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The Consequences and Correlates of Racial Identity Discordance: An Explication of the Social Construction of Race

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THE CONSEQUENCES AND CORRELATES OF RACIAL IDENTITY DISCORDANCE: AN

EXPLICATION OF THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF RACE

by

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THE CONSEQUENCES AND CORRELATES OF RACIAL IDENTITY

DISCORDANCE: AN EXPLICATION OF THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF RACE

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The current study analyzes the rates at which different racial groups experience identity discordance, or the phenomenon of one's self-ascribed racial identity not being commensurate with external perceptions of one's race. While previous research has documented the possibility of discrepancy between self-ascribed and external classifications of racial identities, few empirical studies have sought to determine which racial groups are most susceptible to experiencing identity discordance or investigated specific mechanisms that may contribute to that discordance. Utilizing the 2006 wave of the Portraits of American Life Study (PALS), the current study investigates the rate of identity discordance for Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians using perceived discrimination, geographic region, and race itself as focal predictors. Results indicate that those that identity as non-white and those that experience discrimination are more susceptible to experiencing identity discordance. Geographic region does not predict identity discordance overall, but is differentially important to rates of discordance for those that identify as Hispanic.

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INTRODUCTION

The United States has a long and complicated history with race. Since as early as the 19th century, scholars have debated the origins, salience, and implications of race for American society (Du Bois 1899). It is now generally agreed upon that race is a master status that affects all domains of life (Omi and Winant 2015; Saperstein, Penner, and Light 2013; Winant 2000); as such, racial and ethnic disparities across various outcomes are well documented. Racial and ethnic minorities (i.e. those who are not non-Hispanic white) are marginalized in numerous ways and typically have poorer health, lower socioeconomic status, and less opportunity in general (Adler and Rehkopf 2008; Williams 2012; Williams and Mohammed 2013; Williams and Sternthal 2010). While the effects of race on the lived experience of marginalized groups are well studied (Garcia et al. 2015; Smedley 2012), the processes by which racial identities are constructed and made salient in the first place is less understood (Williams 2019).

Racial identities are often discussed within the context of immigration as something that either promotes or inhibits assimilation (Golash-Boza 2006; Itzigsohn, Giorguli, and Vazquez 2005; Jiménez 2004; Viruell-Fuentes 2011) or as a predictor or mediator of mental health within the context of discrimination (Quintana 2007; Sellers et al. 1998, 2003; Sellers and Shelton 2003). While previous research on racial identities has facilitated an understanding of the beneficial role racial identities play for racial and ethnic minorities, analyses of this nature often do so in ways that reify race. In other words, to analyze racial identities without properly historicizing or contextualizing them is to employ an essentialist view of race. Racial identities are only meaningful within a racialized social system (Bonilla-Silva 1997). Thus, one way through which scholars can

understand the formation of salient racial identities more thoroughly is by placing greater analytical emphasis on the concept of racialization, or the process by which race is 'given' to an individual (Ahmed 2002).

Racial identities have been shown to vary greatly across social contexts (Brown, Hitlin, and Elder 2006; Harris and Sim 2002) and even across time (Doyle and Kao 2007; Hitlin, Brown, and Elder Jr. 2006). Recent research has also demonstrated that an individual's self-ascribed racial identity may differ from external perceptions of their race (Brown, Hitlin, and Elder 2007; Saperstein and Penner 2012, 2014). Interviewer classifications of a singular respondent's race have been shown to change over time (Brown, Hitlin, and Elder 2007; Saperstein and Penner 2012, 2014), with those changes being influenced by perceptions of the respondent's social status (Freeman et al. 2011; Penner and Saperstein 2008, 2013). The phenomenon of one's self-ascribed racial identity not being commensurate with external perceptions of one's race has been called identity discordance (Saperstein and Penner 2014). While social status is one documented influencer of how individuals racially classify others, the mechanisms that contribute to racial identity discordance more broadly are still largely not understood.

Utilizing the 2006 wave of the Portraits of American Life Study (PALS), the current study seeks to determine which racial and ethnic groups are most likely to have a racial identity that is incongruent or discordant with how the general public views their race. Additionally, a second goal of the study is to identify mechanisms that might contribute to identity discordance for each racial group. Potential mechanisms that may contribute to racial identity discordance include perceived discrimination, geographic location, and race itself. The current study then contributes to existing literature on racial

identity by rearticulating it as a component of racialization; this improves the sociological understanding of the role of racial identities in America without placing unjust emphasis on the racial categories themselves. The implications of racial identity discordance are vast. If it is possible for individuals to have a racial identity that differs from external perceptions of their race, then racial identity discordance not only problematizes essentialist or 'biological' interpretations of race but also demonstrates that the meaning of race is contextual and not fixed. Understanding which racial or ethnic groups have the highest propensity to be racialized as something different from what they identify is important because one's daily experiences are in large part susceptible to how others perceive an individual, and in the United States, this perception is racial (Bonilla-Silva 1997).

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Racial Identity Discordance

There has been a burgeoning interest in race measurement and multiracial identity in recent years. Notable advancements include documenting the substantial number of individuals who identify as multiracial and demonstrating that these identities change over time and across contexts (Brown et al. 2006; Harris and Sim 2002; Hitlin et al. 2006). Despite these novel understandings of racial identity, few empirical studies have investigated the relationship between external and self-classifications of race. The few that have, however, corroborate previous research by demonstrating that racial identity is fluid and changes over time.

Brown, Hitlin, and Elder Jr. (2007), using the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), find that racial categorizations of respondents by

interviewers not only change over time but are also susceptible to context. The "other" race category is shown to be a meaningful one for a substantial number of individuals, and interviewers utilize the "other" category instead of more specific options when it is available (Brown et al. 2007). Other studies have further problematized the use of mutually exclusive, discrete operationalizations of race as well as shown that self and external classifications of race change over time and are influenced by perceived social status (Penner and Saperstein 2008; Saperstein and Penner 2012). For example, individuals who are unemployed have a higher probability of being racialized as black compared to those who are not unemployed (Penner and Saperstein 2008; Saperstein and Penner 2012). Saperstein and Penner (2014) refer to the phenomenon of an individual's personal identity not being commensurate with external classifications of their race as identity discordance and find that rates of discordance vary across racial groups. In their study of assessing concordance and stability of concordance over time, Saperstein and Penner (2014) find that those who identify as Native American and Asian had the highest rates of identity discordance over time. The reasons contributing to identity discordance for these groups specifically are largely unknown. One potential explanation offered is that individuals in these groups may or may not be multiracial and are changing their self-identifications when others are not validating their identities (Saperstein and Penner 2014). Similar studies that have investigated racial identity discordance have determined that the ways in which interviewers misclassify respondents are largely the same across different studies (Campbell and Troyer 2007; Herman 2010) and that individuals who experience racial identity discordance exhibit higher rates of psychological distress (Campbell and Troyer 2007).

Correlates of Racial Identity Discordance

Race

The specific mechanisms that contribute to identity discordance are largely unknown. What is known, however, is that rates of discordance vary by racial group and Native Americans and Asians have been particularly susceptible to this discordance (Saperstein and Penner 2014). This may be in part due to the fact that the meaning of race itself is different across racial groups. Historically, races as they are known today were created inherently unequal to each other; thus, the probability that an individual experiences racial identity discordance will likely depend in part on how they understand their own racial identity.

A historical account of the origins of race may prove useful in understanding how the racial groups as they are known today were created unequally and as such, the meanings and connotations attached to each race are different. In 1997, philosopher Charles Mills argued in his seminal text, *The Racial Contract,* that 'race' as it is known today did not exist prior to the European colonization of the Americas. Mills contends that Europeans considered the indigenous peoples of the 'New World' morally inferior as a way to justify their imperial brutality. From this, race was born: a social caste system where 'white' was ontologically opposite of 'non-white.' For Mills, European colonization marks the beginning of the white/non-white binary and consequently modernity itself (Mills 1997). Bonilla-Silva (1997) extends Mills' ideas and argues that the United States is a racialized social system, which he defines as societies that "… are partially structured by the placement of actors in racial categories or races" (Bonilla-Silva 1997). Moreover, within a racialized social system, the placement of social actors into

racial categories is also hierarchical and inevitable (Bonilla-Silva 1997). The historical origins of race have numerous implications for the lived experience of those living racialized lives. Regardless, no racial group shares a *singular* understanding of what it means to be a member of that group (Lewis 2004).

Whites typically do not consider themselves to be a collective or experience a felt "groupness" with other whites (Lewis 2004). This is in part due to whites having the historical luxury to racialize others without necessarily forming their own racial consciousness (Lewis 2004; Mills 1997). It is important to note, though, that while non-whites also tend to claim they do not 'see' race, only whites possess the specific social location that enables them to not acknowledge their racial identity (Lewis 2004). Thus, it would be difficult for white individuals to experience identity discordance should they not recognize themselves as having a racial identity in the first place.

Whereas whites have historically not thought of themselves as having a racial identity, the racial identities that can be assumed by racial and ethnic minorities are numerous and subject to context (Lee and Bean 2004) and change over time (Hitlin et al. 2006; Rodríguez 2000). The abundance of racial identities available to minoritized groups and within specific groups is due in part to the unique assimilation experiences each racial group faced; the ways in which immigrant groups were incorporated into American society over time have resulted in the racialized pan-ethnic groups (e.g. Hispanics or Asians) observed today (Omi and Winant 2015; Steinberg 2007). Tanya Golash-Boza has called this process "racialized assimilation" (Golash-Boza and Darity Jr. 2008). It is possible that this racialized pan-ethnicity is one factor that contributes to higher rates of discordance for Asians and Native Americans. Other factors like gender

(Rockquemore 2002; Vasquez 2010) and skin color (Golash-Boza and Darity Jr. 2008) come into play as well when minoritized individuals self-categorize themselves racially. Even the 'official' racial classification options as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau change over time (Rodríguez 2000). Regardless, what it means to have a 'non-white' identity has substantially changed over time at the interpersonal and structural level; as such, the range of identities that individuals have to choose from are numerous. Moreover, there may be more possibilities for a non-white individual to experience identity discordance if the number of identities that they utilize or could utilize are abundant.

In order to experience having a discordant racial identity, one has to first be consciously aware of their racial identity. For those who are racialized as non-white, this is not an issue because the lived experience of someone who is non-white is to be aware of that fact daily. However, those who are racialized as white typically do not consider themselves to have a racial identity. Given that white individuals tend to think of themselves as raceless (Lewis 2004) and therefore nonwhites are the ideological antithesis of whites (Mills 1997), I hypothesize that:

H_1: *Those who identify as non-white (Hispanics, Asians, and Blacks) will have higher rates of identity discordance compared to whites.*

Discrimination

Racial identities have long been discussed within the context of discrimination (Sellers et al. 1998, 2003; Sellers and Shelton 2003), though this is less true regarding identity discordance. As an example of previous research that has documented the relationship between racial identity and discrimination, Sellers and Shelton (2003)

demonstrate how one's own racial identity influences to what extent individuals perceive discrimination; those who consider their racial identity important to their self-concept on average perceive greater amounts of discrimination (Sellers and Shelton 2003). Thus, racial identity plays an important role in how racial and ethnic minorities perceive discrimination.

Discrimination must be included in a discussion of identity discordance as a potential predictor because those who experience racial discrimination are also those who are race conscious. By definition, to experience identity discordance, one has to have a racial identity that they believe is not recognized by the general public or at minimum be aware of their racial identity. However, racial identities are not static but rather fluctuate over time in response to sociocultural contexts (Brown et al. 2006; Golash-Boza 2006; Jiménez 2004; Nagel 1994; Oboler 1995; Rodríguez 2000; Vasquez 2010; Viruell-Fuentes 2011; Zavella 1991), and so the number of potential racial identities that an individual can have are plentiful. Furthermore, despite there being an abundance of racial categories that individuals ascribe to, scholars argue that the general public categorizes all individuals into one of five monoracial categories—white, black, Hispanic, Asian, and Native American (Hollinger 2006). It is then plausible to imagine that because of the existence of numerous unique racial identities that individuals subscribe to along with the idea that people also racialize via discrimination in monocategorical ways, identity discordance may not be uncommon. Individuals who are discriminated against may be more susceptible to experiencing identity discordance because the act of reacting to racial discrimination means they are actively thinking about their own race. Therefore, I hypothesize that:

> *H2: Individuals that experience perceived discrimination will experience higher rates of identity discordance.*

Geographic Region

Previous research on racial identities has not considered geography or geographic region as a major influencer of racial identity formation and consequently has also been left out of discussions on identity discordance. However, some scholars consider that to be a mistake (McEwen 2003; Wijeyesinghe 2012). McEwen writes:

> Although geographic region generally is not an identity in terms of sociopolitical oppression and history, where one grows up, forms basic values, currently resides, and envisions oneself in the future are rarely considered in discussions of identity development. Yet if identity is socially constructed, then one's region or place may be a salient part of such social constructions. (McEwen 2003)

To my knowledge, no other study has examined rates of identity discordance as they vary by geographic region; here I will argue that geographic region should be considered as a potential driving force of identity discordance. While it is true that geographic location is generally omitted from discussions on racial identity, it has not been omitted entirely from research on race and ethnicity overall. Previous research has typically investigated geographic variation in racial segregation patterns and the distribution of multiracial individuals across the country. Because of the lack of previous research directly investigating potential associations of identity discordance and geographic region, the existing research on geographic region and multiracial identity are used to extrapolate about potential associations between region and identity discordance.

Physical spaces in general should be considered as major sites of racial identity formation because physical spaces (and consequently regions) are themselves racialized (Delaney 2002; Holloway et al. 2009; Lipsitz 2007). Because physical spaces are inextricably linked to racial identities, geographic region itself may also be associated with identity discordance. Certain places or regions are colloquially known to be emblematic of race; for example, the black belt, the reservation, and the U.S.-Mexico border are all regional places associated with particular racial or ethnic groups (Delaney 2002; Holloway et al. 2009). The specific racial or ethnic group that a regional location becomes associated with is historically contingent, and as such the lived of experience of a racial or ethnic group is geographically contextual. This is important to consider because if the lived experienced of race is geographically contextual then it may not be implausible to believe that the experience of identity discordance may also be geographically contextual.

As an example of the lived experience of race being geographically contextual, recent research has demonstrated that post-reconstruction era racial segregation was not uniform across the United States. Northern regions were significantly more likely to have racialized districts or neighborhoods whereas the south was more likely to have micro-segregation at the street level (i.e. whites utilized the street fronts and blacks and other marginalized groups were confined to alleyways) (Grigoryeva and Ruef 2015). This is notable because while anti-black and anti-nonwhite sentiment was relatively uniform during this time, the specific experience of those racial and ethnic minorities depended on the geographic region of which they happened to live. As such, it may not be hard to imagine how the rates of identity discordance would vary across racial groups and even

further vary between the North and the South because of how marginalized individuals were socially demarcated in different ways within these regions.

The concept of multiracial identity in addition to racial segregation patterns has long been of interest to race scholars and is one of the few realms of racial identity research that has investigated associations with geographic region. The 2000 decennial census greatly facilitated research on the association between multiracial identity and geographic region because, for the first time, individuals could select more than one racial identity on the U.S. Census. Scholars have since determined that the distribution of the multiracial population is not uniform across the United States; multiracials are typically clustered in specific cities along with immigrants and foreign-born populations (Lee and Bean 2004) and along the coasts (Rockquemore 2002). This finding is also corroborated from the Census itself; 40% of those identifying as multiracial live in the West, followed by 27.1% in the South, 18.0% in the Northeast, and 15.0% in the Midwest (Jones and Smith 2001). Moreover, the two cities with the highest number of multiracials are New York City and Los Angeles (Jones and Smith 2001). Because of the stark differences observed among the distribution of multiracial individuals across the different geographic regions in the country, it is not implausible to believe that there would be differences in rates of identity discordance across regions of the country as well.

Despite the utility gained by the 2000 Census accounting for multiracial individuals, Brunsma (2006) argues that the Census underestimated the true number of multiracials across regions of the country, which may have implications for the association between racial identity and region. By comparing data from the 2000 census

and a unique dataset from the Survey of Biracial Experience (henceforth SoBE),

Brunsma (2006) contends that the distribution of those who identify as biracial (in this

example, those specifically who identify as black and white) is underestimated by the

Census. There is a disconnect between those who identified as biracial on the SoBE and

those who identified as biracial on the census; specifically, a substantial number of

biracials who live in the south indicated that they were biracial on the SoBE but only

black on the Census (Brunsma 2006). This finding is significant because it demonstrates

that what it means to be biracial or black varies across regions of the country, yet another

example of the lived experience of race being geographically variable. Similar findings

were found in a recent qualitative study of out-of-state Asian-American college students,

where each student described unique ways of expressing their Asian-American identities

based upon their pre-conceived notions of what it means to be Asian-American. The

students who were studied were all from different regions of the country and further

elaborated that their understandings of their identities and consequently the ways in

which they acted out their identities were strongly influenced by their hometowns and

regions (Chan 2017). Specifically, those that were from the Midwest where the

predominant racial paradigm is the black-white binary, indicated being tokenized as

"everyone's favorite Asian" due to the small Asian population in that area (Chan 2017).

Whereas racialized individuals may have experienced uncertainty of how to act out their

identity among those who did not belong to their racial group, their peers racialized them

with *certainty* as being Asian, or, simply non-white.

All of the aforementioned studies demonstrate that the very *meaning* of race itself,

even for those of the same racial category, varies geographically. Identity discordance

varying by region, then, may not be farfetched. This makes intuitive sense when one considers how individuals tend to cluster themselves homophilously; sociopolitical values and attitudes begin to coalesce such that even racial attitudes and the prevalence of racism are even influenced by geographic region (Rentfrow, Gosling, and Potter 2008). Since no empirical study has investigated how rates of identity discordance vary by region, what is known about the uneven distribution of multiracial individuals across the country could be used to extrapolate how identity discordance is distributed as well. It is possible that identity discordance would be highest in a region with more multiracial individuals because multiracial individuals might be more apt to experience identity discordance. If an individual has more than one racial identity, *both* would theoretically have to be recognized for that individual to not experience identity discordance. Thus, I hypothesize that:

> *H₃: The West will have the highest rate of identity discordance, the South with the next highest, the Northeast with the next highest, and the Midwest with the lowest rate of identity discordance.*

DATA

The data come from the 2006 wave of the Portraits of American Life Study (PALS), a multi-stage panel study of U.S. adults (Emerson and Sikkink 2006). The project was intended to capture high quality data on religion with a particular emphasis on racial and ethnic diversity. Data were collected through face-to-face interviews from April to October 2006 resulting in 2,610 respondents (Emerson, Sikkink, and James 2006). Respondents from the 2006 wave were also re-interviewed in 2012; however, only the 2006 data was used in this analysis. The goal of the current project is not to assess

changes in the rates of identity discordance over time but rather to provide an accurate snapshot of rates of identity discordance at a given point in time.

RTI International collected the data and utilized a multistage area probability sample that included oversamples of racial and ethnic minorities. The sample is composed of civilian, non-institutionalized households in the contiguous United States containing adults age 18 years or older that spoke English or Spanish. The sampling frame is based off of residential mailing lists supplemented with a frame-linking procedure to capture individuals not present in the mailing list. While the mailing list used was likely the USPS Delivery Sequence File, the specific frame is not described. However, RTI estimates that the sampling frame accounted for approximately 98% of occupied housing units in the United States (Emerson, Sikkink, and James 2006). The data were collected in four stages where the first stage used census data to define PSUs using three-digit zip code tabulation areas, the second wave weighted SSUs with concentrations of racial and ethnic minorities higher and selected two five-digit zip codes from each PSU, the third wave selected on average 100 addresses from each zip code, and the fourth stage selected one individual per housing unit to conduct the interview. The final response rate was 58% (Emerson, Sikkink, and James 2006).

To account for the oversampling of racial and ethnic minorities, the data are weighted such that the weight reflects the inverse of the probability of selection for each respondent. Additionally, the data are post-stratified using Census projections to account for nonresponse and undercoverage. Stratification was not used in the sample design (Emerson, Sikkink, and James 2006).

METHOD

Complex Survey Design Measures

The dataset for the 2006 wave of the PALS data contains a variable for the primary sampling units or clusters and a variable for the weights. In total, there are 60 clusters. The two variables as they appear in the dataset are as follows:

- PSU_ID: The cluster variable

- PAWT2: The weight variable

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable for this is analysis is identity discordance, or the phenomenon where an individual is racialized as something different from what they self-identify. During the interview, respondents were asked the following question: "Earlier you told us that you are (R's selected race). Do you think other Americans would say that you are (R's selected race) or something else?" "R's selected race" refers to the race category selected by the respondent at an earlier point in the survey. This variable was treated as a dichotomous indicator, where 1= identity discordance (mismatch between external perception of race and self-identification of race) and 0= identity concordance (agreement between external racial classification and self-identification). Terminology such as "identity concordance" or "identity discordance" follows that utilized by researchers who have investigated similar phenomena (Saperstein and Penner 2014).

Focal Independent Variables

Race

During the PALS interview, respondents were originally asked if they identified as White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, Pacific Islander, American Indian, or mixed race. Very few respondents identified as multiracial or as an "other" race, but for those who did,

interviewers reclassified those individuals into one of five racial categories (White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, and Native American) for the public release dataset. Additional information regarding those who identified as multiracial or as an "other" race is detailed further in the restricted access files. The race variable utilized in the analysis is the five-category race variable contained in the public dataset; however, those who self-identified as Native American were excluded from the analyses as the case base was too small (N=18). The final race variable used has four categories, those who self-identify as white (coded as 1, reference), black (coded as 2), Hispanic (coded as 3), and Asian (coded as 4). While scholars have problematized the use of discrete, mutually exclusive categories of race in quantitative analyses (Garcia et al. 2015; Garcia, López, and Vélez 2018; López et al. 2018; Penner and Saperstein 2013; Williams 2019; Zuberi 2000, 2001), recent research suggests that monocategorical operationalizations of race capture the most variation in racial inequality across a myriad of outcomes (Howell and Emerson 2017). Furthermore, as the current study seeks to investigate processes of how the general public racializes certain groups of individuals, the current operationalization of race adequately reflects racial categorizations acknowledged by the general public (Hollinger 2006).

Discrimination

In the interview, respondents were asked the following question: "Can you think of any occasion in the past three years, that you felt you were treated unfairly because of your race?" Possible response options included 'yes' or 'no;' as such, perceived discrimination is represented by a dichotomous indicator coded as 1= experienced racial discrimination and 0= did not experience racial discrimination. Perceived discrimination

is typically assessed using more complex indices composed of various items (see Sellers and Shelton 2003 as an example); however, the PALS dataset only allows for a dichotomous indicator.

Geographic region

Geographic region is operationalized according to the four regions of the United States—the West, South, Northeast, and Midwest—as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau (Jones and Bullock 2012; Jones and Smith 2001). The variable is coded such that 1= the Northeast (reference), 2= the Midwest, 3= the South, and 4= the West.

Control variables

Identity salience

Previous research has determined that the salience of one's identity, or the importance of one's racial identity to the individual, plays an important role in how individuals respond to and manage the stress from perceived discrimination (Sellers et al. 2003; Sellers and Shelton 2003). Given perceived discrimination is a utilized as a focal predictor of identity discordance, identity salience is accounted for. In the PALS survey, respondents were asked the following: "When you think of yourself, how important to you is being (R's selected race) to your sense of who you are?" The variable is coded such that 1=very important (reference), 2= somewhat important, 3= a little important, and 4= not at all important.

Gender

Critical scholars consistently argue that race and gender are inextricably related (Rockquemore 2002), and gender is therefore accounted for. It is operationalized as a dichotomous indicator where male=1 and female=0.

Education

Research has shown that for racial and ethnic minorities, especially Hispanics, increased levels of education are associated with an increase in perceived discrimination (Ortiz and Telles 2012). One potential mechanism for this is that when levels of education increase for a racial or ethnic minority, they tend to exist in social locations surrounded by whites who have disproportionately higher levels of education compared to non-whites. Consequently, existing in spaces without many non-whites may lead a racial or ethnic minority to be more prone to stereotypes and discrimination (Ortiz and Telles 2012). The original education variable in the PALS dataset had many categories and distinguished between degrees obtained in religion studies (e.g. Master of Divinity) as the PALS dataset was intended to capture high quality data on race and religion. The religious and non-religious degree categorizations were combined and resulted in the final operationalization of 1= less than high school diploma (reference), 2= high school or equivalent, 3= some college, 4= four year degree (includes religious four year degree), 5= graduate or professional degree (including professional religious degree).

Nativity status

Immigrants in the United States, by nature of originating from a different country or perhaps speaking a different language, live racialized lives. These individuals tend to be subjected to pervasive amounts of racism and discrimination as they attempt to assimilate into the U.S' racialized social system (Anthias, Yuval-Davis, and Cain 1992). Due to this, the lived experience of these individuals is akin to native-born racial and ethnic minorities. Their identities, then, may be influenced not only by their exposures to racism but also according to how their ethnic identities become expressed in unique

sociopolitical contexts. Nativity status is thus operationalized such that 1= U.S. born and

0= foreign-born.

Analytical approach

Logistic regression was used to predict identity discordance using Stata 15. To

account for clustering and weighting, the Stata "svy" command was used; specifically,

point estimates are weighted and Taylor Series Linearization was used to calculate the

correct standard errors. Models are estimated where perceived discrimination, geographic

region, and race will be used as individual predictors to ascertain the main effect that

each predictor has on identity discordance. A full model with all predictors and controls

will then be estimated. Finally, in order to identify specific mechanisms that may

contribute to different rates of identity discordance among racial groups, separate models

will be run for each of the racial groups individually.

RESULTS

Table 1 contains the weighted summary statistics for key variables along with the

DEFT statistic for each estimate. Since point estimates are weighted and clustering is

accounted for, the DEFT statistic is reported as it is a ratio of the sampling variance

observed under the complex design compared to the sampling variance observed under an

SRS of the same sample size. A DEFT less than 1.0 represents a reduction in the

sampling variance and a DEFT greater than 1.0 represents an increase in the sampling

variance relative to an SRS of the same size.

13.26% of the sample indicates having a discordant identity. The sample is

predominantly white at 71.09%; the next largest racial group is Hispanics at 13.26%,

followed by blacks at 11%, and Asians at 4.65%. About 13% of the sample indicated

Table 1. Weighted Summary Statistics for Key Variables, Portraits of American Life Study (2006)

Variable	Proportion (TSL SE)	DEFT	95% CI	N
Identity Discordance (Ref= Concordant)				2,426
Discordant	.1326 (.0123)	1.7860	(.1080, .1572)	393
Race				2,426
White	.7109 (.0398)	4.3259	(.6312, .7906)	1,215
Black	.1100 (.0222)	3.4994	(.0655, .1545)	505
Hispanic	.1326 (.0280)	4.0709	(.0765, .1887)	523
Asian	.0465 (.0119)	2.7840	(.0226, .0703)	183
Discrimination (Ref= No)				2,426
Yes	.1294 (.0106)	1.5597	(.1081, .1507)	406
Region				2,426
Northeast	.1682 (.0551)	7.2605	(.0578, .2785)	374
Midwest	.2435 (.0657)	7.5423	(.1120, .3750)	454
South	.3355 (.0681)	7.1016	(.1993, .4717)	842
West	.2528 (.0615)	6.9729	(.1297, .3760)	756
Identity Salience				2,426
Very Important	.3540 (.0260)	2.6743	(.3021, .4060)	1,121
Somewhat Important	.2607 (.0140)	1.5677	(.2327, .2887)	570
A little Important	.1117 (.0086)	1.3374	(.0946, .1288)	243
Not at all Important	.2735 (.0190)	2.0951	(.2356, .3115)	492
Gender (Ref=Female)				2,426
Male	.4811 (.0130)	1.2776	(.4552, .5071)	988
Education				2,426
Less than HS	.1163 (.0139)	2.1336	(.0885, .1441)	326
HS or Equivalent	.5125 (.0200)	1.9741	(.4724, .5526)	1,201
Some College	.0968 (.0072)	1.1991	(.0824, .1112)	263
Four-year Degree	.1688 (.0135)	1.7717	(.1418, .1958)	411
Grad or Prof Degree	.1056 (.0151)	2.4236	(.0753, .1359)	225
Nativity (Ref= Foreign Born)				2,426
U.S. Born	.8503 (.0226)	3.1154	(.8052, .8955)	1,902

experiencing discrimination. Regarding the geographic regions defined by the U.S. Census Bureau, the largest proportion of the sample lives in the South at 33.55% followed by the West at 25.28%, the Midwest at 24.35%, and the Northeast at 16.82%. The sample is 48.11% percent male and predominantly native-born (85.03%). The modal category of education is a high school diploma or equivalent, and the modal category of identity salience is those who believe their race to be "very important" to their sense of identity (35.40%).

Table 2 shows the weighted distribution of identity discordance by race, discrimination, and region. Across racial groups, those who self-identified as Asian had the highest rate of discordance at 35.43%, followed by Hispanics at 23.03%, blacks at 22.41%, and whites at 8.58%. It is clear that the rate of identity discordance does in fact vary across racial groups ($F = 24.9275$, $p < .0001$). Moreover, the proportions of nonwhites (blacks, Hispanics, and Asians) and whites are significantly different from each other ($t=5.30$, $p < .0001$) which suggests that non-white individuals have systematically higher rates of identity discordance, which provides support for hypothesis 1.

There are stark differences in the rates of identity discordance between those who reported experiencing discrimination and those who did not report experiencing discrimination. Among those who experienced discrimination, 23.10% indicated having a discordant identity compared to the 11.80% of those with a discordant identity who did not experience discrimination. Similar to the distribution of identity discordance by race, the experience of discrimination is associated with identity discordance which provides support for hypothesis 2 ($F = 27.4878$, $p < .0001$). There is considerably less variation

Table 2. Weighted Distribution of Identity Discordance by Race, Perceived Discrimination, and Region

	Concordance (95% CI)	Discordance (95% CI)	F Statistic (*P* value)
Race			24.9275 (p<.0001)
White	.9142 (.8909, .9330)	.0858 (.0670, .1091)	
Black	.7759 (.7085, .8315)	.2241 (.1685, .2915)	
Hispanic	.7697 (.6997, .8274)	.2303 (.1726, .3003)	
Asian	.6457 (.5316, .7453)	.3543 (.2547, .4684)	
Discrimination			27.4878 (p<.0001)
Yes	.7690 (.7106, .8185)	.2310 (.1815, .2894)	
No	.8820 (.8565, .9035)	.1180 (.0965, .1435)	
Region			1.3096 (0.2728)
Northeast	.8463 (.7097, .9254)	.1537 (.0746, .2903)	
Midwest	.9095 (.8754, .9349)	.0905 (.0651, .1246)	
South	.8643 (.8339, .8899)	.1357 (.1101, .1661)	
West	.8449 (.8065, .8768)	.1551 (.1232, .1935)	

Note: The proportions given are row proportions. The p value denoting statistical independence of the crosstabulations of each of the focal variables by identity discordance was obtained from a design-based adjusted F statistic.

observed in the distribution of identity concordance and discordance by geographic region. The largest proportion of those indicating having a discordant identity is among those living in the West at 15.51%. This is closely followed by the Northeast at 15.37%, the South at 13.57%, and the Midwest with the lowest rate of discordance at about 9%. It is worth noting what while the distribution of identity discordance by geographic region is not statistically significant ($F = 1.3096$, $p = .2728$), it does track along the hypothesized

pattern. It was hypothesized that rates of discordance would be highest in the West followed by the Northeast, the South, and the lowest in the Midwest, and the rates of discordance was highest in the West (15.51%) and lowest in the Midwest (9.05%). The rates of discordance by region were theorized to follow this pattern because it is analogous to the distribution of multiracial individuals in each region; that is, the West has the largest proportion of those identifying as multiracial at 40% and the Midwest has the lowest proportion at 15% (Jones and Smith 2001). However, multiracial identity is not directly accounted for in the models.

Multivariate results

Tables 3 and 4 show the odds ratios for a series of logistic regressions predicting racial identity discordance. Each of the focal independent variables—race, discrimination, and region—were used independently to predict racial identity discordance in models 1, 2, and 3 respectively and are shown in Table 3. Table 4 shows models with focal independent variables, controls, and focal independent variables and controls predicting identity discordance. Lastly, Figure 1 shows the predicted probability of experiencing identity discordance by racial group under model 6, the full model. Specifically, the graph represents U.S.-born females who live in the South, have experienced discrimination, have an education of a high school diploma or equivalent, and who believe their race to be "very important" to their sense of identity. These represent the modal category for each of the categorical variables in the model.

In model 1, a hypothesis test assessing the joint association of all race indicators was performed and shows that overall, race is associated with identity discordance ($F =$ 8.56, p-value= 0.0001). Moreover, the individual odds ratios for each of the race

Table 3. Odds Ratios for Focal Independent Variables Predicting Identity Discordance (N=2,426)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	OR (95% CI)	P-value	OR (95% CI)	P-value	OR (95% CI)	P-value
Race (Ref=white)						
Black	3.0782 (2.0422, 4.6398)	p<.0001				
Hispanic	3.1900 (2.0581, 4.9444)	p<.0001				
Asian	5.8498 (3.1960, 10.7071)	p<.0001				
Discrimination (1=Yes)						
Yes			2.2457 (1.6384, 3.0780)	p<.0001		
Region (Ref=Northeast)						
Midwest					0.5483 (.2258, 1.3313)	0.180
South					0.8646 (.3709, 2.0153)	0.732
West					1.0112 (.4301, 2.3775)	0.979
F	19.48		26.37		2.54	
Prob > F	0.0000		0.0000		0.0657	

categories are also significant (p<.0001). Notably, the odds of an individual who identifies as Asian experiencing identity discordance are 5.85 times higher than that of whites. The baseline probabilities of experiencing identity discordance show substantial differences between whites and non-whites as well. Under model 1, the probability of experiencing identity discordance for whites is .0857, .2241 for blacks, .2303 for Hispanics, and .3543 for Asians. The odds ratios for the racial groups additionally remain significant across all models even after accounting for the other focal predictors and control variables. This indicates that identifying as non-white places an individual at substantial risk of experiencing identity discordance regardless of other factors or identities. In general, the models provide support for hypothesis 1; non-whites do exhibit higher rates of identity discordance compared to those that are white.

Table 4. Odds Ratios for Focal Independent Variables and Controls Predicting Identity Discordance (N=2,426)

	Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	OR (95% CI)	P-value	OR (95% CI)	P-value	OR (95% CI)	P-value
Race (Ref=white)						
Black	2.6636 (1.7699, 4.0087)	p<.0001			2.9283 (1.8549, 4.6227)	p<.0001
Hispanic	2.8462 (1.8977, 4.2687)	p<.0001			3.2999 (1.9414, 5.6090)	p<.0001
Asian	5.2401 (2.6509, 10.3584)	p<.0001			4.8254 (1.7357, 13.4153)	0.003
Discrimination (1=Yes)						
Yes	1.6882 (1.2006, 2.3737)	0.003			1.5522 (1.0622, 2.2682)	0.024
Region (Ref=Northeast)						
Midwest	0.7029 (.3233, 1.5283)	0.367			0.6998 (.3174, 1.5429)	0.370
South	0.8926 (.4517, 1.7642)	0.740			0.8868 (.4584, 1.7153)	0.717
West	1.0905 (.5466, 2.1758)	0.803			1.0943 (.5573, 2.1491)	0.790
Identity Salience (Ref= Not at all Important)						
Very Important			1.4982 (1.0076, 2.2277)	0.046	0.7994 (.5126, 1.2467)	0.317
Somewhat Important			.8770 (.5268, 1.4601)	0.608	0.6906 (.4125, 1.1563)	0.156
A Little Important			0.6057 (.3370, 1.0884)	0.092	0.5495 (.3072, .9828)	0.044
Gender (1=Male)						
Male			1.3806 (1.0830, 1.7599)	0.010	1.3132 (1.0243, 1.6836)	0.032
Education (Ref=Less than HS)						
HS or Equivalent			2.1421 (1.1782, 3.8947)	0.013	2.1532 (1.1533, 4.0200)	0.017
Some College			2.5669 (1.1215, 5.8755)	0.026	2.5981 (1.1087, 6.0881)	0.029
4 yr Degree			2.0375 (1.0951, 3.7909)	0.025	2.1744 (1.1336, 4.1710)	0.020
Grad or Professional Degree			2.2012 (1.0906, 4.4428)	0.028	2.2262 (1.0343, 4.7914)	0.041
Nativity (1= U.S. Born)						
U.S. Born			.4434 (.3057, .6431)	p<.0001	0.9089 (.5629, 1.4680)	0.692
F	14.95		6.44		8.81	
Prob > F	0.0000		0.0000		0.0000	

Figure 1.

Probability of Identity Discordance by Race Under Full Model
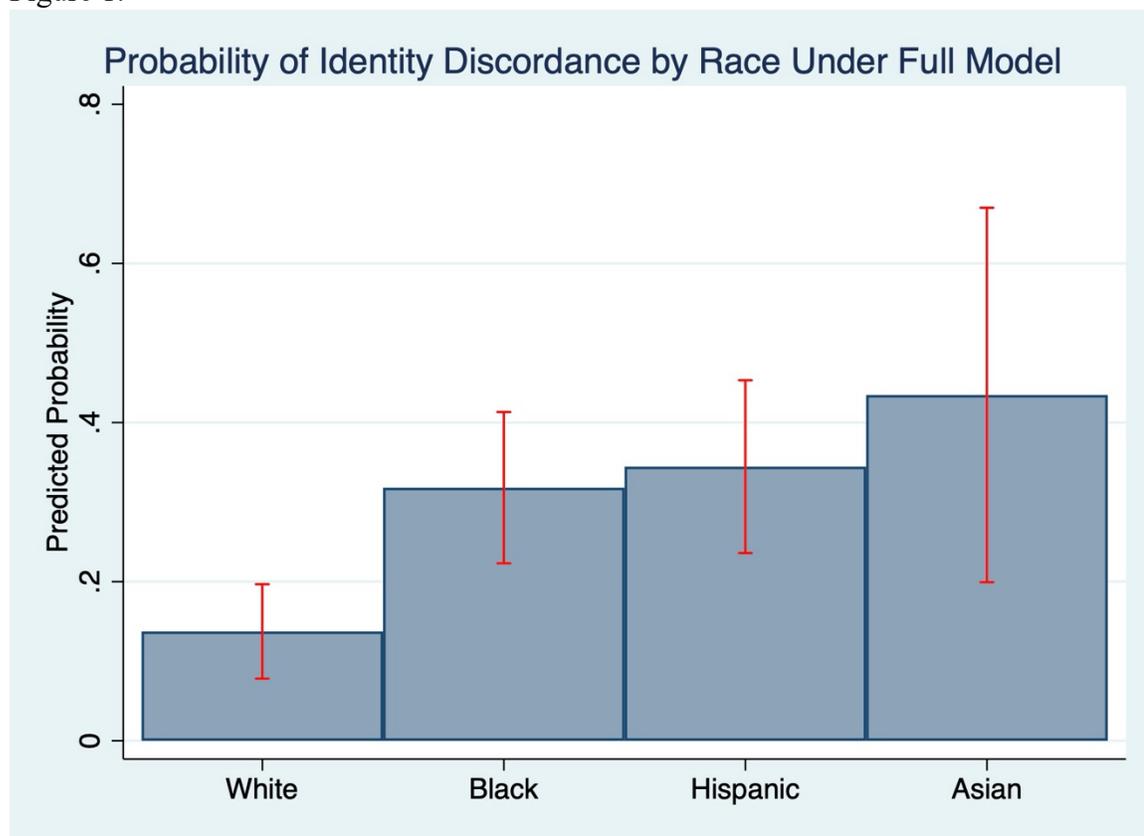
Similar to race, discrimination significantly predicts identity discordance in model 2 (p<.0001) and remains significant in models 4 and 6. For predicted probabilities, there are substantial differences in the probability of experiencing identity discordance between those who have and have not experienced discrimination. When holding the other categorical variables at their mode and for those who experience discrimination, the probability of discordance for whites is .1374, .3180 for blacks, .3445 for Hispanics, and .4346 for Asians. For those that do not report experiencing discrimination, the probabilities for each racial group decrease to .0930 for whites, .2310 for blacks, .2529 for Hispanics, and .3311 for Asians; the increase in the probability of being discordant is significant in each comparison. Overall, the significant differences in the probability of discordance for each racial group between those who experience discrimination and those

who do not indicate that discrimination is an important predictor of identity discordance and thus provides support for hypothesis 2.

The geographic region in which one lives does not appear to predict the experience of identity discordance. The joint hypothesis test for all region indicators in model 6 was not significant ($F = 1.53$, p-value= 0.2168) and the individual odds ratios for region are not significant in models 3, 4, or 6. However, while the association between region and identity discordance is not significant, it is worth noting that the odds of an individual experiencing discordance in each region do follow the hypothesized pattern. Specifically, in model 3 the odds of experiencing identity discordance are lowest in the Midwest and highest in the West, relative to the Northeast. This pattern holds for models 4 and 6; the odds of experiencing identity discordance appear to be lowest in the Midwest and highest in the West relative to the Northeast. This association may not be statistically significant, but the trend observed is notable. Overall, the models do not provide support for hypothesis 3.

In sum, the models demonstrate that the race of which one identifies, and the experience of discrimination are both significant predictors of identity discordance. Geographic region, however, does not significantly predict identity discordance. Previous research has demonstrated that rates of identity discordance vary by racial group (Saperstein and Penner 2014), and the current study corroborates that finding. Whereas it is now known that race itself and the experience of discrimination are associated with identity discordance, the mechanisms that contribute to the substantially different rates of discordance across racial groups are still not well understood.

Racially stratified models were conducted to ascertain whether the effect of the focal independent variables on identity discordance operate differently across racial groups. Table 5 shows the odds ratios for the full model, Model 6, stratified by race. It is clear that the covariates used to predict identity discordance in the full model are not all operating in the same way within each racial group.

For those that identified as white, only identity salience and nativity status significantly predicted identity discordance. Specifically, of those that self-identify as white, the odds of experiencing identity discordance for those that believe their race to be "a little important" to their identity are .3504 times less than those who believe their race to be "not at all important." For nativity status, those that are born in the United States have .2136 times lower odds of experiencing identity discordance compared to those not born in the United States. On average, being U.S.-born compared to foreign-born decreases the probability of experiencing identity discordance for whites by .203, a significant margin (p-value =.015).

The predicted probability of experiencing identity discordance for those who identify as white is relatively low compared to the other racial groups. The probability of a white individual who has experienced discrimination experiencing identity discordance is .1510, and this probability decreases to .0862 for those who have not experienced discrimination. The average marginal effect of discrimination on experiencing identity discordance for whites about .0700, though this probability is not significant which indicates that discrimination is not a salient predictor of identity discordance for whites (p-value =.094). The same is true for region; the average marginal effect of region across all regions on the probability of experiencing identity discordance is not significant.

Table 5. Odds Ratios for Focal Independent Variables and Controls Predicting Identity Discordance by Race

	Whites		Blacks		Hispanics		Asians	
	OR (SE)	P-value	OR (SE)	P-value	OR (SE)	P-value	OR (SE)	P-value
Discrimination (1=Yes)								
Yes	1.8858 (0.621)	0.059	2.4394 (0.569)	p<.0001	0.8984 (0.353)	0.786	0.3277 (0.291)	0.214
Region (Ref=Northeast)								
Midwest	0.9005 (0.509)	0.854	0.5193 (0.357)	0.345	0.0647 (0.032)	p<.0001	2.5229 (2.904)	0.425
South	0.8601 (0.464)	0.781	0.9886 (0.284)	0.968	0.3144 (0.162)	0.028	1.3873 (0.761)	0.553
West	0.9652 (0.546)	0.950	1.2824 (0.383)	0.409	0.4939 (0.216)	0.111	0.9947 (0.568)	0.993
Identity Salience (Ref= Not at all Important)								
Very Important	0.7959 (0.226)	0.425	1.3532 (0.926)	0.660	2.9073 (1.600)	0.057	18.6498 (16.678)	0.002
Somewhat Important	0.5607 (0.177)	0.072	2.1120 (1.670)	0.348	2.6607 (1.420)	0.072	6.2925 (6.332)	0.073
A Little Important	0.3504 (0.131)	0.007	1.2413 (1.335)	0.841	6.6751 (5.271)	0.019	50.2162 (61.249)	0.002
Gender (1=Male)								
Male	1.3593 (0.293)	0.160	1.0350 (0.236)	0.880	1.1951 (0.287)	0.460	4.0709 (2.795)	0.045
Education (Ref=Less than HS)								
HS or Equivalent	1.3549 (0.679)	0.547	1.4938 (0.972)	0.540	3.1626 (1.319)	0.008	0.0259 (0.037)	0.014
Some College	1.2456 (0.787)	0.729	1.1225 (0.878)	0.883	3.6466 (2.750)	0.091	0.1618 (0.267)	0.274
4 yr Degree	1.5544 (0.786)	0.386	1.4475 (1.217)	0.662	4.8131 (2.438)	0.003	0.0126 (0.018)	0.004
Grad or Professional Degree	1.3793 (0.709)	0.534	1.0025 (0.941)	0.998	16.0278 (13.466)	0.002	0.0117 (0.019)	0.008
Nativity (1= U.S. Born)								
U.S. Born	0.2136 (0.090)	0.001	0.5664 (0.258)	0.218	2.0317 (0.635)	0.027	1.7162 (1.222)	0.451
N	1,215		505		523		183	
F	2.37		2.00		7.42		3.04	
Prob > F	0.0155		0.0424		0.0000		0.0026	

Discrimination was the only covariate that predicted identity discordance for those who identify as black. Moreover, discrimination did not significantly predict identity discordance for any other racial group. Black individuals who experience discrimination have 2.439 times higher odds of experiencing identity discordance compared to black individuals who do not experience discrimination. The probability of identity discordance for those who experienced discrimination is .3482 and .1796 for those who do not report experiencing discrimination, and this difference is significant (*p*-value= 0.004). The average marginal effect of discrimination on the probability of experiencing identity discordance for blacks is substantially higher than it was for whites. For those who identify as black, the experience of discrimination increases the probability of identity discordance by .157 (*p*-value= 0.002). Like it was for whites, the average marginal effect of region on identity discordance was not significant for any region for those that identify as black.

Across all racial groups, geographic region was only predictive of identity discordance among those who self-identified as Hispanic. For Hispanics, hypothesis 3 is actually supported; living in the Midwest or the South is predictive of identity discordance for Hispanics. The odds ratios additionally increase in magnitude in the hypothesized way; the odds of a Hispanic individual experiencing identity discordance are highest in the West (95% CI [.206,1.182]), next highest in the South (95% CI [.112,.881], and the lowest in the Midwest (95% CI [.024,.174]) relative to the Northeast. The predicted probabilities, however, are slightly different. The probability of discordance is highest in the Northeast at .5768, next highest in the West at .4023, then the South at .2999, and lowest in the Midwest at .0810. While the probabilities were

originally hypothesized to be highest in the West and not the Northeast, they were hypothesized to be lowest in the Midwest and that has proven correct. Additionally, it is unclear why geographic region was only predictive of identity discordance for those who identify as Hispanic.

Like whites, among Hispanics whose race is "a little important" to their sense of identity, the odds of experiencing identity discordance is 6.675 times higher compared to those whose race was "not at all important." Additionally, all levels of education except for some college was predictive of identity discordance for Hispanics. Lastly, nativity status significantly predicts identity discordance for Hispanics like it did for whites but being U.S.-born *increased* the probability of discordance for Hispanics whereas it was *decreased* for whites. Of Hispanics that were born in the United States, the odds of them experiencing identity discordance are 2.031 times higher compared to Hispanics not born in the United States. On average, being U.S.-born compared to foreign-born increases the probability of experiencing identity discordance for Hispanics by .107 (*p*-value =.021). For U.S.-born whites, the odds of discordance were lower.

The focal predictors of discrimination and geographic region do not significantly predict identity discordance for those who identify as Asian, yet overall Asians do have the highest probability of experiencing identity discordance. The reasons for this are unclear. Almost every level of identity salience does predict identity discordance, however. Asians were the only racial group where gender was significant, where the odds of a male experiencing identity discordance are 4.07 times higher than that of females. On average, Asian men have a .207 increase in the probability of experiencing identity discordance compared to Asian women (*p*-value =.038). Like Hispanics, all levels of

education except for some college significantly predicted identity discordance for Asians. Nativity status, however, was not significant.

Sensitivity Analysis

The same models shown in Tables 3 and 4 were also run without accounting for the complex sample design; these models are shown in Appendices A and B. The odds ratios and their standard errors are substantially different from the models that do account for clustering and weights; specifically, the standard errors in the models not accounting for clustering or weighting are notably smaller. This is to be expected as clustering typically increases the variance of an estimate and stratification was not used in the original sample design. However, the overall substantive story is largely the same, with the exception of geographic region. In the models accounting for the complex design, region was not a significant predictor of identity discordance. Contrastingly, not accounting for clustering or weighting allowed for individuals that live in the Midwest to become a significant predictor of identity discordance even after accounting for controls. Other notable differences in the models not accounting for clustering or weighting include gender and the salience of one's racial identity no longer being significant.

DISCUSSION

Overall, the results of the racially stratified models demonstrate substantially different results than that of the unracially stratified models suggesting that not only do rates of identity discordance vary by race, but the specific mechanisms that contribute to discordance for each group are different. Moreover, the results of the racially stratified models complicate the results of the unstratified models. One major example of this is how discrimination was highly predictive of identity discordance in the unstratified

models, but in the racially stratified models it was only predictive of identity discordance for those that identified as black. A potential explanation for this finding could be that individuals who "appear" black (i.e. have a darker skin tone) are racialized as black regardless of their actual racial identity and are consequently subject to discrimination. It could be that those who self-identify as black may also acknowledge an additional identity, but this identity is unacknowledged because they are *only* perceived as 'black.' This finding is important because it demonstrates that exposure to racial discrimination and the questioning of one's identity are still indicative of the black experience and that the black-white binary is still a powerful racial schema for those living in the United States. Recently scholars have noted a growing ideological movement in the United States that posits that the United States is a "post-racial society" where race is no longer deterministic for success— this misguided notion has come to be known as colorblind racism (Bonilla-Silva 2014; Doane 2017; Feagin 2013; Lewis 2004). The current study provides more empirical evidence to suggest that race is still in fact a salient method of social demarcation in the United States, and the extent to which race influences one's life experience largely depends on how one is racialized.

In the racially stratified models, geographic region was only predictive of identity discordance for those that identify as Hispanic. Specifically, Hispanics living in the Midwest and the South have the lowest probability of experiencing identity discordance of all the geographic regions. In other words, it appears that Hispanics living in the Midwest and the South are less likely to believe that their racial identity is ambiguous in the eyes of the general public. The reasons for this finding are largely unknown. However, given that the South's Hispanic population is nearly four times that of the

Midwest's (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas, and Albert 2011), the reasons driving discordance in each of these regions may be different. In the Midwest where there are few Hispanic individuals compared to the South, it may be that Hispanics in the Midwest "stick out" and so there is no confusion as to how they are racialized; similarly, Hispanics may not believe that their personal racial identity differs from external perceptions of it. In the South the exact opposite may happen; non-Hispanics may be so used to living among Hispanics that Hispanic identities are normalized and not subject to question. But, if familiarity with Hispanics is truly suppressing rates of discordance in the South, then rates of discordance in the West would theoretically be similar to the South given that the West's population of Hispanics is even larger than the South's (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas, and Albert 2011).

Regardless of what leads to identity discordance or not across geographic regions, it is clear that external perceptions of race are not uniform or consistent across the United States, and particularly so for Hispanics. Future research should include geographic region in discussions of racial identity and identity discordance as well as investigate specific mechanisms that are contributing to different rates of identity discordance across geographic regions. One potential reason why rates of discordance vary by geographic region could be because of the visibility or lack thereof of certain racial groups within specific regions. It is well-known that individuals cluster themselves homophilously across a variety of characteristics, and race is no different. Future research could examine the association between identity discordance and geographic region by considering the proportion of the white population within certain regions or the presence of ethnic enclaves. Because physical spaces in general are racialized (Delaney 2002; Holloway et

al. 2009; Lipsitz 2007), individuals that exist within these racialized spaces are susceptible to conventional or colloquial understandings of race within these contexts. Depending then on one's unique social location, which includes but is not limited to a combination of racial identity, physical attributes, and physical location, experiences related to identity discordance are highly contextual.

Another notable finding is the role that nativity status plays for different racial groups in the United States. For those that identify as white, the probability of experiencing identity discordance is lower for those that are born in the United States compared to those who are not. For those that identify as Hispanic, the relationship is just the opposite; those that are born in the United States have a higher probability of experiencing identity discordance compared to those not born in the United States. In order to be classified as having a racially discordant identity, one has to be aware of the fact that their personal identity is not recognized in the same way by the general public. For white individuals born in the United States, they likely have no reason to believe that their identity would be questioned and so this results in a lower probability of discordance. This may not be the case for Hispanics. Even though Hispanics born in the United States are American, they are likely aware that they closely resemble Hispanic individuals not born in the United States. Given the historical and current strong anti-immigrant and anti-Hispanic rhetoric in the United States, these U.S.-born Hispanic individuals may believe that the general public assumes them to be an undocumented Hispanic immigrant as opposed to a native-born American of Hispanic descent. In other words, the individual racial identities assumed by U.S.-born Hispanics may actually be influenced by how they believe the U.S. general public views Hispanics as a whole. Thus,

nativity status may be an important aspect to consider in future racial identity research as

the current study has demonstrated that it operates in different ways for different groups

of people. Overall, the current findings contribute to a growing body of research that

highlights that society in the United States is highly racialized.

The current study is not without limitations. One notable limitation involves

identity discordance; of those who have a racially discordant identity, it is unknown *how*

they are discordant. During the PALS interview, respondents were asked to specify how

they believed others racially misclassified them, but that information is not contained in

the public use data. While this is an important limitation, how individuals are racially

discordant may be less important than the fact that they have a racially discordant identity

in the first place. The fact that self and external classifications of race can be different

suggests that conceptions of racial identity are contextual, which further problematizes

essentialist interpretations of race. Even still, future research should investigate the

specific ways in which individuals may be racially discordant.

One other substantial limitation that should be addressed in future research is the

role skin tone plays with regards to discordant identities. While the current study has

demonstrated that rates of identity discordance do vary by racial group, it is highly likely

that within each racial group further variation in rates of discordant identities would be

strongly influenced by one's skin tone. For example, individuals with darker skin are

known to experience more discrimination than those with lighter skin (Dixon and Telles

2017). Moreover, one's skin tone has drastic implications for how one is racialized. As an

example, Puerto Rican individuals typically identify racially as Hispanic but are often

racialized as black because of their dark skin (Dixon and Telles 2017). A Puerto Rican

individual would then almost certainly believe themselves to have a discordant identity if they identify as Hispanic but know that others view them as black. In general, if an individual reported having a discordant identity, the race that they believe the general public *does* view them as is unknown.

Another limitation for the current study is the inability to account for multiracial individuals in the models. It is hypothesized that rates of identity discordance within geographic regions may follow similar patterns to how multiracial individuals are distributed throughout regions of the United States. Without knowing who identifies as multiracial, it would be impossible to test if region in the current models is serving as a proxy for the distribution of multiracial individuals or if region serves a different role altogether.

The current study has contributed to existing literature on racial identities by considering the role racialization may play when individuals think of their racial identity. The racial identities that the general public perceives individuals to have are not necessarily the same identities personally acknowledged by that individual; it is this disagreement that leads to discordant identities. Moreover, the specific rates of identity discordance vary across racial groups. Discrimination, geographic region, and the race of which one identifies all contribute to identity discordance, though differentially so. These results contribute to a growing body of research that seek to challenge essentialist conceptualizations of race by demonstrating that race is subjective. The consequences of race, however, are objective, and will likely continue to be for the foreseeable future.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A. Unweighted Odds Ratios for Focal Independent Variables Predicting Identity Discordance Not Accounting for Clustering (N=2,426)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	OR (95% CI)	P-value	OR (95% CI)	P-value	OR (95% CI)	P-value
Race (Ref=white)						
Black	2.6423 (1.9776, 3.5303)	p<.0001				
Hispanic	3.0910 (2.3349, 4.0919)	p<.0001				
Asian	3.9480 (2.7110, 5.7494)	p<.0001				
Discrimination (1=Yes)						
Yes			2.0279 (1.5702, 2.6190)	p<.0001		
Region (Ref=Northeast)						
Midwest					0.5094 (.3340, .7770)	0.002
South					1.0853 (.7826, 1.5050)	0.624
West					1.2073 (.8689, 1.6776)	0.262
Identity Salience (Ref= Not at all Important)						
Very Important						
Somewhat Important						
A Little Important						
Gender (1=Male)						
Male						
Education (Ref=Less than HS)						
HS or Equivalent						
Some College						
4 yr Degree						
Grad or Professional Degree						
Nativity (1= US Born)						
US Born						
LR Chi^2	96.18		27.39		25.17	
Prob > Chi^2	0.0000		0.0000		0.0657	
AIC	2061.080		2125.864		2132.086	
BIC	2084.256		2137.452		2155.262	

Appendix B. Unweighted Odds Ratios for Focal Independent Variables and Controls Predicting Identity Discordance Not Accounting for Clustering (N=2,426)

	Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	OR (95% CI)	P-value	OR (95% CI)	P-value	OR (95% CI)	P-value
Race (Ref=white)						
Black	2.2813 (1.6824, 3.0933)	p<.0001			2.7552 (1.9288, 3.9358)	p<.0001
Hispanic	2.6887 2.0150, 3.5874)	p<.0001			3.7426 (2.6098, 5.3670)	p<.0001
Asian	3.4253 (2.3257, 5.0449)	p<.0001			4.0290 (2.5110, 6.4649)	p<.0001
Discrimination (1=Yes)						
Yes	1.6474 (1.2581, 2.1573)	p<.0001			1.5597 (1.1857, 2.0516)	0.001
Region (Ref=Northeast)						
Midwest	0.6127 (.3973, .9450)	0.027			0.5939 (.3833, .9201)	0.020
South	1.0674 (.7620, 1.4953)	0.704			1.0277 (.7307, 1.4455)	0.875
West	1.1476 (.8097, 1.6263)	0.439			1.1088 (.7795, 1.5770)	0.566
Identity Salience (Ref= Not at all Important)						
Very Important			1.4867 (1.0915, 2.0251)	0.012	0.7110 (.4943, 1.0226)	0.066
Somewhat Important			.9986 (.7009, 1.4228)	0.994	0.6996 (.4805, 1.0187)	0.062
A Little Important			0.8822 (.5546, 1.4033)	0.597	0.7325 (.4534, 1.1835)	0.203
Gender (1=Male)						
Male			1.1774 (.9434, 1.4694)	0.149	1.1194 (.8920, 1.4047)	0.330
Education (Ref=Less than HS)						
HS or Equivalent			1.9578 (1.3282, 2.8860)	0.001	2.0236 (1.3580, 3.0156)	0.001
Some College			2.3786 (1.4870, 3.8050)	p<.0001	2.3661 (1.4560, 3.8450)	0.001
4 yr Degree			2.0446 (1.3176, 3.1728)	0.001	2.2407 (1.4062, 3.5704)	0.001
Grad or Professional Degree			1.6502 (.9846, 2.7657)	0.057	1.9091 (1.1039, 3.3017)	0.021
Nativity (1= US Born)						
US Born			.6332 (.4890, .8197)	0.001	1.1334 (.8213, 1.5640)	0.446
LR Chi^2	120.60		43.91		145.02	
Prob > Chi^2	0.0000		0.0000		0.0000	
AIC	2044.658		2125.348		2038.236	
BIC	2091.010		2183.288		2136.734	