year. Predominantly white adolescent attitudes include believing that students at their school are prejudiced, feeling close to other students at their school, feeling that teachers treat them fairly, and feeling generally happy at school, skipping school, having difficulty paying attention in school, and completing their homework. Whites are also more likely than blacks to engage in delinquent behaviors, including graffiti, damaging property, and theft. Finally, whites are more likely than blacks to play sports, skate and “hang out” with their friends.

6: Mixed-race identities implied by average behavior

To prepare for the second step of our analysis, we aggregate the white and black behaviors. Table 5 outlines our aggregation approach. We are most interested in three new indices: one of all white behaviors, one of all black behaviors, and one combining them all. We also take an intermediate step for each of these three aggregates because we have both dichotomous variables and frequency variables. To aggregate the

dichotomous variables we simply add them. To aggregate the frequency variables, we first rescale each variable and then divide by its maximum value so that it ranges from 0 to 1. To combine the dichotomous and rescaled frequency variables we add them. Note that higher values of our white indices indicate acting more “white” while higher values of the black indices indicate acting more “black”. Thus before combining the black variables and white variables, we subtract each black index from its theoretical maximum so that both the black and white variables (when combined) have the same direction of black and white identity. As a result, higher values of the combined white and black indices indicate acting more “white”.

Table 5. Aggregating using the results in Tables 4b and 4c

Variable	Definition
White Dichotomous	The sum of the respondent’s dichotomous “white” behaviors.
White Frequency	The sum of the respondent’s “white” frequency behaviors after each is rescaled to have maximum 1 and minimum 0.
White All	= White Dichotomous + White Frequency
Black Dichotomous	The sum of each respondent’s dichotomous “black” behaviors.
Black Frequency	The sum of each respondent’s “black” frequency variables after each is rescaled to have maximum 1 and minimum 0.
Black All	= Black Dichotomous + Black Frequency
Aggregate Dichotomous	= White Dichotomous + (N_{bD} – Black Dichotomous), where N_{bD} is the number of “black” dichotomous behaviors
Aggregate Frequency	= White Frequency + (N_{bF} – Black Frequency), where N_{bF} is the number of “black” frequency behaviors
Aggregate All	= Aggregate Dichotomous + Aggregate Frequency

Table 6 reports summary statistics for the indices described in Table 5, for all five of our samples. Each samples’ indices’ components are defined based on that sample’s column in Table 4b or 4c. For example, `school_index` is included in the “White” and “Aggregate” indices for the “all respondents” at-home sample (the third column of Table 4b), but not in the other two at-home samples because the regression coefficient on

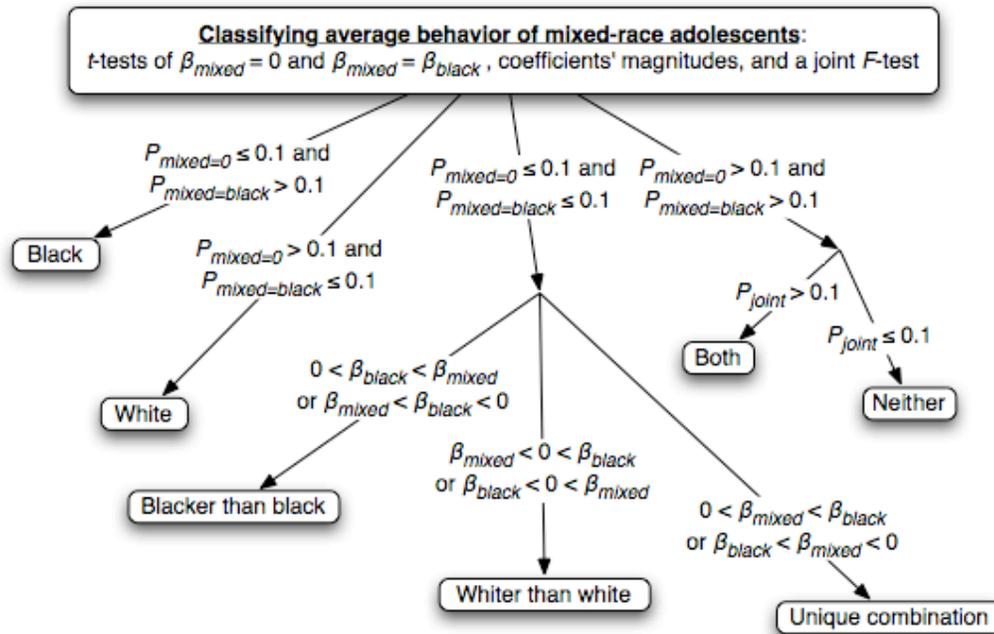
“black” is only significantly different from zero and negative in the “all respondents” regression, not in the other two in-school sample regressions.

The summary statistics reported in Table 6 show two important general relationships between the mixed-race populations and the monoracial populations. That is, although the mixed-race indices’ means are closer to the white indices’ means than to the black indices’ means, yet the standard deviation of the mixed-race population’s indices are generally larger than the black population’s standard deviation and smaller than the white population’s standard deviation. We noted similar features in the separate behaviors’ means and standard deviations in Table 2, and we will see it again in the regression residuals reported in the next section.

With these aggregate indices in hand, we are now ready for the second stage of our analysis, classifying average mixed-race behavior in relationship to black and white monoracial behaviors. Table 7a reports regressions of the indices from Table 6 on the same explanatory variables as were used to generate Tables 4a, 4b, and 4c. The estimated coefficients on the control variables are again omitted for clarity and this table considers only our preferred sample (using parents’ identification to determine the adolescent’s identity). The first trivial result (in the row “Type of behavior”) is to confirm that our aggregated indices maintain the underlying statistical test of significance of the *black* indicator variable, as depicted in Figure 1. All indices of white behaviors remain “white” types of behavior, all black index variables are “black” types of behavior, and the combined indices indicate “white” behavior, as each one should.

The row in Table 7a that reports our substantive results at this stage is labeled “Identity”. Figure 2 describes the taxonomy and logic behind the “Identity” row, summarizing conditional average behavior of the mixed-race sub-population. The classifications are based on an ordering of the coefficients β_{mixed} and β_{black} relative to zero, as well as the statistical significance of their differences, implying seven possible “Identity” outcomes. All coefficients and p-values are reported in Table 7a for our preferred sample. Table 7b reports similar results for all five samples, without the coefficients and p-values.

Figure 2. Classifying biracial behavior, “Identity” in Tables 7a and 7b
Using p-values and signs of coefficients on the *black* and *mixed* indicator variables



Remembering that the excluded racial category is white adolescents, the easiest cases to explain in Figure 2 are the first two from the left: “Black” and “White.” Mixed-race adolescents are engaging in typically “Black” behaviors when the coefficient on the mixed-race indicator variable (β_{mixed}) is statistically different from zero but is not statistically different from the estimated coefficient on the black indicator variable (β_{black}). Mixed-race adolescents are engaging in typically “White” behaviors when the coefficient on mixed is not different from zero and it is statistically different from the coefficient on the black indicator variable. (Although we use a p -value of 0.10 as our cutoff, Table 7a shows that the p -values are seldom larger than 0.05 in our preferred sample, and this is true in the other samples as well.) The next three mixed-race behavioral characteristics, moving from the left to the right in Figure 2, are identified by ordering zero and the two racial coefficients β_{mixed} and β_{black} when all three are statistically different from each other. (The coefficient β_{black} must be different from zero given our construction of the index.) In the case of “Blacker-than-black”, the coefficient on the black indicator variable is greater than zero and the coefficient on mixed is larger than the black coefficient. In the case of “Whiter-than-white” behavior, the opposite ordering holds. We label the third case, when mixed lies between zero and black, “Unique Combination”. The final two categories occur when the mixed indicator variable is not individually statistically different from either zero or the black indicator variable. If the joint F -test of these two null hypotheses is also not statistically significant, then we cannot

reject the hypothesis that mixed-race behavior is either black or white, the “Both” case. If the joint test is statistically significant, then we have a result in which we can only say that average mixed-race behavior is “Neither” black nor white.

The empirical results summarized in the “Identity” row of Table 7a indicate that mixed-race adolescents’ behaviors are not easily characterized and that their identities may be in flux. Although the results (in the first three columns) as regards “white” behaviors are not decisive for the frequency and dichotomous indices separately, once the two indices are combined, we see that mixed-race adolescents on average adopt white behaviors. The most robust result (in the second group of three columns) is that mixed-race youth follow black behaviors with respect to those behaviors that are typically black. Once the “black” and “white” indices are combined (in the last group of three columns), the average behavior of mixed-race adolescents is statistically different from both black and white adolescents, a convex combination of the two identities, not behavior that is either “blacker than black” or “whiter than white”.

The “Identity” rows of Table 7b report results from all samples, first repeating the information from Table 7a, our preferred sample in which adolescent race is determined by the parents’ races. Although race is more likely endogenous to identity and behavior in the other four samples, we can use those additional samples to investigate the robustness of our findings in our preferred sample. Interestingly, the two “Identity” rows that are most different from the others are the second and third samples from the in-home survey. We can speculate on two reasons for the discrepancy. Perhaps self-identification of race “whitens”, or it may be that we are losing statistical significance in differentiation from the few black behaviors. Looking back at Table 1, we can find support for both these assertions: Moving from parent-defined to self-defined mixed-race excludes 17 who self-identify as black, 7 as white, and 13 as other (a total of 37), but includes only an additional 8 (5 with black parents and 3 with white parents). So it may be that when mixed-race identification is endogenous to behavior, those selecting into mixed-race are more likely to be comfortable with a white identity. But this argument loses some force when considering the two in-school samples from Table 7b, because race is still self-identified but we have much larger sample sizes. See also the summary statistics in Tables A1 and A2 for sample sizes (after also including Wave 2 observations in the case of the in-home samples).

These five samples lend strong support to the result that the average behavior of mixed-race teens generally follows a pattern of adopting *both* black and white behaviors. The result is a unique identity, one that is different from both the average behavior of white teens and the average behavior of black teens (conditional on our control measures, of course). This unique identity is a convex combination of the two identities, not evidenced by behavior that is either “blacker than black” or “whiter than white”.

7: Variance in mixed-race individual identities implied by relative variance in behavior

As we noted earlier, an analysis of average behavior may conceal the fact that mixed-race individuals are experimenting with a wider range of identities. Certainly the previous section’s discussion reveals important characteristics of mixed-race identity, but we can add more to our understanding of individual behavior by moving beyond a comparison of averages. To better understand the complexities of mixed-race behavioral choices and identities, we now consider the variance in residual errors across the three racial groups, comparing mixed-race adolescents to black and white adolescents in turn as well as comparing mixed-race adolescents to the monoracial (either black or white) group as a whole. The test statistics for equality of variance that we use are robust to non-normality, and we compute them using the `robvar()` command in Stata® Version 10 (Brown and Forsythe 1974, Levene 1960). We use the several tests defined by those authors, and the statistical significance of the differences in variance between the subgroups were generally robust to the choice of statistical test.

Tables 7a and 7b summarize the results in the rows labeled “Differences in stdev”. The label “mix > b” indicates, for example, that the variance in mixed-race adolescents’ behaviors is greater than the variance in black adolescents’ behaviors, while “mix > mono” compares the variance of mixed-race adolescents’ behaviors relative to the group composed of all monoracial adolescents. Only statistically significant differences are reported. We again find evidence that mixed-race adolescents have less settled identities than do the monoracial adolescents: There is more variation in behavior, and thus in definition of identity, among the mixed-race adolescents, especially as compared to the black racial group. The intergroup differences in the

residual intragroup variances are again suggestive of a mixed-race group whose behavioral norms are less well defined than for monoracial adolescents.

8: Concluding comments

In this research, we have expanded on the previous literature by considering the behavior and identity of mixed-race youth, adding several important new methods and findings. We do not rely solely upon self-reported race but make use of parental identification as our preferred measure of racial group membership. We also let the data determine which behaviors are black and which are white. The AddHealth survey allowed us to consider a broad range of behaviors and outcomes from a nationally representative data set with a rich set of control variables. Finally, we look at both average behavior and intragroup variance differences across the racial categories to learn more about individuals' choices.

Our results indicate that mixed-race youth act both white and black by adopting both types of behaviors, those that can be empirically characterized as “black” and those that can be characterized as “white”. When we combine both types of behavior, average mixed-race behavior is a combination that is neither white nor black, and the variance in mixed-race behavior is generally greater than the variance in behavior of monoracial adolescents, especially as compared to the black racial group.

We thus find that mixed-race identities are less well established, codified, or enforced than are monoracial identities. Davis (1991) and Tizard and Phoenix (2002) provide anecdotal evidence supplied by mixed-race youth that they resent the demands placed on them to exhibit a kind of racial loyalty by conforming to prescribed norms and avoiding proscribed behaviors. In the terms of our theoretical model, both black and white racial salience are high among the nationally-represented group of adolescents in the AddHealth data, but the continued acceptance of the one-drop rule makes blackness somewhat more salient than whiteness. The salience of black and white identities among mixed-race adolescents are manifested in the group's conditional average behavior. But the racial ambivalence reported by mixed-race youth to other researchers manifests itself in our data as more highly variable intragroup behavior, measured by residual variance, as compared to monoracial youths generally but especially as compared to the black group.

Given that adolescence is the time during which there is most pressure to establish an identity, and that our results indicate that mixed-race youth are finding their own identities, not necessarily “joining” either monoracial group, but in another sense joining both of them, one interpretation of our results is that multiracial youth have the freedom to embrace both of their racial identities. We have found behaviors, providing evidence of identities, that are more complex than those described in current interpretations of the “acting white” hypothesis. The predominant application of “acting white” in the literature has been in the context of academic achievement, and the next step in our research is to investigate the regularities we have uncovered here in that more complex context.

Appendix: Samples in which the adolescent's race is self-identified

Although our preferred sample provided a measure of identity that is arguably exogenous to students' behaviors, it was necessarily limited to intact families. We then repeated our analyses, widening the sample to include all families and using adolescents' self-reported race. We first used the at-home data from Waves 1 and 2 which allows us to keep the same outcome variables, beginning with our sample of intact families but switching the racial identification from parents' race(s) to the adolescent's self identification (the sample size falls slightly because there were some who didn't choose either black or white but had parents who did), and then expanding the sample by dropping the requirement that the adolescents be in intact families. The summary statistics for these two samples' dependent variables are reported in Table A1 and for their control variables in Table A3, matching those in Table 3. We then consider the much larger sample of students from the inschool survey, which was considerably shorter and did not ask many of the behavior questions that were in that at-home Waves 1 and 2. Thus, we have no questions about sexual activity or drug use in Table A2's summary statistics of dependent variables. Even the set of explanatory variables is not identical as can be seen in Table A4. We can only use the adolescent self-report of race(s) since the parent race data is not available for the in-school sample. The two samples we create from the in-school data are for "intact" families and for all respondents. (Given the structure of this questionnaire, we cannot be sure that the two parent families are intact biological families, although we do at least delete those adolescents who report having been adopted.) Our analysis proceeds with these samples as with the preferred sample. In particular, the "black" and "white" behavior indices are constructed separately for each sample. Yet there is considerable agreement across samples in the results of Tables 4b, 4c, and 7b.

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Table 2: Dependent variables, at-home sample (waves 1 and 2)

Variable	Black and White		Black		White	
	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)
ever been a regular cigarette smoker	smoker	106 0.170	1587 0.050	9622 0.195		
smoked cigarettes in past 30 days	smoke_30	106 0.245	1579 0.111	9578 0.295		
smoked on 15 or more days in past month	smoker_reg	106 0.104	1588 0.016	9625 0.153		
ever smoked marijuana	pot	106 0.189	1559 0.108	9504 0.160		
ever used other drugs	odrugs	106 0.009	1570 0.006	9556 0.038		
drank alcohol at least once in past month	drank12	106 0.406	1584 0.283	9617 0.469		
had five or more drinks in a row at least once in past year	drunken	106 0.179	1585 0.103	9615 0.288		
drank weekly or more often in past year	drank_weekly	106 0.123	1588 0.103	9625 0.131		
ever had sexual intercourse	hadsex	104 0.471	1573 0.446	9549 0.300		
suspended at least once in past year	suspend	101 0.139	1559 0.235	9438 0.129		
ever been expelled from school	expelled	101 0.020	1558 0.036	9439 0.014		
number of times skipped school w/o excuse in past year	school_skip	106 1.792	1587 0.799	9611 1.216		
		(7.708)	(2.654)	(4.819)		
Questions below pertain to the current school year						
reported feeling close to people at school	feelclose	106 0.755	1588 0.819	9625 0.868		
reported feeling part of the school	partschool	106 0.840	1588 0.863	9625 0.879		
reported that students at school are prejudiced	prejudiced	106 0.660	1588 0.528	9625 0.702		
reported that school is safe	safe at school	106 0.783	1588 0.825	9625 0.885		
reported that they are happy to be at their school	happyschool	106 0.736	1588 0.805	9625 0.852		
reported that they believe teachers are fair at their school	teachfaird	106 0.736	1588 0.761	9625 0.803		
Index of the above 6 items (higher: more satisfied with school)	school_index	97 0.995	1546 0.896	9338 0.878		
		(0.454)	(0.462)	(0.443)		
reported having trouble with teachers	tchr_trouble	106 0.632	1588 0.559	9625 0.576		
reported having trouble paying attention in school	pay_atnd	106 0.736	1588 0.669	9625 0.786		
reported trouble with getting homework done	homeworkd	106 0.698	1588 0.627	9625 0.720		
reported trouble getting along with other students	getalongd	106 0.594	1588 0.569	9625 0.596		
index of school troubles from 4 above items (higher: more troubles)	schtrouble_index	99 0.879	1548 0.776	9365 0.874		
		(0.534)	(0.509)	(0.509)		
graffiti=1 if painted graffiti in past year	graffiti	106 0.123	1577 0.047	9581 0.075		
property=1 if damaged property	property	106 0.208	1577 0.107	9583 0.172		
lie=1 if lied to parents about whereabouts or who with	lie	106 0.491	1575 0.502	9583 0.503		
steal=1 if ever stolen anything	steal	106 0.245	1573 0.186	9580 0.197		
drive_wo=1 if driven a car w/o permission	drive_wo	106 0.094	1578 0.082	9585 0.078		
ever entered a building/house to steal something	enter_steal	106 0.066	1586 0.033	9616 0.037		
ever stolen something worth over \$50	steal_over50	106 0.047	1578 0.025	9587 0.037		
ever stolen something worth less than \$50	steal_less50	106 0.217	1578 0.129	9583 0.172		
every behaved rowdy or badly in public	bad_public	106 0.443	1576 0.413	9582 0.454		
index of delinquency created from above 9 items	delinq_index	106 0.314	1563 0.214	9552 0.245		
		(0.387)	(0.286)	(0.327)		
Questions below pertain to the previous week in reference to the survey week						
housework=1 if reported doing housework last week	housework	106 0.981	1588 0.964	9625 0.970		
# of hours watched videos last week	video	106 5.858	1585 5.833	9621 3.688		
		(10.331)	(9.052)	(5.652)		
# hours played video or computer games last week	computer_games	106 3.019	1586 3.484	9625 2.330		
		(6.290)	(7.773)	(5.513)		
# of hours listened to the radio last week	radio	106 11.708	1586 16.145	9601 15.432		
		(11.402)	(20.020)	(18.419)		
how many hours did you watch tv last week	watchtv	106 21.000	1578 20.561	9599 13.228		
		(17.728)	(18.81)	(12.361)		
engaged in hobbies last week	hobbies	106 0.821	1588 0.795	9624 0.841		
watched tv or played video games last week	tv_video	106 0.981	1588 0.979	9625 0.969		
rollerskated, rollerbladed, bicycles or skateboarded last week	skating	106 0.349	1588 0.299	9625 0.424		
played sports last week	sports	106 0.726	1588 0.664	9625 0.751		
exercised last week	exceercise	106 0.764	1588 0.851	9624 0.838		
hung out with friends last weekend	hangfriends	106 0.943	1588 0.899	9624 0.932		

Table 3: Control variables, at-home sample (waves 1 & 2)

	Parents' id race, intact families					
	Black/white		Black		White	
	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)
Income \$	106	41.000 (28.236)	1588	42.179 (35.975)	9614	51.005 (51.182)
Age	105	15.838 (1.760)	1587	15.639 (1.694)	9624	15.688 (1.666)
Female	106	0.434	1588	0.550	9625	0.501
Urban residence	106	0.528	1588	0.424	9625	0.252
Rural residence	106	0.113	1588	0.275	9625	0.308
Parent college graduate	106	0.368	1588	0.395	9625	0.369
Catholic	106	0.236	1588	0.047	9625	0.300
No religion	106	0.104	1588	0.025	9625	0.058
Age of mom in years	106	42.500 (5.471)	1588	42.252 (5.625)	9625	41.730 (5.022)
Age of dad in years	106	48.547 (7.920)	1588	45.157 (6.550)	9625	44.306 (5.923)
Mom born in US	106	0.755	1588	0.930	9625	0.886
Dad born in US	106	0.764	1588	0.941	9625	0.889
Dad's job is management/professional	106	0.217	1588	0.203	9625	0.265
Dad's job other than management/professional	106	0.689	1588	0.729	9625	0.699
Dad has no job	106	0.094	1588	0.059	9625	0.033
Mom's job is management/professional	106	0.311	1588	0.363	9625	0.279
Mom's job other than management professional	106	0.509	1588	0.509	9625	0.589
Mom has no job	106	0.179	1588	0.125	9625	0.130
Parent receives welfare	106	0.094	1588	0.061	9625	0.039

Table 4a: Classification of behavior by monoracial group (at-home sample, parents' race)

Dependent variable →	smoker	smoke_30	smoke_reg	pot	odrugs	drank12	drunken	drank_weekly	hadsex	suspend	expelled	school_skip
black	-0.144**	-0.174**	-0.134**	-0.0423**	-0.0276**	-0.137**	-0.147**	-0.0290*	0.113**	0.0532**	0.00468	-0.598**
	[0.011]	[0.014]	[0.0088]	[0.012]	[0.0044]	[0.017]	[0.013]	[0.011]	[0.016]	[0.013]	[0.0057]	[0.14]
mixed	-0.0159	-0.0285	-0.0358	0.0339	-0.0226*	-0.0677	-0.116**	-0.00993	0.160**	-0.0337	-0.00452	0.266
	[0.035]	[0.042]	[0.031]	[0.037]	[0.010]	[0.043]	[0.035]	[0.033]	[0.044]	[0.034]	[0.014]	[0.74]
Constant	-1.241**	-1.670**	-0.950**	-0.883**	-0.307*	-2.570**	-1.326**	-0.680**	-0.818*	-1.083**	-0.165+	-1.492
	[0.26]	[0.32]	[0.23]	[0.26]	[0.13]	[0.36]	[0.31]	[0.24]	[0.32]	[0.28]	[0.093]	[3.40]
Observations	11301	11249	11305	11155	11218	11293	11292	11305	11212	11084	11084	11290
Type of behavior	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	black	black	neither	white
Dependent variable →	feelclose	partschoold	prejudicedd	safe at school	happyschool	teachfaird	school_index	tchr_trouble	pay_attn	homeworkd	getalongd	schtrouble_index
black	-0.0433**	-0.0123	-0.0949**	-0.00379	-0.0547**	-0.0424**	0.0127	-0.0114	-0.0648**	-0.0609**	-0.0166	-0.0525**
	[0.014]	[0.013]	[0.017]	[0.014]	[0.015]	[0.015]	[0.017]	[0.018]	[0.016]	[0.017]	[0.018]	[0.019]
mixed	-0.107*	-0.0316	-0.000672	-0.0608	-0.120**	-0.0735+	0.113*	0.0596	-0.0248	-0.0327	0.0213	0.0118
	[0.042]	[0.035]	[0.046]	[0.039]	[0.041]	[0.042]	[0.044]	[0.049]	[0.044]	[0.045]	[0.048]	[0.052]
Constant	-0.174	-0.332	-2.930**	-0.326	-0.105	0.329	-1.257**	0.213	-0.576	-0.183	1.093**	-1.731**
	[0.29]	[0.27]	[0.23]	[0.28]	[0.31]	[0.34]	[0.36]	[0.41]	[0.37]	[0.38]	[0.41]	[0.44]
Observations	11305	11305	11305	11305	11305	11305	10967	11305	11305	11305	11305	10998
Type of behavior	white	neither	white	neither	white	white	neither	neither	white	white	neither	white
Dependent variable →	graffiti	property	lie	steal	drive_wo	enter_steal	steal_over50	steal_less50	bad_public	delinq_index		
black	-0.0227**	-0.0367**	0.00998	-0.00613	0.00924	-0.00648	-0.0142*	-0.0364**	-0.00238	-0.0174		
	[0.0088]	[0.012]	[0.018]	[0.015]	[0.010]	[0.0067]	[0.0062]	[0.013]	[0.018]	[0.011]		
mixed	0.0327	0.0347	-0.0252	0.0378	0.0134	0.0256	0.00425	0.0286	-0.00994	0.0523		
	[0.032]	[0.039]	[0.049]	[0.043]	[0.029]	[0.024]	[0.021]	[0.040]	[0.047]	[0.038]		
Constant	-0.336+	-0.840**	-3.584**	-1.139**	-1.627**	-0.187	-0.366**	-1.292**	-1.397**	-1.731**		
	[0.20]	[0.29]	[0.40]	[0.32]	[0.20]	[0.16]	[0.13]	[0.28]	[0.41]	[0.26]		
Observations	11250	11252	11250	11245	11255	11294	11257	11253	11250	11206		
Type of behavior	white	white	neither	neither	neither	neither	white	white	neither	neither		
Dependent variable →	housework	video	computer_games	radio	watchtv	hobbies	tv_video	skating	sports	exercise	hangfriends	
black	-0.00347	2.110**	0.974**	0.891	5.954**	-0.0220	0.00487	-0.0756**	-0.0399*	0.0187	-0.0224*	
	[0.0070]	[0.32]	[0.26]	[0.73]	[0.60]	[0.014]	[0.0057]	[0.016]	[0.016]	[0.013]	[0.010]	
mixed	0.0196	2.305*	0.474	-3.655**	6.538**	-0.0368	0.00788	-0.0439	0.00791	-0.0790+	0.0124	
	[0.014]	[1.02]	[0.59]	[1.20]	[1.71]	[0.038]	[0.014]	[0.046]	[0.043]	[0.042]	[0.022]	
Constant	0.981**	6.810	16.27**	-57.30**	26.57*	1.216**	0.924**	3.277**	0.576+	0.766*	0.0698	
	[0.14]	[5.98]	[5.57]	[14.5]	[12.1]	[0.30]	[0.14]	[0.39]	[0.34]	[0.30]	[0.24]	
Observations	11305	11298	11303	11279	11269	11304	11305	11305	11305	11304	11304	
Type of behavior	neither	black	black	neither	black	neither	neither	white	white	neither	white	

Note: All models include the full set of control variables depicted in table 4.
Robust standard errors in brackets, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

Table 4b: Classification of behavior by monoracial group, at-home sample
 (Same rows as Tables 2 and A1)

Dependent variable	Parents' id, intact family (from Table 4a)	Self-identified intact families	Self-identified all respondents
smoker		White	White
smoke_30		White	White
smoke_reg		White	White
pot		White	White
odrgs		White	White
drank12		White	White
drunken		White	White
drank_weekly		White	White
hadsex	Black	Black	Black
suspend	Black	Black	Black
expelled			Black
school_skip		White	White
feelclose		White	White
partschoold			Black
prejudicedd		White	White
safeatschool			Black
happyschoold		White	White
teachfaird		White	White
school_index			White
tchr_trouble			
pay_atnd		White	White
homeworkd		White	White
getalongd			White
schtrouble_index		White	White
graffiti		White	White
property		White	White
lie			
steal			
drive_wo			
enter_steal			White
steal_over50		White	White
steal_less50		White	White
bad_public			White
delinq_index			White
housework			
video	Black	Black	Black
computer_games	Black	Black	Black
radio			
watchtv	Black	Black	Black
hobbies			White
tv_video			Black
skating		White	White
sports		White	
exercise			Black
hangfriends		White	White

Note: Empty cells indicate that the coefficient on the black indicator variabe was not significant.

**Table 4c: Classification of behavior by monoracial group, in-school sample
(Same rows as Table A2)**

<u>Dependent variable</u>		<u>Self-identified intact families</u>	<u>Self-identified all respondents</u>
Smoked cigarettes at least once in past year	cigs	White	White
Smoked cigarettes at least weekly during past year	cigs_week	White	White
Smoked cigarettes at least once a month last year	cigs_month	White	White
Smoke cigarettes nearly every day	smoker	White	White
Drank alcohol at least once in past year	alcohol	White	White
Drank alcohol at least weekly during past year	alcohol_week	White	White
Drank alcohol at least once a month in past year	alcohol_month	White	White
Been drunk at least once during past year	drunk	White	White
Been drunk at least weekly during past year	drunk_week	White	White
Was drunk at least once per month last year	drunk_month	White	White
Index of self-esteem, lower scores indicate better self-esteem	selfesteem	White	White
Try very hard to do school work	schoolwk	Black	Black
Index of attitude towards school, higher scores=better attitude	school_index	Black	Black
Been in a fight last year	fight	Black	Black
Index of risky behaviors-higher scores=more risky behavior	risky_index	White	White
Watch very little TV during school week	tvschool	White	White
Member of academic club	academic_club	White	White
Member of the band or the dance team	band_dance	Black	Black
Involved in school sports	sports	Black	Black
Member of school newspaper or yearbook	news_year	White	White
Member of student council	studentcouncil	Black	Black
Member of the honor society	honorsociety	White	White
Selfhealth rating 1-5 with higher scores being poorer health	selfhealth	White	White
Index of missed activities due to health, higher #s indicates more	missactivity		
Index of health troubles--higher numbers indicate more trouble	healthtrouble	White	White

Table 6: Indices of black/white behaviors, summary statistics for each racial group

At-home sample, Parent-identified race, Intact families

	Mixed					Black					White				
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
White Dichotomous	106	8.36	2.77	2	16	1543	7.14	2.23	2	16	9415	9.01	2.86	1	21
White Frequency	99	0.46	0.30	0	1.6	1547	0.40	0.26	0	1.15	9353	0.45	0.27	0	1.99
White All	99	8.96	2.87	2.38	17.6	1506	7.58	2.34	2	16.88	9162	9.50	2.97	1	21.88
Balck Dichotomous	100	0.59	0.68	0	2	1544	0.68	0.70	0	2	9362	0.42	0.62	0	2
Black Frequency	106	0.22	0.18	0.01	1.04	1577	0.22	0.21	0	1.55	9595	0.14	0.14	0	2.20
Black All	100	0.81	0.72	0.01	2.75	1534	0.90	0.74	0	3.27	9334	0.56	0.64	0	4.20
Agg. Dichotomous	106	9.70	2.73	3	17	1543	8.46	2.21	2	17	9415	10.57	2.74	2	22
Agg. Frequency	99	3.24	0.35	2.23	4.28	1537	3.18	0.31	1.73	3.99	9328	3.31	0.29	1.55	4.87
Agg. All	99	13.17	2.70	7.25	20.79	1497	11.70	2.27	5.98	20.11	9139	13.95	2.82	5.08	25.76

At-home sample, Self-identified race, Intact families

	Mixed					Black					White				
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
White Dichotomous	61	8.44	2.81	2	18	1548	7.07	2.23	1	16	9015	8.94	2.82	0	21
White Frequency	58	0.50	0.27	0	1.03	1549	0.40	0.26	0	1.38	8954	0.45	0.26	0	1.99
White All	57	9.00	3.02	2.38	19.03	1509	7.51	2.34	1.13	16.88	8776	9.44	2.92	0	21.88
Balck Dichotomous	59	0.51	0.60	0	2	1545	0.68	0.70	0	2	8960	0.42	0.62	0	2
Black Frequency	62	0.19	0.20	0.01	1.04	1580	0.22	0.21	0	1.55	9180	0.14	0.14	0	2.20
Black All	59	0.70	0.65	0.02	2.41	1535	0.90	0.74	0	3.27	8933	0.56	0.64	0	4.20
Agg. Dichotomous	61	9.87	2.77	4	19	1548	8.38	2.23	2	17	9015	10.50	2.72	1	22
Agg. Frequency	58	3.32	0.33	2.23	4.02	1539	3.17	0.32	1.73	4.13	8930	3.31	0.29	1.55	4.87
Agg. All	57	13.32	2.92	7.25	22.96	1500	11.62	2.29	4.98	20.11	8754	13.89	2.78	4.08	25.76

At-home sample, Self-identified race, All respondents

	Mixed					Black					White				
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
White Dichotomous	331	9.79	3.12	3	21	6593	8.47	2.72	1	22	19392	10.38	3.26	1	24
White Frequency	315	1.00	0.46	0.14	2.59	6441	0.89	0.44	0.14	3.13	18773	0.95	0.45	0.14	3.33
White All	310	10.80	3.38	3.98	23.59	6274	9.42	2.94	2.10	23.84	18427	11.40	3.51	1.71	25.91
Balck Dichotomous	322	4.25	0.98	1	7	6564	4.46	1.03	0	7	19065	4.12	0.89	0	7
Black Frequency	337	0.20	0.23	0.01	2.17	6827	0.22	0.21	0	2.46	19913	0.15	0.15	0	2.19
Black All	321	4.45	0.99	1.68	7.30	6521	4.69	1.06	0.16	7.81	19006	4.27	0.90	0.10	8.17
Agg. Dichotomous	331	12.54	3.13	6	26	6593	11.02	2.68	3	25	19392	13.25	3.16	4	27
Agg. Frequency	314	3.80	0.50	1.88	5.52	6401	3.67	0.47	1.46	6.04	18721	3.81	0.46	2.10	6.30
Agg. All	309	16.34	3.41	7.88	31.52	6239	14.74	2.92	6.93	29.45	18377	17.13	3.42	7.77	32.27

In-school sample, Self-identified race, Intact families

	Mixed					Black					White				
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
White Dichotomous	365	3.22	2.57	0	10	5928	2.37	2.22	0	11	36183	3.41	2.72	0	11
White Frequency	297	1.20	0.46	0.43	3.08	4548	1.04	0.37	0.31	3.46	31436	1.13	0.41	0.29	3.49
White All	297	4.52	2.83	0.52	13.08	4548	3.46	2.40	0.32	13.46	31436	4.59	2.95	0.30	14.46
Balck Dichotomous	347	2.44	1.02	0	5	5607	2.35	0.98	0	5	35609	2.20	0.95	0	5
Black Frequency	377	0.42	0.37	0	1	6026	0.44	0.38	0	1	36787	0.37	0.36	0	1
Black All	339	2.83	1.09	0.5	6	5381	2.79	1.07	0	6	35115	2.57	1.01	0	6
Agg. Dichotomous	365	5.76	2.63	1	13	5928	4.98	2.36	0	13	36183	6.20	2.89	0	15
Agg. Frequency	292	1.79	0.48	0.60	3.82	4439	1.63	0.49	0.31	4.41	31184	1.77	0.46	0.30	4.46
Agg. All	292	7.69	2.74	2.05	15.46	4439	6.69	2.53	0.49	15.57	31184	8.03	3.08	0.67	17.37

In-school sample, Self-identified race, All respondents

	Mixed					Black					White				
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
White Dichotomous	733	3.63	2.80	0	11	12641	2.52	2.31	0	11	47587	3.50	2.74	0	11
White Frequency	588	1.13	0.47	0.33	3.06	9392	0.96	0.35	0.29	3.05	40904	1.03	0.38	0.29	3.08
White All	588	4.84	3.08	0.33	13.72	9392	3.54	2.49	0.29	14.02	40904	4.58	2.96	0.30	14.05
Balck Dichotomous	701	2.40	1.05	0	5	11987	2.33	0.98	0	5	46790	2.17	0.95	0	5
Black Frequency	757	0.47	0.38	0	1	12755	0.46	0.38	0	1	48265	0.39	0.36	0	1
Black All	682	2.84	1.11	0	6	11299	2.79	1.06	0	6	45950	2.55	1.02	0	6
Agg. Dichotomous	733	6.22	2.87	1	13	12641	5.15	2.43	0	14	47587	6.31	2.91	0	15
Agg. Frequency	577	1.69	0.51	0.36	4.05	9089	1.52	0.49	0.31	4.05	40495	1.66	0.44	0.30	4.05
Agg. All	577	8.00	3.08	1.90	15.53	9089	6.77	2.60	0.43	17.85	40495	8.04	3.10	0.59	17.13

Table 7a: Behavior of mixed-race adolescents; In-home sample, race based on parents (intact family)

	Dichotomous white	Rescaled white freq.	All white behaviors	Dichotomous Black	Rescaled black freq.	All black behaviors	Dichot. white + rev'd black	Freq. White + rev'd black	All white + rev'd black
black	-1.444** [0.089]	-0.0327** [0.0096]	-1.488** [0.094]	0.173** [0.023]	0.0654** [0.0067]	0.239** [0.024]	-1.596** [0.087]	-0.0977** [0.011]	-1.724** [0.091]
mixed	-0.529* [0.26]	0.00990 [0.029]	-0.447 [0.28]	0.119+ [0.062]	0.0679** [0.018]	0.191** [0.067]	-0.686** [0.26]	-0.0606+ [0.035]	-0.635* [0.27]
Constant	-12.08** [2.05]	-0.816** [0.23]	-9.066** [2.19]	-1.881** [0.45]	0.371** [0.14]	-1.509** [0.48]	-9.744** [2.00]	1.855** [0.26]	-2.649 [2.10]
Observations	11050	10985	10753	10992	11264	10954	11050	10950	10721
R-sq	0.106	0.0348	0.107	0.154	0.0754	0.157	0.117	0.0422	0.121
p-val black = zero	0	0.000704	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Type of behavior	white	white	white	black	black	black	white	white	white
p-val mixed = zero	0.0436	0.737	0.110	0.0559	0.000199	0.00423	0.00826	0.0834	0.0176
p-val mixed = black	0.000657	0.159	0.000288	0.405	0.896	0.488	0.000616	0.301	0.0000726
p-val joint hypotheses	0	0.00266	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Identity	unique combo	neither	white	black	black	black	unique combo	black	unique combo
sd biracial subpopulation	2.659	0.251	2.738	0.529	0.135	0.547	2.601	0.279	2.632
sd white subpopulation	2.710	0.256	2.805	0.565	0.131	0.581	2.600	0.279	2.666
sd black subpopulation	2.147	0.252	2.243	0.631	0.200	0.671	2.132	0.305	2.190
sd monoracial subpopulation	2.621	0.258	2.728	0.606	0.149	0.628	2.492	0.287	2.583
Differences in stdev	mix > b mix > mono	mix < mono	mix > b	mix < mono	mix > w mix < mono	mix < w mix < mono	mix > b mix > mono	mix < w	mix > b mix > mono

Note: all models include the full set of control variables depicted in Table 3

The row "Type of behavior" summarizes the p-value above it and its associated coefficient.

The row "Identity" summarizes the p-values above it and their associated coefficients

The row "Differences in stdev" summarizes the standard deviations reported above only for significant differences (p-values not reported here).

"mix" = biracial subpopulation, "b" = black subpopulation, "w" = white subpopulation, "mono" = the black and the white subpopulations

Robust standard errors in brackets, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

Table 7b: Identity of mixed-race adolescents, all samples

	Dichotomous white	Rescaled white freq.	All white behaviors	Dichotomous Black	Rescaled black freq.	All black behaviors	Dichot. white + rev'd black	Freq. White + rev'd black	All white + rev'd black
In-home sample, race based on parents, intact family (as in Table 7a)									
Identity	unique	neither	white	black	black	black	unique	black	unique
Differences in stdev	mix > b mix > mono	mix < mono	mix > b	mix < mono	mix > w mix < mono	mix < w mix < mono	mix > b mix > mono	mix < w	mix > b mix > mono
In-home sample, self-reported race, intact family									
Identity	white	wh than wh	white	neither	neither	neither	white	white	white
Differences in stdev	mix > b		mix > b		mix > w mix < mono		mix > b		mix > b
In-home sample, self-reported race, all adolescents									
Identity	unique	white	unique	unique	black	unique	unique	unique	unique
Differences in stdev	mix > b		mix > b	mix > b mix > w	mix > w mix > mono	mix > w mix > mono	mix > b		mix > b
In-school sample, self-reported race, intact family									
Identity	unique	white	white	black	black	black	unique	white	unique
Differences in stdev	mix > b	mix > b mix < w mix > mono	mix > b	mix > b mix > w mix > mono	mix > b	mix > b mix > w mix > mono	mix > b		mix > b
In-school sample, self-reported race, all adolescents									
Identity	white	wh than wh	white	black	black	black	unique	white	unique
Differences in stdev	mix > b mix > mono	mix < b mix < w mix < mono	mix > b mix < w mix > mono	mix > b mix > w mix > mono	mix > w mix > mono	mix > b mix > w mix > mono	mix > b mix < mono	mix > w mix < mono	mix > b mix < w mix > mono

See the notes to Table 7a for explanation of the notation and methods.

Table A1: Dependent variables, additional at-home sample (waves 1 and 2)
(Same rows as Table 2)

Variable	Self-identified, intact families						Self-identified, all families					
	Black & White		Black		White		Black & White		Black		White	
	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)
smoker	62	0.1452	1590	0.056	9206	0.1981	338	0.183	6875	0.073	19973	0.255
smoke_30	62	0.258	1583	0.119	9162	0.297	336	0.244	6829	0.142	19874	0.346
smoker_reg	62	0.065	1591	0.019	9209	0.157	338	0.104	6883	0.035	19983	0.202
pot	61	0.213	1563	0.111	9098	0.160	335	0.254	6720	0.158	19662	0.197
odrug	62	0.016	1573	0.007	9146	0.037	337	0.018	6789	0.007	19802	0.047
drank12	62	0.435	1587	0.285	9202	0.469	338	0.447	6858	0.330	19950	0.509
drunken	62	0.210	1588	0.106	9199	0.289	337	0.267	6863	0.137	19946	0.328
drank_weekly	62	0.048	1591	0.104	9209	0.131	338	0.127	6883	0.128	19983	0.142
hadsex	62	0.387	1575	0.451	9135	0.298	338	0.485	6798	0.548	19822	0.387
suspend	59	0.153	1560	0.235	9034	0.126	322	0.258	6652	0.333	19230	0.181
expelled	59	0.000	1559	0.037	9034	0.013	322	0.019	6645	0.065	19219	0.021
school_skip	62	0.452 (1.141)	1590	0.834 (2.936)	9196	1.193 (4.851)	338	1.331 (3.991)	6865	1.571 (6.086)	19946	1.896 (6.803)
feelclose	62	0.8226	1591	0.819	9209	0.869	338	0.802	6883	0.795	19983	0.831
partschool	62	0.806	1591	0.862	9209	0.881	338	0.796	6883	0.837	19983	0.836
prejudiced	62	0.581	1591	0.532	9209	0.705	338	0.562	6883	0.490	19983	0.697
safe at school	62	0.758	1591	0.827	9209	0.888	338	0.778	6883	0.799	19983	0.847
happyschool	62	0.742	1591	0.806	9209	0.852	338	0.743	6883	0.781	19983	0.812
teachfaird	62	0.677	1591	0.762	9209	0.803	338	0.689	6883	0.732	19983	0.767
school_index	58	1.000 (0.494)	1548	0.895 (0.462)	8940	0.878 (0.442)	317	0.986 (0.497)	6558	0.911 (0.476)	18972	0.928 (0.464)
tchr_trouble	62	0.6774	1591	0.5594	9209	0.5818	338	0.633	6883	0.621	19983	0.601
pay_atnd	62	0.839	1591	0.666	9209	0.789	338	0.775	6883	0.680	19983	0.792
homeworkd	62	0.806	1591	0.629	9209	0.721	338	0.737	6883	0.656	19983	0.738
getalongd	62	0.677	1591	0.570	9209	0.600	338	0.609	6883	0.582	19983	0.619
schtrouble_index	58	0.996 (0.531)	1550	0.777 (0.512)	8965	0.878 (0.507)	317	0.923 (0.522)	6580	0.823 (0.521)	19016	0.904 (0.515)
graffiti	62	0.1452	1580	0.0475	9169	0.0739	336	0.110	6818	0.060	19864	0.081
property	62	0.242	1580	0.109	9171	0.173	337	0.220	6816	0.115	19864	0.172
lie	62	0.532	1578	0.501	9171	0.501	336	0.521	6809	0.487	19852	0.502
steal	62	0.323	1576	0.186	9168	0.195	337	0.294	6816	0.198	19851	0.217
drive_wo	62	0.048	1581	0.085	9173	0.075	337	0.080	6828	0.097	19876	0.088
enter_steal	62	0.065	1589	0.035	9202	0.037	337	0.062	6867	0.041	19952	0.047
steal_over50	62	0.032	1581	0.026	9175	0.036	337	0.056	6826	0.039	19876	0.050
steal_less50	62	0.274	1581	0.130	9171	0.171	337	0.220	6828	0.140	19859	0.187
bad_public	62	0.548	1579	0.412	9171	0.455	337	0.507	6826	0.408	19862	0.457
delinq_index	62	0.355 (0.415)	1566	0.216 (0.291)	9141	0.243 (0.325)	335	0.322 (0.383)	6758	0.238 (0.321)	19775	0.263 (0.350)
housework	62	1	1591	0.965	9209	0.972	338	0.982	6879	0.964	19981	0.965
video	62	6.339 (12.89)	1588	5.856 (9.01)	9206	3.686 (5.64)	338	5.731 (10.66)	6866	6.309 (10.16)	19964	3.837 (6.15)
computer_games	62	2.4194 (7.185)	1589	3.5525 (7.79)	9209	2.3253 (5.504)	338	3.142 (8.32)	6875	3.490 (7.80)	19973	2.399 (5.88)
radio	62	12.516 (15.68)	1589	16.125 (19.94)	9185	15.413 (18.46)	338	15.325 (19.02)	6862	17.503 (26.79)	19926	17.364 (23.48)
watchtv	62	16.935 (17.73)	1581	20.8 (18.91)	9183	13.134 (12.31)	337	17.199 (16.11)	6833	20.339 (18.41)	19921	13.839 (13.26)
hobbies	62	0.8226	1591	0.7932	9208	0.8438	338	0.790	6881	0.764	19981	0.807
tv_video	62	1.000	1591	0.981	9209	0.969	338	0.979	6881	0.972	19982	0.962
skating	62	0.339	1591	0.299	9209	0.427	338	0.352	6881	0.304	19982	0.398
sports	62	0.726	1591	0.662	9209	0.756	338	0.719	6881	0.672	19982	0.718
exceercise	62	0.806	1591	0.847	9208	0.837	338	0.876	6881	0.850	19981	0.828
hangfriends	62	0.968	1591	0.901	9208	0.933	338	0.908	6881	0.895	19981	0.925

Table A2: Dependent variables, in-school samples
(Similar to Table 2)

		Intact Families						All Families					
		Black/white		Black		White		Black/white		Black		White	
		Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)
Smoked cigarettes at least once in past year	cigs	370	0.300	6051	0.231	36618	0.384	742	0.373	12930	0.251	48214	0.404
Smoked cigarettes at least weekly during past year	cigs_week	370	0.132	6051	0.056	36618	0.190	742	0.198	12930	0.069	48214	0.211
Smoked cigarettes at least once a month last year	cigs_month	370	0.168	6051	0.175	36618	0.194	742	0.175	12930	0.181	48214	0.193
Smoke cigarettes nearly every day	smoker	370	0.078	6051	0.025	36618	0.117	742	0.143	12930	0.036	48214	0.136
Drank alcohol at least once in past year	alcohol	371	0.580	6030	0.468	36550	0.561	746	0.629	12897	0.501	48102	0.576
Drank alcohol at least weekly during past year	alcohol_week	371	0.119	6030	0.071	36550	0.111	746	0.168	12897	0.090	48102	0.120
Drank alcohol at least once a month in past year	alcohol_month	371	0.461	6030	0.397	36550	0.450	746	0.461	12897	0.411	48102	0.456
Been drunk at least once during past year	drunk	366	0.295	5970	0.199	36392	0.331	736	0.372	12768	0.230	47901	0.349
Been drunk at least weekly during past year	drunk_week	366	0.077	5970	0.038	36392	0.064	736	0.120	12768	0.054	47901	0.071
Was drunk at least once per month last year	drunk_month	366	0.219	5970	0.161	36392	0.267	736	0.253	12768	0.176	47901	0.279
Index of self-esteem, lower scores indicate better self-esteem	selfesteem	322	1.979 (0.624)	4976	1.897 (.573)	33394	1.914 (0.601)	639	2.075 (0.687)	10420	1.941 (.596)	43625	1.946 (.613)
Try very hard to do school work	schoolwk	398	0.837	6628	0.876	37812	0.866	815	0.774	14640	0.842	50104	0.851
Index of attitude towards school, higher scores=better attitude	school_index	377	0.420 (.3324)	6026	0.439 (.4305)	36787	0.371 (0.5544)	757	0.468 (.3659)	12755	0.464 (.3456)	48265	0.386 (0.59625)
Been in a fight last year	fight	347	0.519	5607	0.470	35609	0.409	701	0.555	11987	0.498	46790	0.429
Index of risky behaviors-higher scores=more risky behavior	risky_index	355	1.254 (1.234)	5766	0.889 (.826)	35605	1.225 (1.057)	711	1.491 (1.435)	12224	0.950 (.915)	46782	1.276 (1.090)
Watch very little TV during school week	tvsschool	398	0.166	6628	0.112	37812	0.262	815	0.156	14640	0.111	50104	0.256
Member of academic club	academic_club	398	0.312	6628	0.229	37812	0.257	815	0.281	14640	0.217	50104	0.245
Member of the band or the dance team	band_dance	398	0.359	6628	0.310	37812	0.283	815	0.339	14640	0.285	50104	0.270
Involved in school sports	sports	398	0.563	6628	0.517	37812	0.533	815	0.525	14640	0.495	50104	0.514
Member of school newspaper or yearbook	news_year	398	0.143	6628	0.107	37812	0.103	815	0.148	14640	0.103	50104	0.099
Member of student council	studentcouncil	398	0.095	6628	0.091	37812	0.078	815	0.107	14640	0.082	50104	0.073
Member of the honor society	honorsociety	398	0.138	6628	0.086	37812	0.110	815	0.126	14640	0.071	50104	0.099
Selfhealth rating 1-5 with higher scores being poorer health	selfhealth	379	2.082 (1.001)	6197	1.999 (.950)	37005	2.044 (0.891)	763	2.223 (1.072)	13340	2.057 (.982)	48754	2.085 (0.914)
Index of missed activities due to health, higher #s indicates more	missactivity	351	0.378 (.594)	5636	0.287 (.409)	35635	0.279 (0.407)	713	0.472 (.742)	11908	0.321 (.464)	46798	0.297 (0.434)
Index of health troubles--higher numbers indicate more trouble	healthtrouble	339	1.352 (0.765)	5542	1.093 (.7669)	35108	1.217 (0.635)	688	1.425 (.799)	11736	1.117 (0.677)	46043	1.237 (0.652)

Table A3: Control variables, additional at-home samples (waves 1 & 2)
 (Same row labels as Table 3)

	<u>Self-id, intact families</u>						<u>Self-id, all respondents</u>					
	<u>Black/white</u>		<u>Black</u>		<u>White</u>		<u>Black white</u>		<u>Black</u>		<u>White</u>	
	<u>Obs</u>	<u>Mean</u> <u>(Std)</u>	<u>Obs</u>	<u>Mean</u> <u>(Std)</u>	<u>Obs</u>	<u>Mean</u> <u>(Std)</u>	<u>Obs</u>	<u>Mean</u> <u>(Std)</u>	<u>Obs</u>	<u>Mean</u> <u>(Std)</u>	<u>Obs</u>	<u>Mean</u> <u>(Std)</u>
Income \$	62	49.968 (23.914)	1591	42.190 (35.916)	9200	52.046 (51.758)	338	39.657 (61.102)	6882	24.434 (32.425)	19968	39.794 (46.868)
Age	61	15.459 (1.766)	1590	15.642 (1.695)	9208	15.667 (1.669)	337	15.653 (1.755)	6881	15.839 (1.738)	19981	15.842 (1.701)
Female	62	0.581	1591	0.541	9209	0.501	338	0.556	6883	0.533	19983	0.508
Urban residence	62	0.484	1591	0.426	9209	0.241	338	0.497	6883	0.511	19983	0.281
Rural residence	62	0.145	1591	0.272	9209	0.319	338	0.145	6883	0.199	19983	0.300
Parent college graduate	62	0.435	1591	0.397	9209	0.376	338	0.444	6883	0.372	19983	0.371
Catholic	62	0.113	1591	0.045	9209	0.285	338	0.178	6883	0.047	19983	0.270
No religion	62	0.113	1591	0.026	9209	0.058	338	0.101	6883	0.053	19983	0.076
Age of mom in years	62	41.758 (4.288)	1591	42.267 (5.633)	9209	41.733 (5.021)	338	41.364 (5.667)	6883	40.443 (5.562)	19983	41.112 (5.225)
Age of dad in years	62	48.226 (8.225)	1591	45.207 (6.562)	9209	44.303 (5.925)	338	45.012 (5.710)	6883	44.098 (4.933)	19983	43.875 (5.590)
Mom born in US	62	0.935	1591	0.934	9209	0.910	338	0.885	6883	0.929	19983	0.887
Dad born in US	62	0.968	1591	0.947	9209	0.913	338	0.846	6883	0.835	19983	0.860
Dad's job is management/professional	62	0.242	1591	0.204	9209	0.270	338	0.086	6883	0.091	19983	0.185
Dad's job other than mgmt/prof'l	62	0.677	1591	0.727	9209	0.695	338	0.317	6883	0.352	19983	0.550
Dad has no job	62	0.081	1591	0.061	9209	0.033	338	0.038	6883	0.039	19983	0.034
Mom's job is management/professional	62	0.355	1591	0.365	9209	0.286	338	0.340	6883	0.268	19983	0.239
Mom's job other than mgmt/prof'l	62	0.581	1591	0.504	9209	0.586	338	0.509	6883	0.516	19983	0.559
Mom has no job	62	0.065	1591	0.129	9209	0.127	338	0.104	6883	0.146	19983	0.135
Parent receives welfare	62	0.081	1591	0.061	9209	0.038	338	0.151	6883	0.148	19983	0.080

**Table A4: Control variables, in-school samples
(Similar to Table 4)**

	<u>Intact families</u>						<u>All respondents</u>					
	<u>black/white</u>		<u>black</u>		<u>white</u>		<u>black/white</u>		<u>black</u>		<u>white</u>	
	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)	Obs	Mean (Std)
Parents on welfare	398	0.010 (0.100)	6628	0.009 (0.095)	37812	0.003 (0.053)	815	0.016 (0.125)	14640	0.016 (0.124)	50104	0.005 (0.072)
Age in years	397	14.816 (1.705)	6601	14.856 (1.694)	37780	14.976 (1.669)	810	14.922 (1.802)	14547	14.909 (1.727)	50046	15.000 (1.682)
Female	394	0.558	6599	0.534	37655	0.501	801	0.564	14556	0.524	49882	0.496
Parent has college education	398	0.698	6628	0.640	37812	0.662	815	0.542	14640	0.470	50104	0.591
Mom born in U.S	398	0.834	6628	0.905	37812	0.921	815	0.734	14640	0.761	50104	0.846
Dad born in U.S.	398	0.859	6628	0.902	37812	0.921	815	0.492	14640	0.452	50104	0.750
Dad is management/professional	398	0.236	6628	0.189	37812	0.305	815	0.140	14640	0.094	50104	0.244
Dad job is other than management/prof.	398	0.540	6628	0.559	37812	0.552	815	0.306	14640	0.281	50104	0.451
Dad has no job	398	0.085	6628	0.073	37812	0.043	815	0.055	14640	0.039	50104	0.037
Adopted	398	0.000	6628	0.000	37812	0.000	815	0.066	14640	0.029	50104	0.029
Mom's job is management/professional	398	0.372	6628	0.321	37812	0.306	815	0.285	14640	0.243	50104	0.277
Mom's job other than manager/prof.	398	0.337	6628	0.375	37812	0.387	815	0.313	14640	0.316	50104	0.365
Mom has no job	398	0.181	6628	0.169	37812	0.236	815	0.156	14640	0.149	50104	0.207
Live only with mother	398	0.000	6628	0.000	37812	0.000	815	0.317	14640	0.351	50104	0.140
Live only with father	398	0.000	6628	0.000	37812	0.000	815	0.043	14640	0.032	50104	0.035
Unknown if living with mom/dad	398	0.000	6628	0.000	37812	0.000	815	0.113	14640	0.152	50104	0.050