

《論 文》

Barack Obama: The Creation of a Complex Cultural Identity

Barbara Fujiwara

Abstract : Barack Obama is the most famous of a growing demographic in the United States, children of multiracial families. These families are often burdened by unwelcome attention, such as curious stares and questions, and insensitive comments. The children may be targets of racism or peer pressure to join one group or another. Scholars have begun to research topics of identity and self-esteem among these children, and parents have written guides for raising multiracial children. There are also collections of interviews and writings by young multiracial Americans.

Barack Obama had many of the same experiences and feelings of other multiracial children when he was growing up. This paper examines his process of identity formation using three identity constructs: received identity, the influences from family and community; perceived identity, based upon physical appearance; and created identity, the identity that the individual forms. Barack Obama's creation of a cultural identity was particularly complex as he decided to become an African American even though he did not have an African American parent or live in an African American community. He raised himself to be an African American by imitating African American cultural patterns, seeking out some of the few African Americans in Hawaii, and reading deeply in African American literature and history.

Although Barack Obama self-identifies with African Americans, his actual identity has always been a more universal one. He has family members of different ethnic groups, different nationalities, and different religions living all around the globe. During his early years in Indonesia, adolescence in Hawaii, and college years, he moved easily among groups with varied backgrounds. Obama offers inspiration for the growing demographic of multiracial young Americans as someone who has gone through their struggles and become a prestigious symbol of the new American. In addition, his ability to blend his multitude of identities offers hope that Americans of different groups will fully realize the potential of a multicultural nation and become a harmonious whole.

Keywords : 多様な民族としてのアメリカ人 Racially mixed Americans,
バラク・オバマ Barack Obama, 文化的アイデンティティ Cultural identity

Introduction

Barack Obama is the most famous representative of a new and growing demographic of the American population, people with a multiracial background (DeBose, pp. xi-xii). Root (1996) defines multiracial as referring "to people who are of two or more racial heritages" (p. xi), thus including biracial people as well. As an immigrant nation, the U.S. has always had marriages across ethnic and religious groups, often to the dismay of parents and communities. However, marriages across races were forbidden by law in 16 states until 1967 and are still considered by some Americans to be against social norms (DeBose and Winters, 2003). Nevertheless, the

number of multiracial families is increasing as a result of both marriages and adoptions, with parents adopting children of a different racial group from within the United States or from abroad.

According to Root (2003), the process by which multiracial individuals “establish personal versus public identities takes place in an ecological context that is multilayered” (p. 4). The personal and public identities, and the context and layers differ from individual to individual and can be highly complex, such as a child of European American and Japanese American parents living in a Hispanic community (Gaskins, 1999, pp. 31–32). Confusion over the public identity of multiracial children is illustrated by the frequent question they are asked, “What are you?” which is used as the title of a collection of writings by multiracial youth of a wide variety of backgrounds (Gaskins, 1999).

What happens to the members of these multiracial families? The answers to this question have been explored in academic studies (Root, 1992, 1996, 2003; Winters and DeBose, 2003); guides for parents (Nakazawa, 2003); and books for children and young people (Gaskins, 1999; Kaeser and Gillespie, 1997). Scholars have begun to investigate the many different topics of this new demographic, for example, identity development and social adjustment. Parents of multiracial children, who may have faced opposition from their own relatives when they married, seek to have their children participate in the communities of their heritages. Adoptive parents have to consider whether they want to expose their children to their roots, or raise them completely in the parents’ ethnic cultures. Both sets of parents are faced with the fact that their children often have completely different experiences from their own. Families may encounter stares and questions, some polite, some rude. Multiracial children may be subjected to teasing or bullying by peers at school, but feel unable to articulate these incidents to their parents and teachers, and thus feel isolated and lonely.

Growing up, Barack Obama also had these kinds of encounters and feelings, which were further complicated by international family ties and experience living abroad. One of his biographers describes him as “a double outsider, both as a biracial kid and a cross-cultural kid” (Maraniss, 2012, p. xxii). His father was a black Kenyan and his mother a white American from Kansas. His father left the family when he was two years old, so Barack was raised by his mother and grandparents. When his mother married again to an Indonesian and followed her second husband to his home country, Barack began living in a completely new culture at the age of six. He returned to live in Hawaii with his grandparents four years later.

This article will examine the process by which Barack Obama reconciled the different cultural elements of his background to create what he calls a “fluid state of identity” (Obama, 2004, p. vii). “Barack Obama’s family, broadly defined, is vast. It’s multi-confessional, multiracial, multilingual, and multi-continental” (Remnick, 2010, p. 67). This background has given Obama his universalist perspective yet at the same time, he has worked hard to anchor himself in one

particular community, the African American community. In order to explore Barack's developmental process, the theoretical framework of different types of identity will be used (Fujiwara, 2011). These types are received, that is, identities from parents or community; perceived, identities based usually on physical appearance; and created, the identity or identities developed by the individual. Barack Obama's story illustrates the complexity of forming an identity by multiracial Americans.

Received identity

Barack's case in some ways resembles that of children of multiracial parents, and in some ways resembles that of adopted children. Most children of multiracial couples have parents who are part of their own communities and cultures, and thus the children have exposure to these cultures as they grow up. Adopted children, on the other hand, are usually raised in the American ethnic culture(s) of their parents, although some parents do make efforts to have them learn the culture and/or language of their biological parents.

Since Barack Obama's father left the family when Barack was only two, he had little input into the raising of his son, except for family stories about him, occasional letters, and his sole visit when Barack was ten years old. This visit did not go well because Obama, Sr. was somewhat insensitive to the family dynamics and was very stern with his son, as if he wished to make up for years of neglect with strong doses of discipline. Barack had told his classmates that his father was an African prince, so he felt miserable that his deceit would be found out when his father was invited to his class by his teacher, who had been a Peace Corps volunteer in Kenya. Although suffering from illness, his father charmed the class with his charisma and intelligence, much to his son's relief (Remnick, 2010, pp. 73-74). Although Barack's actual contact with his father was limited, his emotional involvement with him was great as the title and content of his first memoir, *Dreams from My Father* (Obama, 2004) illustrate.

Barack's main cultural input was from his mother and grandparents, who raised him with strong Midwestern European American values. His grandmother, in particular, embodied the traditional value of hard work. She was the sober and steady wage earner of the family, who got up early every morning to catch the bus to her job at the bank. Over a period of many years, she was promoted from the starting position of bank teller to vice-president (Remnick, 2010, p. 71).

In Indonesia, confronted with a society with values different from her own, Barack's mother, Ann, would lecture her son on the American values she considered important: honesty, fairness, straight talk, and independent judgment (Obama, 2004, p. 49). Ann, like her mother, was a hard worker and forced her son to be one as well, especially in their years together in Indonesia. During his childhood years in Jakarta, Barack went to local schools, but his mother would wake him up very early every morning to work on the correspondence study of an American

curriculum. When he complained that he was too sleepy, she would reply sharply, “This is no picnic for me either, buster” (Obama, 2004, p. 48).

Along with her American values, Ann passed on to her children a broad international perspective by sharing her own interest in other cultures and giving them international experiences (Scott, 2011, p. 297). In an interview with Barack’s biographer, Remnick (2010), Maya, Barack’s half sister, said their mother focused on the beauty of Indonesian culture even in the midst of deep poverty, and wanted her children to share her appreciation of other cultures (p. 70). She wanted them to be able “to negotiate the distances between worlds and cultures and remain whole” (Remnick, 2010, p. 90) as she did.

Barack’s years in Indonesia and his membership in his stepfather’s family gave the young boy another strong cultural influence, Javanese culture. He learned the culture and language from relatives and at school. One of Ann’s friends in Jakarta theorized that the adult Obama’s polite reserve, calmness, and willingness to listen to others were a result of his adaptation to Javanese culture as a boy (Scott, 2011, p. 107). The neighborhood where Barack lived was a very diverse one with “middle-class and working-class Indonesians, Muslim and Catholic, of all shades of skin, representatives of the different islands and ethnicities of the vast island nation (Maraniss, 2012, p. 223). His experiences there “deepened the characteristics of adaptability and cultural awareness that would thread through the rest of his life” (p. 223).

As a ten-year-old, Barack was sent back to Hawaii to live with his grandparents while Ann stayed on in Indonesia with her husband and new baby daughter. The tolerance and diversity of Hawaii strengthened the values of cultural appreciation that the boy had learned from his mother. Barack received a scholarship to attend Punahou, a prestigious school that had been founded by New England missionaries in the 1840s to prepare their own descendants to enter the elite universities they themselves had attended. Throughout its long history, Punahou has been both a part of and separate from local Hawaiian culture. Its students have come from the families of the state’s economic and political elites as well as from those aspiring to improve their status; the school’s rigorous curriculum and high standards prepared students for good careers. Barack’s classmates were of various cultural backgrounds and social classes.

Barack received a rigorous education at Punahou, but he also picked up the casual and informal way of life of Hawaii. He surfed, hiked, played basketball, sang in the chorus, and wrote poems (Remnick, 2010, p. 77). Later, one of his Occidental College roommates, also from the islands, said that it was quickly “apparent that he had the easygoing attitude of a Hawaiian local” (Maraniss, 2012, p. 335).

Perceived identity

Like many American children of black and white parents, Barack Obama has been perceived primarily as African American. However, the perception of his identity has changed with the

context. In one story from his early childhood, Barack's grandfather used to tell tourists that his grandson playing in the waves was of noble Hawaiian descent (Maraniss, 2012, p. 268).

Because of the American emphasis on racialization (Dhingra, 2007, p. 17), perceived ethnic or racial identity is based on physical markers. In some settings, for example at school, children of black and white couples are not allowed to cross racial groups, but are forced into one or the other. Three sisters, who like Barack were the children of a black African father and a white American mother, had been brought up as children in Africa before moving to the United States as teenagers. They experienced a big difference in people's reactions to them in Nigeria and in the U.S. One said that in the U.S., she was perceived as black and had to learn what that meant. Although she had never felt that way in Nigeria, in the United States she began to wish that she looked more like a white person. Another sister said that she didn't want to have to belong to black America or white America; she only wanted to be allowed to be herself. For a while, before accepting her biracial identity, she tried to train herself to be a black American by buying black magazines and using a black communication style (Kaeser and Gillespie, 1997, pp. 95-100).

Barack, too, felt that he had to adopt his perceived identity as an African American although he did not have the support of an African American parent or community. He had been shocked on his first day at Punahou when one child asked to touch his hair and another asked if his Kenyan father was a cannibal (Obama, 2004, p. 60). He was living with his white grandparents, "but appearing black and being treated as black by society at large, he learned by necessity how to navigate in different worlds and mastered the distinct vocabularies required to connect and thrive in each of them" (Maraniss, 2012, p. 302).

Created identity

The term "African American" has traditionally referred to someone whose ancestors were slaves in the South. Whether living in the South or in the urban North or West, African Americans in general have had a shared cultural background with its own values and beliefs, behavioral and communication patterns (Debose and Winters, 2003). Barack was living in one of the most multicultural states although the population of Hawaii was comprised mostly of Asian Americans, European Americans, and Pacific Islanders with less than 1% African Americans (Scott, 2011, p. 74). Without African American relatives or community, how could Barack create an identity that would match his perceived identity?

As related in his memoir (Obama, 2004), Barack approached the task in an intentional and systematic way by learning African American behavior patterns, seeking out some of the few African Americans in Hawaii, and immersing himself in the literature of African Americans. First, like many European American teenagers who imitate their African American entertainment idols, he noted and imitated the behavior of African American basketball players on TV. He adopted basketball as his sport and tried to excel in it. "Basketball was a city game,

a sport that could serve as his way into blackness, his introduction to an African American culture that he hardly knew” (Maraniss, 2012, p. 283).

Barack also sought out African American acquaintances and friends. In Hawaii, most African Americans were either from military families or students at the University of Hawaii. Barack would sometimes play basketball with black soldiers and would listen carefully to their conversations and watch their moves. He would try to imitate their actions to both improve his own game and to look more natural as an African American (Remnick, 2010, p. 91). In a sense, probably unconsciously, he was imitating his mother’s anthropological fieldwork methods of observation and participation.

In addition, Barack found an advisor in one of his grandfather’s friends. This older African American man ran a bar in Waikiki, but he had been a poet and social activist in his younger years on the Mainland. He told the young Barack about some of the bitter experiences he had gone through. He also told Barack that his grandfather would never understand the complexities of life that Barack would face as a black man in America (Obama, 2004, p. 90).

As this older man explained to Barack, the differing set of experiences among parents and children is a recurring theme in the literature on multiracial families. Many European American parents of multiracial children are deeply distressed when their children experience racial discrimination, often in the form of teasing or bullying by their peers. On the other hand, minority parents have often had such experiences themselves, so they are better able to prepare their children for such occurrences. One example of such a distressing incident is discussed in a guide for parents. The Asian-looking child of a European American and Japanese couple was teased about the shape of his eyes. He was very upset and told his mother what had happened. Although his mother tried to comfort him, she was startled when he drew his own self-portrait and then scratched out his eyes with heavy black lines (Nakazawa, 2003, pp. 1-2).

In contrast, Barack’s mother with her attraction toward people of groups different than her own, felt that both of her children were very lucky to have a multiracial heritage, so she reacted to incidents of discrimination with much more equanimity. In *A Singular Woman*, the biography of Barack’s mother, one of Ann’s friend describes how when they were walking down a street in Jakarta, Indonesian children hiding in alleys would pelt Barack with stones and call him names. The children may well have thought that he was a member of the Ambonese, an Indonesian group that was sometimes the target of racial discrimination. Ann’s friend observed this with dismay and asked Ann if she were concerned. Ann replied without any evident signs of distress, “Oh, he’s used to it.” (Scott, 2011, p. 107).

Obama does not mention having to dodge stones because of his skin color as a small boy in Jakarta. However, he does describe a different incident that made him aware that he might suffer from racial prejudice in the future. While waiting for his mother to finish her work at the American Embassy, he looked through magazines in the American Center. One had an article

about a black man who tried to dye his skin white and suffered painful chemical scarring in the attempt. This story frightened the young boy, but he felt that he should keep it a secret from his mother (Obama, 2004, p. 30). In this, he was like other children from multiracial families who sometimes have found it difficult to share distressing incidents with their families.

Part of the reason that Barack felt protective toward his mother was that Ann had such a positive feeling about her son being an African American and wanted him to embrace this identity. According to Ann, “to be black was to be the beneficiary of a great inheritance, a special destiny, glorious burdens,” (Obama, 2004, p. 51) that only black people had the strength to bear. Therefore, she supplied her son with books and recordings, so that he could learn about what she considered the significant elements of his heritage, for example, the philosophy and activism of the Civil Rights Movement (Remnick, 2010, p. 90).

Barack continued this study on his own as a high school and college student. During his Punahou years, he would retreat to his room in his grandparents’ small apartment to study African American writers of both fiction and non-fiction, such as James Baldwin and Malcolm X. Often these authors had struggled with issues of identity, too, but in harsher environments, with bitter results (Maraniss, 2012, p. 316). Barack was particularly affected by accounts of the Civil Rights Movement; imagining its scenes increased his “longing for a firm identification with the African-American community and history and for a sense of purpose in his life” (Remnick, 2010, p. 13). However, these earnest attempts to become black could sometimes be mocked by Mainland African American friends with greater claims to authenticity, “I don’t need no books to tell me how to be black” (Obama, 2004, p. 87). Barack did have important friendships with two older African American Punahou students with whom he would meet weekly in what “they jokingly called Ethnic Corner. They talked about classes, philosophy, race” (Remnick, 2010, p. 80). They discussed “what it meant to ‘act white’ or ‘act black’” (p. 80).

This intentional creation of identity and the skeptical reaction to it by some African Americans continued in Barack’s first two years at Occidental College in California. One of the African American students at Occidental “categorized the blacks at Oxy into three groups: working-class African Americans with a black cultural bent, middle-class African Americans with a black cultural bent, and middle-class blacks with a multicultural bent” (Maraniss, 2012, p. 375). The student put Barack in the last group, and said that because of his easy mobility among groups, some of the African American students didn’t like Barack. These students called him an Oreo, a derogatory term meaning someone who was black outside but white inside.

Disregarding these criticisms and instead, displaying the tolerance of Hawaii and the openness he had learned from his mother, Barack made friends from many groups, including international students from Africa and Pakistan. He became friendly with the few African students at Occidental College, helping them with their studies and discussing African politics with them. “The Africans called Obama their brother” (Maraniss, 2012, p. 360). His Pakistani

friends thought that it was easy for Barack to be friends with them because they didn't have the American preoccupation with race and could, like Barack, get on easily with students of various backgrounds (Remnick, 2010, p. 101).

Barack transferred to Columbia University in his third year of college, but he didn't establish the same kind of social network there that he had had at Occidental. Instead, his time at Columbia was generally a solitary period except for close relationships with a few girlfriends. In addition to taking classes, he devoted his time to intense reading, thinking and writing. He lived an austere life and during this period of soul-searching, thought deeply about his identity, the international aspects of his background, and his future (Remnick, 2012, p. 114).

During his years in New York, Barack fell in love with a young European American woman from a well-established family. He visited her family's beautiful home in the countryside with its collection of old books and portraits of her prestigious ancestors, but there made an important realization. Since he was the one with a background rich in different cultural influences, he would have to be the "chameleon" in the relationship and adapt to her family's culture, thus losing important elements of his own identity. Finally, he decided that this kind of relationship would not work in the long term and regretfully ended the relationship (Obama, 2004, pp. 210-211).

Later, he had another close relationship with a young woman who shared his cross-cultural background and what she thought of as "the psychological condition of liminality-caught in between, dislocated" (Maraniss, 2012, p. 481). She felt that she and Barack shared the feeling of being perpetual outsiders.

Barack met his Kenyan half-sister, Auma, when she visited him in New York. Though it was the first meeting of the two siblings, they felt an instant connection. Auma told Barack many stories about his father and their extended family. The members of this family included well-educated professionals like Auma and poor farmers living deep in the countryside (Obama, 2004, pp. 207-222). When Barack traveled to Kenya in his twenties, Auma was his primary guide and cultural informant helping him understand and navigate the intricacies of family relationships and Kenyan culture. His Kenyan family accepted him as one of their own, and his step-grandmother, the family matriarch, told him that it was important for him to learn about "his own people" (Obama, 2004, p. 377).

Before this trip, Barack had worked as a community organizer in the South Side of Chicago, a poor African American community. The South Side had the largest population of urban blacks in the United States, and formed "the beating heart of black America" (Maraniss, 2012, p. 514). It was here in Chicago that Barack first became part of an African American community as he talked with community leaders, pastors, and young people. The group of middle-aged women who worked with him on community issues adopted him as their honorary nephew, acted as cultural informants, and watched out for his health and safety (Maraniss, 2012, p. 522).

Feeling that he would need more education to work on the difficult social problems he found in Chicago, Barack applied to Harvard Law School and was accepted. At Harvard, one of Barack's most important professors was Charles Ogletree, who acted as a mentor to many of the African American students. Ogletree was impressed by this young man, especially by the way in which he had developed his own black identity, partly by reading deeply in African American literature, law and history (Remnick, 2010, p. 191). Minow, another professor, was interested in Barack's "capacity to discuss the most explosive political or racial issue with an uncanny balance of commitment and dispassion" (p. 191). Minow also realized that Obama was able to change his tone and language in a way that made different kinds of people feel comfortable with him (p. 196). This ability helped him deal with the fierce legal disputes and the racial polarization when he worked for and later was elected the first black president of the prestigious *Harvard Law Review* (p. 200).

During his years at Harvard Law School, Barack returned to Chicago and worked as an intern at Sidley Austin, a big law firm, where he was mentored by a young African American woman, Michelle Robinson. Michelle's family had moved to Chicago from the South during the Great Migration, a period in which many African Americans headed North where they hoped to find better economic opportunities and less discrimination. Michelle's upbringing was very different from Barack's, since she had grown up with extremely close ties to her nuclear and extended family and deep roots in the African American community. Barack and Michelle fell in love, got married, and settled in Chicago. This marriage anchored Barack in the African American community and satisfied his longing for a "sense of place" (Obama, 2006, pp. 331-332).

Conclusion

Barack Obama's struggles to create a cultural identity have been shared by many young people growing up in multiracial families. In the United States, this growing demographic group is formed by multiracial marriages of many combinations and by adoptions of children of different racial backgrounds from those of their adoptive parents. With the long history of racialization in the United States (Root, 1992, 1996), differences in appearance between parents and children can lead to curiosity, questioning, and overt discrimination. Each child faces different circumstances, depending on support from the nuclear family, reactions from the extended family, attitudes of peers and teachers at school, and the diversity and openness of the local community.

As multiracial children grow up, perceptions of the group they belong to may differ; their received cultural patterns of behavior and values may vary; and the identities they create may also change depending on their will and the context. The interviews and writings of multiracial children and young people (Gaskins, 1999; Kaeser & Gillespie, 1997) illustrate the many variations in the process of forming an identity. Some young people decide to adopt the identity

given to them by society; others insist that they are multiracial and do not belong in any of the usual racial categories; others refuse to accept any category and insist on their individuality; and others develop an ability to move in and out of many groups (Healey, 2012, pp. 204-205).

Barack Obama's process of creating a cultural identity was particularly complex because of the many factors affecting the formation of his identity. For most of his adolescence, he did not have the support of either parent, since his father had left the family and his mother spent most of her time in Indonesia doing research for her graduate degrees or working in the field of development. His contact with his extended family was limited to his grandparents who loved him, but who could not completely understand him and often left him alone to follow his own pursuits. For the most part, his peers and teachers at Punahou accepted him as one of their own. The state of Hawaii had many multicultural and multiracial families although very few African Americans.

Perceptions of Barack have changed throughout his life. In his childhood he could be taken for a native Hawaiian, a member of an Indonesian group, or a "golden child" of Hawaii. In his college years, African students called him "brother," students from Hawaii considered him one of their own, and other students wondered if he was the adopted child of a white family. The publishers of his memoir had assumed that he was a young man from the inner city of Chicago who had risen against the odds to be a distinguished student of Harvard Law School.

In his second book (2006), Obama discusses values, in particular the traditional American values he learned from his grandparents and mother. He also mentions the importance of empathy, another value his mother emphasized. His childhood years in a Javanese family and schools in Indonesia taught him politeness, reserve, and a willingness to listen. In Hawaii he learned the local virtues of tolerance and openness to other cultures. Another part of his received culture were the writings of inspirational African American leaders and his mother's stories of his studious and hard-working father.

Considering this variety of perceived and received identities, why did Barack Obama choose to become an African American although he did not have either an African American parent or community? Although multiracial students in recent years may feel free to choose from different options such as one racial identity, a multiracial identity, an individual identity, or a protean identity (Healey, 2012, pp. 204-205), at the time that Barack was growing up, he felt that he would have to accept the identity he would most likely be ascribed in the United States because of his physical appearance. He was also inspired by African American history, literature and activism.

To create his identity as an African American, Barack as an adolescent embarked on a complex process of adopting black behavior and thought. He imitated models from TV and searched for role models in Hawaii. He took up basketball, the sport in which African Americans excelled and to which they brought a characteristic style. He studied the works of

African American writers. He discussed what it meant to be black with his few African American peers at Punahou.

Even though Barack has self-identified as an African American, he also displays many of the qualities of a protean identity (Healey, 2012, pp. 204–205). In Hawaii he socialized with other Punahou students who came from a variety of backgrounds. At Occidental College, he moved easily across groups and was particularly friendly with the international students. At Harvard Law School where students were polarized along racial and political lines, he was able to talk to members of the diverse groups and help them understand each other. According to Maraniss (2012), “his ability to connect across racial and cultural lines …was authentically rooted in his life and being” (p. 342).

The complexity of Barack’s inner identities has led to this ability to understand and interact with people of many different backgrounds. While he was concentrating on developing an African American identity as described and emphasized in his memoir, he was also, perhaps unconsciously, weaving the varied “strands of himself into a coherent whole” (Remnick, 2010, p. 234).

Obama offers inspiration for the growing demographic of multiracial young Americans as someone who has gone through their difficulties and become a prestigious symbol of the new American. His story, however, has an even greater significance. Some scholars of the new demographic of multiracial people theorize that individuals who have successfully fused many identities on the micro level may be able to contribute to creating new social norms on the macro level (Root, 2003, p. 18). As the lives of multiracial individuals touch many other American lives in a ripple effect, the old stereotypes may be upended, and Americans will be able to more completely realize the promise of a multiracial and multicultural nation.

References

- DeBose, H. (2003). Introduction. In L. Winters & H. DeBose (Eds.), *New faces in a changing America: Multiracial identity in the 21st century* (pp. xi–xxi). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- DeBose, H. & Winters, L. (2003). The dilemma of biracial people of African American descent. In L. Winters & H. DeBose (Eds.), *New faces in a changing America: Multiracial identity in the 21st century* (pp. 127–157). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Dhingra, P. (2007). *Managing multicultural lives: Asian American professionals and the challenge of multiple identities*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Fujiwara, B. (2011). The creation of a religious identity by Muslim American women. *Journal of Contemporary Social Studies*, 7, 14–25.
- Gaskins, P. (1999). *What are you: Voices of mixed-race young people*. New York, NY: Henry Holt and Co.
- Healey, J. (2012). *Diversity and society: Race, ethnicity, and gender 3*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Kaesler, G. & Gillespie, P. (1997). *Of many colors: Portraits of multiracial families*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Maraniss, D. (2012). *Barack Obama: The story*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
- Nakazawa, D. (2003). *Does anybody else look like me? A parent’s guide to raising multiracial children*. Cambridge,

MA: Da Capo Lifelong Books.

Obama, B. (2004). *Dreams from my father*. New York, NY: Three Rivers Press.

Obama, B. (2006). *The audacity of hope*. New York, NY: Crown Publishers.

Remnick, D. (2010). *The bridge: The life and rise of Barack Obama*. New York, NY: Alfred Knopf.

Root, M. (Ed.). (1992). *Racially mixed people in America*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Root, M. (Ed.). (1996). *The multiracial experience: Racial borders as the new frontier*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Root, M. (2003). Five mixed-race identities: From relic to revolution. In L. Winters & H. DeBose (Eds.), *New faces in a changing America: Multiracial identity in the 21st century* (pp. 3-20). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Scott, J. (2011). *A singular woman: The untold story of Barack Obama's mother*. New York, NY: Riverhead Books.

Winters, L. & DeBose, H. (Eds.). (2003). *New faces in a changing America: Multiracial identity in the 21st century*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.