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Lisa Edwards

Marquette University, lisa.edwards@marquette.edu

Jennifer Teramoto Pedrotti

California Polytechnic State University - San Luis Obispo

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A Content and Methodological Review of Articles Concerning Multiracial Issues in Six Major Counseling Journals

Lisa M. Edwards

*Department of Counseling and Educational Psychology,
Marquette University
Milwaukee, WI*

Jennifer Teramoto Pedrotti

*Department of Psychology and Child Development, California
Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo
San Luis Obispo, CA*

This study describes a comprehensive content and methodological review of articles about multiracial issues in 6 journals related to counseling up to the year 2006. The authors summarize findings about the 18 articles that emerged from this review of the Journal of Counseling Psychology, Journal of Counseling & Development, The Counseling Psychologist, Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, and Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development. The authors specifically note trends in content and methodology as well as future directions for research.

Multiracial individuals are a growing population within the United States (Gillem & Thompson, 2004). Since the repeal of

antimiscegenation (interracial marriage or cohabitation) laws and the addition of new opportunities for individuals to identify as more than one race on the U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001), increasing identity choices exist for multiracial individuals. The growth in visibility of this population suggests that counselors will see increasing numbers of multiracial clients (Constantine & Gainor, 2004). Although dealing with society's reactions to being racially mixed may not be the main reason that a client seeks counseling, it is still important for clinicians to be knowledgeable of the salient issues that might affect these clients' daily lives as a result of their dual heritage (Edwards & Pedrotti, 2004b; Nishimura, 2004; Pedrotti, Edwards, & Lopez, 2008). Counseling psychologists will need to be informed about current advances in theory, research, and practice relating to multiracial populations in order to provide care that acknowledges the unique experiences of these individuals (Gillem & Thompson, 2004; Hall, 2004; Root, 2004). Still, authors have noted the lack of research and conceptual literature about multiracial issues, specifically in the area of counseling (Gillem & Thompson, 2004; Wehrly, 2003). In an effort to determine the amount and type of information that has been published about multiracial individuals in counseling journals, we conducted a content and methodological review of six primary counseling journals. The purpose of this article is to describe the findings from this review and to discuss implications and future directions for practice-related research with this population.

Definitional Challenges

The descriptors used for individuals of mixed cultural background have changed over the years and are heavily influenced by historical and sociopolitical climates. The federal decision to allow individuals to identify with more than one race on the 2000 U.S. Census was and remains a cause of controversy for some scholars (Spencer, 2006). At the root of much concern have been arguments that multiracial identification and the advocacy of multiracial identity further perpetuate the false notion of race. Smedley and Smedley (2005) noted that most social scientists agree that race is a social construction and that, as such, the classification systems that we use to designate individuals into racial groups are problematic because they do not reflect biologically determined differences. Thus, inclusion

of a multiracial identification option in the U.S. Census and the study of multiracial identity in various disciplines might further an already essentialist view of race (Dalmage, 2004).

We recognize that these are challenging issues and that counseling psychologists must work to understand and validate the experience of those who choose to identify as multiracial, without perpetuating notions of biological race. Indeed, scholars in the field of multiculturalism must grapple with these issues when conducting research among any cultural groups labeled by race. We encourage interested readers to consult the work of Spencer (1999, 2006) and Dalmage (2004) to further understand the complex sociopolitical aspects of multiraciality.

In this article, we have elected to review selected research about multiraciality that has already been published. We also note that work has been done in this area, and because of a growing multiracial movement, there are many individuals who will elect to self-define as multiracial. We have decided to primarily utilize the term *multiracial* to describe individuals "whose parents are of different socially designated racial groups" (Root, 1996, p. ix), noting that this label encompasses *biracial* individuals who specifically have parents of two different racial groups. In instances where we describe theories, models, or studies about biracial or multiracial individuals, we have chosen to utilize the same terms as those used by the original authors, as has been done in previous reviews (e.g., Steward, Giordano, Goldsworthy, Stallworth, & Stevens, 1998).

We note that in the past, some scholars have stated that the term *multiethnic* may be more appropriate for individuals of mixed Latino parentage (e.g., Latino/White) because the U.S. Census denotes "Hispanic" as an ethnicity, and individuals who identify as Hispanic or Latino can be of any race (Rodriguez, 2000; U.S. Census Bureau, 2001). In this article, we have chosen not to use the term *multiethnic* because such a term would also include, for example, someone who is of Japanese and Chinese descent, and such breadth of experiences is beyond the scope and purpose of the present article. We have thus used the term *multiracial* throughout our article and include individuals whose heritages include Latino/White but not other *multiethnic* individuals.

Trends in Research About Multiracial Individuals

The current field has seen growth in research about multiracial individuals and the acknowledgement of their unique identity and psychological issues (Edwards & Pedrotti, 2004a; Gillem & Thompson, 2004; Miville, 2005; Shih & Sanchez, 2005). This research has contributed valuable information to the field, including knowledge about the positive and negative antecedents of possessing multiple racial identities (Shih & Sanchez, 2005) and issues that specific multiracial groups, such as women, may face (Edwards & Pedrotti, 2004b; Gillem & Thompson, 2004). In addition, Miville (2005) provided a broad and comprehensive look at trends in research found across the field with regard to multiraciality. Despite these important additions to the field, there is still only a small amount of information about how to work with multiracial individuals in a therapeutic or counseling context (Gillem & Thompson, 2004; Wehrly, 2003). As Wehrly (2003) stated, "Counseling literature has been slow to address the needs and strengths of the burgeoning mixed-race population" (p. 316). In a content analysis of articles focused on biracial topics, involving four major counseling journals (***Journal of Counseling Psychology***, *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *The Counseling Psychologist*, and *Journal of Counseling & Development*) during a 10-year period (1987–1996), Steward et al. (1998) found only three relevant articles (one qualitative, one case study, and one conceptual/theoretical). Steward et al. hypothesized that the small number of articles might be a result of a lack of commitment by researchers to developing models of multiracial identity or the assumption that issues relevant for individuals of mixed race are the same for those who are monoracial, and thus counseling issues would be the same.

The methodology used in the Steward et al. (1998) study (e.g., keywords utilized for searches, inclusion criteria) was not clearly articulated, thus it is difficult to know if this review was comprehensive. In addition, the study reviewed articles up until 1996, and it is unknown how the number of multiracial contributions to the field may have changed over the last 10 years, particularly in light of the new options for multiracial classification on the U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001). Additional research is needed to further our

understanding of the amount and content of multiracial research being published in counseling journals. Journal publication is particularly important as articles have generally undergone peer review and are the primary outlet for original research ([Kazdin, 2003](#)). Others have noted that content analyses are important methods to assess trends and issues in the field of counseling psychology ([Graham, 1992](#); [Liu et al., 2004](#)). In order to further explore these questions and extend the review by [Steward et al. \(1998\)](#), we conducted a new and comprehensive content and methodological review of multiracial topics within six major counseling journals, from the beginning of PsycINFO (<http://0-psycnet.apa.org.libus.csd.mu.edu/>), which includes articles from as far back as 1806 up to 2006: ***Journal of Counseling Psychology*** (JCP), *Journal of Counseling & Development* (JCD), *The Counseling Psychologist* (TCP), *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice* (PPRP), *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* (CDEMP), and *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development* (JMCD). In this review, we describe the quantity and nature of counseling publications whose primary focus was on multiracial individuals.

Method

Research Team

We composed the primary research team for this project. Lisa M. Edwards identifies as Latina/White, and Jennifer Teramoto Pedrotti identifies as Japanese American/White, and both have doctorates in counseling psychology, with a particular interest in multiracial issues. A total of four female undergraduate research assistants joined the team at various times during the article review stage. Two of these students (one European American and one Chicana) joined the team at the beginning of the article review stage, and the other two (one Persian/White and one European American) replaced them toward the end of this process. Each article was reviewed and rated by four individuals: the two of us and one pair of undergraduate student research assistants.

Data Analyses

The first step in this content and methodological review was to determine which counseling journals would be included. We looked to several previous reviews (e.g., [Liu et al., 2004](#); [Phillips, Ingram, Smith, & Mindes, 2003](#)) as useful examples and also consulted with colleagues within the field of counseling psychology to determine this list. This led to a decision to review articles within six journals that include counseling and multiculturalism among topic areas and have a large counseling readership. The final list of journals included JCP, JCD, TCP, PPRP, CDEMP, and JMCD.

Once the six primary counseling journals were selected, we developed a list of keywords that was related to multiracial issues based upon our knowledge of the field and the work of prominent researchers (i.e., [Gillem & Thompson, 2004](#); [Root, 1990, 1996, 1999](#)): biracial, multiracial, mixed heritage, interracial offspring, multiethnic, biethnic, mixed race, bi-racial, multi-racial, bi-ethnic, and multi-ethnic. Once the final list of 11 keywords was determined, we divided the list of keywords and conducted separate electronic searches for each journal up to the year 2006 on the PsycINFO database. A total of 37 articles were found in these six journals.

After identifying the 37 articles that emerged in this search, we then developed the following criteria to determine whether the articles found were relevant to multiracial issues within psychology: (a) Biracial or multiracial individuals must be the central focus of the topic (in other words, not just included in the Participants section as a sample characteristic or describing a community with groups of two different races), and (b) the article must address some aspect of psychological functioning. Using these two criteria, we each reviewed the abstracts of the 37 articles to determine whether they fit the guidelines, and 16 articles were removed. We then obtained copies of the 21 remaining articles and independently read each article to verify that they met the above criteria. During this process, we noted that 3 of the articles from JCD were personal narratives as part of a special issue on counseling psychologists' and counselor educators' experiences with race. Thus, these 3 were deleted from the list, leaving a final count of 18 articles. [Table 1](#) shows this list by article author, year, journal, design, population, and primary content area.

These 18 articles were then reviewed by both us and the research assistants for content and methodology. We developed a review sheet that included questions about the type of article (e.g., theoretical or empirical, as well as qualitative or quantitative) and the specific sample characteristics (e.g., biracial Black/White, biracial Asian/White). In addition, a list of content topics was established after reviewing biracial/multiracial literature (e.g., [Root, 1990, 1999](#)) and similar content and methodological reviews in counseling journals (e.g., [Phillips et al., 2003](#)). The final list comprised 34 possible content areas related to multiracial issues (e.g., racial identity/identity development, career-related issues, racism/discrimination), and it was decided that all reviewers would identify the primary content area for each article, as well as any other relevant topic areas.

In order to improve rigor, four individuals (the two of us and one pair of undergraduate student assistants) were involved in reviewing each of the articles for type of research, sample demographics, emphasis placed on multiracial issues, and primary content area. We trained each of the research assistants on the rating method and utilized 2 of the 18 articles as models for the review process. The student assistants read the first of these 2 articles, rated them independently, and then each discussed their thought processes regarding their chosen ratings with one of us. After receiving feedback regarding these decision-making processes, the second article was rated independently and discussed again. After each of us (Lisa M. Edwards and Jennifer Teramoto Pedrotti) was satisfied that the students understood their task and the meanings of the various rating categories, both of us and the student raters then independently read and rated the remaining 16 articles. All reviewers agreed on the type of research, sample demographics, and emphasis placed on multiracial issues. In order to assess interrater reliability for the designation of the primary content area for the 16 articles, kappa coefficients were calculated utilizing a program by [Watkins \(1998\)](#). A kappa value of .73 was obtained, which is considered a "substantial" level of agreement among the four raters ([Landis & Koch, 1977, p. 165](#)).

Results

Findings of this content and methodological review suggested, in general, that there are very few articles being published in counseling journals about multiracial issues. As can be seen in [Table 1](#), only four of the six primary counseling journals had published articles about multiracial issues, with two articles in JCP, four in JMCD, three in JCD, and nine in CDEMP. No articles on multiracial issues were published in TCP or PPRP.

Five of these 18 articles were quantitative, 2 were case studies, 5 were qualitative, 4 were theoretical/conceptual, and 2 were mixed method. The primary topic area was racial identity/racial identity development (11 articles), followed by psychiatric issues (3 articles), psychological adjustment (2 articles), and counseling techniques, models, and processes (2 articles). Six of the articles addressed all groups of mixed race, and the remaining 12 focused on a particular combination of race (e.g., Black/White or Japanese/White). More specifically, 3 articles addressed individuals of Black/White descent, 7 addressed individuals of Asian/White or Asian/Non-Asian descent, 1 addressed both Asian/White and Black/White, and 1 addressed a case study of a Mexican/White client. Eight of the articles were published from 1988 to 1998, and the remaining 10 were published from 2000 to 2006. It should be noted that all but 3 of these 10 articles from 2000 to 2006 were published in CDEMP.

As might be expected, all four of the theoretical/conceptual articles were published at the beginning of the 1998–2006 interval, with more empirical articles being published later. This likely reflects a natural progression from beginning to theorize about this population to testing out these theories with more empirical work about multiracial individuals. Several of these original theoretical articles addressed racial identity and identity development and served as useful models for further research about identity and counseling techniques in this area. The two mixed-method studies were published in the last 2 years of this 1998–2006 interval. The simultaneous use of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies to elucidate multiracial processes and phenomena had not been used previously, and it is likely that this reflects a more recent attention to the benefits of mixed methodology ([Hanson, Creswell, Plano Clark, Petska, & Creswell, 2005](#)).

Of the 11 articles describing aspects of racial identity and identity development, 2 were conceptual/theoretical, 5 were qualitative, 1 was quantitative, 2 employed mixed methods, and 1 was a case study. Five addressed all multiracial groups, and 2 addressed Japanese/White individuals, 2 addressed Black/White individuals, 1 addressed Black/White and Asian/White individuals, and 1 addressed Japanese/non-Asian individuals.

Early articles by Poston (1990) and Herring (1995) discussed issues faced by biracial youths and adults of all backgrounds in the United States. Poston proposed a five-stage model of biracial identity development, and Herring used this model as a framework that could be applied to biracial youths in a therapeutic context.

The five qualitative studies about racial identity included individuals of various age groups and racial/ethnic backgrounds. Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson, and Harris (1993) investigated the racial identity and influences on racial identity development in nine Black/White children and adolescents, and Collins (2000) conducted a study of biracial identity themes in 15 adults with one Japanese parent and one non-Asian parent. The articles by Root (1998); Miville, Constantine, Baysden, and So-Lloyd (2005); and Jourdan (2006) all described qualitative studies of the racial identity development experiences of adults from a variety of racial/ethnic backgrounds. Generally, these qualitative investigations emphasized the challenges and positive aspects of biracial identity, flexible and situational identities, and the influence of family and physical appearance on identity development.

The only quantitative study that focused on racial identity development (Suzuki-Crumly & Hyers, 2004) investigated ethnic identity, well-being, and intergroup competence among 66 Black/White and Asian/White adults, with findings suggesting that well-being and intergroup anxiety varied as functions of identity. Two studies that used mixed methodology to investigate racial identity, physical appearance, and sense of belonging and exclusion (Ahnallen, Suyemoto, & Carter, 2006; Suyemoto, 2004) were conducted with Japanese/European Americans. Finally, the case-study article (Gillem, Cohn, & Throne, 2001) highlighted two Black/White biracial adults and the influences on their racial identity development.

Three of the articles in this review addressed psychiatric issues (Danko et al., 1997; Williams et al., 2002, 2005), and all were quantitative. Danko et al. (1997) explored psychiatric symptoms among multiracial and monoracial adolescents, finding no differences in symptomatology. Williams and colleagues (2002, 2005) investigated two models to determine the influence of cultural factors on the development of depressive symptoms and anxiety symptoms among Japanese American and part-Japanese American adolescents.

Two articles primarily addressed psychological adjustment and were written by the same coauthors: Bemak and Chung (1997, 1998). In both of these articles, issues related to psychological adjustment among Vietnamese Amerasians (individuals who have Vietnamese mothers and fathers who were part of the U.S. military service personnel during the Vietnam War) were discussed; one article was theoretical, and the other was empirical.

Finally, two articles were identified that primarily addressed counseling techniques, models, and process. Brandell's (1988) theoretical/conceptual article described therapeutic efforts, specifically using Kohut's (1971) psychoanalytic self-psychological model, to assist a biracial Black/White child dealing with issues of loneliness and abandonment. Rittenhouse (2000) described a case study of treatment of a biracial adult client with a history of domestic violence and familial rejection of her biracial heritage.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to conduct a content and methodological review of articles about multiracial issues in six primary counseling journals. Results revealed that only 18 articles had been published on this topic within these counseling journals up to the year 2006. Thus, there is still a fairly limited amount of information on the topic of multiraciality in the counseling literature as compared to other topics, and particularly within journals whose audience will likely be counseling psychologists. In fact, some of the journals included in our original search may not even be read by most counseling psychologists (e.g., *CDEMP*), as they are distributed by distinct divisions within the American Psychological Association and may be seen as dealing with "special populations" or topics. Considering the

growing population of multiracial individuals who are likely to seek counseling (Constantine & Gainor, 2004), this dearth of published research in counseling journals is concerning.

There are several possible reasons for the lack of articles about multiracial issues in counseling journals. It may be that this is an artifact of the relatively recent visibility of this population, particularly with the repeal of antimiscegenation laws and the increased options of identity on the census (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001), which all led to the *biracial baby boom* (Root, 1999, p. 67). It is also possible that the definitional and political challenges of multiracial identification (Dalmage, 2004; Spencer, 1999, 2006) inhibit researchers from pursuing this topic, and thus some may elect not to study this population as a unique group, or they may have trouble categorizing participants of this background.

The lack of attention to mixed-race individuals within counseling journals may also stem from assumptions that issues and models of identity development that are relevant for individuals who are monoracial are equally relevant for individuals of mixed race (Steward et al., 1998). Current research about multiracial identity development and experiences has shown that this does not appear to be the case (Gillem & Thompson, 2004; Henriksen & Trusty, 2004; Rockquemore & Brunσμα, 2004; Root, 1990, 1992), though it is possible that the misassumption still exists and detracts from the amount of research being conducted or submitted for publication about multiracial identity and functioning.

In addition, it may be that more articles have been submitted for publication to these journals but have not been published due to a lack of receptivity to the topic. As much of the multiracial research has primarily been described in theoretical/conceptual articles or is based on qualitative methods, it may not fit the scope of these journals, particularly those that focus more on quantitative methodology. The recent attention to qualitative methodologies and the call for more qualitative research about multicultural issues (Haverkamp, Morrow, & Ponterotto, 2005; Morrow, Rakhsha, & Castañeda, 2001) may contribute to more research being published in this area in the near future. It is clear that in the last 5 years, there has been a large

increase in information being disseminated about multiracial individuals, so perhaps this trend will continue.

Trends in Content

The content of these articles about multiracial issues demonstrated a predominant focus on racial identity issues, followed by a lesser focus on psychiatric issues, psychological adjustment, and counseling techniques/models. The 11 articles published on racial identity included research of varying methodologies and with different age groups and racial/ethnic groups and helped to elucidate the unique nature of the multiracial experience, as well as the significant influences on development. Although further research on these topics could provide additional support for these findings, it appears that this area has received the majority of attention, and therefore other areas might be focused on in future research. Specifically, more research is needed about psychiatric issues and psychological adjustment. Only 5 articles about these topics were found in this review, and 4 of these involved Asian American/White participants. More research about adjustment and psychiatric issues within a variety of multiracial populations is needed.

Most importantly, as it relates to the focus of this review, only two articles directly addressed counseling techniques, models, and processes ([Brandell, 1988](#); [Rittenhouse, 2000](#)); one of these was a case study and one was theoretical/conceptual. Though this type of information would be invaluable to counseling psychologists who work with multiracial clients, little has been written on the subject in these primary journals. As such, a call continues to be made for more articles about practice techniques with these clients ([Wehrly, 2003](#)). Looking at treatment effectiveness for multiracial individuals with regard to specific types of interventions for various issues would be beneficial, as would empirical studies of drop-out rates within therapy settings, akin to past studies that looked at ethnic minority drop-out rates from therapy.

Even though only two articles specifically addressed counseling techniques and models, many of the reviewed articles provided suggestions for counseling. For example, [Jourdan \(2006\)](#) and [Williams and colleagues \(2002, 2005\)](#) emphasized the importance of family in

helping clients overcome ethnic identity struggles and encouraged counselors to address relationships with families. In addition, Jourdan suggested that counselors help clients discuss concerns about ethnic identity and develop pride in their ethnic group and recommended the use of genograms in therapy, as well as connection to multiethnic organizations.

Several authors also made mention of the importance of understanding that multiracial individuals may identify in multifaceted and nonstatic ways, depending on environment, comfort level, and amount of social support. Ahnallen et al. (2006) noted that therapists should acknowledge the multiple ways in which multiracial clients self-identify and the sense of belonging and exclusion they may feel in different contexts and with different social reference groups. Additionally, Suyemoto (2004) recommended that clinicians be aware that the characteristic shared by many multiracial clients of claiming multiple identities is not a sign of pathology or confusion. Exploring the social and individual meanings of these multiple identities may be important in therapy to help clients who have identity-related conflicts. Williams and colleagues (2002, 2005) also noted that clinicians must be aware of the fact that biracial adolescents may derive their ethnic identification from a variety of sources and that these may in turn affect their psychological adjustment (e.g., depression and/or anxiety).

Poston (1990) and Collins (2000) offered models of biracial identity development and described the clinical utility of each. Poston noted that professionals can help clients understand societally based attitudes about identity and ways they may have internalized these beliefs. In addition, clinicians can create a safe atmosphere, provide referrals to multiracial groups and psychoeducation about the multiracial experience, and emphasize the positive aspects of adopting a biracial identity. Collins stated that his biracial model provides a framework from which clinicians can better understand and acknowledge clients' positive multiethnic heritage and can help them to connect to multiethnic peers and role models. Miville et al. (2005) offered a suggestion for clinicians to explore aspects of positive functioning that emerge from a multiracial background, such as cognitive flexibility. Herring (1995) also utilized a positive framework and provided several suggestions for clinicians working with biracial

youths, including developing positive relationships, allowing biracial youths to share their feelings about their identity, and encouraging feelings of esteem about their background.

Some authors noted the effects of racism, discrimination, and prejudice on the experience and development of multiracial individuals and asked that clinicians be aware and attuned to these unique circumstances. Miville et al. (2005) encouraged clinicians to recognize and discuss incidents of racism encountered, as well as social supports they have for coping with these experiences. Herring (1995) recommended that professionals work to eliminate stereotypes about biracial clients and understand internalized socially biased attitudes that children may have. Poston (1990) encouraged clinicians to be aware of their own attitudes toward biracial individuals and to be careful to not use offensive language toward clients. Bemak and Chung (1997) noted that particular circumstances of countertransference may occur in working with individuals with one parent from Vietnam and the other from the United States (due to feelings about the country of Vietnam as a result of the Vietnam War) and cautioned clinicians to be aware of their own biases regarding this population. Finally, Rittenhouse (2000) suggested using eye movement desensitization and reprocessing because it is an "essentially bias free" (p. 406) mode of treatment.

Trends in Specific Journals

The findings from this review revealed that 13 of the 18 articles were found in journals whose primary focus is multiculturalism. CDEMP had the largest number of articles (9) on this topic, and JMCD was the second largest, with 4 articles. Thus, one might conclude that the topic of multiraciality is beginning to have more of a presence in certain journals whose focus is on diversity issues. JCP and JCD had 2 and 3 articles, respectively, and TCP and PPRP each had no articles on this topic. In comparison with past content analyses (e.g., Steward et al., 1998), JCP and JMCD improved slightly in their numbers, although TCP did not. CDEMP, JCD, and PPRP were not reviewed in the analysis conducted by Steward et al. (1998). Thus, it is appropriate for more counseling-focused journals to consider publishing on these topics so

that counseling psychologists will be able to more readily access articles about multiracial issues.

Trends in Study Methodologies and Populations of Study

As noted previously, the methodologies of the various articles surveyed in this analysis tended to move from qualitative and theoretical methods in the older articles to more quantitative and mixed methods in recent articles. More research is needed about multiraciality utilizing all methodologies, particularly empirical studies (Kerwin et al., 1993; Miville, 2005; Shih & Sanchez, 2005). More qualitative and quantitative research studies would be helpful in elucidating the specific mental health and developmental needs of multiracial populations, as well as in increasing our understanding of unique multiracial identity development processes and issues. Longitudinal studies would be particularly helpful to explore identity development over time and to identify environmental factors that influence identity formation.

Trends were noted in terms of the groups studied as well. In the 1998 article by Steward et al., all articles identified in their content analysis addressed children or adolescents. In the current analysis, however, 11 of the 18 articles identified dealt with adults, and all articles past the year 2000 dealt with either adolescents or adults. Thus, the trend appears to be moving toward age groups outside of childhood. As there are likely unique issues faced by individuals from different developmental periods, it will be important for researchers to continue to extend literature in this area (Kerwin et al., 1993; Poston, 1990). For example, describing the unique issues faced by older multiracial individuals could shed light on experiences faced by those who grew up in a context in which multiraciality was not as common.

Secondly, it should be noted that although six of the articles analyzed here discussed issues related to all groups of multiracial descent (e.g., multiple combinations), the most common specific multiracial populations discussed were Asian/White or non-Asian ($n = 7$) and Black/White ($n = 3$). The field would benefit from future research that addresses the diversity within the multiracial population

of the United States and includes other racial/ethnic combinations. In addition, our review found that few articles addressed individuals whose backgrounds do not include a White component (e.g., Mexican/Japanese), although these individuals are defined as multiracial as well. It may be that individuals whose heritages are made up of two or more nonmajority racial backgrounds may have specific experiences that need to be further explored. Finally, few articles addressed individuals whose backgrounds are made up of more than two races, although this background is likely to become increasingly common. Again, further research should address the complexities that exist within these groups.

Limitations

It is important to note limitations of the current study. It is possible that certain citations were overlooked in the search as a result of the specific keywords that were chosen at the outset or journals that were included in the search. For example, we did not include all journals of the American Counseling Association but instead focused on the two American Counseling Association publications that seemed to be most likely to have articles about these topics and that have a broad readership. In addition, although this search was intended to identify published work about multiracial individuals in counseling journals, rather than chapters or books, it is clear that relevant information about counseling with this population may exist in these other outlets (e.g., edited books by Maria Root). Practitioners may find these topics better addressed in these venues, and future studies might review the content and methodology of this work to establish an even broader assessment of what is published in this area. Still, it has been noted elsewhere that "journals depict the current zeitgeist, mirror the scholarly interests of our academic leadership, and disseminate the products of what funding agencies deem worthy of support" (Graham, 1992, p. 629), and others have argued that journals are a "major source of professional information" within the field (Buhrke, Ben-Ezra, Hurley, & Ruprecht, 1992, p. 91). Thus, more articles in these journal outlets would be beneficial to the field of counseling psychology.

As the United States becomes increasingly diverse and the multiracial population continues to grow, it is important for counselors to be aware of the unique, salient issues that may be brought into the therapy room by these clients. At the present time, information disseminated via counseling journals is scant, as shown by the results of this content analysis. Because counseling journals are primary ways in which counselors and counseling psychologists are informed of new theory, research, and practice with multiracial individuals, efforts should be made to publish more articles in these outlets and give increased attention to these important issues.

Footnotes

¹ We thank one of our anonymous reviewers for providing suggestions regarding these issues.

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Appendix

Table 1: Articles About Biracial/Multiracial Issues in Six Primary Counseling Journals (N = 18)

Study	Journal	Design	Population	Primary content areas
Brandell, 1988	JMCD	Theoretical/conceptual	Black/White only	Counseling techniques, models, & process
Poston, 1990	JCD	Theoretical/conceptual	All groups	Racial identity & identity development
Kerwin et al., 1993	JCP	Qualitative	Black/White only	Racial identity & identity development
Herring, 1995	JMCD	Theoretical/conceptual	All groups	Racial identity & identity development
Bemak & Chung, 1997	JMCD	Theoretical/conceptual	Vietnamese Amerasians	Psychological adjustment
Danko et al., 1997	CDEMP*	Quantitative	All groups	Psychiatric issues
Bemak & Chung, 1998	JCD	Quantitative	Vietnamese Amerasians	Psychological adjustment
Root, 1998	CDEMP*	Qualitative	All groups	Racial identity & identity development
Collins, 2000	CDEMP	Qualitative	Japanese/non-Asian	Racial identity & identity development
Rittenhouse, 2000	CDEMP	Case study	Anglo/Mexican client	Counseling techniques, models, & process
Gillem et al., 2001	CDEMP	Case study	Black/White only	Racial identity & identity development
Williams et al., 2002	CDEMP	Quantitative	Japanese/non-Japanese	Psychiatric issues
Suzuki-Crumly & Hyers, 2004	CDEMP	Quantitative	Black/White & Asian/White	Racial identity & identity development
Suyemoto, 2004	JMCD	Mixed method	Japanese/European American	Racial identity & identity development
Miville et al., 2005	JCP	Qualitative	All groups	Racial identity & identity development
Williams et al., 2005	CDEMP	Quantitative	Japanese/non-Japanese	Psychiatric issues
Ahnafien et al., 2006	CDEMP	Mixed method	Japanese/European American	Racial identity & identity development
Jourdan, 2006	JCD	Qualitative	All groups	Racial identity & identity development

Note. JMCD = *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*; JCD = *Journal of Counseling & Development*; JCP = *Journal of Counseling Psychology*; CDEMP = *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*.

* Previously published as *Cultural Diversity and Mental Health*.

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