critical mixed race studies association presents

PROCEEDINGS

6th Biannual CMRS conference

Ancestral Futurisms: Embodying Multiracialities Past, Present, and Future.

may 2023

Editors

Kelly Faye Jackson

Rudy Guevarra Jr.

Alexandrina Agloro

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introduction

The **6th biennial Critical Mixed Race Studies Conference** was held virtually February 24-26th 2022. The conference was well attended with over 400 participants representing the US and countries from around the globe. Attendees represented scholars, artists, community activists, clinicians, and students whose work analyzes and critiques social, cultural, and political institutions based on dominant conceptions of race. The keynote speaker was Educator, Vocalist and 'RAPtivist' (rap activist) Aisha Fukushima.

The Critical Mixed Race Studies Association (CMRSA) emphasizes the fluidity of racial identity and other intersecting identities to critique processes of racialization and social stratification. CMRSA works to undo local and global systemic injustice rooted in systems of racism and white supremacy through scholarship, teaching, advocacy, the arts, activism, and other forms of social justice work.

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Art by Favianna Rodriguez

Conference Theme: Ancestral Futurisms: Embodying Multiracialities Past, Present, and Future.

The issue of time has long been debated in mixed-race studies. Racist histories of anti-intermixture, anti-miscegenation, and the illegality—and at times, the selective acceptance—of interracial marriage and unions are not simply components of our collective past but continue to motivate cultural producers, theorists, and community organizers to imagine more just futures. For those of us who think, teach, and organize around multiraciality, the issue of time remains an important one to consider.

CMRS Conference Proceedings Publication:

In approaching the first CMRS Conference Proceedings publication, emphasis was placed on providing opportunities for emerging scholars in the field of critical mixed race studies, therefore this publication showcases manuscripts on topics related to critical multiraciality with a preference for manuscripts authored by multiracial and transracially-adopted graduate student persons. In addition, the Conference Proceedings publication features a section of articles written by past and present Paul R. Spickard Graduate Student Paper awardees.

Thank you

Special thanks to all of our sponsors who helped support our virtual conference, and this inaugural conference proceedings publication.

Conference Proceedings Publication Committee:

Dr. Kelly Faye Jackson
Dr. Rudy Guevarra Jr.
Dr. Alexandrina Agloro

Editing Services Provided by
Jordan Beltran Gonzales

Formatting services by
Farah Najar Arevalo

Design and layout
Kelly F. Jackson

dedication

This inaugural CMRS conference proceedings publication is dedicated to renowned critical mixed race scholar, Dr. G. Reginald Daniel, Professor of Sociology at University of California, Santa Barbara. A beloved friend, colleague, mentor, and educator, Reg Daniel was a pioneer in the field of critical mixed race studies and a dedicated champion for those who engaged in this work. His inspirational scholarship will continue to live on and influence future generations of scholars and activists in the field of critical mixed race studies.

"OG" CMRS scholars Dr. Paul Spickard, **Dr. G. Reginald Daniel** (second from left), Dr. Maria P. P. Root, and Cynthia Nakashima at the 2017 Critical Mixed Race Studies Conference held at USC.

critical mixed race studies

Rewriting the Mixed Self: Narrative Resistance against the White Monoracial Imagination

Roberta Wolfson

In many public conversations, mixed race people are already and always politicized, represented as figures of shame ("mixing just isn't natural"), exoticism ("mixed people are so beautiful"), tragedy ("that poor child will never belong"), or post-racial utopia ("soon we'll all be beige so race won't matter anymore"). These discourses indirectly center the white monoracial experience, committing violence against mixed folks by erasing, overlooking, or appropriating key aspects of our experiences. In the following brief remarks, I seek to explore the tension between such popular discourses about multiraciality and narrative testimonials by mixed race authors. I discuss the personal narratives of three multiracial authors whose testimonies I interpret not only as important works of political commentary that disrupt these harmful popular discourses, but also as radical expressions of self-love. I have chosen these authors because they are all women of mixed European and non-European ancestry who powerfully problematize the centering of whiteness in popular discourses about multiraciality. They also all have had a profound impact on my own development as a literary studies scholar, racially ambiguous multiethnic woman, and writing instructor who teaches a course on the rhetoric of mixed race identity. I offer the following musings not only to theorize the link between narrative representation and social conceptions of multiraciality, but also to pay homage to these groundbreaking authors, whose works have given me critical frameworks to shape my research and pedagogy, as well as my own multiracial identity.

The first text I would like to consider is Sui Sin Far's (1995) autobiographical essay "Leaves from the Mental Portfolio of an Eurasian" from her 1912 collection of short stories, *Mrs. Spring Fragrance*. This essay introduces a common theme that all three texts under consideration explore: that mixed people of both European and non-European ancestry do not necessarily view their whiteness as superior to their non-whiteness. Although Far, who was born to a Chinese mother and an English father, appeared phenotypically European and could easily have passed as white, she actively chose to embrace her Chinese identity, a decision she describes in her essay as the inevitable consequence of

discovering early on in life that "I was something different and apart from other children" (218). This realization occurs after Far suffers a disruptive encounter while attending a classmate's birthday party at six years old:

> I am a merry romping child. There are quite a number of grown people present. One, a white-haired old man, has his attention called to me by the hostess. He adjusts his eyeglasses and surveys me critically. "Ah, indeed!" he exclaims. "Who would have thought it at first glance. Yet now I see the difference between her and other children. What a peculiar coloring! Her mother's eyes and hair and her father's features, I presume. Very interesting little creature!"
>
> I was called from my play for the purpose of inspection. I do not return to it. For the rest of the evening I hide myself behind a hall door and refuse to show myself until it is time to go home. (218)

In this scene, the old man claims that he can suddenly "see the difference" between Far and the other children. However, given that Far's appearance has not changed in the brief time that it took for him to learn of her Chinese heritage, we can presume that this claim is delusional, that the old man is simply imagining that he can discern the bodily features that supposedly mark Far as Chinese. He must employ these mental acrobatics because it is critical for him to preserve his own whiteness, to maintain the fantasy that there is something biologically distinct that separates Europeans from Asians. After this disturbing inspection, Far transforms from a "merry romping child" to a child who hides for the rest of the party, diminished by this old man's cruel fiction that she is biologically different and thus should be separated both ideologically and physically from the other children. Such socialization inevitably yields division, leading Far to be routinely attacked by her white peers in the ensuing years.

Yet as Far grows older, rather than continue to hide as she did during this party, she chooses a different response to bullying. She decides instead to learn everything she can about Chinese history and culture and pursue a career as a writer dedicated to representing the Chinese experience in North America. This journey leads her to acquire immense pride in her Chinese ancestry; as she puts it, "what troubles me is not that I am what I am, but that others are ignorant of my superiority" (222). She finds great fulfillment in being able to use her writings to advocate for the Chinese American community; at one point, she reports that her "heart leaps for joy" when a fellow Chinese American praises her work by declaring, "The Chinese in America owe an everlasting debt of gratitude to Sui Sin Far for the bold stand she has taken in their defense" (223). Far's life experiences are thus defined by a singular mission: to rewrite the false narratives emerging from the white monoracial imagination that view Eurasians as tragic

figures of shame and instead to reclaim Eurasian identity as a source of empowerment and pride.

Decentering whiteness continues to be a critical concern in Gloria Anzaldúa's (1987) opening chapter "The Homeland, Aztlán" from her book *Borderlands/La Frontera*. In this chapter, Anzaldúa theorizes her multiethnic *Téjana* identity as synonymous to living in what she calls a "borderland," or "a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary" (3). The boundary she is referring to here is the dividing line that separates the United States from Mexico. This border is unnatural because it artificially divides a land that was once occupied by a cohesive community, the Indigenous ancestors of many Mexicans today. To illustrate this point, Anzaldúa offers a critical history of this area not traditionally taught in US classrooms: that the "oldest evidence of humankind in the U.S. […] was found in Texas" (4) in 35,000 BCE, that these people eventually migrated to what is now Mexico and Central America in 1,000 BCE to become the Aztecs, that the Spaniards invaded Mexico in the sixteenth century and subjugated the Aztec people, creating what Anzaldúa calls a "new hybrid race" (5), or a *mestizo* population of mixed Spanish and Indigenous ancestry, and that the "Anglos migrated illegally into Texas" in the 1800s and "legitimized the white imperialist takeover" (6) by villainizing the native *Téjanos* as foreigners on their own land. In presenting this history, Anzaldúa characterizes European colonization as a shameful "illegal invasion" (6) and thus re-weaponizes settler colonial language to reject the white monoracial imagination's fantasy that multiracial people are symbols of a more evolved, post-racial, utopian society. Instead, she strategically reframes history to show how the multiethnic community living in the US-Mexico borderland has emerged out of colonial violence and indigenous erasure.

Another work of mixed race testimony that challenges the assumed superiority of whiteness is Mary Hope Whitehead Lee's (1981) poem "on not bein" from the anthology *This Bridge Called My Back*. This poem recounts the struggle of a biracial Black and white girl (presumably modeled after the author) to find acceptance within both herself and the Black community due to the social ostracism she experiences for being perceived as not dark-skinned enough. The opening lines declare her desire to disavow her light-skinned appearance:

> she never wanted
> no never once
> did she wanna
> be white/to pass
> dreamed only of being darker (1–5)

These lines subvert public discourses that view mixed race women with European heritage as fetishized objects of exotic beauty, discourses that are rooted in white supremacy because they either characterize a person of color as being aesthetically "whitened," or because they perceive a white person as being attractively hypersexualized through "darkening." In a blatant reversal of such discourses, the poem's protagonist identifies her whiteness as a source of pain not only because it marks her as undesirable and subjects her to bullying from her Black peers, but also because she views darker skin as aesthetically more favorable than lighter skin—a perspective that is powerfully captured by these lines from the poem:

> but she envied them all
> felt every once now and then
> they just mighta been
> righteously justified
> since/after all
> they was brown like
> the sun loved they skin special
> cuz it warmed 'em
>
> > chestnut
> > bronze
> > copper
> > sepia
> > cinnamon
> > cocoa
> > mahogany (42–56)

This rhapsody about the beauty of brown skin offers an alternative definition of mixed race aesthetics that troubles the fetishization of light skin and false conflation of ideal femininity with whiteness. The poem thus rejects how the white monoracial imagination deems mixed Black and white women desirably exotic only insofar as they are able to conform to Eurocentric standards of beauty, instead centering Blackness as the defining factor in the biracial protagonist's journey toward self-acceptance and self-love.

In my brief commentary, I have sought to consider how these three multiracial women authors rhetorically clap back against harmful popular discourses about mixed race identity. They do so by exposing how these discourses are rooted in the US racial caste system's enduring need to uphold heteropatriarchal, white supremacist, colonial logics by maintaining strict racial categories. Ultimately, I contend that these authors all engage personal narrative as a life-sustaining platform to reimagine the mixed self beyond the limitations of the white monoracial imagination.

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About the author

Roberta Wolfson is a Lecturer in the Program in Writing and Rhetoric at Stanford University, where she teaches courses on mixed race identity and antiracist rhetoric. Her work is published or forthcoming in MELUS, American Literature, African American Review, and College Literature. She is currently working on a book project that considers how writers of color use antiracist narrative to challenge the violence of the contemporary U.S. security state.
Email: roberta.wolfson@gmail.com

A Quantitative Analysis of College Access for Multiracial Students

Victoria A. Vezaldenos

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Abstract

This study analyzes differences in intent to attend college and college access between multiracial and monoracial students. It was found that monoracial, White students were admitted to significantly more institutions when compared to multiracial students. However, when controlling for cumulative GPA, income, gender, parent education, conversations with parents, and seeking college information, this racial trend was reversed. Conversations with parents and seeking outside sources of information are of particular significance in that students who engage in these behaviors are admitted to more colleges on average. Therefore, college access programs should focus their efforts on these areas for multiracial students.

It is estimated that by 2050 20% of Americans will be mixed-race (Talbot, 2008). Yet, there is a paucity of literature analyzing academic outcomes for mixed-race students. This rapidly growing population can no longer be overlooked. Literature must be published so that schools can better support this rapidly growing demographic. This quantitative study focuses on multiracial students' intentions to attend college and their eventual access to institutions of higher education. The variables of interest will be analyzed by comparing multiracial students with their monoracial counterparts. In this study "student intent to attend college" is conceptualized as the actions students take that infer desire to apply to institutions of higher education. These actions include talking to parents about going to college, seeking resources for college information, and taking college entrance exams. "Access to college" is defined as being admitted to institutions of higher education immediately following high school. This work serves to fill several gaps in the current body of college access and multiracial literature with the aim of advocating for additional resources to be allocated to multiracial students, as this population is often overlooked.

Background

Extensive qualitative and quantitative work has been conducted that support the fact that marginalized students of color experience additional

barriers to accessing higher education in the United States in comparison to their White peers. Unfortunately, this differential access to higher education is often justified with deficit ideologies that place fault on the underrepresented students themselves, in that they simply are not well-trained, did not work hard enough, or do not want to attend college (Annamma et al., 2017; Valencia, 1997). Consequently, scholars have made concerted efforts to research interventions that result in increased college access for students of color.

Bethea (2016) and Redford (2016) identified discussions with parents about college, seeking sources of college information, and taking college entrance exams like the SAT and ACT as factors that demonstrated intent to attend college as well as increased rates of college attendance for monoracial students of color. Therefore, these factors are utilized as measures of intent to attend college in this study. However, in this work, Bethea and Redford did not address the multiracial student population. The neglect of this population is unfortunately consistent throughout educational literature focusing on racial differences in achievement.

However, there are several studies that indicate multiracial persons are in many ways similar to the monoracial-minority groups to which they are a member. For example, literature has shown that multiracial students are often subject to practices of "hypodescent," meaning these students are collapsed into their corresponding monoracial-minority categories (Ho et al., 2011; Root, 2003). Additionally, it has been found that multiracial students have similar experiences with racism, prejudice, and discrimination as their monoracial-minority peers (Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Museus et al., 2016). This literature distinctly shows that multiracial students share similar experiences to monoracial students of color, however these researchers do not expand on these similarities in regards to college access for multiracial students.

Furthermore, the current body of literature devoted to studying multiracial youth is primarily qualitative in nature and largely focuses on identity development processes (see AhnAllen et al., 2006; Johnston et al., 2014; Renn, 2000, 2003; Root, 2003). Some of this work has analyzed multiracial students in the college context; focusing on experiences with prejudice and discrimination on college campuses and finding a community within their institution (Museus et al., 2016; Renn, 2000). However, these studies analyzed mixed-race students already attending college, and did not address neither multiracial student intent to attend college nor access to these institutions.

The quantitative literature devoted to analyzing multiracial students is rather sparce as well. Some work has been done looking at counselor perceptions of multiracial students using survey data but this work did not discuss implications on college access (Harris, 2002). Herman (2002) conducted a

statistical analysis of multiracial student success and defined success as high school self-reported grades and test scores. However, this work did not discuss implications for college access. Instead it centered on the achievement gap for students who were specifically part-Black or part-Latinx. Furthermore, Herman's work targeted specific mixed-race categories and therefore fails to account for larger group differences between the collective multiracial student population and collective groups of monoracial students. Thus, this study serves to explore the intersections of these literary gaps by examining multiracial students' college access in comparison to their monoracial peers by utilizing quantitative methods.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Following from the current body of knowledge, I pose that because marginalized students of color are underrepresented in U.S. colleges (Bethea, 2016), and mixed-race students have similar experiences to monoracial students of color (Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Museus et al., 2016; Root, 2003), it is worth exploring how multiracial students fare in college access in comparison to their monoracial peers. This quantitative work can contribute to this predominantly qualitative field by potentially illuminating factors that suppress and/or increase college access for mixed-race students, and thereby supplementing the literature surrounding multiracial students in college contexts. I will explore these topics with the following guiding research questions: How does multiracial student college access differ from their monoracial peers? How do multiracial student intentions to attend college differ from their monoracial peers? How do admission rates differ for multiracial students in comparison to their monoracial peers? This study conceptualizes college access as stemming from first, students showing the intention to apply which involves seeking resources and taking an entrance exam, and subsequently summarized by admissions statistics. This conceptualization has been supported in previous research on college access (Bethea, 2016).

I hypothesize that multiracial students take actions and make decisions that indicate they have the same intention to attend college as their monoracial counterparts. These actions and decisions include seeking information about college admissions, taking entrance exams, and talking to parents about attending. I expect multiracial students to engage in these actions that display intent at the same frequency as monoracial students. Furthermore, I posit that when multiracial students choose to attend and subsequently apply, they have less access to institutions of higher education compared to their monoracial peers as they are admitted to less colleges on average. I also hypothesize that when data is disaggregated to examine differences of specific monoracial groups to multiracial students, we will find that mixed-race students more similarly compare to monoracial Black and Hispanic students than other monoracial groups in regards to college access. Finally, I

anticipate a significant correlation between racial identity and number of colleges students are admitted to. I believe that significant variability of this model will be explained by how often students talked to their parents about going to college and if they sought resources for college entrance information. I also expect some of this variation to be explained by other control variables such as sex, GPA, income, and parent education level.

Data

This study utilized the Education Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS:2002) dataset (National Center for Education Statistics, 2007b). The data set tracks U.S. high schoolers who were sophomores in 2002 throughout six different timepoints collecting data in 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2012, and 2013. ELS:2002 contains survey data units from students, parents, school administrators, and select teachers. It is a public dataset made accessible for download by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) (NCES, 2007b). The dataset was sampled in two stages, selecting appropriate proportions of schools by their representativeness of the "target population". From this sample, eligible schools chose to opt in for data collection (NCES, 2007b). This data was sampled in such a way that it would closely reflect the U.S. population of high school students. Therefore, the results of this analysis can be used to infer trends within the population of U.S. high schoolers. Selected schools were asked to host a survey day in which the various questionnaires for students, administrators, parents, and teachers could be administered. This rich dataset contains 16,197 eligible cases (participants) for observation (NCES, 2007b).

For the purposes of this study, I will be focusing on students who submitted a viable response to the race section on the administered questionnaire, meaning I will be omitting the students in which data was missing for this section. This subset is utilized because all hypotheses in this study relate to race and it is imperative that only those that indicated a valid racial grouping be considered in analyses. Therefore, the number of cases in the scope of my analysis is 15,244 students. This selected data can serve to broadly address issues pertaining to race and education.

Measures

In order to explore the proposed research questions, I utilized several variables from the ELS:2002 dataset. The main independent variable of interest was the race of the student. In the ELS:2002 dataset this is indicated by the variable *byrace* which I recoded to collapse two categories comprising multiracial students (NCES, 2007a). The categories that were combined to accurately contain multiracial students are "Hispanic, race specified" and "More than one race, non-Hispanic." Categorizing Hispanic and Latino students as a race is consistent with other multiracial studies (Herman, 2002). Harper (2011) details the nuances in identity that are more accurately captured when

Hispanic/Latino is incorporated in mixed-race analyses, arguing that this appropriately captures the intersectionality of participants' identities. I used this framework in justifying this modification to the *byrace* variable. I further modified *byrace* to be create a new dichotomous variable *mxdrace* which displays counts of monoracial and multiracial students respectively. Both the adjusted *byrace* variable and *mxdrace* variables are utilized in this study.

The ELS:2002 variables I will utilize for my conceptualization of intent to attend college are how often students talked to their parents about going to college (*BYS86G*), if students sought out sources of college information (*F1S48N*), and whether or not the student took the SAT or ACT exam (*F2PSEEXM*). The *SATACT* variable was sensibly recoded to be dichotomous, simply indicating whether or not a student took a college entrance exam. For the purpose of this study it was not necessary to distinguish between students that took the SAT, ACT, or both. Previous research has shown that the number of schools the student was admitted to (*F2NACC1P*) is a valid indicator in representing college access, therefore it is utilized as such in this study (Bethea, 2016; NCES, 2007a). Additional control variables include sex (*bysex*), GPA (*F1RGPP2*), income (*byincome*), and highest level of parents' education (*bypared*). Any missing data was recoded so that it would not be considered in the statistical analyses.

Methods of Analysis

Several t-tests were conducted to determine whether or not significant differences existed between monoracial and multiracial students on the measures of intent to attend college and access to college. To test the hypothesis that multiracial and monoracial students share the same intent to go to college, t-tests were run to see if multiracial students (*mxdrace*) were taking college entrance exams (*SATACT*) and talking to their parents (*parconvo*) about college at the same rates as their monoracial peers. Furthermore, a z-test of proportions was conducted to determine if there was a difference in whether or not students were seeking outside sources of college admissions information (*collginfo*). Insignificant findings in these tests would support the hypothesis that there is no difference in intent to attend college between multiracial and monoracial students.

An additional t-test was conducted to assess the potential difference in number of college acceptances (*numaccpt*) between multiracial and monoracial students (*mxdrace*). Significant findings for this test would support the hypothesis that multiracial students are admitted to colleges at lesser rates than their monoracial peers. This analysis was taken a step further with an ANOVA test and Bonferroni tabulation in which monoracial groups were disaggregated (*byrace*) in order to test the hypothesis that mixed-race students most similarly compare to Black and Hispanic students in regards to college access. Significant test results and a Bonferroni tabulation that reveals similar

patterns in number of college acceptances (*numaccpt*) between Black, Hispanic, and multiracial students, would support this proposed hypothesis. Finally, a multiple linear regression analysis was conducted to reveal how race (*byrace*) influences number of college acceptances (*numaccpt*) when controlling for the variables of intent to attend college (*parconvo*, *collginfo*), in addition to gender (*female*), family income (*byincome*), GPA (*gpa*), and parent education (*bypared*). Prior to conducting the multiple linear regression model, missing data was dropped for all variables involved in the analysis.

Limitations

As mentioned previously, most studies analyzing multiracial persons are qualitative in nature. Although this study offers considerable strength in that it employs a far larger sample size than is typical, it lacks the richness of data that qualitative studies produce. Had this work incorporated a qualitative dimension, additional factors influencing student intent to attend college may have been revealed.

Furthermore, qualitative work on multiraciality has documented the vast diversity of experiences within the multiracial community. Mixed-race persons are not a monolith, their unique intersectional identities can result in varied outcomes across the lifespan (AhnAllen et al., 2006; Ho et al., 2011; Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Museus et al., 2016; Talbot, 2008). Because the data set does not disaggregate multiracial students by their unique combinations of races, we are unable to make claims regarding specific mixed-race groups and instead these findings are only generalizable to multiracial persons as a whole.

Additionally, the ELS:2002 dataset did not specify whether or not the outcome variable measuring number of college acceptances (*numaccpt*) included admission to community colleges (NCES, 2007b). This study assumes that the variable only accounts for admissions to four-year institutions as community colleges typically do not require formal applications nor do they release formal admission decisions. As a result, this study is limited in scope by only assessing direct access to four-year institutions. Future work should be done to account for other pathways to college for mixed-race students such as transferring from a community college or attending college after several gap years.

Findings

Tables 1 and 2 display the distributions of the variables used in this study prior to the multiple linear regression analysis. The distribution of the number of schools students were accepted to (*numaccept*) appears slightly skewed to the right (see Figure 1), however the sample size is large enough to combat this (n = 11,318). Furthermore, mixed-race students comprise approximately 13% of the sample. Although this is a seemingly small portion, it is comparable, or greater, in

size to the other monoracial minority groups (*byrace*). All other variables included in the analyses appear to have a normal distribution and meet the necessary assumptions in order to run these statistical tests.

Table 1.

Summary Statistics

VARIABLES	N	mean	sd	min	max
Numaccpt[a]	11,318	2.028	1.460	0.000	9.000

a. Summary statistics calculated prior to regression analysis

Table 2.

Frequency Distributions

byrace

Student's race/ethnicity-composite	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1. Amer. Indian/Alaska Native, non-Hisp	130	0.85	0.85
2. Asian, Hawaii/Pac. Islander,non-Hisp	1460	9.58	10.43
3. Black or African American, non-Hispa	2020	13.25	23.68
4. Hispanic, no race specified	996	6.53	30.22
5. Multiracial	1956	12.83	43.05
6. White, non-Hispanic	8682	56.95	100.00
Total	15244	100.00	

mxdrace

Mixed-race persons	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0. No	13288	87.17	87.17
1. Yes	1956	12.83	100.00
Total	15244	100.00	

SATACT

Student took the SAT and/or the ACT	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0. No	5648	34.87	34.87
1. Yes	10549	65.13	100.00
Total	16197	100.00	

parconvo

How often discussed going to college with parents	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1. Never	1377	11.09	11.09
2. Sometimes	5357	43.16	54.25
3. Often	5678	45.75	100.00
Total	12412	100.00	

collginfo

Student went to sources for college entrance information	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0. No	229	2.36	2.36
1. Yes	9473	97.64	100.00
Total	9702	100.00	

bypared

Parents' highest level of education	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1. Did not finish high school	944	6.16	6.16
2. Graduated from high school or GED	3053	19.93	26.09
3. Attended 2-year school, no degree	1666	10.87	36.96
4. Graduated from 2-year school	1597	10.42	47.39
5. Attended college, no 4-year degree	1758	11.47	58.86
6. Graduated from college	3468	22.64	81.50
7. Completed Master's degree or equivalent	1786	11.66	93.15
8. Completed PhD, MD, other advanced degree	1049	6.85	100.00
Total	15321	100.00	

byincome

Total family income from all sources 2001-composite	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1. None	80	0.49	0.49
2. $1,000 or less	178	1.10	1.59
3. $1,001-$5,000	305	1.88	3.48
4. $5,001-$10,000	351	2.17	5.64
5. $10,001-$15,000	699	4.32	9.96
6. $15,001-$20,000	782	4.83	14.79
7. $20,001-$25,000	1000	6.17	20.96
8. $25,001-$35,000	1894	11.69	32.65
9. $35,001-$50,000	3022	18.66	51.31
10. $50,001-$75,000	3316	20.47	71.78
11. $75,001-$100,000	2178	13.45	85.23
12. $100,001-$200,000	1810	11.17	96.41
13. $200,001 or more	582	3.59	100.00
Total	16197	100.00	

gpa

GPA for all courses taken in the 9th - 12th grades - categorical	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0. 0.00 - 1.00	297	2.01	2.01
1. 1.01 - 1.50	741	5.01	7.02
2. 1.51 - 2.00	1808	12.22	19.23
3. 2.01 - 2.50	2816	19.03	38.27
4. 2.51 - 3.00	3254	21.99	60.26
5. 3.01 - 3.50	3221	21.77	82.03
6. 3.51 - 4.00	2659	17.97	100.00
Total	14796	100.00	

female

Respondent is female	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0. No	7653	49.79	49.79
1. Yes	7717	50.21	100.00
Total	15370	100.00	

a. Prior to regression analysis

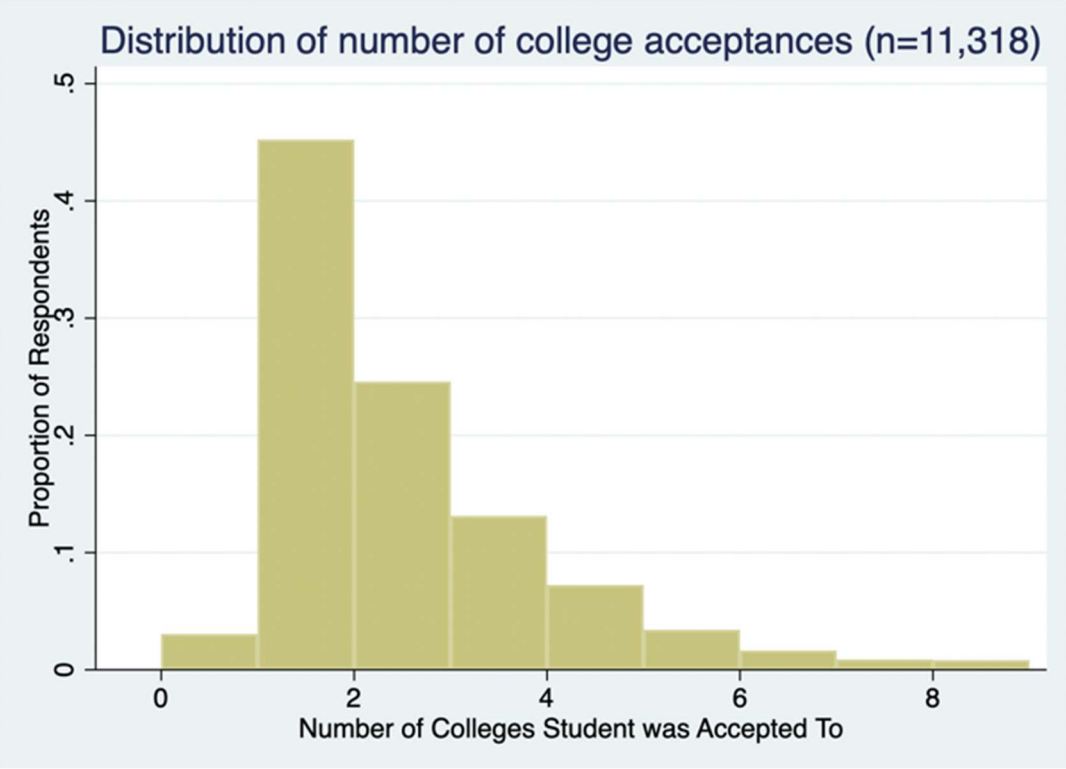

Figure 1. Distribution of Number of College Acceptances.

Measures of Intent

The first t-test revealed that significantly more monoracial students took college entrance exams compared to multiracial students ($p<.01$). Because these entrance exams are typically required by four-year institutions, these results show that monoracial students may have greater intent to apply to such schools as they are taking the necessary steps to prepare for admission (Bethea, 2016; Redford, 2016). This is contrary to the proposed hypothesis that multiracial and monoracial students do not differ in their intent to attend college.

However, there was no significant difference in how often multiracial and monoracial students talked to their parents about going to college. This is critical in that it displays that college planning within the home is equivalent across these racial lines. Therefore, the initial hypothesis is supported as students and their families appear to all share the same intent to attend college regardless of race (Bethea, 2016; Redford, 2016). Additionally, there appeared to be a very small, yet significant, difference in student behavior with a greater proportion of monoracial students seeking college information than multiracial students ($p<.10$ – one-sided). However, this weak dissimilarity is not strong enough statistically to negate the hypothesis that intent to attend college is the same for multiracial and monoracial students (Bethea, 2016; Redford, 2016). See results of the t-tests and z-test in Tables 3 and 4 respectively.

Table 3.

Two Sample T-tests

	n1[a]	n2[b]	Mean1	Mean2	dif	St Err	t-value	p-value
SATACT by mxdrace	13288	1956	.675	.548	.128	.011	11.15	0***
parconvo by mxdrace	10929	1483	2.345	2.353	-.007	.018	-.4	.707
numaccpt by mxdrace	9510	1258	2.046	1.909	.137	.044	3.15	.002***

a. Group 1: Monoracial Students
b. Group 2: Multiracial Students
*significant with p<.10
**significant with p<.05
***significant with p<.01

Table 4.

Z-test

	Seeking Sources of College Information	
Mixed-Race Status	Mean	Standard Errors
Not a Mixed-Race Student	0.977	0.002
Mixed-Race Student	0.969	0.005
Difference	0.007*[a]	

*Coefficients significant when p<0.10
**Coefficients significant when p<0.05
***Coefficients significant when p<0.01
a. Significant for the one-sided z-test of proportions

Student's Race/Ethnicity	M	SD
Amer. Indian/Alaska Native, non-Hisp	1.814	1.458
Asian, Hawaii/Pac. Islander,non-Hisp	2.304	1.676
Black or African American, non-Hispa	1.955	1.471
Hispanic, no race specified	1.785	1.415
Multiracial	1.909	1.344
White, non-Hispanic	2.04	1.421

Measures of Access

When examining college access, the t-test revealed that monoracial students were getting into significantly more colleges than multiracial students (p<.01). This disparity in access is further supported by the results of the ANOVA test which revealed a significant difference between college acceptance rates of multiracial students and their various monoracial peers (p<.01). The Bonferroni tabulation displayed that multiracial students were admitted to significantly less schools in comparison to both monoracial White and Asian students (p<.01). Furthermore, there was no significant difference between college admission rates of multiracial students and their monoracial Black, Native American, and Hispanic counterparts. This finding is consistent with the hypothesis in that multiracial students and their monoracial minoritized peers experience similar struggles in accessing higher education. Table 5 displays the results of the ANOVA test and Bonferroni tabulation.

Table 5.

One-Way ANOVA Results for Number of College Acceptances

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p-value
Between Groups		149.151	5	29.83	14.25	0
Within Groups		22533.22	10762	2.094		
Total		22682.371	1.767	2.107		

Bonferroni Tabulation of Mean Differences					
Row Mean - Col Mean	1	2	3	4	5
1. Amer. Indian/Alaska Native, non-Hisp					
2. Asian, Hawaii/Pac. Islander,non-Hisp	0.490*				
3. Black or African American, non-Hispa	0.141	-0.349***			
4. Hispanic, no race specified	-0.030	-0.519***	-0.170		
5. Multiracial	0.095	-0.395***	-0.046	0.125	
6. White, non-Hispanic	0.233	-0.257***	0.092	0.263***	0.138**

*Difference is significant when p<0.10
**Difference is significant when p<0.05
***Difference is significant when p<0.01

The revised frequency distributions and summary statistics for the variables utilized in the multiple linear regression are displayed in tables 6 and 7. The data appears to be normally distributed with no major outliers.

Table 6.

Summary Statistics

VARIABLES	N	mean	Sd	Min	Max
Numaccpt[a]	6,504	2.190	1.508	0.000	9.000

a. Summary statistics calculated after regression analysis

Table 7.

Frequency Distributions

byrace

Student's race/ethnicity-composite	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1. Amer. Indian/Alaska Native, non-Hisp	32	0.49	0.49
2. Asian, Hawaii/Pac. Islander,non-Hisp	675	10.38	10.87
3. Black or African American, non-Hispa	619	9.52	20.39
4. Hispanic, no race specified	291	4.47	24.86
5. Multiracial	676	10.39	35.26
6. White, non-Hispanic	4211	64.74	100.00
Total	6504	100.00	

mxdrace

Mixed-race persons	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0. No	5828	89.61	89.61
1. Yes	676	10.39	100.00
Total	6504	100.00	

SATACT

Student took the SAT and/or the ACT	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0. No	776	11.93	11.93
1. Yes	5728	88.07	100.00
Total	6504	100.00	

parconvo

How often discussed going to college with parents	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1. Never	439	6.75	6.75
2. Sometimes	2735	42.05	48.80
3. Often	3330	51.20	100.00
Total	6504	100.00	

collginfo

Student went to sources for college entrance information	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0. No	73	1.12	1.12
1. Yes	6431	98.88	100.00
Total	6504	100.00	

bypared

Parents' highest level of education	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1. Did not finish high school	219	3.37	3.37
2. Graduated from high school or GED	972	14.94	18.31
3. Attended 2-year school, no degree	644	9.90	28.21
4. Graduated from 2-year school	632	9.72	37.93
5. Attended college, no 4-year degree	745	11.45	49.38
6. Graduated from college	1761	27.08	76.46
7. Completed Master's degree or equivalent	969	14.90	91.36
8. Completed PhD, MD, other advanced degree	562	8.64	100.00
Total	6504	100.00	

byincome

Total family income from all sources 2001 – composite	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1. None	18	0.28	0.28
2. $1,000 or less	35	0.54	0.81
3. $1,001–$5,000	85	1.31	2.12
4. $5,001–$10,000	68	1.05	3.17
5. $10,001–$15,000	177	2.72	5.89
6. $15,001–$20,000	207	3.18	9.07
7. $20,001–$25,000	289	4.44	13.51
8. $25,001–$35,000	667	10.26	23.77
9. $35,001–$50,000	1164	17.90	41.67
10. $50,001–$75,000	1456	22.39	64.05
11. $75,001–$100,000	1064	16.36	80.41
12. $100,001–$200,000	972	14.94	95.36
13. $200,001 or more	302	4.64	100.00
Total	6504	100.00	

gpa

GPA for all courses taken in the ninth through twelfth grades – categorical	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0. 0.00 – 1.00	5	0.08	0.08
1. 1.01 – 1.50	54	0.83	0.91
2. 1.51 – 2.00	334	5.14	6.04
3. 2.01 – 2.50	929	14.28	20.33
4. 2.51 – 3.00	1506	23.15	43.48
5. 3.01 – 3.50	1878	28.87	72.36
6. 3.51 – 4.00	1798	27.64	100.00
Total	6504	100.00	

female

Respondent is female	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0. No	2887	44.39	44.39
1. Yes	3617	55.61	100.00
Total	6504	100.00	

a. After regression analysis

The multiple linear regression accounted for the effects of race, gender, parent education, GPA, family income, conversations with parents, and seeking sources of college information on the number of college acceptances a student received. These variables collectively explained approximately 15% of the variation in the number of college acceptances. Contrary to my initial hypothesis, when controlling for these factors, multiracial students were admitted to significantly more colleges on average than their monoracial, White peers ($p<.01$). However, it appears that frequent conversations with family and seeking college information were critical, with students who engaged in these behaviors being admitted to significantly more schools on average than those who did not ($p<.05$). This finding supports the initial hypothesis. In reference to the other control variables, GPA did not appear to significantly influence college acceptance rates, however students who were female or had parents with graduate degrees were accepted to significantly more colleges on average ($p<.05$). Additionally, families in lower income brackets were associated with admission to significantly less schools ($p < .10$). The results of the multiple linear regression are displayed in table 8.

Table 8.

Regression of Number of College Acceptances

VARIABLES	Coefficients[a]
Student's race/ethnicity	
1. Amer. Indian/Alaska Native, non-Hisp	0.126
	(0.249)
2. Asian, Hawaii/Pac. Islander,non-Hisp	0.305***
	(0.060)
3. Black or African American, non-Hispa	0.518***
	(0.064)
4. Hispanic, no race specified	0.116
	(0.088)
5. Multiracial	0.175***
	(0.059)

Respondent is female	
1. Yes	0.086**
	(0.036)
Parents' highest level of education	
2. Graduated from high school or GED	0.006
	(0.108)
3. Attended 2-year school, no degree	-0.040
	(0.114)
4. Graduated from 2-year school	-0.037
	(0.115)
5. Attended college, no 4-year degree	0.091
	(0.113)
6. Graduated from college	0.161
	(0.108)
7. Completed Master's degree or equivalent	0.343***
	(0.114)
8. Completed PhD, MD, other advanced degree	0.269**
	(0.120)
GPA for all courses taken in the ninth through twelfth grades – categorical	
1. 1.01 – 1.50	-0.603
	(0.655)
2. 1.51 – 2.00	-0.503
	(0.632)
3. 2.01 – 2.50	-0.357
	(0.629)
4. 2.51 – 3.00	-0.031
	(0.629)
5. 3.01 – 3.50	0.251
	(0.629)
6. 3.51 – 4.00	0.679
	(0.629)
Total family income from all sources 2001 – composite	
2. $1,000 or less	-0.778*
	(0.406)
3. $1,001–$5,000	-0.526
	(0.363)
4. $5,001–$10,000	-0.745**
	(0.371)

5. $10,001–$15,000	-0.610*
	(0.346)
6. $15,001–$20,000	-0.508
	(0.344)
7. $20,001–$25,000	-0.716**
	(0.340)
8. $25,001–$35,000	-0.528
	(0.335)
9. $35,001–$50,000	-0.635*
	(0.334)
10. $50,001–$75,000	-0.489
	(0.334)
11. $75,001–$100,000	-0.345
	(0.335)
12. $100,001–$200,000	0.018
	(0.336)
13. $200,001 or more	0.228
	(0.343)
How often discussed going to college with parents	
2. Sometimes	0.090
	(0.073)
3. Often	0.245***
	(0.072)
Student went to sources for college entrance information	
1. Yes	0.408**
	(0.166)
Constant	1.581**
	(0.730)
Observations (n)	6,504
R-squared	0.147

a. Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.1
** p<0.05
*** p<0.01

Discussion

Although considerable work has analyzed barriers to higher education for monoracial students of color, literature has not yet examined what barriers, if any, impact multiracial students (Bethea 2016). Furthermore, the literature analyzing multiracial student experiences is overwhelmingly qualitative in nature

(AhnAllen et al., 2006; Johnston et al., 2014). This study sought to address these literary gaps by examining how multiracial students fare in college admissions in comparison to their monoracial peers by employing quantitative methods. It was hypothesized that multiracial and monoracial students would exhibit behaviors that display intent to attend college at similar rates, yet multiracial students were predicted to be admitted to fewer institutions than monoracial students. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that multiracial student college admission statistics would most similarly compare to other monoracial-minoritized students.

The results of this study both support and challenge the proposed hypotheses. The statistical analysis revealed that multiracial and monoracial students did not significantly differ on two indicators of intent to attend college; talking to parents and seeking information. However, it was found that monoracial students took college entrance exams at higher rates than multiracial students.

Additionally, the findings indicate that, as predicted, multiracial students were being admitted to significantly less colleges than their monoracial peers. When disaggregating race to analyze the differences between multiracial students and specific monoracial groups, it was found that mixed-race students had similar admission rates to monoracial students that are underrepresented in higher education (Black, Native American, and Hispanic students). These findings were in line with the posed hypotheses; however, it was not anticipated that when controlling for factors displaying intent to attend college, these racial differences would disappear, or even reverse which the regression analysis displayed.

Implications and Future Directions

The results indicate that behaviors displaying student intent to attend college, such as seeking sources of college information and talking to parents about attending college, play a significant role in the number of college acceptances students will receive. So much so that when controlling for these variables, multiracial students are actually admitted to more schools on average in comparison to their White, monoracial peers. Although income, gender, and parent education also appear to play significant roles in college admission, it is critical to focus on factors that students and families themselves can immediately control. Therefore, students, families, and schools should strive to foster conversations about college within the home and encourage students to seek out sources of college information. These interventions may have the ability to level the playing field so that multiracial students can potentially be admitted to more colleges.

Additionally, these findings advocate against a deficit mindset often imposed on underrepresented students. Frequently, it is insinuated that students are admitted to less colleges simply because they do not want to attend or they

do not try hard enough to gain admission (Annamma et al., 2017; Valencia, 1997). However, these findings directly contradict this mentality in that multiracial students are engaging in practices both inside and outside of the home indicating their desire to attend college. Therefore, college access programs should target multiracial students in order to increase their prospects of attending college, especially for first-generation college students from low-income families.

It is also critical to note that this study did not examine alternative pathways to college. Future work should analyze multiracial students that enroll in community colleges or take other pathways to higher education. Additionally, only three indicators of student intent and one measure of student access were analyzed in this study. Furthermore, this analysis did not examine retention. Research should be conducted that examines additional markers of student intent, college access, and retention for multiracial students. Also, the data set utilized in this study did not indicate the exact racial composition of multiracial students. It is known that mixed-race students can have drastically different experiences based on their specific racial backgrounds (AhnAllen et al., 2006) therefore, future work should examine within-group differences in college access for multiracial students. Finally, qualitative research could supplement this work by examining what types of conversations with parents and what outside sources of information are most effective in increasing college access.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study sought to contribute to the limited body of literature analyzing multiracial student access to higher education. The results of this work show that although multiracial and monoracial students both engage in behaviors that display intent to attend college, multiracial students ultimately are admitted to fewer institutions. However, when controlling for these behaviors, this trend is reversed. This reveals the critical need to foster conversations about college within the home and to encourage multiracial students to seek outside sources of college information.

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About the author

Victoria Vezaldenos is a doctoral student at the University of Michigan's Combined Program for Education and Psychology. She graduated from UCLA with a Bachelor of Arts in Psychology and Minor in Education Studies. She is interested in researching how community, family, and peer environments influence identity development processes in multiracial adolescents and young adults. Email: toriavez@umich.edu

The Invisibility of Multiracial Populations in Brazilian Statistical Data: A Critical Analysis

Leonardo Rafael Leite da Rocha

Abstract
In Brazil, the mixed-race population is, since the colonial times, colloquially designated based on a series of popular expressions that denote the different racial compositions. Some of these expressions are: Mulatto (for mixed people of Black and White origin), Caboclo (Amerindian/White), and Cafuzo (Amerindian/Black). Brazilian census bureau collects data on ethnic/racial identity using the category "Pardo" as an umbrella term for all these multiracial categories. Pardo is a racial spectrum...a mixed person who can either be dark or light-skinned, showing biracial phenotypic characteristics that make it difficult to categorize them in a single racial category such as White or Black, opening up possibility for different interpretations of what a pardo person is. Since 2010, Brazilian legislation establishes that the Pardo population is a subgroup of the Black population. Thereby, subsequent data on racial stratifications in the country has been produced in a way that invisibilizes the Amerindian-mixed population (caboclos and cafuzos). This work presents a critical analysis of current data on race in Brazil, focusing in three states: Amazonas, Acre and Ceará, where Pardo population is mainly Amerindian-descendant.

Keywords: Race, Native American, Mestizo, Multiracial, Brazil

Brazil has a long history of colonial occupation, slavery, and miscegenation. Once inhabited by hundreds of original peoples, the eastern shores of South America witnessed the arrival of the Portuguese in 1500. This was the first meeting between two different worlds: the European and the Tupi (name of the predominant indigenous group throughout the Brazilian coast). The meeting between those two people was described by the Portuguese scrivener Pero Vaz de Caminha in the *Carta do Descobrimento* (Letter of the Discovery), the first written document of the Brazilian history. In such letter, the Tupi people was described as "brown, sort of reddish, with good faces and good noses, well-shaped. They walk naked, without any covering" (Caminha, 1500, p.9).

The "discovery" of that new land was also the starting point of a process that, in many ways, shaped Brazil as a nation: miscegenation. Firstly, miscegenation took place between Portuguese men and Native women – either forcibly or as a result of a Tupi cultural practice called *cunhadismo* (from the Tupi word *kunhã*, which means "woman"), where one or more women of one tribe would be offered as a "gift" to one or more men of other tribe, meaning an alliance between the two tribes who celebrated such an "agreement." The Portuguese was, therefore, likely seen by the Tupi as one more tribe to make an alliance with. Some years later, with the enslavement of African peoples that were forcibly brought to Brazil later in the process of colonization, a third racial group was added to the miscegenation process.

From then on, Brazilian nationalistic narratives have propagated the idea of a nation that emerged through the intermixing between "the three founding races": Amerindians, Whites, and Blacks. In many aspects, this narrative is the core of the Brazilian identity itself. "A mixed country" is how Brazil is conceived by its people, both through descriptions in the literature and also in how the country has been selling its image to the world for decades. Commonly, this narrative is wielded to deny racial problems in Brazil by arguing that once everyone in Brazil is mixed, there is seemingly no such thing as different racial groups or communities and, therefore, no racism. To note, this colorblind narrative is the main feature of the Racial Democracy ideology, which states that every Brazilian citizen is equal, there are no racial conflicts and the relations between White, Black, Mixed, Native and Asian people in Brazil are harmonic. Such ideology reigned almost absolutely over the general social thought on racial relations in Brazil until the beginning of the twenty-first century. Today, some sectors of the population still believe and support this ideology—even with strong counter evidential data showing the racial inequalities in Brazil, which shows the power of miscegenation on both the collective imagination and identities of Brazilians. (Guimarães, 2001, 2006; Sales Jr., 2006).

The miscegenation history helped to build one of the most racially diverse countries in the world. Reflecting this diversity—and attempting to measure it—the official Brazilian demographic census is carried out every 10 years, under the responsibility of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (or IBGE, in the Portuguese acronym) and, among other issues, it inquires how the interviewed people self-identify racially and/or ethnically. In this regard, since 1991 the demographic census offers the following racial categories:

(Tabela) 1. Racial categories used in the Brazilian censuses since 1991.

Original category name	Translation to English	Definition (IBGE, 2022)
Branco	White	Person self-declared White
Preto	Black	Person self-declared Black
Pardo	Brown	Person who self-identify as a mix between two or more of the other options of color/race.
Amarelo	Yellow	Person of East Asian origin: Japanese, Chinese, Korean etc.
Indígena	Indigenous	Person who belong to any of the original peoples of Brazil.

This paper focuses the analysis over the Pardo category, which, according to the IBGE definition, includes the Brazilians who consider themselves to be mixed/multiracial. In this regard, the Pardo category can be considered quite similar to other mixed-race categories through world censuses, like Métis (Canada), Coloured (South Africa), Mestizo (Peru, Ecuador, Honduras), Mixed-race (United Kingdom), and more.

Historically, the miscegenation in Brazil led to the creation of different categories of mixed people. One of the most popular of these was the Mulatto, which is a nomenclature historically used to refer to mixed people of combined Black and White origin (e.g., the children of a Black mom and a White dad). Other popular mixed-race categories are Caboclo (people of White and Native ancestry) and Cafuzo (Black and Native ancestry). Much of these nomenclatures are neither currently used in Brazilian daily life nor in the official census or documents derived from it. Nevertheless, these categories retain historical significance, and are a trace of the imaginative formation of miscegenation.

Nogueira (2007) suggest the concept of brand-based racism (*Racismo de marca*), as opposed to the origin-based racism (*Racismo de origem*). The last being common in places like the United States or South Africa, where the racial classification is based on the ancestry of the individuals, and therefore people were/are discriminated due to their ethnic origins. The brand-based racism, much more common in Brazil, is based not on the origins of people, but in the phenotype. That is: an individual will be classified and discriminated against

based on their physical appearance. If one looks white, they will gain privileges; if one looks Black or Native, they will suffer racism, regardless of ancestry. According to Nogueira (2007) perspective, for example, White people who ostensibly look white—or retain more "passing" privilege in racial terms—will not lose privileges if they have African ancestry—neither do. Black people gain any privilege if they have European ancestry.

Statistically, all the mixed categories are grouped under the Pardo category, which functions as an umbrella for these different groups. Even some census manuals, such as those of 1950, 1980, 1991, and 2000, explicitly mentioned the traditional mixed categories as part of the broader Pardo category. Despite the fact that the Pardo category refers to the mixed-race population, as attested to by the IBGE definitions, it has had its meaning distorted by the current racial narratives conveyed by academia and the media, as well as by Brazilian law. Since 2010, Pardos are officially considered a subgroup of the Black population, considering that the Statute of Racial Equality defines the "Black population" as "the sum of self-declared Pardos and Blacks." From then on, Pardos are generally considered "light-skinned blacks" in media, social research, and racial/political debates.

The very beginning of this perspective relies on the research of Hasenbalg (1979), who found that Blacks and Pardos shared the same levels of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, and other human development indexes. The author, with analytical purposes, grouped Blacks and Pardos together into a single category of analysis called "non-whites," considering the socio-economical similarities between the two groups. Some years after, activists of the Black Movement renamed the category from "non-whites" to "blacks," thus transforming the Pardo population into an intrinsic part of the Black population—at least in the discursive field. Basically, the Pardos ceased to be an independent and multiracial identity to become a subgroup of the Black population. Such a perspective erased the mixed identities that were the core of Brazilian identity, particularly those linked to Amerindian ancestry, like the Caboclos (biracial people of White and Native Brazilian ancestry).

To consider all the Pardos as a subgroup of the Black population implies that the Caboclos are Blacks. This is one of the many reasons why the approach of "Pardo as Black" is contested. One of the main political movements contesting this is the *Nação Mestiça* (Mestizo Nation). This movement emerged in the peripheries of Manaus, the capital of Brazil's Amazonas state, where more than 70% of its population self-identify with the option Pardo in the census form (Veran, 2010).

Amazonas state have a particular case. Despite the Brazilian law considering Pardos as Blacks, most of the Pardo majority in Amazonas are not

composed of Afro-Brazilians, but of Caboclos, people of Native origin. Officially, Amazonas' population is 73% "Black," with 70% Pardos and 3% Blacks-properly. However, to claim that Amazonas is 73% Black can be a distortion. Historical data collected by Guzman (2009) shows that Blacks were always a small minority in Amazonas, with large regions of the Amazon with little or no enslaved African populations. On the other hand, Native peoples were generally the majority.

Caboclo was also an official racial category in the two first Brazilian censuses: 1872 and 1890. It was a category that included those Native Brazilians who were at that time fully integrated in the Brazilian society, spoke Portuguese, were Catholics and lived in the cities and villages in a Westernized way of life and no longer practicing Indigenous traditions. Furthermore, the category also included the Indigenous-descent mixed people (Longhini, 2021). Caboclo is no longer an independent category, but it is included in the Pardo population (IBGE, 2020). In the 1872 census, 64% of the Amazonas population were self-declared Caboclo, a number roughly close to the current 70% Pardo (Oliveira, 1997). Such data allow us to conclude that the Amazonian Pardos are mostly people of Indigenous origin, which calls into question the narrative that Pardos are, necessarily, light-skinned Blacks.

Amazonas is not the only case that can be analyzed. Its neighbor, Acre, was once part of Bolivia, where the Indigenous ancestry is predominant (Pimenta, 2003, 2015). Furthermore, Acre was annexed by Brazil in 1903, 15 years after the abolishment of slavery in Brazil in 1888, and far away to the abolishment of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in 1850. So, Acre is a region of Brazil that is unconnected to the history of the slave trade from Africa to South America. Today, this state have a Pardo majority of 66% of the population. According to Longhini (2021), once Ancre is an Amazonian state, historically related to Bolivia (an Indigenous-majority country) and massively occupied by Native South American peoples, it is reasonable to think that most of these Acrean Pardos, as well as the Amazonian ones, are Caboclos.

It is also a fact that Acre, although not connected to the history of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, received waves of internal migrations from other Brazilian regions after its annexation – including, of course, many Black and Mulatto Brazilians. Nevertheless, it's still observed, to this day, the heavy presence of indigenous peoples and their Caboclo descendants in the state population. Moreover, the migrants that came to Acre belonged to virtually all Brazilian race groups. Those migrants were Whites, Blacks, Mulattos, and many were also Caboclos from other Brazilian regions – especially from the Northeast, a region that, together with the Northern/Amazon region, still concentrates the majority of the Indigenous population. Plagued by frequent droughts in their region, many Northeasterners also came to the Amazonian states to trying to

make a living working with rubber extraction and escaping droughts (Guillen, 2000).

Among the Northeastern states, one of the most plagued with droughts, and therefore one that most exported migrants (or rather: drought refugees) to the rest of the country, was the state of Ceará (or *Siará*, as spelled in the languages of the native peoples of that state). Ceará is completely located in the Semiarid region of Northeastern Brazil, another region that, much like the Amazon, received fewer enslaved Africans in comparison with other regions, due to the infertility of the soil—most slaves were employed in the sugarcane, coffee, and cotton plantations, as well as the gold mines in the south, activities virtually inexistent in the Semiarid regions, were livestock and indigenous labor force predominated. A genetic study (Silva et al., 2015) showed that the population of Fortaleza, the capital of Ceará, have an estimated amount of 49% of European genetic ancestry, 35% Native Brazilian and 16% Sub-Saharan African. This data contrasts with Salvador, in Bahia state, which is well known in Brazil as "the blackest city outside of Africa": there the European contribution reaches 51%, followed by Sub-Saharan African (40%) and a less expressive amount of Native contribution (9%), in the same study (Silva et al., 2015). This data suggests different histories of formation of the populations of these states, with European and Native ancestries predominating in Ceará, over the African ancestry. So, the *cearense* pardo, much like the *amazonense* and *acreano* ones, is also a mix of White and Indigenous, with a minor African ancestry – when compared to the Native ancestry.

The contexts of Amazonas, Acre and Ceará, in many ways, can be extended to other states and regions of Brazil where Natives were (and are) far more numerous than Africans and Afro-Brazilians. What is important to notice for now is that the Pardo category, as a multiracial category, is multiple and refers to different groups of people, to many ancestries and to distinct realities. Considering all the data suggesting that an expressive portion of the Pardo population, in many regions of Brazil, have an Euro-Amerindian ancestry prevailing over the African ancestry, the narratives that consider Pardos as "light-skinned blacks" should be questioned, as well as some statements based on it, for example that "50% of Brazilian population is Black"—how can it be true when this number is not actually the number of self-declared Blacks (7%), but the sum of these with the 43% Pardos, which, as discussed above, can belong to another groups that haven't any connection with Blackness?

The "Pardo as Black" approach have many problems that can be pointed out, but the main are:

- Misapplication of racial equality policies—since Pardos are considered Black, and considering that racial classifications in Brazil rely on individuals' phenotypes, there are many cases of Brazilian Pardos with Indigenous phenotype being excluded from the access of benefits provided for in the Statute of Racial Equality. Especially in the program of quotas in the higher education, which have a commission of "racial heteroidentification" that determines if a candidate for the vacancies reserved in the universities to "Blacks" (i.e., Blacks-properly and Pardos) is really Black. Most of the official documents currently require a candidate to have Black phenotypical traits, which is a problem for Pardos whose traits appear more Indigenous instead.
- Indigenous erasure from racial debate, the media, and social thought in general—the Indigenous ancestry of Brazilians and the Indigenous contribution to the formation of the Brazilian people in general, and the Pardo population specifically, has been often neglected and forgotten. In contrast, African ancestry and African contributions, on the other hand, are increasingly highlighted, in many ways… as when it is said that "50% of Brazilian population is Black", or that "Brazil has the second largest Black population in the whole world, only after Nigeria". These statements, reproduced at full speed by the media, political groups and social movements, reflects a political engineering sustained by its own narrative, much more than faithful descriptions of a material and factual reality of a Black majority country. As a result, the indigenous contribution is relegated to a secondary, almost invisible role. To the point that political and academic discourses on Pardos often do not even mention that the first time this term appears in the history of Brazil is in reference to the indigenous peoples; even in official statistics, admitting that only 0.47% of the population is indigenous, while there are 50% blacks and 47% whites, is to mask a much more diverse reality than that and admit that there are no people of indigenous origin responding in categories other than Indigenous - mainly Pardo - thus increasing indigenous invisibility.
- Spreading of binary racial ideas in the academy and society—with the denial and rejection of mixed identities in favor of monoracial identities, the racial debate in Brazil is becoming increasingly binary, with only White and Black perspectives being considered. Even the debates about who the Pardos are, often start from a certain premise that they would result from miscegenation between blacks and whites. This is observed in certain expressions already popularized on the internet and even in everyday speech, such as "too light to be black, too dark to be white" – in reference to the Pardo ambiguity, but always taking into account only

> this Black/White duality, disregarding the nuances of the Brazilian *mestiçagem*. The main problems regarding binarize the way of thinking and discuss about race in Brazil are two: it silences and invisibilizes other ethnic and racial groups; and it is a completely decontextualized approach to a society that has at its foundations the influence of at least three races – and not two. To solve its racial problems, Brazil needs a Brazilian perspective, contextualized to its multiethnic society.

Much more problems could be pointed out, but for now, what is important to highlight is the current situation of multiracial invisibility – and in a broader sense, an invisibility of any other groups than Black and White. Brazil is a racially diverse country. Perhaps one of the most diverse in the whole world. Any racial debate or anti-racist struggle will be complete without the perspectives of each group – especially those who are (and will likely remain being in the foreseeable future) the majority, i.e., the Mixed Brazilians.

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About the author

Psychologist and Master in Psychology by the Federal University of Bahia. Researcher of Gender and Racial identities. Email: lrochapsi17@gmail.com

Building the Invisibility of the Mixed-Race Parcel of Brazilian Population: A Critical Overview of the Role of the National Hegemonic Media in this Contemporary Process

Ledson Chagas[1]

Abstract: This article aims to present an overview of the ongoing and disputed process of trying to eliminate Mixed-race identities in Brazil. In the first section, I present the project of binary racial classification (Black/White) that underlies the aforementioned process. In the second, I present the Federal Law 12,288, of 2010, which effectuated the aforementioned project institutionally. I argue that it is in contradiction with definitions of *pardo* published by the IBGE in periods prior to and contemporaneous with the Law. I also present the period of diffusion of affirmative actions in Brazil as the context of diffusion of the aforementioned classification as mass-media information. In the third section, I present contradictions in the discourse of part of Black activism on "*pardos* being Black" and on the limits of *pardos*' right to racial quotas. In the final section, I present and analyze two journalistic products whose objectives are the elimination of the term *pardo*.

1 - The Project of a Binary Classification

In 1999, the Congolese anthropologist, naturalized Brazilian since 1985, Kabengele Munanga, who taught at Brazilian universities since 1977, published his Associate Professor Thesis at the University of São Paulo (USP), entitled *Re-discussing Mixedness in Brazil - National Identity Versus Black Identity* (*Redescutindo a Mestiçagem no Brasil - Identidade Nacional Versus Identidade Negra*), defended in 1997. Working in this book "the thesis that the process of formation of national identity in Brazil resorted to eugenics methods aiming at the whitening of society" (Munanga, 1999, p. 15), the author noted with regret and disapproval that there are "few and rare Mixed individuals politically mobilized

[1] Ph.D. Candidate. *Social Communication*, Fluminense Federal University (2018–ongoing). M.A. *Culture and Society Studies*, Federal University of Bahia, 2015. B.A. *Social Communication/Journalism*, Federal University of Bahia, 2011.

and who consider themselves Blacks to forge the solidarity and political identity of all the oppressed" (*idem*, p. 119). The differences between the classification system he defended and the one put into practice by the general population of Brazil are described by him: "In the classificatory system used by social scientists and Black ideologues, the polarization Black (*preto*)/White or Black (*negro*)/White is used, while in popular self-representation a relational system based on the light/dark binomial is used" (*idem*).[2]

In another passage, the author highlights the efforts of contemporary Black movements in Brazil, since the 1970s, to replace the popular model with the one defended by them (and by the author):

> Under the influence of the American Black movements, they try to redefine the Black and the content of Blackness in the sense of including in them not only phenotypically Black people, but also and above all the Mixed descendants of Blacks, even those that the ideology of whitening has already would have stolen. This definition from the point of view of the Black movement corresponds to the dualistic or bi-racial Black/White classification that has nothing to do with the popular pluralistic chromatic classification. (*idem*, p. 124)[3]

Finally, Munanga observed that in the late 1990s, for their mission to build a Black identity, Black movements had:

> organic intellectuals in their ranks, count on the solidarity of White scholars and social scientists, committed to the issue of racial equality, in addition to international solidarity and, very recently, with the support of some political parties and the written and audiovisual press, whose denunciations of discrimination cases multiply more and more. (*idem*, pp. 14–15)[4]

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[2] Quotations from the original: "*a tese de que o processo de formação da identidade nacional no Brasil recorreu a métodos eugenistas visando o embranquecimento da sociedade*"; "*poucos e raros mestiços politicamente mobilizados e que se consideram negros para forjar a solidariedade e a identidade política de todos os oprimidos*"; "*No sistema classificatório utilizado por cientistas sociais e ideólogos negros, usa-se a polarização preto/branco ou negro/branco, enquanto na auto-representação popular usa-se um sistema relacional baseado no binômio claro/escuro.*"

[3] "*Sob a influência dos movimentos negros americanos, eles tentam dar um redefinição do negro e do conteúdo da negritude no sentido de incluir neles não apenas as pessoas fenotipicamente negras, mas também e sobretudo os mestiços descendentes de negros, mesmo aqueles que a ideologia do branqueamento já teria roubado. Esta definição do ponto de vista do movimento negro corresponde à classificação dualista ou bi-racial negro/branco que nada tem a ver com a classificação cromática plural, popular.*"

[4] "*têm em suas fileiras intelectuais orgânicos, contam com a solidariedade de estudiosos e cientistas sociais brancos, comprometidos com a questão da igualdade racial, além da solidariedade internacional e, muito recentemente, com o apoio de alguns partidos políticos e*

About 20 years after the publication of this book, anyone who watches a TV news bulletin or reads a newspaper article in print or on the internet, produced in Brazil in the last five to ten years, finds a narrative about our reality in which our population is formed only by Blacks and Whites (when they are remembered, also by Native-American people). This article therefore presents an overview of this process, seeking to present the main actions intended to support it, its contradictions and the rhetorical mechanisms in practice in its adoption by the hegemonic media.

2 - Turning Mixed-people "into Black" by Force of Law

The context of debates on and the gradual national institutionalization of affirmative action policies, especially based on social and racial quotas in undergraduate courses at public universities, was central for the gradual dissemination of the information about a binary racial classification to the Brazilian population in general.[5] Thus taking a greater concern with the issue of the definition of ethnic-racial classifications, hitherto more restricted to circles of Black activism or intellectuals working in universities, to a wider audience, interested in the more practical issue of university access (and in job, of course). For Feres Júnior, Daflon and Campos (2012), although the debates started already in the Federal government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995–2003), it was "under the Lula government that such policies emerged and spread through the Brazilian higher education system, reaching today more than 70% of public universities and also many private universities" (Feres et al., 2012, p. 400). After a phase[6] in which the adoption of social and racial quota policies were initiatives of the universities themselves (first State, then Federal universities) (*idem*, p. 406), in August 2012, "President Dilma sanctioned Federal Law No. 12,711/2012, which established a reserve of 50% of vacancies in the country's federal universities, with percentages for Blacks and Indigenous people in proportion to the population of each federal state" (*ibid*., p. 407).[7] Although the authors of the article proceed in the way that has become dominant in social science produced in Brazil, stating that this public

da imprensa escrita e audiovisual, cujas denúncias das situações de discriminação se multiplicam cada vez mais."

[5] On the ternary tradition of racial classification in Brazil, see Daniel, 2022; Daniel and Lee, 2014.

[6] Lima and Campos (2020) point out that racial quotas began to be adopted in Brazil in 2001, with initiatives by UERJ and UENF, state universities in Rio de Janeiro.

[7] "*sob o governo Lula que tais políticas sugiram e se espalharam pelo sistema educacional superior brasileiro, alcançando hoje mais de 70% das universidades públicas e também muitas universidades privadas*"; "*a presidenta Dilma sancionou a Lei Federal nº 12.711/2012, que instituiu reserva de 50% das vagas nas universidades federais do país, com percentuais para negros e indígenas na proporção da população de cada estado.*"

policy contemplates "Blacks" (*negros*), the effective text of the Law only mentions Blacks (*pretos*) and *pardos*[8] (and *Indigenous*), as its contemplated.[9]

The institutional cornerstone for classifying the self-declared *pardos* as Blacks (*negros*) was the approval of the so-called "Statute of Racial Equality," on July 20, 2010 (Véran, 2014, p. 31; Powell and Silva, 2018, p. 89). As Powell and Silva explain:

> The classification system used on the census since 1872 employs a graded colour spectrum (*branco/pardo/preto*, or white/brown/black) whose categories are generally based on phenotype. A different system, codified in the 2010 Racial Equality Statute, employs a binary (white/black; *branco/negro*) approach, combining *pardos* and *pretos* within the *negro* category." (pp. 88–89)

The "Statute," in fact, is a Federal Law, nº 12.288, whose first article indicates its objective of: "guarantee to the Black population the realization of equal opportunities, the defense of individual, collective and diffuse ethnic rights and the fight against discrimination and other forms of ethnic intolerance." In its fourth subparagraph, the Law defines the Black (*negra*) population as: "the group of people who declare themselves to be Blacks (*pretas*) and *pardas*, according to the color or race used by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics Foundation (IBGE), or who adopt an analogous self-definition."[10]

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[8] In this article, I opted to always use the term *pardo* as it is written in Portuguese, without translating it into an English term. Throughout the history of Brazil, the term has always meant what, in current English-speaking academic literature, is called *multiracials*. This same meaning is still in use by the portion of the Brazilian population that has not adopted the currently hegemonic discourse criticized in this text. This article deals precisely with the disputes about this term. I also use the English term *Mixed* as a synonym for *pardo*. The terms *preto* and *negro*, in Portuguese, have always been synonymous. In the process described and criticized in this article, *preto* was placed as a subcategory of *negro*, meaning dark-skinned Blacks, so that the term *negro* could also encompass *pardos* (which, for the grounding narrative of this process, would be the light-skinned Blacks). I opted to insert the terms *preto/negro* in all the passages in which their (supposed) difference is relevant to the English-speaking reader, thus indicating the different current (hegemonic) uses in Brazil for what is read with the word *Black*, in English. In the passages where I do not include these two Portuguese terms, I am referring to the Black population only, without the inclusion of *pardos* (multiraciais/mixed-race people). Although Black activism, for example, is also carried out by *pardos* (who claim to be Black – some with phenotypic legitimacy to do so, others not, in my interpretation).

[9] Link: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2011-2014/2012/lei/l12711.htm. Last access to all websites mentioned in this article: 09/14/2022.

[10] "*garantir à população negra a efetivação da igualdade de oportunidades, a defesa dos direitos étnicos individuais, coletivos e difusos e o combate à discriminação e às demais formas de intolerância étnica*"; "*o conjunto de pessoas que se autodeclaram pretas e pardas, conforme o quesito cor ou raça usado pela Fundação Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE), ou que adotam autodefinição análoga*". Link: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2007-2010/2010/lei/l12288.htm.

This definition presented by the Statute was and continues to be in contradiction with the definitions of *pardo* disseminated by the IBGE. Consulting the editions of the *Statistical Yearbook of Brazil* (*Anuário Estatístico do Brasil*) from 1995 onwards, we find that the *pardo* category is defined as: "*parda* (including in this category people who declare themselves as mulatto, *cabocla*, *cafuza*, *mameluca* or Mixed of Black (*preto*) with a person of another color or race)" (p. 251).[11] The 2009, 2010 and 2011 editions have the same definition in their glossary. It was only from the 2017 edition (to the current) that this more specific definition for the term *pardo* was eliminated, following the policy of extermination of the possibilities of identification as a Mixed person, developed by the government since 2010. An initiative that certainly aims to give the term the vagueness conducive to its insertion in the categories demanded by Black activists. Still, however, the *2022 Census Interview Manual* (*Manual de Entrevista do Censo 2022*), updated in May 2022, continues to indicate that the *pardo* category is defined: "for the person who declares himself *parda* or who identifies as a mixture of two or more color or race options, including White, Black (*preta*), *parda* and Indigenous."[12]

How could, for example, someone who is the result of the mixture between White and Indigenous, be Black? And why would someone who results from the mixture between a *pardo* and an Indigenous or a White person be Black? This categorization was only possible because in the last 10 years the only perspective that has been considered by our State in relation to the issue of ethnic-racial classification is that of Black activists, who specialized and formed cadres aimed at exerting pressure on decisions on this topic. A State that has been administered, since its formation, at least in its highest positions, by an elite formed almost exclusively by Whites, who perhaps found in this initiative a way to appease the pressures of Black activists.

In their article on the decision-making processes about racial categories developed by IBGE, Powell and Silva (*idem*) presented examples of Black

[11] "*parda (incluindo-se nesta categoria as pessoas que se declaram mulata, cabocla, cafuza, mameluca ou mestiça de preto com pessoa de outra cor ou raça)*". *Caboclo* (male)/*cabocla* (female) and *mameluco*/*mameluca* are terms for Mixed people of White and Native American origins, while *cafuzo*/*cafuza* designates Mixed of Native American and Black origins (Cascudo, 2005; Paiva, 2013). This is the plural popular terminology that bothered Munanga, mentioned in the first section of this article. The Yearbook is a comprehensive annual compilation of studies carried out by IBGE and other partner institutions. Its first edition, from the year 1908, had three volumes that accounted for about two thousand pages. Only from the 1995 edition (already with 886 pages) the PDF files are traceable by the *Control-F* mechanism. Link: https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/biblioteca-catalogo?id=720&view=detalhes.

[12] "*para a pessoa que se declarar parda ou que se identifique com mistura de duas ou mais opções de cor ou raça, incluindo branca, preta, parda e indígena*". The Brazilian census is being carried out in the second half of 2022, having not taken place in 2020, delayed by the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Link to *2022 Census Interview Manual*: https://censos.ibge.gov.br/sobre/treinamento/manuais.html.

activists' influence in the work of this scientific institution (pp. 102–103, 107–108, and 113). In a study by the IBGE, discussing the methodological problems that could arise from the inclusion of the popular and ambiguous category *moreno* in the census (a term that can be used both by Whites with tanned skin and by Blacks who are ashamed to assert themselves as Black—although the term is mostly used for and as a self-descriptor of *pardos*/Mixed, a point not highlighted by the author), Rafael Guerreiro Osorio, researcher at Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA), states:

> Including the morena category in the classification would, therefore, make studies on the effects of racial discrimination more imprecise. Politically, it would reduce the size of the portion of the population that the Black Movement claims to represent, and would also have impacts on the definition of beneficiaries of public policies. (...) would break the historical comparability of studies on the effects of discrimination and would create political problems, but it would make the classification more representative of current popular ways of identifying races (Osorio, 2013, p. 97).[13]

The excerpt makes clear how much the claims of Black activism were in tension with popular native categories. And the approval of the aforementioned 2010 Statute answers us about which perspective was considered by the sectors responsible for the official definition of racial categories to be used by Brazilians and which perspective was disregarded. In a text for the newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo* (04/21/2006), the sociologist and former president of the IBGE, Simon Schwartzman, presented his criticism: "The statute is a legal and conceptual monstrosity. It intends to force all people to classify themselves as White or Afro-Brazilian in official documents, ignoring the millions who consider themselves neither one nor the other" (Schwartzman, 2007, p. 108). As we see today, we non-Whites are not obliged to classify ourselves merely as Afro-Brazilians—something that most of us, Mixed, are (which is my case, with great pride, by the way). We are obliged to classify ourselves as Black (*negros*), based on the aforementioned Statute that exercises the force of the Law over us.

It should be noted that two of the studies mentioned above (Véran, 2014; Powell and Silva, 2018) have, exceptionally, as their research object, specifically the Mixed-race population (*pardos*). And it is for this reason alone that they mention Law 12.288. In the last ten years, in every type of academic study produced in Brazil on the ethnic-racial theme (or even in those that very indirectly

[13] "*Incluir a categoria morena na classificação tornaria, portanto, mais imprecisos os estudos sobre os efeitos da discriminação racial. Politicamente, reduziria o tamanho da parcela da população que o Movimento Negro reivindica representar, e também teria impactos sobre a definição de beneficiários de políticas públicas.* (...) *quebraria a comparabilidade histórica dos estudos sobre os efeitos da discriminação e criaria problemas políticos, mas faria a classificação ser mais representativa das formas populares correntes de identificar raças.*"

approach this theme) the definition that "*pardos* are Blacks" has largely predominated, and its authors do not feel embarrassed not even to inform the source of this definition. They naturalize it, thus avoiding receiving criticism from the Black activism that did so much to absorb the statistics of the large *pardo* portion of the Brazilian population into the Black category.

OPCAO	1872	1890	1940	1950	1960	1980	1991	2000	2010
Branca	38,1	44	63,5	61,7	61,09	54,23	51,56	53,74	47,51
Preta	19,7	14,6	14,6	11	8,71	5,92	5	6,21	7,52
Parda	38,3	32,4	21,2	26,5	29,44	38,85	42,45	38,45	43,42
Amarela	-	-	-	-	0,69	0,56	0,43	0,45	1,1
Indigena	-	-	-	-	-	-	0,2	0,4	0,43

Color/race in all Brazilian censuses.
In literal translation of the terms: *Branca*/White; *Preta*/Black; *Parda*; *Amarela*/Yellow; *Índigena*/Indigenous. Link:
https://seriesestatisticas.ibge.gov.br/series.aspx?vcodigo=POP106.

Commenting on the approval of the Statute, Véran critically noted that "for advocates of racial equality policies, mixedness has become a statistically irrelevant, politically undesirable category and culturally inseparable from the 'African matrix'" (Véran, 2010, p. 27).[14] Who, therefore, would dare to challenge resolutions that call themselves *racial equality* in our contemporary times? The binary classification, in this way, became naturalized by the *truth*-forming corporation in our secular societies, the elites of academic research, which calls itself "progressive." An action justified by the arguable logic that it is necessary for the maintenance of quotas and for the fight against racism.

In 2012, researchers studying the ten-year panorama of affirmative action in Brazil highlighted the hegemonic media as the main opponent of social justice pursued through quotas, based on the myth of the supposed Brazilian "racial democracy":

> Few are more vocal in their opposition to affirmative action than commentators in the mainstream media—particularly Rede Globo and the Abril group. In addition to taking an editorial stance against affirmative action, these media channels give voice to journalists, academics and public intellectuals engaged in combating affirmative action through a variety of arguments. (Feres et al., 2012, p. 411)[15]

[14] "*para os defensores das políticas da igualdade racial, a mestiçagem tornou-se uma categoria estatisticamente não pertinente, politicamente indesejável e culturalmente inseparável da 'matriz africana.'*"

[15] "*Poucos são mais estridentes na oposição à ação afirmativa que os comentaristas da grande mídia – particularmente da Rede Globo e do grupo Abril. Além de assumirem uma postura*

Nowadays, however, this same hegemonic media, having accepted the diffusion of affirmative actions[16] and being inserted in a new and complex context of power relations whose attempt to explain goes beyond the limits of this article and whose understanding demands in-depth research, endeavors to disseminate an image of themselves as "*anti-racist* institutions" (perhaps, trying to clean up the associations made to them based on their predominant actions in their trajectory). And the means found to achieve this objective was precisely a media framework (journalistic and even in the entertainment sector) determined by the further mission of eliminating the possibilities for people and groups to maintain and (re)produce the processes of construction of Mixed identity. "We dont talk about it, it doesn't exist. In one or two generations it will be gone." Mixedness, then, is placed as the main target of this supposed *anti-racist* political program.

Why wouldn't we, Mixed people, fit in with *anti-racism*? Why does the social justice sought by the palliative educational measure of quotas have to be opposed to our *pardo* identity, built over 500 years?[17] Why is the equality of the aforementioned 2010 Statute so intolerant of the existence of non-Whites who are also non-Blacks and non-Indigenous? These are questions strategically avoided by the current hegemonic media discourse, which aims to build our invisibility. By analyzing it, however, we can identify when the *pardo* "returns to exist," in relation to the objectives of this discourse.

3 - Strategic Use and Discard of the *pardo* Contingent by the Discourse of Binary Racial Classification

In a website article about the pioneering and committed work of Friar David and his NGO *Educafro* for the approval and consolidation of racial affirmative actions in Brazil, especially regarding admission to undergraduate courses in public universities, the text highlights that, "Educafro has already ensured access to higher education for around 100,000 people and has been at

editorial contra ações afirmativas, esses canais de mídia dão voz a jornalistas, acadêmicos e intelectuais públicos engajados em combater a ação afirmativa através de uma variedade de argumentos."

[16] With the end of the phase in which the hegemonic media – once conservative... – was dedicated to propagating apocalyptic rumors about affirmative action, the currently dominant editorial position is that of defense. An indication of this change is presented by sociologist and journalist Demétrio Magnoli, in an article for *Folha de S. Paulo*. The author argues that the series of reports published by this newspaper, on 08/29/2022, about the 10 years of the "Quota Law", is composed of six texts that are "propaganda of racial quotas," added to a single text with contrary arguments, which, according to him, had the sole function of generating an image of plurality for the newspaper. Demétrio Magnoli: Jornalismo militante, *Folha de S. Paulo*, 09/02/2022. Link: https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/colunas/demetriomagnoli/2022/09/jornalismo-militante.shtml.

[17] Paiva, 2013; Viana, 2007.

the forefront of important achievements of the Black (*preta*) and *pardo* population, such as the Quota Law in universities." Latter, it notes that, "In the early 2000s, when affirmative action began to be thought of in Brazil, Friar David was a powerful voice on behalf of the Black (*negra*) population and a constant presence in debates and in the press."[18] Note, therefore, that the text indicates as an obvious fact that "Black (*preta*) and *parda* population" means "Black (*negra*) population"—as it became dominant in our press in the last years.

The text brings statements by Friar David about the arduous initial phases of this conquest: "Filling the vote session with Black men and women (*negros/negras*) screaming for their rights was the big difference. If it were left only in the hands of deputies and senators, until today, there would be no quota for Blacks (*negros*)."[19] The final sections of the text highlight a recent victory of *Educafro*'s work:

> In the tireless struggle for the inclusion of Blacks (*pretos*), *pardos* and the poor, Friar David celebrates a recent achievement: the approval, by the National Council of Justice (CNJ), of quotas for Afro-descendants in civil service examinations for notary public. According to him, it took three years of battles until approval of the minimum reserve of 20% of vacancies for Blacks (*negros*). The resolution is valid for notaries in the 27 Courts of Justice in Brazil.[20]

Note that one more term is included in the list of supposed synonyms: *Afro-descendant*. The text also demarcates—as has become standard in almost all journalistic articles in the last five to ten years—that, "in Brazil, according to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), 56.2% of the population declares itself to be Black (*negra*),"[21] thus ignoring the contradictions I presented in the previous section.

The journalistic coverage on the ethnic-racial subject grows more and more in Brazil, approaching its most diverse aspects. Trend related to broad and

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[18] "*a Educafro já garantiu o acesso ao ensino superior a cerca de 100 mil pessoas e esteve à frente de importantes conquistas da população preta e parda, como a Lei de Cotas nas universidades*"; "*no início dos anos 2000, quando as ações afirmativas começaram a ser pensadas no Brasil, frei David era voz potente em prol da população negra e presença constante nos debates e na imprensa*". In: Lílian Beraldo. O Frei Radical, *UOL*, 04/04/2022. Link: https://www.uol.com.br/ecoa/reportagens-especiais/causadores-frei-david/#cover.

[19] "*Lotar a votação de negros e negras gritando por seus direitos foi a grande diferença. Se deixasse só na mão de deputados e senadores, até hoje, não teria cota para negro.*"

[20] "*Na luta incansável para inclusão de pretos, pardos e pobres, frei David comemora uma conquista recente: a aprovação, pelo Conselho Nacional de Justiça (CNJ), das cotas para afrodescendentes nos concursos de cartórios. Segundo ele, foram 3 anos de batalhas até aprovação da reserva mínima de 20% das vagas para negros. A resolução é válida para os cartórios nos 27 Tribunais de Justiça do Brasil.*"

[21] "*no Brasil, de acordo com o Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE), 56,2% da população se declara negra.*"

complex processes. Almost every day the population is exposed to journalistic articles that claim that "*pardos* are Blacks (*negros*)." Questioning this type of statement has become an act that borders on the risk of being accused of racism, by sectors of society that defend this type of conception. There is only one kind of subject that breaks through the discourse of automaticity and obviousness about "*pardos* being Black": the huge number of cases of *pardos* who have their access to quotas barred.

Since they were started in 2001 and approved by Federal Law in 2012, racial quotas have been implemented in various sectors of the State and in private companies. Brazilian graduate courses developed their models and, in 2016, a normative ordinance by the Minister of Education, Aloizio Mercadante Oliva, consolidated racial quotas at this level of public educational servisse.[22] Without considering socioeconomic criteria. In 2020, the trainee program of one of the largest retail companies in Brazil, *Magazine Luiza*, reserved exclusively for Blacks (*negros*—referred to as *pretos* and *pardos*), generated media coverage and some controversy.[23] The spread of racial quotas has broadened the discussion on how to define who is Black (*negro* and *preto*), *pardo* or White in our population.

In 2020, of the 2,185 students who were approved in the knowledge tests and who tried to enter the UFPE (Federal University of Pernambuco) through the racial quota system, 1,089 were approved in the quotas, 364 weren't accepted and 732 did not appear for the racial characteristics exam.[24] In a civil service exam for the Military Police of the state of Ceará, in 2021, for example, of the 496 men enrolled in the racial quota for Black, 253 were approved by the heteroidentification commission and 235 failed (eight were absent from the racial exam). Among the women, 61 passed and 58 failed the racial exam (with five absent).[25] Therefore, almost 50% of the candidates enrolled in the quotas for police officers failed. We have no data on the physical characteristics of these people. However, it does not seem plausible that half of the candidates were willing to pay the registration fee (R$ 120.00) knowing that they would automatically be eliminated, because they are White. Probably, many of these candidates excluded are *pardo*. The cases that gain visibility in the media—when

[22] Link: https://conteudo.imguol.com.br/blogs/52/files/2016/05/portaria-mec-cotas.png.

[23] Link: https://exame.com/carreira/magalu-abre-segundo-trainee-so-para-negros-veja-como-participar/.

[24] *Estudantes reprovados nas cotas da UFPE tem até hoje (7) para recorrer*, *TV Jornal SBT*, 02/07/2020. Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AIYTIuI4ME4.

[25] Link:

https://conhecimento.fgv.br/sites/default/files/concursos/edital_de_resultado_final_da_heteroidentificacao_-_retificado_subjudice_07.01.2022.pdf.

the excluded has the courage to publicize the violence to which she/he is being subjected—leave no doubt that many of these disapproved are *pardo*.[26]

In a website article for *Foreign Policy*[27] about the case of a lawyer born and residing in the city of Salvador (Bahia)—who was eliminated from the civil service exam for public prosecutor in her municipality, after her self-declaration as *parda* was not accepted for the vacancy of quotas for Afro-descendants—we are surprised by this statement of someone who dedicated so many years of his life to spread the narrative that "*pardos* are Blacks (*negros*)":

> For Friar David Santos, the head of the nonprofit Educafro and arguably the country's most prominent black rights activist, admissions committees should adopt a gradient-based elimination process for nonwhite candidates. "Pretos should gain immediate admission, followed by darker-hued pardos," he told me. "Mid-range pardos? Only if there are spaces left. And under no circumstances are light-skinned pardos to gain admission through quotas.

The article also highlights that:

> Activists stress the importance of black representation in positions of power—particularly by those who, on account of having a darker complexion or markedly black features, do not benefit from a fluid racial identity that could otherwise see them classified as white. Which is why activists' frustrations have grown over what they argue are light-skinned pardos taking advantage of hard-won affirmative action policies that were not fought for with them in mind.

As for the benefits of quotas, the totality of the self-declared pardos "weren't in mind" for proponents of this public policy. But in the statements that "*pardos* are Black (*negros*)," as we saw in Munanga's claims in 1999, in the 2010 Statute and in the dominant journalistic discourse of the last five years, the *pardo* contingents

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[26] In a brief search on *Google*, I collected 15 cases that gained wide media repercussion, of *pardos* eliminated in quotas. For two examples: *Estudante autodeclarada parda é desclassificada em avaliação de cotistas da UFPE: 'É um ranço histórico que minha etnia carrega'*, *G1*, 03/20/2022. Link: https://g1.globo.com/pe/pernambuco/noticia/2022/03/20/estudante-autodeclarada-parda-e-desclassificada-em-avaliacao-de-cotistas-da-ufpe-e-um-ranco-historico-que-a-minha-etnia-carrega-diz.ghtml?fbclid=IwAR1iugX_HyoiC__gYrBKkppl7bldZgBkG8lx2j1trh0Xex5ZEqm1JdOBkIA; *Estudante é eliminado de vestibular no Ceará após universidade considerar que ele não é pardo para cota: 'não entendo os critérios'*, *G1*, 09/11/2021. Link:

https://g1.globo.com/ce/ceara/noticia/2021/09/11/estudante-e-eliminado-de-vestibular-no-ceara-apos-universidade-considerar-que-ele-nao-e-pardo-para-cota-nao-entendo-os-criterios.ghtml?fbclid=IwAR3bf7E5uFtSLyzCQqvuzhVqcrrAPb1sLBRcclUaMJEwydoKBB9K6o-FC-E.

[27] Cleuci de Oliveira, One Woman's Fight to Claim Her 'Blackness' in Brazil, *Foreign Policy*, 07/24/2017. Link: https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/07/24/one-womans-fight-to-claim-her-blackness-in-brazil/.

of 38.45% and 43.42% of the Brazilian population (according to the 2000 and 2010 censuses, respectively), in their entirety, more than welcome to be Black, they must be Black...

This exceptional gap in such an orchestrated discourse, enabling the recognition of the autonomous existence of, at least, part of the *pardos* (in relation to Black identities and Blackness) and of their mixed diversity, appears again, this time in an website article by *BBC News Brasil*,[28] on the subject of *colorism*, which journalists and Black youtubers (or *pardo* youtubers who claim to be Black—and who often have their assertion contested, even by their Black activists peers) were broadcasting to their audience. In consultation with sociologist Ronaldo Sales, a specialist in ethnic-racial issues and professor at the Federal University of Campina Grande (in Paraíba), the text presents the following excerpt: "Sales even considers that there is the identity of the 'white-pardo.' 'They are people who, although Mixed, pass as White (because of their physical characteristics) and are not discriminated against by their color. They would never be Black. In this case, they should not benefit from vacancies of quotas', he argues." This is the only part of the article that mentions the subject of quotas and, in it, when *pardos* are mentioned, the objective is to highlight that at least part of them should be excluded from quotas. In an academic article mentioning the Black (*negra*) population, however, the sociologist includes *pardos* without making any distinction about having shares in them that would not fit in the aforementioned population: "In the 19th century, Brazil and Cuba were slave societies with high rates of free Black (*negra*) population (the so-called Blacks (*pretas*) and *pardos*)" (Sales Júnior, 2014, n.p.).[29]

The terms used by Friar David ("darker-hued pardos," "mid-range pardos" and "light-skinned pardos"), in the *Foreign Policy* article, were translated as "black-Pardos" (*pardos-pretos*), pardos-Pardos (*pardos-pardos*) and white-Pardos (*pardo-brancos*), in the Portuguese translation by Christina Baum, published in Brazil[30]. In another case of *pardo* people eliminated in racial examination for quotas (two women), in which *Educafro* acted legally to ensure the candidates' elimination, this original and exotic terminology appears again: "Educafro understands that there are 'black Pardos,' 'pardos Pardos' (sic) and

[28] Mariana Schreiber, *O que é colorismo, o conceito que está na boca de youtubers contra o racismo*, *BBC News Brasil*, 11/20/2017. Link: https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-42033002.

[29] "*Sales considera, inclusive, que há a identidade do 'pardo-branco.' 'São pessoas que, embora mestiças, passam como brancas (por suas características físicas) e não são descriminadas por sua cor. Jamais seriam negras. Nesse caso, não devem se beneficiar de cotas em concurso', argumenta*"; "*No século XIX, Brasil e Cuba eram sociedades escravistas com altos índices de população negra (as pessoas chamadas pretas e pardas) livre.*"

[30] Cleuci de Oliveira, *Os vários tons de Maíra Mutti Araújo* (translation to portuguese by Christina Baum), *Yahoo Notícias*, 07/24/2017. Link: https://br.noticias.yahoo.com/os-v%C3%A1rios-tons-ma%C3%ADra-mutti-130003752.html.

'light skinned Pardos'—and that the latter should not have access to the benefit."[31]

The (certainly unprecedented) expressions brought by Friar David and Sales, in relation to the presence of *pardos* in the quotas, indicate that the mixed-race diversity, which disturbed and still disturbs Black activists, and which has been vehemently denied by them with the aim of making it invisible, little by little, almost in an expression of a *parapraxis* (a "Freudian slip"), is reappearing in this discourse: when the goal is to exclude *pardos*...

But there are those who have realized how much recognizing the complexity of the phenotypic and ethnic-racial reality of large contingents of the Brazilian population can be a dangerous action to the objectives of political engineering. Suggesting, then, silence as the most effective tool.

At an event streamed live on *Youtube* titled *Black Feminisms: Tribute to the 70th Birthday of Sueli Carneiro*,[32] organized by *Grupo Companhia das Letras*, director of the largest publishing house in the country (of the same name), the philosopher, writer and Black activist Sueli Carneiro, answering a question on the subject of *colorism*, highlighted:

> This colorism talk bothers me a lot, right? Simply put: I think it is like a shot in the foot this debate, understand? Because I belong to the generation that had to work hard to build this extraordinary political capital that we built by constituting the Black (*negro*) category as a result of the sum of Blacks (*pretos*) and *pardos*. This was an effort that required immense political engineering work, an extraordinary academic effort, it involved a vast production on racial inequalities in Brazil, a vast production from the 1970s onwards, on the similarity of socioeconomic conditions shared by Blacks (*pretos*) and *pardos* and the size of the gap between these two groups and the hegemonic White group, the great distance. The gap is there, it has always been there, you have a majority of Blacks (*pretos*) and *pardos*, with similar socioeconomic characteristics, which allowed us to propose these

[31] "*a Educafro entende que existem 'pardos pretos', 'pardos pardos' (sic) e 'pardos claros' – e que esses últimos não deveriam ter acesso ao benefício*". In: Eduardo Militão, *Elas se consideram negras, mas foram classificadas como brancas e perderam emprego de diplomata*, *The Intercept Brasil*, 05/22/2018. Link: https://theintercept.com/2018/05/22/negras-perderam-emprego-de-diplomata/?fbclid=IwAR1I_9NJG_5CIHMTIVIvIdBj5Z03iTZDDVIC7Tep19Qkz5UVfa_oqhqU8q0.

[32] *Feminismos negros, com Sueli Carneiro, Bianca Santana e Djamila Ribeiro | #JornadasAntirracistas*, 06/27/2020. Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2mmuyRXHHg0&t=5229s. The excerpts used in this article are between 01:28:00 and 01:33:40, in the video.

> two categories as constituting the Black group, and up there, the White hegemony.[33]

Note that at no time does the activist present any consideration of how the self-declared *pardos*—in their variety of skin color, facial features, hair, economic status, life history and family formation—would feel about being allocated in the Black category. The "social engineers" (of other people's lives) have decided and that's what matters... The honoree of the event continues:

> So, when we introduce this debate on colorism, that we enter this dispute of opposing lighter to darker, I think we are returning to that point where our critique of these models of partition of our identity was established, not only in terms of mulattos, pardos.[34]

Ironically (or very strangely), about a month after the warning made by the veteran Black activist, one of the participants of the event, the also philosopher, columnist and Black activist, Djamila Ribeiro, starred in a case framed as colorism, when she characterized the Marxist activist Letícia Parks (parda, who identifies as Black) as "a light-skinned girl in a turban."[35] The diffusion of colorism's subject by the parcel of the media that produced articles about it has served as a framework that reiterates the idea that "pardos are Black."

Continuing her criticism of the debate on the theme of *colorism*, Carneiro then highlights that: "If we are going to take this idea, which opposes Blacks (*pretos*) and *pardos*, to its ultimate consequences, we will have to fight, we Blacks (*pretos*), we will have to fight a minority struggle, which involves around 6% of the

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[33] "*É uma conversa que me incomoda muito essa história de colorismo, né? Simplificando: eu acho, assim, um tiro no pé, esse debate, entendeu? Porque eu pertenço à geração que teve que se esforçar muito pra construir esse capital político extraordinário que a gente construiu constituindo a categoria negro como resultado da somatória de pretos e pardos. Isso foi um esforço que exigiu um trabalho imenso de engenharia política, um esforço acadêmico extraordinário, envolveu toda uma vasta produção sobre as desigualdades raciais no Brasil, uma vasta produção desde a década de 1970 em diante, sobre a similitude de condições socioeconomicas compartilhadas por pretos e pardos e o tamanho do fosso existente entre esses dois grupos e o grupo hegemônico, branco, a grande distância. O gap está aí, sempre esteve aí, você tem uma maioria de pretos e pardos, com características socioeconômicas similares, que nos autorizou a propor essas duas categorias como constitutivas do grupo negro, e lá em cima a hegemonia branca.*"

[34] "*Então, quando nós introduzimos esse debate do colorismo, que a gente entra nessa disputa de opor mais claros a mais escuros, eu acho que nós estamos retornando àquele ponto onde se estabeleceu a nossa crítica a esses modelos de partição da nossa identidade, não apenas em mulatos, pardos.*"

[35] *Live do Marcelo Freixo com Djamila Ribeiro*, 07/27/2020. Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y6B_uz7DE5U. The excerpt is between 55-56 minutes.

population. That's one of the possible consequences, political, isn't it?"[36] This indicates the degree of reflexivity that Black activism has (at least, in its leaderships) about how strategic it is to reiterate the discourse that "*pardos* are Black" (although it is possible that not even they themselves believe it), to enlist the greatest possible human contingent for the struggles that this movement identifies as its own and to do so only in the way it conceives as possible: turning "Mixed in Black"... Once again, the question about the identity processes of *pardo* individuals and the *pardo* contingent of the population—disorganized, constituting neither a White elite nor a Black militancy (groups that form only small fractions of the totality of the White and Black portions of the Brazilian population)—is ignored in the face of the demands of the social engineering of those who articulate to decide the possibilities of identification of those who are politaclly disarticulated. And anyone who does not identify with the new determination of racial nomenclature, be content to live without identity...

The philosopher complements her warning to the young activists present at the event, noting that: "On the other hand, if we insist on this point, I want to know what we do with those bodies that are in Forensic Laboratories, which are mostly *pardo*, too. Those bodies of murdered Black (*negros*) boys."[37] Which leads us to interpret that, for the philosopher, if the murdered *pardo* youths are classified as non-Blacks, then their fatal fate will no longer be an issue for the Black movements.

Once again, Carneiro demarcates Blackness as the possible limit of reflection on miscegenation in Brazil: "Mixedness was an instrument, it was a project, and one of its main results was to divide the Black (*negra*) identity and prevent this unit of *pardos* and Blacks (*pretos*) from assuming itself as a single collective, claiming another form of insertion in Brazilian society. So I think it's dangerous [*the colorism debate*]."[38] Biological miscegenation and mixed culture have occurred in Brazil, however, since before enslaved Blacks were brought here. And in modalities that cannot in any way be defined as "project" results.

4 - Two Examples of the Contribution of the Hegemonic Media to the Process of Trying to Erase the Term *pardo*

[36] "*Se nós formos levar às últimas consequências essa ideia, que opõe pretos e pardos, nós vamos ter que travar, nós pretos, vamos ter que travar uma luta de minoria, que envolve em torno de 6% da população. Isso é uma das consequências possíveis, políticas, não é?*"

[37] "*Por outro lado, se nós insistirmos nesse diapasão, eu quero saber o que é que a gente faz com aqueles corpos que tão no IML que são na sua maioria pardos, também. Aqueles corpos de meninos negros assassinados.*"

[38] "*A mestiçagem foi um instrumento, foi projeto, e um dos seus principais resultados foi fracionar a identidade negra e impedir que esta unidade de pardos e pretos se assumisse enquanto um coletivo único, reivindicante de uma outra forma de inserção na sociedade brasileira. Então, eu acho que é perigoso* [*o debate sobre colorismo*]."

In case one, we have a website article entitled *Almost White, almost Black. After a long historical discussion, pardo gains a new identity: light-skinned Black.*[39] Published in October 2020, on *UOL*, the main Brazilian web portal, belonging to *Grupo Folha* (which owns *Folha de S. Paulo*, the main Brazilian newspaper). The article is based on the defense that its eight interviewees make that *pardos* should be categorized as *Black* (light-skinned Blacks). Only one of these people, although he also defends this idea, presents some ambiguities about the accuracy of this characterization. The interviewees are university professors or students and almost all of them do Black activism. Five of the interviewees are people who claim to have discovered themselves as Black already in adulthood. In addition to the personal accounts and arguments of the interviewed, the long article brings interpretations about the etymological origin of the term *pardo* and about difficulties in categorizing *pardos*, for statistical purposes. Reflections that are all aimed at delegitimizing the autonomy of *pardo* identities.

The title of the article indicates its main problem: "*pardo gains a new identity*," which takes as something given what is an issue that 1) is a proposition of a especific group, 2) is under discussion in some sectors of society and that 3) has not been evaluated by a popular consultation. Something that has no popular legitimacy. The article is based on reports of discomfort by its interviewees with the term *pardo* and with their experience of being Mixed people and did not seek to hear any pardo, of the 46% that make up the Brazilian population, who want to continue to be categorized by a term that means Mixed. The article presents the political project of a parcel of *pardos*' population (that nobody knows the quantity, the proportion) as if it were a given reality about these 46% of the Brazilian population, the self-declared *pardos*. One of the interviewees, an academic in the field of Communication, states: "The term *pardo* does not make sense. I defend the categories White, Black, Yellow, Indigenous", about the censos, indicating how much plurality is a value cultivated in this perspective... Another interviewee, a psychologist, says: "I think that in two Censuses [*20 years*] we will have security to remove the *pardo*."[40] Again, the perspectives of *pardos* who identify themselves as such, as an autonomous and exclusive group, are ignored by the political project defended by the interviewees and disseminated by the article as the current "truth" about *pardos*.

In a second case, we have a TV news item that in it's internet version is entitled "*Exhibition reflects on the use of the term 'pardo' to define skin color and*

[39] Nathália Geraldo. *Quase brancos, quase pretos - Após longa discussão histórica, pardo ganha nova identidade: negro de pele clara*, *UOL*, 11/20/2020. Link: https://www.uol.com.br/universa/reportagens-especiais/quase-brancos-quase-pretos/.

[40] "*O termo pardo não faz sentido. Eu defendo as categorias branco, negro, amarelo, indígena*"; "*Eu acho que daqui a dois Censos [20 anos] teremos uma segurança para tirar o pardo.*"

race – (subtitle:) *The visual artist Maxwell Alexandre shows that 'pardo is paper.'*"[41] The news item was broadcast by the primetime Brazilian news bulletin, *Jornal Nacional*, from *TV Globo*, in May 2021. Having already had his works exhibited at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Lyon, France, as remarks the reporter, the aforementioned artist chose "Pardo is paper" as the title of his artistic exhibition, by which he seeks to represent the Black youth of the Rocinha favela. "Pardo is paper," however, it is a derogatory expression used to diminish the value of the condition of being *pardo*. It would not be absurd to say that it is a racist expression. And yet, it was being broadcast and sanctioned by the most watched TV news bulletin in the country for decades.

Maxwell states that he started to identify himself as Black already in adulthood and the text of the news item associates the term *pardo* with "words that can hurt, reinforce stigmas and prejudices," ending with the message that this exhibition brings the idea of "a world that values each one and their desires."[42] The question we have to ask about this TV news item, which, like the website article aforementioned, sided with its interviewees and ignored the existence of those who do not agree with their political stance, is whether *pardos*' perspective is also something to be valued? The perspective of the parcel of *pardos* that declares itself as such and that doesn't see any problem with it.

Both journalistic productions discussed above are part of an editorial position that has dominated the national hegemonic media, more or less, since 2018 and that has put the Black activism's project of erasing Mixed-race identities into a new phase. A new stage in which this project is supported by the mass media.

Final Considerations

This article, therefore, presented an overview of the current process of attempt of erasement of Mixed-racial identities in Brazil. As mentioned in the *abstract*, this process is in contention. The reader who concludes that discordant answers are not being given to this aggressive process is wrong. Some objections have come from intellectuals and politicians with a long history of public action in Brazil (Risério, 2012; 2020, p. 370–381; Rebelo, 2021). There are also the actions of the *Brazilian Mixed-Pardo Movement* (*Movimento Pardo-Mestiço Brasileiro*, or *Mixed Nation/Nação Mestiça*, from Manaus), that, resigned to the fact that the attempts to erase the term *pardo* come from agents located at the pole of the political Left, chose to ask the Right for support. The influence of this social organization beyond its group, however, seems to be small.

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[41] Sheila Natal and Graziela Azevedo. *Obras de arte ajudam a refletir sobre a palavra pardo, tão usada para definir cor de pele e raça*, *Jornal Nacional*, 05/13/2021. Link: https://globoplay.globo.com/v/9514575/.

[42] "*palavras podem ferir, reforçar estigmas e preconceitos*"; "*um mundo que valoriza cada um e seus desejos.*"

With the erasement discourse being official and dominant in the mainstream, it is on websites with much lower visibility that texts critical to this process are published.[43] Also, in the comments of the articles that disseminate the binary classification. And in the groups, pages and profiles of *Facebook*, *Instagram*, *Twitter*, which are dedicated to contesting the elimination of Mixed-race identities. All done in a very informal, disorganized way. Ineffective? We still don't know. Above all through ironic humor, as in the figure of "Schrödinger's pardo," bitterly satirized in these groups.

Two initiatives stand out in this less visible pole, dedicated to fighting the vanishment of Mixed-race identities: the online courses of activist Beatriz Bueno,[44] on multiracial identities in Brazil and the book *Pardos: The Brazilian State's point of view on Pardo people* (2021), by the specialist in Public Management, Denis Moura Dos Santos. Initiatives developed outside university's institutionality, which is increasingly hostile to us, self-declared Mixed-race people. The main objective of this article is to give some contribution to this struggle. We won't be vanished that easily!

[43] Links for two examplos: https://leorafarch.medium.com/algumas-fal%C3%A1cias-sobre-o-pardo-parte-1-ff268264967a; https://hojepr.com/o-mito-do-brasil-de-maioria-negra/?unapproved=63&moderation-hash=175bddd14820e2c382619ddb3de07365#comment-63.

[44] Links:https://medium.com/@beatrizbuenoavelino/curso-identidades-cinzas-9ca30fccad4d;

https://www.instagram.com/parditude/.

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About the author

Ph.D. Candidate. Social Communication, Fluminense Federal University, Brazil (2018-ongoing). Email: ledsonchagas@gmail.com

The Visual Construct of the Mixed-Raced Subject: Racialization through Gendering

Alma Villanueva

This excerpt is but a glimpse into a key part of my dissertation. My overall project concerns photographic representations of people either considered or identifying as racially mixed. My focus is the genre of anthropometric photography. Combining the terms "anthropology" and "metric," anthropometric portraits rely on measurement for precise standardization. Some contemporary examples of this genre include Kip Fulbeck's *The Hapa Project*, Martin Schoeller's *Changing Faces*, Angelica Dass' *humanae*, and CYJO's *Mixed Blood*. In each collection, the sitter is fixed at a particular distance from the camera, within a specified stance, facing the viewer straight on, with mild expression, set against a blank or consistent backdrop. What this uniformity enables is comparison between portraits, between subjects. Then what the viewer notices are the changing variables: the bodied features centered within the frame.

This visual genre has its historical precedent in race type portraiture, which was a mode of scientific and state photography that classified and ranked people based on their race and degree of primitiveness. Race type photography often took a group of people considered a racial type (like Asian or Black, for example) and used their portraits to show how they had certain features in common. Accordingly, stereotypical "phenotypical" features that become associated with racial groups: slanted eyes, flat noses, large lips, high cheekbones, straight black hair, and so forth. The contemporary anthropometric photographs use the visual form to challenge that mode of sight through the bodies of people considered racially mixed. The idea is that the mixed body demonstrates the inconsistency and unpredictable variability of racial presentation. The implication of which is that the very idea of race is exposed for what it is: a myth. If race is considered strictly bound and fixed, then the fluidity of racial presentation challenges the idea of race. However, this premise only considers the construct of *mono*-race. A lesser known or studied area is the visual construction of *mixed* race—which is the historical archive I flesh out and use as an analytic in my dissertation. What I term, *mixed-racial type portraiture*, wielded anthropometric photography on mixed-raced peoples while

maintaining the belief in immutable race to uphold White supremacy. In fact, it was *precisely* the mixed-raced subject's so-called "racial ambiguity" that made her an attractive visual specimen for naturalists, anthropologists, scientists, and eugenicists, among others.

So, how did these men of science study mixed-raced bodies *and* maintain their belief in the permeance of race? An integral aspect of the visual construct of the mixed-raced subject is the assignment of anatomical gender nonconformity or gender normativity. In other words, the mixed-race type is necessarily racialized through gender. What this means is that an analysis of race itself necessitates a study of gender. The gendering of racialization becomes apparent with a closer look at the foundational anthropometric mixed-racial type portraits. The images I attend to are violent and dehumanizing, yet it is important to study them because they expose the anthropological gaze that I believe undergirds many contemporary mixed-race photographic practices.

The first known anthropological portraits of people identified as mixed race were taken in 1865 by Walter Hunnewell. As the research aide of Louis Agassiz, the prominent Harvard professor and one of the founding proponents of the American School of Anthropology, Hunnewell took the photographs at Agassiz's behest and according to his instructions. While traveling in Manaus, Brazil, Agassiz became fascinated with the "various intermixtures" among the African, Indigenous, and Portuguese populations. He found the study of racial mixture to be of utmost significance because he believed that "the population arising from the amalgamation of two races is always degenerative" and that "half-breeds" are "deficient in manliness and feminine virtue." He worried about the "physical disability" that would ensue "if instead of the *manly* population descended from cognate nations[,] the United States should hereafter be inhabited by the *effeminate* progeny of mixed race,[—]half indian, half negro, sprinkled with white blood." Already, we can see the importance he ascribes normative and nonnormative conceptions of gendered race. As I will show you, such racialized gendering emerges in his photographs of mixed-raced peoples.

The photographs constituting Agassiz's and Hunnewell's *Mixed Race Series* visualize the ab/normal gendering of mixed/racial difference. Set outdoors against a rundown building, somber adults and children of various ages sit or stand for the photographer and the viewer. The subjects are gendered through their attire. Men and boys wear pants, while women wear dresses and skirts. Most of the subjects are women. Some of the female subjects are within a triptych whereby the same subject stands naked in the frontal, profile, and then rear positions. In an even more vulgar setup, the female subject is often photographed in stages of undressing. In the first image, she is fully clothed, the second topless, and by the last one her entire body is exposed. There are

several shots of near-naked and entirely nude women throughout the collection. What these photos do is visualize the erotic study of racial difference. In other words, they show how racial thought centering the anatomical body occurred through a violent eroticism of the female body.

Agassiz's racialization scheme relies on the presumption that racial identity can be hidden from ordinary sight—veiled under clothes and seen in the reproductive and sexualized anatomy of the female subject. The parts of the body Agassiz believed to be the most resilient markers of one's race after generations of intermixing include the female's buttocks, the widths between her breasts, the very form of the breast, and the vulval area. Feminist theory and queer studies scholar, Siobhan Somerville, explains that racial difference has not only been located "through the sexual characteristics of the female body" but also the *racial hybrid* (akin to the invention of the "homosexual") in particular was characterized as having ambiguous sexual anatomy. Agassiz likewise assigns gender ambiguity to his naked subjects: "when seen from behind, the Indian woman has a very masculine air . . . for even her features have rarely the feminine delicacy of higher woman." While the "Indian female" is remarkable in terms of her masculinity, he continues, the "Negro male is equally so for his feminine aspect." Which features demonstrate the lower womanhood of Indian women or the femininity of Black men go unstated, presumed to be apparent from looking at the photographs.

Agassiz's photographic set racializes his subjects as mixed through dually gendering them as mixed. The photographs do not quite appear to be strictly anthropometric. There is a failed uniformity in terms of distance of the subject in the frame and an inattention to backdrop. However, Hunnewell's lack of photographic skill is made-up through a degree of standardization accomplished through gender prescription. Especially when the subjects are in the sitting position, men and boys tend to have their hands on their lap, whereas women tend to wrap their right arm along their waist with the other hand atop their lap. While a distinct pattern, a number of the women also have both of their hands on their lap, suggesting they have adapted what gets constructed as the masculine position. And at least one man poses in the femininized position. The apparent mixed gendering is biologized through associating the fully dressed body with that of the entirely naked one via the sequential portraits that envision the process of denuding. The semi-naked and naked portraits instruct the viewer to imagine—to see—what is underneath a fully dressed individual and to wed that racial difference to a face.

Considering that contemporary mixed-racial type portraits exist in a visual nexus of historical race type photographs that included the exposed sexual and reproductive features of anatomical bodies, we cannot divorce the construct of the mixed-raced body from that of the portraited face even when the framing

excludes the body. What I do in my dissertation is look at contemporary mixed-racial anthropometric portraits through the lens of historical sets such as these. I find Agassiz's photographs of mixed-raced Amazonians to be fundamental to understanding subsequent portraits of mixed-raced peoples because they demonstrate that anatomical racialized and gendered difference are foundationally intertwined.

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About the author

Alma Villanueva is a doctoral candidate in the English Department at Texas A&M University. Her dissertation, Photographing Mixed-Raced Bodies: An Artistic and Scientific Visual Culture, is an interdisciplinary and intersectional analysis of how mixed-race photo projects have historically been constructed at the intersections of settler colonial, anti- Black, and anti- immigrant (Latinx, Asian American, and Muslim) racisms. Email: almavilla@tamu.edu

Learning from Multiracial-Focused Dissertations to Understand the Doctoral Pipeline of Emerging Scholarship on Multiraciality

Lisa Delacruz Combs

Leilani Ferreras

Marc P. Johnston-Guerrero

The Ohio State University

Abstract
Despite increasing scholarship on multiraciality in line with the expanding multidisciplinary field of Critical Mixed Race Studies, less attention has been paid to the potential publishing bottleneck of multiracial scholarship at the doctoral dissertation stage. Scholars studying multiraciality for their dissertations may de-identify with the topic or change research interests due to fears of being "pigeonholed." Through tracking of recent multiracial-dissertation writers' trajectories and publishing patterns, we outline factors contributing to a lack of representation of multiracial-focused faculty in academia. Implications for graduate student advising/mentorship, peer-review, and tenure and promotion practices are discussed.

Keywords: multiracial, faculty, doctoral students, dissertations

Authors' Note: The conceptual overview of this study was presented at the 2022 Critical Mixed Race Studies Conference. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 2022 American College Personnel Association (ACPA) Annual Convention, and we benefited greatly from the feedback from our discussant, Dr. Melvin Whitehead.

Despite increasing numbers and presence of Multiracial students in U.S. higher education (Renn, 2021), faculty who identify as Multiracial have had much less exposure on campus and coverage in the literature. This lack seems counter to common discourse that places Multiracial people on a "pedestal" as evidence of racial progress or a racialized ideal (Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Mohajeri, 2019; Osei-Kofi, 2012). Instead of having a pedestal on which one can progress on their scholarly careers, emerging Multiracial scholars might leave academia or move on to other non-multiracial focused topics altogether, often due to fears of being pigeonholed. A small but growing body of research has started to shed light on the experiences of Multiracial faculty (e.g., Harris, 2020; Harris et al., 2021). Yet, this research tends to focus on those who have already made it to the faculty role, especially since much of it captures only the perspectives of tenure-track faculty. What happens to doctoral students and graduates studying multiracial topics who do not pursue faculty careers or are not on the tenure track? How might their decisions be influenced by monoracialized structures in academia that are far beyond their control?

Critical Mixed Race Studies (CMRS) is an emerging interdisciplinary field of scholarship focused on mixed race experiences and multiraciality using critical paradigms (Daniel et al., 2014). Though relatively new as a discipline, studying multiraciality remains important as it significantly contributes to larger conversations about the complexities of race and ethnicity. The history of mixed race studies is long and continues to gain traction as the Multiracial population grows (both in numbers and presence). With the recent 2020 U.S. Census, the numbers demonstrate that the Multiracial population is one of the fastest growing groups of people in the United States, with a growth of 276% from the 2010 Census (Jones et al., 2021). This growing population necessitates more research on the pipeline of multiracial scholarship. Daniel and colleagues (2014) bring attention to the *criticality* of CMRS, calling for the intentional interrogation of interlocking systems of power when studying multiraciality. CMRS also centers the voices of mixed race people while highlighting monoracism (Johnston & Nadal, 2010).

Because *Critical* Mixed Race Studies is still seen as a novel area of study, more attention is needed to understand the intricacies and trajectories of this pipeline of scholarship. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to identify publication patterns among emerging scholars studying multiraciality to identify themes and inform recommendations for the future of the field. Daniel and colleagues (2014) explicitly call attention to the large amount of unpublished multiracial-focused dissertations. As scholars at different parts of our journeys, we had similar observations about the scholarship. Therefore, one broad research question guided the study: *What can we learn from multiracial-focused dissertations?* To answer this question, we engaged in a systematic review that centered dissertations focused on multiraciality completed between the years 2010 and 2015. We documented the doctoral graduates' recent/current

positions, tracked their publications, and captured access to multiracial-supportive mentors in order to outline potential trajectories of multiracial scholarship and monoracial academia. By connecting various datapoints around their dissertations, we attempt to outline potential influences on the multiracial scholarship pipeline.

Literature Review

As mentioned earlier, part of what prompted our interest in this study was an observation we had over the years that emerging scholars across multiple disciplines and fields were doing novel work related to multiraciality for their dissertations. Unfortunately, we also observed that many of these dissertations were never published past the dissertation. Within the field of higher education, for example, Museus and colleagues (2016) conducted a review of the five core journals in the field to reveal "that fewer than 1% of articles published over the past decade included an explicit focus on mixed-race people" (p. 680). We have witnessed much growth over the past few decades, as well as increased attention to the experiences and needs of Multiracial college students (e.g., Chang, 2014; Harris, 2019; Renn, 2004), bolstered by the demonstrated growth in their numbers (Renn, 2021). Unfortunately, higher education has not given the same attention to Multiracial faculty, or even Multiracial graduate students seeking to become scholars. A few studies on Multiracial faculty (e.g., Harris, 2020; Harris et al., 2021; Jackson et al., 2021; Nuñez & Murakami-Ramalho, 2011) and Multiracial graduate students (e.g., MacDonald, 2014; Risku & Arnold, 2021) provide some helpful insights but much more attention is needed, especially given the extant literature that demonstrates the challenges that Scholars of Color must navigate within an academic system dominated by whiteness (Arnold et al., 2016; Squire, 2020). Multiracial faculty and graduate students must navigate these same challenges while also contending with monoracist structures in academia (Elsheikh et al., 2020; Johnston-Guerrero & Combs, 2022).

There have been many advancements and innovative contributions within CMRS including acknowledging monoracism as a unique system of oppression that privileges those who identify with one racial identity (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). Within higher education, Harris (2016) developed an extension of Critical Race Theory, Critical Multiracial Theory or MultiCrit that asserts the existence of monoracism as a system of power. Together, these constructs converge with the emerging CMRS paradigms and tools outlined by Daniel and colleagues (2014) to provide a unique lens to consider academia overall from a vantage point of higher education and CMRS scholarship. We turn to dissertations both published and unpublished to glean more information about the patterns of multiracial scholarship and where the pipeline is headed as we continue expanding the field of CMRS.

Conceptual Framework

We utilize the Becoming a Multiracial Scholar Model to frame this study. Johnston-Guerrero and Combs (2022) introduced this model to illustrate potential pathways and trajectories of Multiracial scholars traversing a monoracial (and we argue here also a monoracist) academia. Given the increasing attention on the Multiracial faculty experience (Harris, 2020; Harris & Tanksley, 2021; Jackson et al., 2021), Johnston-Guerrero and Combs conjectured several factors that shape Multiracial scholars' career decisions related to leaving academia and/or diverging from multiracial-focused research interests. The model delineates four different decision-making entry points illustrated as branches, with the central focal outcome of becoming a Multiracial scholar. There are three highlighted decisions/influences within each trajectory related to navigating academia.

In the pre-doctoral branch, we highlight choosing an advisor, personal statement and research interests, and institution type. These three decision points may shape how emerging Multiracial scholars begin their careers desiring to study multiraciality. These decisions can be strategic and may lead to different mentorship and research opportunities (e.g., seeking out an advisor who studies multiraciality vs. going to a program without someone specific with those interests).

Similarly, the second branch of the model focuses on the doctoral student experience. Within it, the three decision points include choosing a dissertation topic, engaging research, and evaluating job opportunities. Multiracial doctoral students may experience trepidation in choosing to focus on multiracial topics with their dissertation because of fear of the topics being more difficult to publish or that an institution might be more hesitant to hire them when they search for faculty jobs. These fears are ingrained in the monoracialized structures of academia because students might not have the same exposure to mentors or even possibility models due to multiracial erasure (Ford et al., 2021).

In the pre-tenure or non-tenure track branch, the decision points focus on research, barriers to publication, and fear of being pigeonholed. Monoracism creates an environment where publishing about multiracial topics may prove to be more difficult in the publication process leading to challenges in promotion and tenure. Furthermore, faculty members may experience fear and hesitation around being pigeonholed into one research or topic, therefore drifting away from studying multiraciality and pivoting toward broader topics related to social justice and diversity.

Tenure-track faculty members also have multiple decision branches pertaining to administrative and leadership opportunities, mentoring emerging scholars, and choices about a multiracial research agenda. When mentoring students, tenured faculty may have challenges in advising other students who want to focus on multiracial topics because of their own experiences navigating

monoracial academia. They may grapple with similar decisions related to their own research agenda and career opportunities, and impart those onto mentees.

Though the model was based on theory and literature (e.g., Critical Multiracial Theory; Harris, 2016) and the authors' experiences (Johnston-Guerrero & Combs, 2022), it has not been empirically tested. Our aim in this study was not specifically to test the model, especially given the limitations of depending on publicly available data for this systematic review, and the distinctions between the model's focus on Multiracial-identified scholars over our study on multiracial-focused dissertations (and the writers who may or may not be Multiracial themselves). Therefore, we chose to collect data related to publication, career, and mentorship trajectories to align with the conceptual framework. Moreover, we focus on the decision points post-dissertation to guide our data analysis about multiracial scholar(ship) trajectories.

Methods

In this study, we engage bibliographic methods which Boon (2018) defines as "any research requiring information to be gathered from published materials" (p. 93). In alignment with bibliographic methods, we utilized library guides and bibliographic databases to collect information gleaned from dissertations focused on multiraciality and scholar publication trajectories in order to answer a specific research question. Under this umbrella of bibliographic research, we conducted a systematic literature review of dissertations that focused on multiraciality. Gough and colleagues (2017) describe systematic literature reviews as reviewing scholarship with rigorous analytical methods. In alignment with our research questions and theoretical framework, we tracked multiracial dissertations and collected data related to the author's career and scholarly trajectories, which included dissertation title, degree, degree field, doctoral institution, institution type, current institution, whether or not they were faculty, current position, advisor, committee members, notable themes from dissertation acknowledgments, their first five publications after the dissertation, and their five most current publications. Gough and colleagues assert that systematic literature reviews must attend to specific research questions rather than synthesizing the literature focused on topical areas. Moreover, systematic literature reviews require analytical conversations amongst the researchers, deliberate decisions amongst the research team, specific attention to inclusion and exclusion criteria, rigorous data analysis, utilizing the conceptual framework, and making evidence-based claims that emerge directly from the data (Gough et al., 2017).

Newman and Gough (2020) describe the systematic review process as developing a research question, designing conceptual framework, constructing selection criteria, developing a search strategy, select studies using the aforementioned criteria, code studies, assess the quality of studies, synthesize

results to answer the research questions, and report findings. To begin our process, as a research team, we co-constructed a research question to guide our study: What can we learn from multiracial-focused dissertations and the people who write them? Several subquestions guided our specific data collection and analysis:

- What patterns exist among multiracial-focused dissertations completed between the years 2010 and 2015?
- What academic or career paths do writers of multiracial dissertations engage in after the dissertation?
- How does mentorship patterns shape their trajectories post-dissertation?
- If they do publish after their dissertation, how are those publications related to multiraciality?

In the data collection section below, we outline our selection criteria, search strategy, and selection process. In the data analysis section that follows, we provide an overview of our coding and assessing process that we utilize to synthesize results and report findings. We then describe our positionalities before presenting the findings.

Data Collection

For our search strategy, we utilized ProQuest, a platform and bibliographic database that hosts multiple scholarly works, including dissertations, to locate the dissertations we used in our study. Our inclusion or selection criteria are dissertations focused on multiracial and mixed race issues completed during the years 2010 and 2015. We chose this time frame to trace the career trajectories illuminated in our conceptual framework, the Becoming a Multiracial Scholar Model (Johnston-Guerrero & Combs, 2022). In our initial search, we included dissertations that had "mixed race" anywhere in the dissertation (*n* = 909), "mixed race" in title only (*n* = 41), "mixed race" in title or abstract (*n* = 100) in the dissertation title or abstract in the dissertations and theses database on ProQuest. We chose "mixed race" because "multiracial" is too often used to signify multiple races. Starting with the "title only" spreadsheet as a baseline for our data due to our desire to find dissertations focused on multiraciality, we then combined the "title only" and the "title and abstract" spreadsheet and removed any duplicates.

This initial search and cross-reference yielded a total of 88 dissertations and theses. We reviewed this final list and removed five entries where "mixed" referred to mixed methods studies that focused on race and an additional two studies that used "mixed race" in a way that meant a mixed group of monoracial people. Because the remaining 81 entries only included "mixed race" in the title and abstract, we returned to the original "mixed race" anywhere in the dissertation (n = 909) spreadsheet and then searched for the terms "multiracial," "biracial," mixed heritage," "mixed ancestry," and "mulatt*" appearing in the title or abstract to try to capture the varied ways multiraciality

and mixedness might be described. This step added 25 additional dissertations and theses focused on multiraciality. This resulted in a total of 106 total dissertations and theses focused on multiraciality. However, because our focus on the model starts at the doctoral journey, we cut out the 21 master's-level theses. Furthermore, three dissertations were not publicly available or did not include needed information (e.g., acknowledgments). Therefore, our final analytic sample included 82 doctoral-level dissertations.

Given our research questions and conceptual framework, we collected additional data related to the dissertation authors' career trajectories, including their current institution and position (using Google and LinkedIn). With these we coded whether the person was in a tenure-track (TT) or non-TT faculty (NT) position, or if they were in a non-Faculty (NF) position. Additionally, using Google scholar or copies of their CVs, we collected their first five publications in the year the dissertation was completed and their five most recent publications. We then coded the publications based on title and topic. For example, if the publication was focused solely on race or other social identities but not on multiraciality, we coded this as "Race/Diversity." If the publication title mentioned multiraciality or mixed race specifically, we coded it as "Multiracial Specific," and any other publication was coded as "General." We utilized these codes in our analysis to trace the course of each scholar's research agenda.

Moreover, the Becoming a Multiracial Scholar Model emphasizes mentorship and advisor/advisee relationships; therefore, we collected information about advisors, committee members, and other mentors that each dissertation author mentioned in their acknowledgments (when available). We created a variable capturing whether the individual had a multiracial-supportive mentor (Y) during the process of writing their dissertation or not (N). For this coding, we looked at each of the individual's advisor(s) and committee members—accessing data from university websites, CVs, Google Scholar, and LinkedIn—and identified them as a MS mentor if they mentioned multiraciality in their research or work interests, or published/presented at least one piece related to multiraciality. In essence, if an advisor or committee member named multiraciality in their own work, we assumed they were supportive and affirming of their mentee's multiracial-focused dissertation topic. After at least one multiracial-supportive (MS) mentor was identified during the process, individual dissertation-writers were coded with a "Y" for having a MS mentor. Those who did not have a single MS mentor as the advisor or in their committee were coded an "N." Additionally, for those coded as "N" we also looked at their acknowledgements in their dissertation. If anyone acknowledged support from a well-known multiracial scholar or mentioned a multiracial community or support group, they were then coded as "Y" because we believed they had access to support mechanisms that were affirming of multiraciality akin to having a MS mentor.

Data Analysis

We utilized the Becoming a Multiracial Scholar Model and our guiding research questions to frame our analysis. Our team specifically looked for trends related to mentorship, research agendas, and career trajectories. We used codes about the publications to discern themes about each scholar's research path. Additionally, we traced career trajectories and found that 32 out of the 82 dissertation authors, or 39 percent, did not go on to publish any of their work. We also analyzed the publication codes for emerging trends related to topical areas represented in each research agenda. Our study has methodological limitations because the publication process moves slowly within academia, proving that tracing career and publication trajectories may not be as accurate or as representative of each author's current status. However, our findings still provide a depiction of scholars that focused on multiraciality as they navigate a monoracial academia and as a foundation for understanding the pipeline of CMRS scholarship.

Positionality

Because this study includes human interpretations of data and in alignment with our critical paradigm connected to Critical Multiracial Theory (Harris, 2016), we want to acknowledge our positionalities as researchers and describe how they influenced our study. We are a team of Multiracial-identifying scholars representing different points in trajectories toward becoming Multiracial scholars. Lisa is a current PhD candidate, Leilani is a current MA student, and Marc is a tenured faculty member. As positionality statements are not just about our identities or positions, we each reflexively describe below how who we are interacted with the design and interpretation of this study.

Lisa identifies as a multiracial Filipina Woman of Color, and it is her own experiences navigating what it means to feel racially enough in all of her identities that serve as the impetus for her interest in this work. As a current PhD student, Lisa resonates with multiple branches of the Becoming a Multiracial Scholar Model, specifically the pre-doctoral and doctoral student branches. When applying for doctoral programs, Lisa strongly considered faculty advisors at each institution to work closely with a mentor to support her interest in multiracial research topics. Lisa has also expressed apprehension about naming multiraciality as a research interest in her personal statement for fear of taking up space and being pigeonholed early in her career. As a current PhD student, Lisa navigates constructing her research agenda and choosing a dissertation topic that includes multiraciality and extends her work beyond CMRS. Ultimately, Lisa considers emerging job opportunities in all her choices as she aspires to be a Multiracial scholar. Throughout the coding and data analysis process, she was mindful of her own experience as a doctoral student and applicant and engaged self-reflexivity to confirm evidence leading to specific claims. She was able to process the potential divergence in multiracial scholar experiences with

the research team. However, her own positionality as an emerging and early career scholar also allowed her to see certain patterns within the data and multiracial scholar trajectories.

Leilani identifies as a Filipina and Mexican, Multiracial Woman of Color. Her research interests in multiraciality began during her undergraduate studies when she explored the meanings of her racial identity as a Multiracial person not mixed with white. During this period, she was able to further her research interests with the support of two multiracial scholar mentors (including the late G. Reginald Daniel) who validated her experiences and research interests in multiraciality. As a current master's student who is considering pursuing a PhD, Leilani felt connected to this research; she is passionate about multiracial topics in higher education and saw many trajectories as her own possible future. Despite this connection, though, she was also able to identify herself as an outsider from this research because she has not yet gone through the doctoral process. Furthermore, Leilani was conscious of her Multiracial identity and the insider and outsider perspectives which informed the lens that she utilized throughout the data collection and coding processes.

Marc's identity has generally been influx over his career, but he now generally identifies as a queer Multiracial Filipino American man. Queer defines his sexuality and connects to his race and ethnicity and blurring of boundaries that too often constrain our identities. Marc's entryway into conducting research was the Ronald E. McNair Postbaccalaureate Achievement Program, where his undergraduate research mentor was also a multiracial Asian and white man (though not Filipino). He chose his particular master's program to have access to a scholar conducting research on multiracial identity, even though she identified as a monoracial white woman. For the PhD, Marc's advisor was a transracially adopted Korean American woman, who although was not Multiracial in identity, understood how Transracial Adoptees and Multiracial people often had shared experiences. Moreover, one of his committee members had conducted groundbreaking research on Multiracial people in social psychology. Despite this support, he chose not to do his dissertation on multiraciality (thus, he does not show up in this study's dataset despite completing his PhD in 2013) because of fears of being pigeonholed into being known as exclusively doing multiracial research. He has now fully embraced multiraciality as his central research area and has focused on supporting emerging scholars in this area. These perspectives ultimately influenced his desire for this study to have findings that could make a difference in the lives of other multiracial scholars, especially as he observed many dissertations focused on multiraciality not going on to be published as articles, chapters, or books.

Findings

This study was guided by the broad research question: What can we learn from multiracial-focused dissertations and the people who wrote them? In essence, our content includes the population of dissertations focused on multiraciality between the years 2010 and 2015. Though there are missing data due to limitations in publicly available data and the specific search strategies we used, we were still able to generate some patterns to inform our findings in relation to our four research subquestions that follow.

Patterns in Multiracial-Focused Dissertations

Out of the 82 dissertations we were able to access, 75 were for the PhD, 6 the PsyD, and 1 EdD degree. We were surprised that only one EdD resulted from our search. This may be because at some institutions, EdD dissertations do not get filed/submitted to ProQuest, especially if they are more of an applied project. However, this could also represent an important area for further inquiry (in terms of more applied/practical knowledge connected to multiraciality in education).

There were 67 different institutions that awarded the 82 doctoral degrees. These ranged in type/control and locations, with the majority being public (74.3%), research universities (61.0%), and in the United States (84.1%). The institutions that awarded multiple dissertations during this timeframe included: Stanford University (2); University of California, Santa Barbara (3); University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign (2); University of Miami (2); University of Michigan (3); University of Minnesota (4); University of New Mexico (2); University of Washington (2); University of Wisconsin, Madison (3); and The Wright Institute (2).

Dissertations were awarded in a multitude of disciplines and fields ranging from American Studies to Urban Studies. The fields that produced the most multiracial-focused dissertations during this timeframe included: 18 in Education (including education-related fields like Leadership Studies, Literacy); 15 in Psychology (and all subfields); 13 in Sociology (including Urban Studies); 8 in History (including History of Medicine); 7 in American or Ethnic Studies (including specific fields); and 7 in English (including Literature).

The trends across the years in our dataset also varied, though a clear pattern did not emerge. There were 14 multiracial-focused dissertations in 2010; 7 in 2011; 19 in 2012; 17 in 2013; 16 in 2014; and 9 in 2015. Figure 1 represents these trends, which are broken down by degree type (e.g., the one EdD that focused on multiraciality was published in 2013).

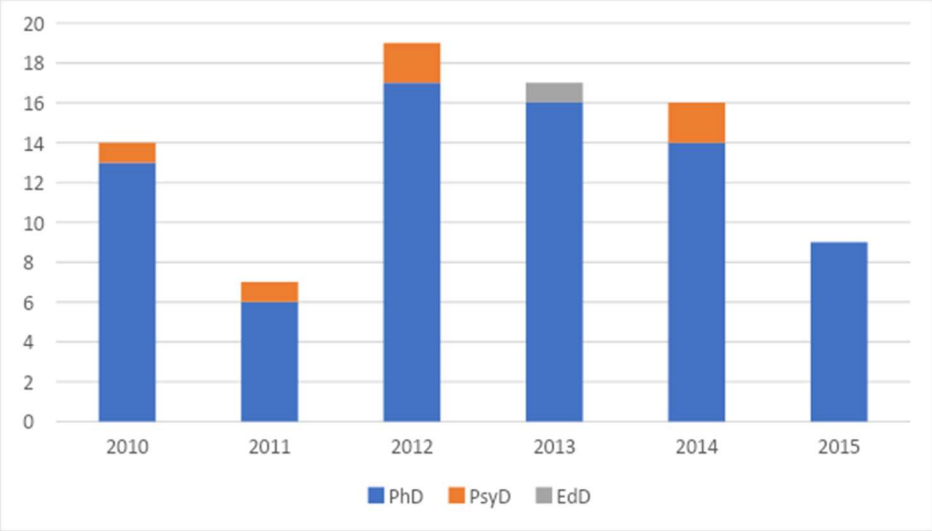

Figure 1. Multiracial Dissertations Awarded by Year.

Multiracial Dissertation Writers' Academic and Career Trajectories

We found that of the 82 people who published multiracial-focused dissertations between 2010-2015, 35 (42.7%) were in tenure-track (TT) faculty positions in 2021–2022 (including academic administrative positions that were attached to faculty positions). Only 9 (11.0%) were non-tenure track (non-TT) faculty, while a plurality (38) were in non-faculty positions (46.3%). Half of these non-faculty were in psychology-oriented service positions (e.g., Clinical Psychologist, Mindset Coach) in private practice or with various organizations. Nine of the non-faculty doctoral degree holders were in administrative positions in higher education. We also observed that several had been in faculty positions (both visiting and tenure-stream) and were no longer (or chose to leave). One person described themselves as "a recovering academic" in their written bio found online. Another had been an associate professor of law previously and now was directing a research and policy institute. And another had two stints as a full-time lecturer or visiting faculty, only to later become an academic advisor at their doctoral granting institution. Although we cannot confirm if others left academia, many also chose different career paths including opening a doggie daycare, starting a podcast and becoming a mindset coach, founding numerous organizations, and engaging in public speaking/consulting.

Focusing on the 35 TT faculty, their dissertations were awarded in 12 broad fields, with the most represented being Education (8), Sociology (7), and History (5). Despite the 15 dissertations completed in Psychology described earlier, only 2 of their authors were found to be in TT faculty positions. For these 35 TT faculty members, there were 32 different degree-granting institutions (only UIUC, Minnesota, and Wisconsin-Madison had two doctoral recipients in TT positions). All TT faculty were at different institutions, including community colleges. When

looking across all faculty, both TT and Non-TT (n = 44), all were at different institutions except NYU (2 NTT) and UCLA (1 TT and 1 NTT).

Multiracial-Supportive Mentors

As mentioned previously in the data collection section, because our guiding framework included claims about availability of mentors who were supportive of researching multiracial topics, we coded for documentation of having a multiracial-supportive (MS) mentor. Of the 82 dissertations, we found exactly half (41) had MS mentors and half did not. We used this piece of information to compare to other datapoints, including faculty status. We found that if someone did not have a multiracial-supportive mentor, they were more likely to also not be a tenure-track faculty member: 61% of those coded without MS mentors were either in non-faculty positions or non-TT, compared to 53.6% for those with MS mentors. Further information is provided in Table 1.

Table 1

Faculty Status by Documentation of Having a Multiracial-Supportive Mentor

Faculty Status	MS Mentor	#	% of all Faculty	% Mentor of Faculty status
TT	Y	19	23.2%	54.3%
	N	16	19.5%	45.7%
NT	Y	6	7.3%	66.7%
	N	3	3.7%	33.3%
NF	Y	16	19.5%	42.1%
	N	22	26.8%	56.4%

Post-Dissertation Publications

Of the 82 dissertation writers, we were able to find 50 who had publications post-dissertation. Of these 50, 29 (58%) were in TT positions, 6 were non-TT faculty, and 15 were non-faculty (6 of whom worked in higher education positions). Said otherwise, the 32 people who did not publish (after) their dissertation tended to not be in faculty positions (23 or 71.9% of non-publishers), and only 6 (18.8%) were in TT positions. Exploring further, 5 out of 6 of these TT positions were at community colleges (4) or other teaching focused institutions. The final person, Dr. Tomas Garrett-Rosas, passed away shortly after he completed his dissertation while at the beginning of his TT faculty career. Of the 50 who published, 28 had a multiracial-supportive mentor (22 were coded as not having one).

Exploring the publications further, we found patterns in the topical areas of the publications. We were curious if their dissertation focused on multiraciality (at least enough to fit our inclusion criteria), what would their post-dissertation publications look like? For their first 5 post-dissertation publications (which were in most cases also the most recent), 21 scholars (42%) did not focus on multiraciality at all (which was the same for the 5 most-recent publications). Additionally, 13 scholars had only 1 publication related to multiraciality, 13 had a few or most related to multiraciality, and 3 had all their publications (ranging from 2 minimum to 5 first/recent) focused on multiraciality. These patterns were similar across the first 5 publications and most recent 5. Of the 16 scholars who had more than 1 multiracial-focused publication, 10 were TT faculty and 9 had access to a MS mentor (6 were coded as both TT and having a MS mentor).

Discussion

As this study broadly explored what we can learn from multiracial-focused dissertations about the pipeline of multiracial scholars/scholarship in CMRS, we use this discussion to further interpret the findings given the Becoming a Multiracial Scholar Model and related literature.

First, the finding that 32 out of the 82 dissertation authors did not go on to publish any of their work gave us pause. Why did 39% of the scholars not publish at all? From the other findings, we can explain some of this by the number of scholars who went into private practice or other non-faculty positions. And some of those in faculty positions were at institutions that may not find publishing necessary. However, we argue that these dissertation topics are extremely important for such an overlooked and misconstrued community no matter what position the author is in post-dissertation. The information gained through these dissertations should be disseminated more broadly. Combining the number of non-publishers with the finding that of the 50 who did publish, 21 (42%) did not publish on multiracial topics, speaks to the potential difficulties of publishing multiracial topics as outlined in the Model (Johnston-Guerrero & Combs, 2022). Our study provides some evidence that the fears that graduate students might have that studying multiraciality may prove more difficult to get published may be warranted.

Another finding we want to discuss further is differences in disciplines/fields. There seems to be something unique going on for Education, both in terms of the number of dissertations awarded in Education-related fields and also the number of TT faculty positions in Education. It may be that education is often dealing with youth/young people, who we know are more likely to identify as Multiracial (Jones et al., 2021). The Psychology field difference (15 dissertations but only 2 TT faculty) is also interesting because it might align with the need for more clinicians being able to work with a growing Multiracial population. Additionally, part of this finding could be related to limitations in our corpus-building decisions. Our initial ProQuest research included "mixed race"

anywhere in the dissertation. It could be the case that if someone solely or consistently used "biracial" or some other term for their dissertation, they would not show up in our dataset at all. A quick search of dissertation titles that include "biracial" in the title makes it clear that there are some multiracial-focused scholars in Psychology TT positions who should be in our study but are not.

The findings related to a number of scholars who wrote multiracial-focused dissertations who are now in TT faculty positions are somewhat counter to claims made by Johnston-Guerrero and Combs (2022) when providing the foundation to their Model. Reviewing NCES data, they found that Multiracial-identified full-time faculty were overrepresented in non-tenure track faculty positions compared to other groups. Based on the 5-year timeframe in the current study, we found a higher likelihood of being TT faculty members than non-TT faculty. Perhaps part of the difference is in the timeframes. We purposefully chose 2010–2015 to be able to have some length of time post-dissertation to try to identify career and multiracial scholarship trajectories. It may be the case that there are more non-TT faculty who are Multiracial with more recent dissertations. Or perhaps, given the finding that 38 out of the 82 dissertation authors were not in any kind of faculty position, possibly means those who may have pursued faculty and were in non-TT positions already left academia completely by this point. This finding needs further investigation, especially since the current literature on Multiracial faculty exclusively focuses on those who are already on the tenure track (e.g., Harris, 2020; Harris et al., 2021).

Ultimately, what could explain a lot of these nuances in interpretation is our difficulty of being able to identify or distinguish Multiracial-identified scholars from their multiracial-focused dissertations. We chose to focus on multiracial dissertation topics, and are extrapolating to, multiracial scholarship generally. But we know there are many Multiracial-identified scholars who do not study multiracial topics and that there are monoracial-identified scholars who study multiraciality. Perhaps this nuance could relate to the "contested" nature of racial identity for graduate students navigating whiteness (Mohajeri, 2021). This study was a starting place to serve as a baseline for future studies that could better distinguish between these groups. Indeed, Harris' research (e.g., Harris, 2020; Harris et al. 2021) on Multiracial faculty included Multiracial-identifying faculty across a wide variety of fields, many of whom did not necessarily study multiracial topics. There are also clear examples of monoracial allies studying multiraciality, like Kristen Renn and her path-paving extensive work on mixed race identities and college students (Renn, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2021). Many of the concerns raised by the Becoming a Multiracial Scholar Model dealt specifically with Multiracial scholars studying multiraciality. Yet, we believe it is highly unlikely that a monoracial scholar (especially a monoracial white one) studying multiraciality would feel they would be pigeonholed into only studying that topic

given the critiques of "me-search" that interact with this fear (Altenmüller et al., 2021; Gardner et al., 2017).

In terms of having a multiracial-supportive mentor, some might argue the fact that someone completed their dissertation means they have a mentor supportive of their topic. Yet, Elsheikh and colleagues (2020) described the "importance of affirmation of multiracial identity, which goes beyond the absence of invalidation" for Multiracial graduate students. Therefore, we believe it is important to continue to find multiracial-supportive or affirming mentors of multiracial scholarship and Multiracial-identified scholars. Additionally, a limitation of our study is that the data does not account for mentorship relationships after receiving their doctorate degree. Jackson and colleagues (2021) discussed the importance of multiracial counterspaces and building community with other Multiracial scholars. However, as mentioned earlier, this proves to be difficult given the invisibility of Multiracial faculty. Peer communities and continued mentorship throughout Multiracial scholars' careers may contribute to increased faculty retention and remains a future area for research.

Implications and Recommendations

Though we generally approach our work though a constructivist lens and find valuable working alongside participants or co-researchers to answer questions about their experiences—including career and publication trajectories post-dissertation—we also know that much can be gained from document analysis. For instance, Whitehead and colleagues (2019) originally wanted to speak directly to Muslim students for their study on their experiences in the U.S. South. Unfortunately, there were legal constraints on their ability to contact these students and therefore they conducted a document analysis of newspaper articles, which also gave them important findings that were framed as "a springboard and conversation starter from which researchers can work on larger and more national research data" (Whitehead et al., 2019, p. 210). We approached our study similarly, noting its limitations while offering our findings as a foundation for future research or utilizing various methodologies and at different scopes.

We recommend future studies that include interviews and focus groups with emerging scholars studying multiraciality about their career and publication trajectories to fill the gaps not captured in our current dataset. As previously mentioned, our data also does not account for scholars who identify as Multiracial versus those who have an interest in Critical Mixed Race Studies. Collecting more data to delineate this difference may illuminate further complexities about the pipeline of multiracial scholarship. For example, how do the experiences of those that identify as Multiracial, and study mixed race topics, differ from those who identify as monoracial? We are not proponents of always having to conduct research with comparative data, but moving

forward, being able to compare the trajectories of multiracial-focused dissertations to other racial and ethnic group focused dissertation would generate helpful insights.

Multiracial mentorship in the academy also proves to be a compelling future area of research. While our study aligns with the importance of mentorship in the Becoming a Multiracial Scholar Model, more attention is needed to capture the nuance of the longevity of mentorship relationships and peer communities and how this connects to the desire to stay in academia. As multiracial scholars embark on their journeys, they are forced to contend with monoracist practices that can deter them from reaching their goal, especially if they do not adhere to monoracial social norms.

Our data also reveal patterns concerning the pre-doctoral, doctoral student, pre-tenure/non-tenure-track branches of the model. However, we recommend collecting more data about the distinct experience of tenured faculty and their experiences with leadership/administrative roles, research agenda, and mentoring other graduate students. This study may generate implications not only for current tenured Multiracial scholars but also strategies for supporting emerging scholars and graduate students interested in Critical Mixed Race Studies.

Our findings also have implications for current faculty advisors and administrators in graduate student programs. Given the importance of mentorship and in alignment with previous literature (Elsheikh et al., 2020), we recommend intentional support and advising that goes beyond validating multiracial experiences in graduate education. Examples include mentoring and advising graduate students focused on CMRS about specific opportunities for research, connecting them to other mixed race scholars, and providing advice about the tenure process. In return, these practices will aid in creating trajectories for multiracial scholarship. Because our findings illustrate that 39% of the scholars in our dataset did not go on to publish at all after their dissertation, we explicitly emphasize the importance of mentorship about publishing in the academy. Additionally, we urge faculty and administrators to disrupt monoracist practices in higher education related to policies and systemic functions of graduate programs to create pathways for multiracial scholarship.

Conclusion

This study contributes to the much needed and developing body of literature that focuses on Critical Mixed Race Studies by providing attention to multiracial-focused dissertations to learn more about the patterns and pipeline of multiracial scholarship. By tracking the doctoral graduates' most recent positions and publications as well as documenting their access to multiracial-supportive mentors, we were able to outline possible influences that may contribute to the lack of Multiracial faculty in higher education. All while

navigating a monoracial academia, Multiracial faculty and emerging scholars also maneuver the politics and fear of being pigeonholed into only being known to produce work on multiracial related topics. Out of fear of only being known to produce work on multiracial related topics, emerging scholars studying multiraciality might shift their focus to non-multiracial topics or leave academia altogether. Given that much less attention has been paid to the scholarship trajectory of faculty who identify as Multiracial despite the recent increase in awareness of Multiracial college students, much more focus is needed to explore multiracial scholars' publication trajectories of multiracial scholarship.

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About the authors

Lisa Delacruz Combs (she/her/siya) is currently a doctoral candidate at The Ohio State University in the Higher Education and Student Affairs program. Prior to Ohio State, she was a Program Coordinator in the Student Diversity and Multicultural Affairs Office at Loyola University Chicago. Prior to working at Loyola University Chicago, Lisa also worked as a Coordinator for Campus Life at Illinois Institute of Technology and as a Graduate Assistant in the Office of Community Engagement and Service at Miami University of Ohio. Lisa's research interests include identity interconnections, multiraciality in higher education, Filipinx identity development, and deconstructing social constructs around race. Lisa has been published in the Journal of College Student Development and also currently serves as the Co-Chair for the Multiracial Network in ACPA. She received her B.A in Political Science and English from The Ohio State University and her M.S. in Student Affairs in Higher Education from Miami University in Oxford Ohio. Email: combs.235@osu.edu

Leilani Ferreras (she/her/ella/siya) is a master's student in the higher education and student affairs program at The Ohio State University. She received her BA in sociology from the University of California, Santa Barbara, where she cultivated her interest in critical mixed race studies. Leilani identifies as a Mexipina, Filipina and Mexican, woman of color. Passionate about multiraciality in higher education, she is an active member of the Ohio State Critical Mixed Race Studies working group and the American College Personnel Association's Multiracial Network. Email: Ferreras.1@osu.edu

Marc P. Johnston-Guerrero is Associate Chair of the Department of Educational Studies and an associate professor in the Higher Education and Student Affairs (HESA) program at The Ohio State University. He is also affiliated faculty with OSU's Asian American Studies program. Marc's research interests focus on diversity and social justice issues in higher education and student affairs, with

specific attention to college students negotiating and making meaning of race and racism and Multiracial/mixed race issues. He is author of over 60 published works, including a co-authored chapter (with Kevin Nadal, John Jay College) in Derald Wing Sue's (2010) *Microaggressions and Marginality*, which was first to coin the term monoracism as a unique system of oppression facing individuals who do not fit monoracial categorization. Email: guerrero.55@osu.edu

Legacies of the Sexualization of Race: The Impact of Dominant Narratives of Whiteness on Mixed-Race People in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Jody Metcalfe

University of Bayreuth

Abstract

This conference paper explores research presented at the Critical Mixed Race Studies Conference, titled: Ancestral Futurisms: Embodying Multiracialities Past, Present, and Future that took place between 24- 26 February 2022. This paper unpacks the role of legacies of sexualised racism and dominant narratives of whiteness in the identity construction of mixed-race people in South Africa. It specifically considers this topic using two themes that emerged from ten semi-structured, in-depth interviews and the subsequent thematic analysis guided by a theoretical framework of critical race theory and intersectionality: White Beauty Standards and Exoticization and Fetishization of Mixed-Race People. Ultimately, it highlights how historical legacies of conservative sexual politics, rooted in White supremacist patriarchal structures, continue to influence the way first-generation mixed-race people construct their identity in post-apartheid South Africa.

Keywords: mixed-race; Whiteness; identity; racism; critical race theory; intersectionality; post-apartheid South Africa

Introduction

Legacies of colonial and apartheid racialisation continue to shape the post-Apartheid South African landscape. As a mixed-race South African born during the transition to democracy, my generation was labelled as being 'born free'. However, non-racial strategies of transformation like the Rainbow Nation did not create real racial equality or a shift in social attitudes, leading to the continued use of apartheid-era racial classifications. These are reproduced in the born free generation who have internalised the intergenerational trauma of their history. South African transformation and redress policies still use apartheid classifications of White, Asian, Indian, Coloured and Black. It is important to note that after more than 400 years of White minority rule and the White population

consisting of less than 10% of the South African population, White supremacist institutional culture, as a legacy of settler colonialism and apartheid, continues to reproduce structural racism in this context.

Currently research on mixed-race identity in South Africa is focused on people in interracial relationships and the stigmas attached to mixed families (Childs 2015; Dalmage 2018; Steyn et al. 2018). There are few examples of studies conducted by mixed-race people on the mixed-race identity of mixed-race post-apartheid South Africans. In a now published paper, titled Dominant Narratives of Whiteness in Identity Construction of Mixed-Race Young Adults in Post-Apartheid South Africa, I wrote about the ways in which mixed-race people constructed their identity through three major themes: how they challenge the Rainbowism ideology, their rejection of Whiteness, and the ways in which they and others policed and regulated their identity (Metcalfe 2022).

As I outlined in that paper, first-generation mixed-race refers to those who have parents of different races. This distinction is necessary because the apartheid racial category of "Coloured" continues to be used in the post-apartheid context (Erasmus 2001). As argued, Coloured people are historically considered to be racially mixed, however, due to apartheid categorizations and segregationist policies, Coloured people have their own distinct cultural history and capital (Erasmus 2001). In this way, a first-generation mixed-race person would not be considered Coloured if they had a Black parent and a White parent, because they do not identify with the historical and cultural legacy of Coloured identity (Metcalfe 2022).

In this paper, I will explore the ways that legacies of sexualised racism affect the ways that first-generation mixed-race people construct their identity through two themes: the influence of white standards of beauty and the ways in which mixed-race people are exoticized and fetishized in post-apartheid South Africa.

Literature Review

Whiteness and Sexualized Racism

The legacy of sexualized racism, which refers to the governing of sexual relationships, are essential to understanding how attitudes towards first-generation mixed-race people have been shaped in the apartheid and post-apartheid space. The Apartheid regime was founded upon laws that actualized racial segregation in an effort to sustain racial "purity." The most pertinent Acts that were implemented to regulate control of sexual relations were the Prohibition of Mixed-Marriages Act of 1949 (PMMA) and the Immorality Act of 1950 (IA), an extended version of the 1927 Immorality Act that criminalized interracial sexual relationships. According to Jacobson et al. (2004), both Acts were intended to ensure "White racial purity" and were carried out through police surveillance and

harassment, ultimately leading to many interracial couples being rejected by their families or forced into exile.

Adam and Moodley (2000) argue that post-apartheid South African society remains largely conservative on issues of sexual politics, which reflects a "social hangover" of the sexually conservative and religious based indoctrinating policies of apartheid, particularly in the ways interracial relationships and marriages were controlled and banned. Race and culture became inextricably linked through racial and social engineering through apartheid policies and law. Therefore, outdated beliefs that mixed-race children would be "confused" by having parents of different races and cultures, remains a widespread argument against interracial relationships in the post-apartheid context.

The hypersexualization of Black and brown bodies remains an overt legacy of settler colonialism and apartheid rhetoric, that plays out in post-apartheid society (Hassim 2014 and Sanger 2009). Shireen Hassim (2014) argues that debates around a painting by Brett Murray, titled *The Spear* in May 2012, sparked controversy in the public sphere. The painting depicted then-President Jacob Zuma as a "glorious, larger than life-sized revolutionary, penis exposed," which sparked considerable debate across South Africa. While Hassim (2014) argues that the painting shows links between power and patriarchy, she notes that the public outcry exposed deep-rooted anxieties about racial stereotyping that had been bubbling at the surface within post-apartheid South Africa. Moreover, Hassim (2014) notes that women are largely left out within this painting and the subsequent debates, where the relationship of Black men and Black women are hidden in the portrayal of power and patriarchy. The painting shows the virility of masculinity, which is aimed at the conquest of women. While women, particularly Black women, have largely been excluded from these debates, discussions on relationships between White women and Black women have been ignored. These legacies of sexual racism remain visible in post-apartheid society.

On that point, Ronit Frenkel (2008) notes that within the apartheid space, some White women, who remain in the minority, used their privilege of speaking in support of the anti-apartheid movement. Although White men oppressed them, Frenkel (2008) argues that within the post-apartheid space, White women continue to speak 'on behalf' of Black women, which silences and hijacks their struggle, as White women feel that they are equally oppressed by patriarchy. These themes, particularly noted by Steyn and Foster (2008), suggest how White Talk, or the privileging of the White experience as universal, continue to encourage feeling entitled to the experience of Black people as if White people are equal victims of apartheid legacies.

In direct response to Whiteness's limiting and silencing structures, the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), growing in the 1970s under apartheid rule in South Africa, was an attempt to reclaim Blackness (Gqola 2001a). This identity of Blackness included racially segregated groups of Coloured, Indian and Africans (Black people), and it was hoped it would create unity amongst the racially oppressed toward a common enemy. Blackness in South Africa has often been described through its relationship to Whiteness. Biko (1978) argues that BCM understood that the success of the apartheid regime came from its ability to divide difference and entrench negative self-images of Black people; therefore, the movement stressed the re-definition of Black people through emphasizing positive self-image this was seen as a way to reclaim Blackness. However, Gqola (2001b) and Motsemme (2002) argue that BCM lacked intersectionality and thus prioritized the success of Black men, while Black women were made to be auxiliaries, although there were prominent women in the movement. Examples of this are evident in Biko's (1978) writing that shows a gendered language that silences Black women and privileges the experience of Black men.

Motsemme (2002) argues that the silencing of Black women's voices was not only prevalent amongst men of all races, White women and White femininity—constructed through White supremacist patriarchy—supported the oppression of Black women as well. Hyslop (1995), Motsemme (2002), and Ratele (2009) highlight how the "purity" of White women and the "purity" of the "White race" was protected by racist ideologies like the Swaartgevaar, which was instrumental in advocating for the separate development of races, as well as the prevention of racial mixing. Through an intersectional lens, it is essential to acknowledge that the power and success that the apartheid state had, was based on the trickle-down effect of a hierarchy of oppression where White men oppressed White women, and Black men and women and, in turn, Black and White men and White women oppressed Black women. Regulations of racial classifications and racial identities created on this system were policed and controlled by the population themselves, not only the apartheid state. This social and sexual racism, as Moodley and Adam (2000) put it, remains very much alive today and has been sustained through a societal policy of a country still intoxicated by fixed racial boxes and stereotyping.

Methodology

The research presented in this conference paper stems from my MPhil research conducted at the University of Cape Town in 2017, where ethical clearance was approved on March 17, 2017 by the Department of Political Science. Semi-structured, in-depth, open-ended interviews that lasted between 1.5 and 2 hours, were conducted with ten participants aged between 20 and 25 at the time. All participants had one white parent and one parent of colour, as the studies is specifically focused on the impact of Whiteness. The study was made

up of six women and four men. The biographical information of participants is as follows:

Table 1.

Biographical information (Metcalfe, 2022)

Participant Name	Racial Identity	Location (City Raised in)	Age
Aadilah	White Mother, Indian Father	Johannesburg	20
Ellie	White Mother, Coloured Father	Cape Town	21
Olebogeng	White Mother, Black Father	Johannesburg	22
Zwelethu	White Mother, Black Father	Johannesburg	21
Nadira	White Mother Indian Father	Johannesburg	23
Naharai	Indian Mother, White Father	Cape Town	25
Pramit	White Mother Indian Father	Johannesburg	20
Sem	Indian Mother, White Father	Johannesburg	22
Zandile	White Mother, Black Father	Johannesburg	22
Lesedi	White Mother, Black Father	Johannesburg	20

As a researcher, I acknowledge my positionality as an insider in this research project, as a mixed-race person myself. As a result, participants were more open throughout the interview process. The limitations of this project extend to the sample size and composition. A larger sample size and composition, as well as the inclusion of mixed-race people born in the 2000s and above, would need to be considered in future research.

Interviews were analysed through thematic analysis guided by a theoretical framework of critical race theory (CRT). CRT is a theory that is used to analyse the experiences of racism within White supremacist structures by people of colour (Delgado and Stefancic 2012). An integral part of CRT is its focus on Intersectionality. A term coined by Kimberle Crenshaw (1995), which states that people are not one dimensional and experience multiple intersections of their identity within spaces of both privilege and oppression within various systems of power. For the research explored in this paper specifically, intersectionality was used a framework for understanding the gendered experience of sexualised racism and the impacts of power structures like White supremacist patriarchy on mixed-race women.

Results and Discussion

White Beauty Standards

Whiteness within the global beauty industry constructs and reifies the establishment of superiority over those who are not White by upholding and enforcing White normative beauty standards. Through the entrenchment of a binary of White and non-White, prescriptions of what is considered a positive

quality were reserved for White people. Through this, "quality" standards were benchmarked against White ideals, thereby creating normative standards of Whiteness that regulated White people and people of colour. Normative standards of beauty centre around Whiteness and "ideal" White bodies, which continue to be shaped and defined by dominant narratives of Whiteness. Within the last two decades, the goalposts of White beauty standards have been shifted and have come under attack for appropriating 'exoticized' characteristics of Black women.

According to Nadia Sanger (2009), representations of women within media, particularly in magazines, are informed through a gender and race-normative lens. In her research on the narratives of three South African magazines targeting a female audience, Sanger (2009) found that there were underlying racist normalizations of White bodies as the standard of desirability, thus excluding Black women from attaining this "level of beauty." At the same time, magazines featured products for women of colour that centred mainly around the straightening or 'management' of Black or Coloured hair to achieve the "sleekness" of White hair. While concerns around how Black bodies are treated have been raised consistently for decades, regulation of beauty standards steeped in White supremacy continue to form part of schooling in post-apartheid South Africa, despite attempts to transform and integrate education; these pressures are no different for mixed-race women:

> When we straightened our hair, which me and my sister did for so long, and we plucked our eyebrows super thin, all these "White making activities," she [her White mother] was very anti. But it was also like, her political stance was also suffocating in a sense, like we couldn't even, with my sister, dying her hair with blonde tips, and my mom is so against that, and that stifles you as well. But she just doesn't want us to feel like we have to take on different looks to be beautiful. But also, society does that for us anyway. (Ellie)

Although Ellie's mother was against her and her sister changing the way they look to appear "Whiter," they still felt the pressures of society to present themselves as White due to the influence of the media and broader society. While this might be the case for many people of colour, for mixed-race people, having one White parent means that they might exhibit certain phenotypic features of White people that are celebrated by racist and sexist media. However, the extent of these normative standards is prevalent within the broader society and in the family structure of mixed-race people. My own Coloured grandmother, on the birth of my twin brother and myself, stated, "Thank God they have straight hair, they've got more White in them." This was as if having "Coloured features" would

be a disappointment, as if society's acceptance of me was based on the "quality" of my hair:

> It usually is with some distant relatives like…"OMG! When you have braids, all your baby hairs [are out], because your hair is softer hair because you are mixed"…And saying, "Oh, you're mixed, that's so much better," then I was like, "Better? What do you mean better?"…Why did you choose to say better? (Lesedi)

Hair politics are complex. Sanger (2008, 2009) argues that there is control over Black women and young girls within beauty standards depicted in magazines. There is an emphasis on raising young girls of colour within these White normative standards from a young age and remain a regulating factor in the post-apartheid era. As Ellie commented, "Whiteness is a metaphorical jar of paint, and if mixed, it is viewed as tainted." These ideas of "purity" of Whiteness regulate normative beauty standards, showing that while mixed-race people might have some "white" features, they will never be accepted as "White" because of their contravention of this construction of "purity." As a result of their proximity to Whiteness and "white" features, they are considered "better" or more "acceptable" than other people of colour by White supremacist normative structures, thus, to some extent, achieving "acceptable" features of White beauty.

Exoticization and Fetishization

Through the colonial era, women of colour's bodies were hypersexualized through racist White normative beauty standards (Scully 1995; Sanger 2008, 2009). Ratele (2009) shows how racist apartheid writing and laws that prevented interracial relationships were premised on the notion that Black men are hypersexual and would "ruin" the "purity" of Whiteness. At the same time, Sanger (2009) argues that the hypersexualization of Black bodies, in the most binary sense, show the racist sexual desire of White European colonial men. These racist and sexist colonial beliefs remain present within post-apartheid society and are regulated and policed by younger generations as well:

> [Boys] finding out that I wasn't White was very hectic for them because they realized that they had been interested in someone of colour…For guys, I was seen as a potential hook up. So that was really horrible…I think people felt disgusted as times, that they had been interested in someone who was not White. (Aadilah)

From this example, we see how, at the school level, regulations of interracial dating are prevalent in social situations. Aadilah discussed how terms like "vanilla killer" for Black boys who dated White girls and "jungle fever" for White girls who

dated Black boys or White boys who dated Black girls are still being used at high schools. Aadilah's point on how a person was "disgusted" to find out that she was not White speaks to a broader level of regulation of interracial marriages, which are supported through racist legacies of colonialism and apartheid, and seep into the home environment, where it is expressed as micro-violence in the public space. Within a global setting, articles have been written about myths surrounding mixed-race women being "more beautiful" than other women of colour. While this micro-aggression is disguised as a compliment, it makes mixed-race people the expectation to the beauty standards placed on people of colour and, through this backhanded compliment, shows that mixed-race people seem to be more "palatable" based on their proximity to Whiteness. Modern-day interactions continue to be policed by archaic racialized thinking disguised as "progress":

> What I found very interesting at University is that White boys weren't into me at all. I have this one Coloured friend, she was very White presenting because she could pass for White, and they flocked to her because she was "exotic," but not "too exotic." Whereas, with me, my features are "too Black," my skin is "too dark"…but the Black boys were still interested in me…A lot of the guys I would meet, I would say hi to them, and they would be like, "Hey, how are you," and my cousin would jump in and say, "Hey, she's mixed-race," and then I see their interest shift, like "Oh! You're mixed-race? Now I'm interested." It's just always made me very uncomfortable; I don't want people to like me just because I'm "exotic," it's distasteful. (Zandile)

Sexual politics within South Africa have evolved within discourses steeped in White supremacist structures that regulate colourism within communities of colour in South Africa. The bodies of young women of colour, particularly Black women, are regulated through hyper-sexualization and fetishization, which can be closely linked to the pervasiveness of White beauty standards within all communities in South Africa. While colourism manifests differently in all communities, the privileging of lighter skin remains a common thread. Zandile and Lesedi, as mixed-race women with lighter pigmentation, are considered to be "yellow bone" or "light-skinned" and thus fetishized for their proximity to Whiteness. Lesedi discusses how this has affected her relationship with her Black father in public spaces:

> I stopped holding my dad's hand in public because people will think he is my blesser…maybe he would bump into an acquaintance, and they would be like, "Is this your girlfriend?" and I would be like, "This is my father." (Lesedi)

Mixed-race people are judged on their relation to White people and are almost considered a "safe bet" regarding accepting people of colour. In Frantz Fanon's (1952) Black Skins, White Masks—he writes about perceptions of mixed-race women or, in his terms, Mulatto women—who were not considered to be "fully Black," thus making them "acceptable" or a 'better' Black, due to their pigmentation and features. In the same vein, the belief that first-generation mixed-race people exist within and among the legacies of racialized categories and constructions of race is often a reality many people in South Africa do not consider possible. Ratele (2009) notes that the apartheid laws regulating interracial relationships continue to regulate how interracial relationships are viewed in post-apartheid South Africa. This relic of conservative sexual politics regulates these discussions into the private sphere and is in line with racialized thinking of "purity"; are every present in the "What are you's?" and questioning faced by first-generation mixed-race people. Because of this, many people question the acceptance of their existence amongst broader society in South Africa. Ellie expressed this best:

> They're like, "Where are you from, are you American maybe?". They always want it [her race] to be something else. What I find when someone is complementing you on your looks, they won't be like, "Oh, you're Coloured, and that's beautiful," it has to be "Oh, you look South American"…and you're like, "No, I'm just Coloured." Like it has to be like a step down to be Coloured. (Ellie)
> Similarly, Sem noted:

> I think when me and my brother are together, I think that's when people start to think differently because he looks a bit more mixed-race than I do, but you can see that we are related. So sometimes, when we are together, people will ask us generally if we are from Central or South America, people ask us if we are from Mexico, Argentina and places like that…but also, we have this accent, so we are very not South African, so exotic creatures, but we're really not. (Sem)

People assume mixed-race people not to be South African. While South America's mixed population, like many other colonized regions, is as complicated as South Africa's, particularly inter-generational mixing and formation of culture, like that of the Coloured community, there is an assumption that to be mixed-race is to be "exotic," as noted by Ellie. In Sem's experiences of being considered South American, he noted that despite having a strong South African accent, he was still considered "exotic" and non-South African. Due to intentional racial segregation enforced through the physical separation of different races geographically, the wide variety of South African accents are influenced by race,

class, culture, and location. Therefore, there is no monolithic South African accent or monolithic features of a South African person.

In South Africa, where rigid racial categorizations are still relevant to identity constructions, literature that has been written about mixed-race people, particularly within post-apartheid societies, can be a challenge with which to engage. Although a reflection of the time, Fanon's (1952) commentary on interracial relationships is heavily gendered with undercurrents of misogyny, despite his aim of unpacking the fallacies of how whiteness sexualizes the Black body. His work, Black Skin, White Masks, continues to be used to understand racial dynamics in post-colonial societies:

> I remember a friend said to me one, "Lesedi read this page of Fanon's book, it's called Black Skins, White Masks. I was so angry…he [Fanon] was taking about a Black man and a White woman and the Black man's colonized mind, when he sees the White woman's breasts, it's like him being able to, when he's sexually with the White woman he is empowering himself in a way…I was so angry, because this is my life! Are you saying, "Look at your mom and dad in this book, this is the complex feelings that your father has for your mother"…What if I would like to think that my parents were in love with one another and got together the same way your parents might have been. (Lesedi)

On 22 June 2017, a television program, Back Chat, on eNCA, where youth are invited to have discussions about various topics, aired a show around whether or not love is colourblind, essentially engaging with interracial relationships within post-apartheid South Africa. In the discussion, a Black male panellist, Vee Mashau, who felt that interracial relationships were a challenge because culturally people from different races cannot get along, openly called a fellow Black female panellist, Keabetswe Khutsoane a "sell out" because she was in a relationship and has a child with a white man. From this exchange by a young person in South Africa, the legacies of shame around interracial relationships remain prevalent. In the same discussion, a first-generation mixed-race woman, Alexandra Willis, discussed her struggle of having agency over her own identity, to which the same Black male panellist berated her self-proclaimed identity of "whindian," a half-white, half-Indian person in South Africa. The examples provided by participants and the example of the talk show, show how sexualised racism remains gendered, as women of colour continue to bare the brunt of White supremacist patriarchal structures that uphold unrealistic standards of beauty and are projected into the ways that they construct their identities. Thus, showing how young South Africans continue to reproduce and regulate the legacies of sexualised racism in the post-apartheid setting.

Conclusions

The regulation of "White traits," whether through physical markers or how languages are spoken, influences how mixed-race people have constructed their identity. The legacies of colonialism created and entrenched White beauty standards as a normative standard to be considered a benchmark for all races. These legacies of having fair skin, sleek hair, and being thin and tall continue to be used as the standard for beauty today and are espoused by media worldwide. However, colonial stereotyping of Black women's bodies as hyper-sexual and vulgar are shifting through changes in media campaigning and added representation of women of colour in formerly White spaces, but White normative standards still hold the benchmark. Features and body types that are criticized on Black women are celebrated and accepted on White women. Thus showing that while the goal post deceivingly seems as if it is shifting, dominant narratives of Whiteness continue to dictate "acceptable" identity attributes. First-generation mixed-race people, who are a combination of these features, are often celebrated for their lighter skin tone while still having the stereotypical body of a person of colour.

The "celebration" of the mixing of these features is not only policed by the normative standards of "White" traits or imagery; it is policed by other people of colour who have had these dominant narratives entrenched within their conception of themselves, that manifests within colourism in Black and Brown communities. The exoticization and fetishization of mixed-race people because of their association with Whiteness and their Eurocentric features show how 'White' features, a slim nose, straight hair or lighter skin, are celebrated for being prominent in the physical attributes of first-generation mixed-race people. Therefore, showing that the regulations of these standards influence the way that mixed-race people exist in the post-apartheid context and how they might form their ideas of beauty. In the South African setting, where rates of gender=based violence and femicide are disturbingly high, the intersections of race and gender are crucial in understanding the reproduction of White supremacist patriarchy, and how that affects the way women of colour, and specifically for this paper, mixed-race people, construct their identity in this context.

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About the author

Jody Metcalfe is a PhD Candidate in English Literature and Cultural Studies at the University of Bayreuth, Germany. She is committed to working on Intersectionality, Critical Race Theory, Identity Politics, Decolonisation and Mixed-Race Identity. Her research is focused on Whiteness and racialization of mixed-race people in post-apartheid South Africa. Jody has an MPhil in Justice and Transformation (2018), Bachelor of Social Science Honours in Gender and Transformation (2016), and a Bachelor of Social Science Undergraduate majoring in Gender Studies and Political Science (2014) from the University of Cape Town in South Africa. Email: jodezm@gmail.com

Parenting Mixed Black-Asian Children During Black Lives Matter & Stop Asian Hate Movements

Jackie Matise Peng

I. Introduction

This qualitative study investigates how the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement and COVID-19, along with the corresponding #StopAsianHate movement, shaped racial-ethnic socialization (RES) in interracial Black and Asian families. Clinical psychologists have identified RES as a protective factor that lessens the effects of racism-related stress (Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Jones & Neblett, 2017). For Multiracial children, parents help them form their racial identity and navigate racialized experiences (Atkin & Yoo, 2019). Amid renewed national attention on anti-Black and anti-Asian racism during the spring and summer of 2020, as well as anti-Blackness and anti-Asian bias operating within these communities, there is a need to understand how parents of mixed Black-Asian children socialize youth to navigate these realities (Anand & Hsu, 2020).

This manuscript presents data from one of the families interviewed to serve as a case study. For the study, parental RES is defined as the "transmission of information from adults to children regarding race and ethnicity" (Hughes et al., 2006, p. 748). I focused on parents' transmission of messages about their child's racial-ethnic identity and racialized experiences over a broad period, specifically within the context of the COVID-19 pandemic and BLM Movement. In doing so, I sought to understand whether and how COVID-19 and the #StopAsianHate and BLM movements shaped conversations in interracial Black-Asian families. I grounded the study in Critical Multiracial Theory (MultiCrit).

I first situate the research in the broader sociopolitical context using MultiCrit. Next, I provide background on the importance of parental RES and review themes from parental socialization literature. I then present my positionality and explain the methods of data collection and analysis used in this study, including how MultiCrit assisted in generating themes from the data. Finally, by triangulating patterns of data across and within-participant narratives, I explore key findings about messages parents conveyed to their mixed Black-Asian children about racism and racial identity, how RES messages were shaped by social phenomenon, and how messages were received and internalized by

children. I conclude by considering the study's limitations, potential transferability to other mixed-race families, and directions for future research.

II. Background and Review of the Literature

MultiCrit and the Endemicity of Racism

In summer 2020, the nation experienced a moment of racial reckoning, resulting from a crescendo of anti-Black racism that became too much to ignore with the murder of George Floyd. Happening concurrently was a sharp increase in anti-Asian hate crime related to COVID-19 stoked by the callous xenophobia of the former President (Anand & Hsu, 2020; Tessler at al., 2020). Critical race theorists have rightfully pushed back against the notion that the United States is "post-racial" and scholars of multiraciality have duly rejected an increase in Multiracial individuals as evidence of a "post-racial" world (Chang 2016; Daniel et al, 2015; Harris, 2016). Atkin and Yoo (2019) contend the myth of a post-racial society "suggests that multiracial individuals do not experience racism" (p. 5). In reality, multiracials experience racism and racial bias in ways similar to monoracial groups of color and in ways that are unique to the multiracial experience (Chang, 2016; Harris, 2016; Museus et al., 2016).

While psychologists have examined the effects of racism-related stress on overall wellbeing of children (Hughes et al., 2006; Jones & Neblett, 2017), only recently have RES scholars begun to pay closer attention to "the context of the racially oppressive structures that affect multiracial realities" (Atkin & Yoo, 2019, p. 1). MultiCrit, first conceptualized by Harris (2016), extends several CRT tents to establish a framework to unpack the experiences of multiracial people. Though MultiCrit is dedicated to analyzing the experiences of multiracial people it does not employ an identity-centric approach (Harris, 2016). Later, I draw on research from the field of psychology to provide an overview of major themes in parental RES content and messages, however, it is necessary to first understand MultiCrit as a lens through which to analyze those themes.

The MultiCrit tenet *challenge to ahistoricism* provides a theoretical basis for unpacking the historical legacies that have shaped the multiracial experience in the United States. Racial mixing between Indigenous peoples, Europeans, and Africans was common in the American colonies. It was only later criminalized through a policy of hypodescent (one-drop rule) to reinforce a system of lifelong chattel slavery (Daniel et al., 2014). To further restrict the possibility that interracial unions might topple the system of white supremacy, anti-miscegenation laws prohibited marriage between whites and non-whites and remained in place in many states until the 1967 Supreme Court ruling in *Loving v. Virginia*. An outgrowth of the one-drop rule was a monoracial paradigm of race—the notion that race is fixed, immutable, and that an individual can occupy only one socio-political racial category (Harris, 2016). The

pervasiveness of the monoracial paradigm reinforces a hierarchal notion of race that privileges whiteness and constrains the realities of multiracial individuals (Harris, 2016).

While structural aspects of monoracism constrain the white mixed-race population, the experiences of white multiracials are not necessarily representative of dual-minority multiracials (those who hold membership in two minoritized groups) (Ortiz, 2017). For example, while some mixed-race individuals of white parentage are able to claim whiteness and gain access to white privilege, this is frequently not so for Black-Asian individuals (Castillo et al., 2020; Ortiz, 2017). Concerning mixed Black-Asians, the MultiCrit tenet *challenge to ahistoricism* requires scholars acknowledge the ways Blacks and Asians have historically been racialized in the United States. As Castillo and colleagues (2020) explain, white supremacist racial hierarchies have imposed the "historic civic ostracism of Blacks and racial valorization of Asians; as such a hierarchal relationship is created with the characterization of Asians as the model minority group" (p. 233). Thus, in the current socio-political context, mixed-race Black and Asian youth are dually constrained by white racial framing and monoracism.

MultiCrit extends established tenets of CRT to account for the racialized experiences of mixed-race individuals (Harris, 2016). The MultiCrit tenets most relevant to this study are *experiential knowledge, challenge to dominant ideologies, a monoracial paradigm of race, monoracism, and intersection of multiple racial identities*. Experiential knowledge calls for centering the voices of multiracial people so that dominant ideologies about race can be challenged as the stories of multiracial people are told in their own voice (Harris, 2016; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Monoracial paradigm of race, derived from the CRT tenet structural determinism, pushes beyond the Black/White binary to account for the way race is viewed in "neat, fixed categories, disallowing for the recognition of a multiracial reality" (Harris, 2016, p.800). Monoracism stems from a monoracial paradigm of race, resulting in institutional, cultural, interpersonal, or internalized oppression for those who fall outside monoracial norms (Hamako, 2014; Harris, 2016). A particular form of monoracism relevant to this work is "authenticity checking" whereby multiracial individuals have their racial credentials questioned by others or internalize monoracism, resulting in their denial or silencing of intersecting racial identities (Harris, 2019).

Significance of Racial-Ethnic Socialization for Multiracial Youth

Research shows that parental RES help children develop their racial-ethnic identity and serves as a protective factor against the negative effects of racism and discrimination (Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Hughes et al., 2006; Jones & Neblett, 2017). Dual-minority multiracials comprise roughly 16 percent of the multiracial population and have racialized experiences that are different from white

multiracials (Ortiz, 2017). However, most research on RES has focused on monoracial children and families (Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Hughes et al., 2006). Where attention has been paid to RES of multiracial children, the Black-Asian experience is rarely included or is primarily included in the study of mixed-race children with one white parent (Castillo et al., 2020).

Parents and caregivers in dual-minority mixed-race families play a crucial role in helping multiracial children navigate racialized experiences resulting from multiple minority group membership (Atkin, 2020; Atkin & Jackson, 2020; Ortiz, 2017). Black-Asian youth hold membership in two racial groups which are the target of institutional racism and historical oppression (Castillo et al., 2020). The legacy of anti-Blackness in the United States and the surge in anti-Asian racism since COVID-19 underscore the need to prepare mixed Black-Asian children to confront these challenges. Thus, it is crucial to include dual-minority families in RES research to avoid essentializing the experiences of multiracial youth and investigate how parents can best prepare their children to engage in the racial realities of our world at a time when racism is ever present.

Themes in Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Literature

The term "parental *racial* socialization" has been used largely to refer to socialization African American parents engage their children in, while "parental *ethnic* socialization" has been mostly applied to research on Asian and Latinx parents (Hughes et al., 2006). Because mixed-race Black-Asian children straddle two of these groups, I use *racial-ethnic* which is consistent with prior research (Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Hughes et al., 2006; Juang et al., 2017).

Three decades of scholarship has yielded four major themes in parental RES messages: *cultural socialization*, *preparation for bias*, *promotion of mistrust*, and *egalitarianism* (Hughes et al., 2006). *Cultural socialization* refers to messages about cultural traditions, history, customs, and language, intended to instill a sense of pride for one's cultural heritage (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents may engage in practices like teaching children to prepare traditional meals, taking them to cultural festivals, and reading books that feature important historical figures (Hughes et al., 2006). African American parents have been shown to use cultural socialization messages to bolster self-esteem and racial pride to protect children from the psychologically damaging effects of racism (Hughes et al, 2006; Jones & Neblett, 2017). *Preparation for bias* messages prepares children for racial-ethnic bias that may come from stereotypes and discrimination. For example, Asian American parents may talk to children about responding to the question "Where are you from?" in anticipation that children will encounter the "perpetual foreigner stereotype" common in US society (Juang et al., 2017). *Promotion of mistrust* includes cautioning children about other racial and ethnic groups who should be avoided—either because of perceived negative consequences or biases held about other groups (Hughes et al., 2006).

Egalitarianism promotes an awareness of diversity and the idea that different racial groups are equal. In their review of the literature, Hughes and colleagues (2006) found many studies that reported parents of various racial and ethnic groups thought egalitarian messages were important to convey to their children.

Multiracial Socialization

Given the focus of the current study, I wish to highlight literature on racial identity socialization and preparation for bias in mixed-race families. The frequency and content of socialization messages in mixed-race families differs from monoracial families (Atkin, 2020; Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Csizmadia et al., 2013). Atkin (2020) identified nine themes representing the content of socialization messages in multiracial families —cultural socialization, racial identity socialization, preparation for bias, colorblind socialization, cultural diversity appreciation, race-conscious socialization, exposure to diversity socialization, negative socialization, and silent socialization.

One goals of parents of mixed-race children is to help their children develop a "healthy racial identity" (Ferguson, 2016; Ortiz, 2017). Parents of multiracial children engage in socialization messages about their children's racial-ethnic heritage, how to identify, and instill pride in their racial-ethnic background (Atkin, 2020; Ortiz, 2017). Parents of dual-minority children may wish for their children to develop a sense of pride in their specific single-race minority or cultural backgrounds (e.g., Black and Chinese) and may place less emphasis on cultivating a "multiracial" identity (Ortiz, 2017). For example, Ortiz (2017) found that parents in a Black and Asian family socialized their child to appreciate both of his racial heritages through cultural and racial messages about being Black and Indian.

Research on mixed-race families shows that identity socialization messages change over time based on context or environmental factors (Atkin, 2020; Atkin & Yoo, 2019). Parents may choose to emphasize one racial identity over another based on family dynamics or neighborhood demographics (Atkin, 2020; O'Donoghue, 2006) or sociopolitical events (Atkin, 2020). Children may also receive conflicting identity socialization messages from parents (Atkin, 2020). Biracial Black-White children are sometimes encouraged to follow the rule of hypodescent (one-drop) and identify as Black (Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Joseph-Salisbury, 2018; Stokes et al., 2021). Joseph-Salisbury's 2018 study of Black mixed-race men in the US and UK found that Black fathers socialized their biracial sons to embrace Black identity over biracial identity to avoid incongruence between their self-identification and the way they would be identified by society. The socialization practices of the parents in Joseph-Salisbury's study illustrate how monoracial paradigms and monoracism influence RES.

Preparation for bias messages from parents may focus on stereotypes or anticipated discrimination children might experience due to membership in different monoracial groups (Atkin, 2020; Atkin & Yoo, 2019; Ortiz, 2017). Parents of color have drawn on their own experiences with racism and discrimination, for example, when interacting with police or applying for jobs, to transmit preparation for bias messages to their mixed-race children (Atkin, 2020; Ortiz, 2017; Rollins & Hunter, 2013). For example, Black multiracial youth were told by their Black parent that they may have to overcome discrimination by working "twice as hard" as other racial groups (Rollins & Hunter, 2013). The parents in Ortiz's study prepared their mixed Black-Asian son for negative aspects of the Black experience—most notably interactions with police—out of concern for the treatment of Black men by police. It's important to note that intersectional identities shape preparation for bias messages. Gender, for example, plays a role in the type of socialization messages parents engage in with their children (Hughes et al., 2006; Ortiz, 2017). Research (Stevenson, 2004; Stevenson et al., 2002) has found that boys are more likely to be perceived as threatening and thus may receive more preparation for bias messages from their parents than female children.

Monoracism is something multiracial youth experience, and literature suggests that monoracial parents do not always adequately prepare their Multiracial children to confront this form of bias and discrimination, choosing instead to focus on preparation for bias against monoracial groups (Atkin & Jackson, 2020; Ortiz, 2017; Rollins & Hunter, 2013). However, Atkin (2020) found evidence that some parents did prepare children for bias associated with being multiracial and how to navigate monoracism.

III. Methodology

Research Design

This qualitative study aimed to understand how COVID-19 and the #StopAsianHate and BLM movements shaped the RES process in interracial Black-Asian families, specifically about conversations between parents and their mixed Black-Asian children about racial identity, bias, and discrimination. Four families were interviewed, and this manuscript presents a single-case study whereby members of one multiracial family (mother, father, adult child) shed light on the phenomenon of parental RES as it occurred over time in their family and within the context of the COVID-19 pandemic and BLM movement. In prior studies on parental RES, only some have relied on interviews from both parents, and those relying on surveys have focused on the frequency of socialization messages but not necessarily the content (Hughes et al., 2006). Most studies have yet to utilize research designs that capture parent and child data, meaning the bidirectional nature of socialization was not accounted for (Hughes et al., 2006). Case studies allow for complex social phenomena to be

understood within a specified context, especially when research questions seek to answer the "how" and "why" of given processes (Yin, 2018). Case study research allows researchers to examine an integrated system in which a case unfolds, and specific cases are selected because they are compelling and can help provide understanding of an issue or process (Harrison, et al., 2017). Moreover, case study research is valuable approach when seeking to acknowledge and understand multiple realities and meanings of the same event or phenomenon as reported by different participants (Yin, 2018).

I used constructivist inquiry methods which assume truth and knowledge "arise from the relationship between members of some stakeholding community" (Guba & Lincoln, 2008, p. 177). In this study, the three stakeholders are members of an interracial Black and Asian family. The study draws on the empirical knowledge of both parents as people of color, while also giving voice to their multiracial child. Employing a design which allowed for all three voices to be heard was essential to shed light on the interplay of socialization messages and to remain true to the tradition of CRT which calls for the stories of people of color to be foreground in research (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

Data Collection and Sample

Data was collected through individual semi-structured interviews via Zoom in spring 2021. Interviews lasted an average of 45 minutes, were recorded, transcribed verbatim using an online transcription service, and verified for accuracy. Pseudonyms were assigned for all participants. Participants were interviewed separately to encourage them to speak freely about their experiences. While taking care to maintain anonymity, I used participant responses to guide interviews with other family members and made note of patterns that emerged in the discussions to triangulate data and find nuance among their narratives. Interviews focused on the content and methods of RES used by each parent over time. Asking questions about socialization messages before BLM and COVID-19 allowed me to get a sense of how socialization messages were impacted by these phenomena which was essential to addressing the research questions guiding the study. For example, one question parents were asked "What sorts of things have you done or said to prepare your child for experiences with racism?" and "Growing up did people ask him 'What are you?' and how did you help him know how to answer that question?" Adult children in the study were asked, "How do you respond when people ask, 'What are you?' Did your parents do or say anything growing up to help you answer that question?" Another set of interview questions focused on how COVID-19 and BLM shaped family members' socialization messages. For example, the child in this case study was asked, "Has BLM led to any conversations between you or either of your parents about racism?" After each interview, I used the transcript to write a summary sent electronically to each participant for their review and feedback.

The Johnson/Bautista Family

The family under study in this inquiry, the Johnson/Bautista Family, consists of Wes (Black, cisgender male, age 39), Angelica (Asian/Filipino, cisgender female, age 38) and their son Ayden (Black and Filipino, cisgender male, age 20). Wes and Angelica are collaborative coparents to Ayden, and each have a younger child from subsequent relationships—Ayden's half-siblings—who are of different racial backgrounds than him. Wes and Angelica are unmarried and have lived separately since Ayden was born. Because Wes and Angelica were young parents when Ayden was born, their extended families (grandparents, aunts and uncles, and godparents) played important support roles for them, particularly in Ayden's early years. As a child, Ayden lived primarily with Angelica and often with her extended Filipino family, spent time in the summers with Wes and lived with him briefly after high school.

Although Wes and Angelica did most of their growing up in the same mid-Atlantic suburban city, each has distinct racialized experiences. Angelica was raised in a close-knit Filipino family by two immigrant parents. Wes was raised in a middle-class nuclear African American family. Angelica went away to college but returned after a year to finish her degree at a local state university. Wes attended college in the Northeast and moved back to the mid-Atlantic around the time Ayden started middle school. He and Angelica live close by in a racially diverse mid-Atlantic suburb. Ayden currently lives with his mom, grandmother, and younger sister.

Ayden has his mom's eyes, round face, and his dad's nose and charismatic smile. "People are dying to touch and reach into his hair," Wes says of his son. "I mean, he's just got those long curly locks and people comment about his smile and . . . there's a certain level of exoticism to him." When we sat down for the interview Ayden's mop of thick black curls was tucked tightly under a skull cap. An accomplished athlete standing over 6 feet tall, Ayden dwarfs his mom and stands head and shoulders above his dad as well. His interview was peppered with coy smiles and boyish grins but also moments of deep reflection when his eyes narrowed, and his voice bore an uncanny resemblance to his father's measured tone. "I see a lot of myself in my dad," he says. Ayden asserted that despite how he is identified by others, including his parents, "I'm fully Black. I'm fully Asian. I can say that I'm a Black man, fully, like I am a Filipino man."

Researcher Reflexivity and Positionality

Constructivist case study research relies on the interactive and interpretive role of the researcher in the meaning-making process (Harrison et al., 2017). Before undertaking this research, I journaled extensively in my researcher notebook about my identity and connection to the topic, identifying some of my biases and blind spots. I was raised by a Black father and a white mother

and am raising my two multiracial children with my Asian (Taiwanese) husband. As a mixed-race individual and motherscholar of two multiracial children I believe it is important to collaborate with my husband in raising our children to be cognizant of how race and racialization operate in our lives. Taking into account my own social identities and upbringing, I knew it would be crucial to utilize a research design that would allow me to hear from both parents and children, as parents and children in mixed-race families often have very different experiences. However, I wanted to foreground their truth, not mine. Separating out my experiences and bracketing potential biases was essential because in qualitative designs the researcher is the instrument of analysis. Once I developed my initial interview questions, I had a fellow motherscholar of two mixed-race Asian children interview me using my interview questions and engaged in a reflexive conversation, talking through my responses to pinpoint areas of potential bias before interviewing participants.

There were points during the data collection where participants engaged with me not merely as a researcher, but as someone with whom they perceived having a shared experience. When answering a question about how she identified her kids on their school enrollment forms, the mother in this study, Angelica, asked me, "When you register your kid for school what are you going to put [their race] down as?" Being on the other side of questions from participants pushed me to think about how the topic mattered concretely to participants. It also forced me to not take our shared experience for granted. Like the parents in this study, I am raising mixed-race Black and Asian children (ages 3 and 5), however, I am doing so as a married person in my late 30s. Angelica is a single mother co-parenting a son who turned 20 the day after our interview. She brought this up, saying, "I'm not saying it's gonna be easier for you because you're married but it's more convenient."

Last, it is impossible to divorce this study from the broader social context. I undertook this research while social distancing with my own family due to the ongoing pandemic. During the time I was writing this manuscript, a white man in Atlanta committed a series of shootings targeting Asian businesses which left eight dead, including six East Asian women; arguments were heard in the trial of Derek Chauvin for the murder of George Floyd; and a series of other high-profile police shootings resulted in the deaths of Daunte Wright and 13-year-old Adam Toledo, among others. These events were an ever-present reminder of the toll racism and white supremacy take on Black and Asian communities. They deepened my resolve to understand how parents can prepare and protect their children from the detrimental effects of endemic racism.

Data Analysis

I uploaded transcripts to NVivo 12 Pro and took a theoretical approach to coding. First, I coded parent interviews using a set of a priori codes based in the

RES literature. Because my research questions focused on racism and racial identity, I anticipated *preparation for bias* and *racial identity and identification* messages would be particularly salient in the coding process. When analyzing parent interviews, I paid particular attention to the race/ethnicity of the parent when creating and reviewing codes. Research suggests parents' racial identity affects the content of socialization messages (Hughes et al., 2006). For example, Wes, a Black man, mentioned his parents having "the talk" with him when he reached driving age about how to interact with police officers if pulled over. Research on Asian parents' socialization has found parents, including second-generation Asian immigrants, often stress the maintenance of heritage culture with their children (Juang et al., 2017; Juang et al., 2018). Next, I coded the child interview using the same set of a priori codes and looked for variation in how the messages were received and interpreted by the child as the target of the socialization. Throughout the coding process, I returned to my field notes and research journal and cross verified codes between the parent and child interviews. I shared my codes and corresponding data with my fellow motherscholar classmate to make sure I was not misinterpreting participant narratives. Finally, I did a second round of coding, scrutinizing initial codes using the lens of MultiCrit. Several initial codes, for example, those around identity and identification, were adjusted to account for MultiCrit tenets like *monoracial paradigm of race* and *monoracism*. Interviews were then re-coded to map the intersections of the RES literature with the tenets of MultiCrit and to generate themes from the data.

IV. Findings

Atomistic Identity Messages

Ayden reported that growing up, his parents conveyed atomistic identity messages, specifically those that emphasized a Filipino or Black identity rather than a holistic multiracial identity. For instance, Ayden reported that his dad placed emphasis on a monoracial Black identity based on hypodescent or "one drop." Ayden said, "My dad fully pushed being Black . . . like if you're like a sliver Black, you're Black." Wes acknowledged feeling a sense of responsibility to teach his son about Blackness, particularly as the Black parent of a mixed-Black child. "It was very purposeful," said Wes. "You know, he's getting the other half of the story. So, if I don't tell it, then no one's gonna tell him what it's like or where else he comes from."

According to Ayden, Angelica took a different approach, promoting the idea that Ayden was half Black and half Filipino. Ayden recalled: "She always taught me you're half Black, half Filipino. [. . .] But growing up, I feel like that kind of kind of made me feel split in a way. [. . .] Like, okay I have to act Asian. Okay, now I have to act Black. It's like going back and forth."

Angelica described her process of teaching Ayden about his Asian Filipino culture as "kind of like our everyday thing" which included eating Filipino food and spending time with family members. Ayden recalled his mom sometimes telling him stories about life in the Philippines and about Filipino customs. Interestingly, despite Ayden reporting his mother raised him to be half Filipino and half Black, Angelica wished Ayden had more exposure to his father and Black family members and more emphasis on cultivating a Black male identity for her son. She lamented: "As he grew up, I wish there was more talk about being raised as a Black man versus, you know, an Asian man. You know, it's, it's . . . a whole different thing. It's totally different."

The language of "half" was used across all three interviews when referring to RES messages about Black or Filipino race and culture, respectively. This seemed to create a dynamic whereby each parent took responsibility for *their half* of Ayden's socialization. Wes and Angelica believed it was the responsibility of the racially corresponding parent (and sometimes extended family members) to engage in socialization that would inform Ayden about his Black and Filipino heritage and identity. The racial ethnic identity socialization messages Wes and Angelica conveyed to Ayden were influenced by a monoracial paradigm. These atomistic identity messages resulted in Ayden "feeling split" and struggling to establish a unified positive multiracial identity. Ayden's "identity issues" are perhaps better characterized as his attempt to reconcile his complex racial identity with society's ascriptions in a monoracial social-political context.

Burden of Being a Black Man

In the Johnson/Bautista family preparation for bias messages centered exclusively on negative aspects of the Black male experience in the United States. Wes described the process as "context building" about the "burden" of racial injustice. Wes conveyed socialization messages about discrimination and bias experienced by Black men beginning in grade school and this was a frequent topic of conversation between father and son. Conversations included biased media representations, encounters with police, and discrimination in the corporate job market. Wes felt it especially important to engage Ayden in these conversations because he is male and because Ayden's Asian family did not readily perceive or speak out about anti-Black discrimination. Wes used basketball player LeBron James and other Black athletes as examples in his early conversations with Ayden. Wes explained: "There's this line that a lot of black stars have to walk, and that you can only be so outspoken before people start to talk negatively about you . . . And the fact that for forever Black quarterbacks were thought of and talked about as like, "he's athletic and freakish in nature" . . . not like [he's] heady and intelligent."

Ayden recalled his father speaking to him often about the burden of being a Black man and evoked the "twice as hard" adage many Black children have heard from parents at some point in their lives.

> Ayden: Talking with my dad about just being a Black male growing up, and just how you have to, like, carry yourself in society and how you have to just protect yourself . . . how you have to just work like a little or probably twice as hard as some other people, especially in your corporate world, like the white man is top of the food chain.

BLM Driving Preparation for Bias Messages

Both Wes and Angelica communicated warnings about interacting with police officers. Ayden mentioned being taught "Whenever you're dealing with police just how you have to handle yourself how you have to, I guess be as non-threatening as possible." A notable difference in the parents' communication was that Wes' preparation for bias messages about police officers began when Ayden was 9 or 10, whereas Angelica's messaging emerged later, coinciding with Ayden's reaching adolescence and with the shooting death of Trayvon Martin, the genesis of the BLM movement. Angelica's preparation for bias messages were rooted in her awareness of stereotypes about Black men. She explained: "I am afraid when he goes out at night, and he has a hoodie on, and he goes into a 711. Like, I'm *afraid*. I feel like it's only as of within the last five years or so." When pressed further about her fear, Angelica replied emphatically, "Black men are just being shot down for being Black men." As the target of RES, Ayden was keenly aware of his mother's concerns. Ayden reported, "She gets really worried whenever I'm going out at night or whenever I'm just going out driving at night, or if I'm even going on a run." Angelica's messaging to Ayden underscores how the intersection of race and gender shape the socialization practices parents engage in. Moreover, the shift in her preparation for bias messages "within the last five years or so" is indicative of the way parents alter their socialization messages in response to the shifting social landscape (the emergence of the BLM movement) and children's developmental stage.

Whereas BLM led to a swell of preparation for bias messages from Angelica, father-to-son communication on these topics was effectively unchanged. Wes said, shrugging, "We've had conversations about this for forever . . . intentional conversations that we've had since he was young." As a Black father, Wes had been priming his son for the burden of racism. Coincidentally, BLM did not alter that narrative but *validated it*. Ayden explained how public outcry and activism about racial injustice in the spring and summer of 2020 was a source of bonding between him and his father and other Black relatives:

> Black Lives Matter, it brought us closer . . . And my family, my black side of the family, I feel like we've had these conversations before, just growing up. I mean, they've harped on it so many times. Before I was like, okay, okay, I don't really care [feigns an eye roll]. But now I understand why I have to do the things that I have to do just to protect myself.

Thus, while it cannot be said that BLM altered the nature or content of socialization messages between Ayden and Wes, it did shape the way those messages were received by Ayden as a mixed Black man. Ayden was receptive to and appreciative of "burden of Black man" socialization messages from his father within the context of BLM.

BLM as Site of Challenge to Racial Identity and Authenticity

For Ayden, BLM was a site of internal struggle as a multiracial Black-Asian man and forced him to negotiate challenges to his "Blackness" from peers. In one instance, Ayden's racial authenticity was challenged after he posted on social media criticizing public support for BLM as disingenuous or "fake" "like they just hopped on a bandwagon." Ayden explained: "I posted something, and I got like, a lot of negative comments. Somebody called me a coon because I guess I wasn't fully on board with Black Lives Matter."

"Coon" is a label used by Blacks for other Black people who deny the existence of white supremacy and struggle with internalized self-hatred. In this instance the slur, directed at Ayden by a multiracial female, called into question Ayden's loyalties as a mixed Black and Asian individual. The incident serves as an example of monoracism, specifically, "authenticity checking," whereby multiracial individuals have their racial identity scrutinized or internalize monoracism, resulting in silencing their intersecting racial identities (Harris, 2019). The fact that Ayden was called a "coon" by a multiracial black-white individual underscores that monoracism and authenticity checking can occur between people of color (Harris, 2019).

The challenge to his racial identity exposed Ayden's long-standing insecurities about fitting in and being accepted as a multiracial individual. In the same social media post, Ayden explained that other peers began to weigh in, further scrutinizing his racial identity, and touching a nerve. He reported: "Somebody said, "I can tell you're insecure about your Blackness." That was a big thing, because that was true . . . I've had identity issues of just being fully Black and just trying to fit in with Black people or Black community." The exchange led Ayden to withdraw entirely from social media and to shy away from all racial dialogue with peers.

Ayden's encounter with monoracism was not accounted for in his parents' socialization. Despite Wes socializing his son as a Black man and

Angelica's cautionary messages about not wearing hoodies, their RES messages did not include preparation for monoracism. Thus, their socialization messages were largely disconnected from the racial realities of mixed-race individuals.

Non Salience of COVID-19

While BLM impacted conversations about race, bias, and discrimination in the Johnson/Bautista family, COVID-19 and the #StopAsianHate movement did not. Neither Ayden, Wes, nor Angelica reported engaging in dialogue about COVID-19-related discrimination, such as the rise in hate crimes against Asian Americans. Angelica reported, "I personally have not been, thankfully, been profiled in any way for the pandemic. I'm not sure it's because I don't look like your typical Asian." Angelica's reference to perceptions of the "typical Asian" in US society highlights a tendency to view Asian Americans through a stereotypical "yellow peril" framing that has historically marginalized Chinese and other East Asians groups while simultaneously obscuring the experiences of other ethnic groups in the Asian diaspora (Anand & Hsu, 2020). When I asked Ayden whether he had discussed anti-Asian racism with either of his parents or experienced anti-Asian racism himself he shrugged, explaining "I haven't really experienced any Asian [discrimination] because people just don't know what I am. So, they don't really know what to say to me." Others not being able to locate multiracials in a single racial category based on their physical traits is a hallmark of the multiracial experience associated with monoracism (Museus et al., 2016). It's possible that Ayden's racial ambiguity (he reported he is sometimes mistaken as Hawaiian or South Asian) and people's misidentification of him spared him from overt anti-Asian treatment.

Though anti-Asian bias in the context of COVID-19 has largely been reported by ethnically Chinese individuals, non-Chinese Asians have been the victim of violence, discrimination, and the disproportionate impact of COVID (Anand & Hsu, 2020). This can be seen in, for example, the targeting of East Asian business and murder of 6 East Asian women in Atlanta in 2021. The group Stop AAPI Hate reported 3,795 instances of anti-Asian discrimination were reported between March 2020 and February 2021. While 42% of those reports were from people who are ethnically Chinese, nearly 15% were Korean and nearly 8% were Filipino (Jeung et al., 2021b). Additionally, Filipinos in California, who make up about one-quarter of the state's population, represented 35% of the COVID deaths in 2020 (Wong, 2020) and 25% of registered nurses who died from COVID-19 were Filipino American, despite only representing 4% of the nursing population in the United States (Constante, 2021). Nevertheless, COVID-19 and anti-Asian bias were not particularly salient for this family's conversations about racial identity, bias, and discrimination.

V. Discussion and Implications

This study contributes to the body of literature about RES in mixed-race families. Findings support earlier research that monoracial parents of multiracial youth send conflicting socialization messages about children's racial identity (Atkin, 2020). Parental disagreement about how youth should identify might be more pronounced when parents are separated (Atkin, 2020), as was the case with Wes and Angelica. The amount of time children spend with each parent factors into their feelings of connectedness with their racial backgrounds and can influence how they choose to identify (Atkin & Jackson, 2020). This study reinforces findings in earlier studies which have shown parents may choose to promote monoracial identities for their multiracial children or emphasize children's dual-heritages as opposed to an integrated multiracial identity (Atkin, 2020; Atkin & Jackson, 2020; Ortiz, 2017). This study extends Atkin & Jackson's (2020) research about parental support of multiracial individuals which found "no examples of parents understanding multiraciality as an integration of multiple backgrounds and cultures, instead focusing on the distinct pieces of youths' identities associated with each race" (p. 310). A limitation in this study was that Ayden, as an emerging adult, was at times recalling socialization practices and conversations from when he was much younger. It is possible that conversations about troubling instances of racism may look different in families with younger children and that children and that children may be more or less receptive to these messages.

Findings in this research support earlier studies which found parents of Black multiracials, specifically those of Black-Asian children, emphasize Blackness in their socialization practices (Ortiz, 2017). In particular, parents of male children may choose to prepare children for negative stereotypes and experiences associated with being a Black male. This finding supports previous scholarship (Ortiz, 2017) which found parents in dual-minority families with one Black parent anticipate their child will encounter anti-Black racism and thus prioritize their Blackness over other racial identities. In the Johnson/Bautista family, Wes used socialization strategies that were similar to those used in monoracial Black families (Hughes et al., 2006; Jones & Neblett, 2017), a practice that has been documented in other dual-minority families with one Black parent (Joseph-Salisbury, 2018; Ortiz, 2017). Joseph-Salisbury (2018) found Black fathers promoted a fully Black identity with their sons to protect against discrepancy between self-identification as "multiracial" and societal ascription of Blackness. Parents' decision to promote a monoracial Black identity as a protective measure against the effects of anti-Black racism reinforces a monoracial paradigm that may leave multiracial children feeling unseen or unheard (Harris, 2016). Moreover, a monoracial paradigm may contribute to parents' lack of promotion of a multiracial identity, erasure of "mixedness," and failure to prepare their children for forms of discrimination and bias particular to multiracial individuals (Joseph-Salisbury, 2018; Museus et al., 2016; Ortiz, 2017).

The role of gender in shaping parents' RES messages, especially in the context of BLM, cannot be overstated. Heightened awareness about anti-Black racism in the United States, particularly as it relates to encounters with police, led the Asian mother in this study to issue preparation for bias messages to her multiracial son. She was acutely aware of the negative stereotypes her son might encounter because he is Black and male, even though she herself does not occupy these social categories. This finding extends Ortiz's (2017) research which found that despite being a person of color, the non-Black parent in dual-minority families must grapple with how to socialize their children to respond to racism that may manifest differently than it did for parents. Parents in dual-minority families must also consider their child's gender vis-à-vis their own gendered and racialized experiences when considering which socialization messages are most essential to impart to their children (Ortiz, 2017). A limitation of this study is that the sample did not include any female children. Future research should include multiracial Black and Asian children of different genders.

Both parents in this study emphasized their child's Blackness *and* male gender when crafting their socialization messages. Past research has shown that preparation for bias messages increase as does the child's age (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006) and that parents' racial socialization and experiences with racism influence the messages they communicate to children (Ortiz, 2017). It is important to note that their male child was more receptive to preparation for bias messages from his father for two key reasons. First, the preparation for bias messages from his father occurred more frequently and at an earlier age (preadolescence). Second, the messages to Ayden from his father denoted a shared racial and gendered experience. In this case, Wes' socialization as a Black man and experiences with racism fueled his desire to prepare his son for similar situations. Future research should focus on how parents in dual-minority families socialize siblings of different genders and whether RES messages communicated by the same-race, same-gender parent are more likely to be internalized by their children.

An unexpected finding in this research was the nonsalience of COVID-19 in the RES process, particularly as it relates to anti-Asian bias and discrimination. Research about the parental RES process in Asian families has shown Asian parents are more likely to engage in cultural socialization than preparation for bias messages to prepare children for potential encounters with discrimination (Jeung et al., 2021a). However, second-generation Asian parents have taken a proactive approach to preparing their children for racism and engaged in direct discussions to promote awareness of discrimination and racism, especially if they lived in mostly white areas or if their children attend mostly white schools (Jeung et al., 2021a). Even though the family in this study did not engage in RES about anti-Asian racism due to the COVID-19 pandemic, it would be wrong to

assume that Asian parents or parents of mixed Asian children are not engaging their children in dialogue about anti-Asian racism. A limitation of this study is that the sample did not include participants of East Asian heritage. Given the rise in anti-Asian hate crimes and the increased visibility of the #StopAsianHate movement, future research should examine how interracial Black-Asian families, particularly those with a parent of East Asian descent, are responding to this in their parenting. The group Stop AAPI Hate found that in over half of the reported cases of youth experiencing anti-Asian discrimination perpetrators used anti-Chinese hate speech (Jeung et al., 2021a). However, because perpetrators of anti-Asian violence and discrimination often target East Asians who sometimes share phenotypical similarities and are mislabeled Chinese, studies should include parents of East Asian descent more broadly. Data from Stop AAPI Hate also revealed girls were 2.5 times more likely to report hate incidents than boys (Jeung et al., 2021a). Thus, researchers should investigate how children's gender mediates parents' messages about anti-Asian hate. It would be interesting, for example, to see whether and how COVID-19 shapes socialization messages of parents of female mixed Black-Asian children. The intersection of female, Asian, and Black identities may result in parents' perception of risk factors that make COVID-19 more salient in the RES process.

Findings in this study support earlier research by suggesting that dual-minority multiracials are subject to authenticity tests as a form of discrimination (Castillo et al., 2020; Harris, 2019; Museus et al., 2016). As was the case in this study, challenges to racial authenticity can be a product of horizontal and internalized monoracism (Harris, 2019). This finding builds on previous research of multiracial college professionals who reported internalized monoracism related to their decision to align with the BLM movement (Harris, 2019). While it could be argued that monoracial youth may also experience authenticity tests based on their perceived lack of support of BLM, the fact that Ayden was accused of being "insecure about his Blackness" suggests that authenticity tests are a practice used to reinforce a monoracial paradigm. Indeed, Harris reported that "no participants relayed that they encountered authenticity tests that assessed if they were multiracial enough" (p. 102). Ayden's experiences with racial authenticity checking mirrors findings in Castillo et al.'s 2020 study on internalized oppression in Black-Asian American identity. Castillo and colleagues (2020) reported participants had their Black identity questioned and challenged by Black community members and felt the need to prove themselves to gain acceptance. This study extends the body of literature on authenticity checking as a form of monoracism by suggesting that challenges to racial authenticity and the polarized nature of our society have increased the stakes for multiracial youth who exist outside of a monoracial-only understanding of race and may process racialized events through a different lens than their monoracial peers. The ostracization that results from having one's racial authenticity challenged is

a painful experience for multiracial youth like Ayden who already feel like they don't belong. It is therefore essential that parents and caregivers of multiracial children account for this in their child rearing practices if RES is to be a protective factor that lessens the effects of racism-related stress for multiracial youth.

Last, findings in this study build on previous research about RES in dual-minority families by using MultiCrit as a framework for analysis, thus allowing the experiential knowledge of multiracial people to be centered. Ortiz (2017) found that parental racialization, or the racialized experiences of monoracial parents, shaped the way they engaged in the socialization process with their children. This study extends Ortiz's research by suggesting that monoracial parents in dual-minority families may have a limited understanding of the racialized experiences of their multiracial children. The findings in this study suggest that multiracial children have experiences that are similar to and different from their monoracial parents even when their parents are people of color. Bearing this in mind, researchers studying the RES process in mixed-race families should employ research designs that allow the voices of parents of color and their multiracial children to be heard. Often, there is an assumption that people of color have shared experiences with oppression and white supremacy, however, the MultiCrit tenet challenge to dominant ideologies invites us to test those assumptions by centering the voices and lived experiences of multiracial people. If parents and caregivers hope to prepare multiracial Black-Asian children to navigate racially charged events and social phenomena, we must first critically listen to their experiences.

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About the author

Jackie M. Peng is a mixed-race motherscholar and doctoral candidate in the Language, Literacy, and Culture (LLC) program at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. Her research interests include RES of multiracial youth, the school-based experiences of mixed-race students in K-12 schools, multicultural education, and teacher education and training. She uses critical, interdisciplinary, and qualitative research methods. Email: jpeng1@umbc.edu

"But I Just Look So White:" The Identity Choices and Racialized Emotional Work of Second-Generation Black-White Multiracials

Haley Pilgrim

Paul Spickard Graduate Student Paper Award Winner 2018

Abstract
Multiracials are one of the fastest growing populations in the United States. Researchers have consistently argued that identity options are subject to especial constrain for Multiracials with Black ancestry, particularly away from Whiteness, because they are perceived by others and interacted with primarily as Black racial group members resulting from socially imposed notions of hypodescent. However, most literature restricts the definition of Multiracial to those with two monoracial parents. To fully assess the legacy of hypodescent and the role of reflected appraisals as mechanisms in constraining the identity choices of Multiracials, the second generation of racial mixing needs to be included. I interviewed 30 of what I term "second-generation" Black-White Multiracials, who have one Black-White parent and one White parent, on their identity formation. I find these respondents are not excluded from White identification as previous literature on hypodescent and theoretical expectations of reflected appraisals would indicate. Yet, whereas previous studies hypothesize that this may lead to identifying as a White racial group member, I find most Multiracials, when given the option, actively contest an identification as White. Still, members of this Black-White Multiracial group identify as Black less than first-generation Multiracials. Those who identify as Multiracial differ in their orientation toward Blackness and if they consider Multiracial a minoritized status or themselves people of color. These findings highlight the need to investigate Multiracials of varying generational statuses and draws attention to the important emotion work that takes place in constructing a racial identity.

Keywords: Multiracial, racial identity, reflected appraisals, racial minorities, group membership

"But I Just Look So White:" The Identity Choices and Racialized Emotional Work of Second-Generation Black-White Multiracials

Historically any part-Black Multiracial, was identified by others and self-identified as Black as a result of hypodescent, or the "one-drop rule" (Hollinger 2003). However, using the 2000 Public Use Micro Data Sample (PUMS), Bratter (2007) found that of the 350 respondents who had one parent who was Multiracial Black-White and the other who was White, zero reported a Black identity for their child (Bratter 2007). Is this a result of Multiracial classification acting as a distancing mechanism from Blackness (Brunsma 2005)? Are the parameters around Blackness shifting (Brunsma and Rockquemore 2016)? Does this imply that phenotypically White Multiracials are a part of the new White (Bonilla-Silva 2004)? This quantitative data, along with other studies on the classification of Multiracial children by Multiracial parents (Song Forthcoming) indicates the need for a thorough analysis of the meanings of identity choices of second-generation Multiracials. From a symbolic interaction perspective, the strength of the one-drop rule lies in its replication in personal identity because meanings of racial identity are created and shaped through social interactions (Blumer 1969). Thus, to analyze Multiracial identification as a litmus test for the one-drop rule and racial group boundaries, the agency and constraints that Multiracials *perceive* must be explored through qualitative analysis.

Much of the research on Multiracial identity focuses on "first-generation" Black-White Multiracials, those with presumably monoracial parents who are socially designated and self-identify as being from differing racial groups (Khanna 2010; Gullickson and Morning 2011). This limitation is significant because focusing on "first-generation" Multiracials strengthens the idea that Multiraciality is a recent phenomenon, and subsequently neglects how the Multiracial experience is historically embedded in our sociopolitical structures (Spencer 2006; Gullickson and Morning 2011). Without understanding racial category construction from a historical perspective, knowledge on the transmission of racial identification is restricted (Bratter 2007; Shih and Sanchez 2009).

To conceptualize Multiraciality in a way that is consistent with historical understandings and significant for the shifting racial diversity, I advance the term "second-generation" Multiracial to denote those who have at least one parent who is Multiracial. Although quantitative research on this population has recently emerged, there is not consistent terminology within the field. While most Black Americans also have White racial ancestry (Daniel 1992), I use "second-generation" to imply the biracial Black parent of the Multiracial individual had one Black parent and one White parent. Therefore, those in this category would, for instance, have one Black grandparent and three White grandparents. The term "second-generation" Multiracial is therefore not to imply a biological

transfer of race, but to denote the space in which these individuals occupy, in the second generation of interracial mixing.

Because race is a political invention that is not fixed in nature (Roberts 2011) and definitions of racial groups and racial identities are constantly in flux (Golash-Boza and Darity 2008; Bonilla-Silva 2009), employing symbolic interactionism is the most common approach to studying Multiracial identity (Cooley 1902; Mead 1934; Rockquemore 1998). Termed the "ecological framework," this approach to viewing Multiracial identity as fluid and contextual led to increased scholarly attention on the factors that influence the identity choices of Multiracials (Root 1990). Influential factors include: physical appearance (Rockquemore 2001; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002; Doyle and Kao 2007; Khanna and Johnson 2010), social networks (Harris and Khanna 2010; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002; Herman 2004), geographical patterns (Wright, Houston, Ellis, Holloway and Hudson 2003; Brunsma 2006), social class (Daniel 1992; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002; Khanna 2012), and family structure (Dalmage 2000; Rockquemroe and Laszloffy 2005).

However, while the idea of reflected appraisals is a pillar of symbolic interactionalism, it is rare for studies to seriously examine reflected appraisals as a factor of racial identity (Khanna 2010). The studies that engage theories of reflected appraisals largely focus on Multiracials who are consistently seen monoracially—usually as Black (Brunsma and Rockquemore 2001; Khanna 2010; for exception, see Sims 2016). As a result, the literature is still scarce on how reflected appraisals influence racial identity for Black-White individuals, especially those who are not perceived exclusively as Black racial group members.

To fully understand hypodescent and reflected appraisals, I argue we need to look at the constraints and agency of second-generation Multiracials. I find the reflected appraisals of second-generation Multiracials are not confined to the norms of hypodescent that previous research suggests and as a result, are less constrained in their identity options away from identifying as White. Yet, most individuals with access to identify as White actively contest an identification as White, with some even framing it as a stigmatized status. Although they do not receive reflected appraisals as Black, hypodescent still affects the identity choices of some. Notably, this group still cites perceived constraints on their identity options: some asserting that *access* to identifying as White mediates their identification with Blackness.

The Theory of Hypodescent

Hypodescent, the categorization of a person of more than one racial background with whichever race is deemed of a lower status, has historically characterized the racial classification and identity of Black-White Multiracials

(Hollinger 2003). The assumption of hypodescent was that Whiteness is not possible if mixed with any Black ancestry because White is "pure," whereas Black is impure (Roberts 2012). After the Civil War, hypodescent was then enacted into law, creating clear bounds around the definition of Whiteness and Blackness (Jones 1999). For a short time, Multiracials who had one grandparent who was Black and three who were White were defined as "quadroons" on the US Census, based primarily on having a more phenotypically White physical appearance than their first-generation Multiracial counterparts (Higginbotham and Kopytoff 2000; Snipp 2003).

Even after de jure hypodescent was outlawed, the one-drop rule's boundaries around Whiteness were socially maintained as a cultural norm (Jones 1999). Scholars have generally concluded that Black-White Multiracials are uniquely constrained in their identity choices as a result of hypodescent because they identify as White at lower rates than Multiracial or Black; however, this rests on the assumption that not identifying as White is a result of the inability to achieve a validated White identity from reflected appraisals, rather than a rejection by the Multiracial actor. This is true notwithstanding the call from researchers to consider Multiracial actors as active agents in constructing their identity and meanings around racial groups.

Additionally, most studies limit their sample to first-generation Black-White Multiracials and, to truly assess the legacy of hypodescent, it is imperative to look at the second generation of racial mixing. The few scholars in the 1990s who studied the experience of second-generation Multiracials, often referred to as "multigenerational," found the rule of hypodescent constrained their identity options and they felt intragroup pressure to identify as Black (Daniel 1992). These studies have not been addressed in contemporary United States with increased acceptance of Multiracial identifications. Furthermore, most of the succeeding research on the growing population of second-generation Multiracials uses quantitative data on racial categorization and is not focused on personal self-understanding; subsequently, it cannot adequately assess the perceived constraints on identity options.

Multiracial Identity Theory

Informed by symbolic interaction theory, the ecological approach to studying Multiracial identity has received the most support over the last decade (Sanchez, Shih and Garcia 2009). Presenting the process of identity development as dynamic and context-bound, this theoretical approach suggests that identity cannot be restricted to a stage model and maintains that racial identity choices are fluid and situational (Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002; Hitlin, Brown and Elder 2006). The ecological approach allows for the inclusion of a multitude of racial personal identities.

However, racial group membership results from more than internal definitions; it also includes external definitions (Jenkins 1994). Rockquemore, Brunsma and Delgado (2008) have since expanded the ecological theory to shift from a "Multiracial identity" perspective to an "identities of Multiracials" perspective. They task future scholarship to separate the personal identity (racial identity), from how others perceive the Multiracial persons race (racial identification), from how the individual chooses to identify in different contexts (racial categorization). Scholars employing this model have yet to account for when personal identity contradicts the race others identify the individual as (Sanchez et al. 2009) also referred to as a contested identity. To address this gap, I include the theory of reflected appraisals.

Reflected Appraisals Theory

One of the fundamental tenants of symbolic interactionism is that self-concept is developed through reflected appraisals (Cooley 1902). Cooley's (1902) "looking glass self" suggests that individuals internalize the perceptions of how others respond to them and begin to see themselves in accordance with how others see them (Felson 1985; Noels, Leavitt and Clement 2010). This reflected-appraisal theory of self has been employed in Multiracial literature through Rockquemore's (1998) seminal ecological model. It proposes that others interact with Multiracials based on their appearance as members of certain racial groups; in an effort for internal and external consistency, this results in the Multiracial person constructing a racial self-concept consistent with their racialization (Burke 1991). Reflected appraisals have been found to be particularly significant where there is ambiguity related to one's status or role, such as race where there is no formal comprehensive measure for group membership (Noel et al. 2010). While scholarship on the effect of phenotype and perceptions of appearance on identity has demonstrated significant constraints for Black-White Multiracials, it is primarily focused on Multiracials who are perceived by others as Black (Khanna 2012; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2011; Sims 2016).

Waters (1996) argues that a non-Black identity, such as Multiracial or White, will not be validated by others if the person looks Black, according to dominant social normsc. Scholars have argued the legacy of hypodescent constructs the social norms surrounding Black phenotypes, creating a broad phenotypic understanding of Blackness (Russell, Wilson and Hall 1992; Khanna 2010). Subsequently, scholars argue that White phenotypical traits such as pale skin, blue/green eyes, and straight hair do not conflict with perceptions of Black people (Khanna 2010). Therefore, while it is frequently cited within Multiracial scholarship that Black-White Multiracials perceive as though others understand them t—Black—these claims are generally limited to samples of first-generation Black-White Multiracials (Townsend, Markus and Bergsieker 2009). Sims (2016) study on reflected appraisals of Multiracials from various racial backgrounds,

suggests these norms may be changing, finding that being inconsistently identified as different racial groups acts as a singular reflected appraisal of a Multiracial identity. Still, in this study, each respondent had a non-White identity: Sims advocates that future research address if consistent perception as White leads to a White identity. She also calls for researchers to compare phenotypically similar Multiracials with differing racial identities to juxtapose their identity development related to consistently inconsistent reflected appraisals. I answer these calls through a qualitative project on the identity choices and meanings associated to racial categories in second-generation Multiracials.

Data and Methods

Data

The central research questions behind this study were 1) How do second-generation Multiracials construct racial categories and what meanings do they attach to racial groups? And 2) Do they encounter similar constraints from hypodescent and reflected appraisals as first-generation Multiracials in creating their racial identity? To answer this, I completed in-depth interviews with 30 second-generation Multiracials who had one Black grandparent and three White grandparents. The cases used in this analysis were recruited through college social network sites, classroom visits, and snowball samples. In order to obtain a sample of respondents that varied in their identity choices, subjects were asked to participate if they had one parent who was Black-White and another who was White, rather than asked to participate if they were Multiracial. Selective samples are common for research studying the Multiracial population because of the complexity in recruiting Multiracial respondents due to differing definitions of race, Multiraciality, and identity (Renn 2000). Additionally, representative samples of Multiracial people are difficult to obtain because Multiracials are currently a numerical minority and are also not randomly distributed throughout the United States (Root 1992; Renn 2000). However, by conceptualizing each interview as a single case, I treat the sample as a unique case study to refine existing theories of Multiracial identity.

The respondents range in age from 18 to 30 in order to control for differences in cohorts. They each have some college education or have obtained a Bachelor's Degree, with a significant portion attending a predominantly White high school. The sample leans towards middle and upper class, which could be expected given the recruitment efforts on college campuses. While a majority of respondents currently live in the Northeast, there is some variation in the regions of the United States where they were raised. In most circumstances, the respondent lived with both their Multiracial Black-White parent and White parent, but they varied in time spent with their White and Black relatives. Although there are differences in how the respondents describe how outsiders view them, occasionally shifting from ambiguous to White to

Hispanic; most report they "could pass" for White or mention instances where they were confused as only having White ancestry.

Table 1. Key Interviewee Demographics

Name	Age	SES	Education	Youth Region	Predominantly White High School	Live with Multi-racial Parent
Andrew	28	Middle	Bachelors Some	Northeast	Yes	No
Ashley	18	Middle	College Some	South	No	Yes
Brooklyn	18	Working Upper	College Some	Northeast	Yes	No
Bryan	20	Middle Upper	College Some	Northeast	Yes	Yes
Charlotte	25	Middle Lower	Graduate	West	Yes	Yes
Claire	22	Middle Upper	Bachelors Some	South	Yes	Yes
Cole	18	Middle Upper	College Some	Northeast	No	Yes
Conor	19	Middle	College Some	Northeast	Yes	Yes
Dawn	21	Upper	College	Midwest	Yes	Yes
Diamond	24	Working	Bachelors Some	South	Yes	No
Hannah	18	Working	College	South	Yes	No
Jake	23	Middle	Bachelors	Midwest	Yes	Yes
Jayla	27	Upper Upper	Bachelors	Midwest	Yes	Yes
Jonathan	30	Middle	Bachelors Some	South	No	Yes
Joseph	21	Middle Upper	College	Northeast	Yes	Yes
Katie	21	Middle	Bachelors Some	Midwest	Yes	Yes
Kevin	21	Middle	College Some	Midwest	Yes	Yes
Lexus	28	Working	College Some	South	No	No
Lia	25	Middle	Graduate	Northeast	No	Yes
Liz	26	Upper	Bachelors Some	Midwest	Yes	Yes
Matthew	18	Middle	College Some	Northeast	Yes	Yes
Megan	18	Upper Upper	College Some	Midwest	Yes	Yes
Michael	18	Middle	College	Midwest	Yes	Yes

Naomi	19	Middle Lower	Some College	Midwest	Yes	Yes
Nathan	27	Middle	Graduate	Northeast	Yes	Yes
Nicole	20	Working	Some College	Midwest	No	No
Penelope	26	Middle Upper	Bachelors	Northeast	No	Yes
Sarah	19	Middle	Some College	Northeast	Yes	No
Stephen	24	Middle	Bachelors	Northeast	No	Yes
Triston	20	Upper	Some College	Midwest	Yes	Yes

Interviews

Qualitative data is especially useful when assessing meaning within Multiracials because of the multiple overlapping and conflicting constructions and understandings of race and racial identity (Renn 2000). To understand the influence of appearance in daily life, it is necessary to understand social interaction and perceptions of inclusion and exclusion. Respondents were asked open-ended questions around general topics of interactions, experiences, friendships, perceptions, and personal identity. The audio-taped interviews lasted between 45 minutes and 2 hours and were later transcribed. Seven interviews were not able to be conducted in person and were held over Skype, Facetime, or telephone.

Consistent with recent Multiracial scholarship that describes racial identity as multifaceted, I define and measure identity in more than one way (Brunsma 2005; Harris and Khanna 2010; Khanna 2010). While I noted the appearance of the respondent, I also asked them to describe their phenotype and share how they are perceived by others as a measure of reflected appraisals. Public categorization is defined as the category or categories a person identifies for themselves when responding to what racial group they are members of (Brunsma 2005; Hitlin et al. 2006). To assess the range of racial categorization, I asked respondents how they usually identify themselves to peers, strangers, and on formal documents. Internal self-concept, or personal identity, represents a person's self-understanding of their racial identity vis-à-vis others. Measuring racial internal self-concept required multiple open-ended questions on strength of each racial identity and feelings of belonging to different racial groups.

FINDINGS

Racial Identity: Public Categorization, Self-concept, and Reflected Appraisals

To avoid using racial groups as a comprehensive construct, I separate three forms of racial identity: Table 2 depicts respondents' public racial categorization, racial self-concept, and reflected appraisals. Public categorization (how a person identifies themselves racially to others, both in

person and on forms) was coded as "Multiracial" for Multiracial or some other variance such as "mixed," "biracial," "a quarter Black," "quadroon." Two races are listed when the individual shifts between racial groups. For instance, Brooklyn identifies herself to others as Multiracial, but if she does not "feel like getting out my phone to show pictures of my family," she will identify as White to avoid the emotional labor. Two races are also listed for internal self-concept (a person's self-understanding of their racial identity) if an individual shifts between more than one racial group. For Katie, this is situational: when she is in an environment or institution where she is the "Blackest person in the room," her self-concept is Black; when she is not, she says she "feels more mixed." The transcendent identity consists of those who do not select, but rather "transcend," a racial categorization (Rockquemore 1998). Reflected appraisals (the external perceptions of racial group membership one believes they receive in interactions from the outside world) was coded as ambiguous if the respondent reported their appearance was ambiguous or Multiracial non-Black. An example of this is Kevin, who said that outsiders usually assume that he has White ancestry "mixed with something else, but they don't know what the other half is." If someone also accounts being identified by others as White, two races are listed.

Table 2. Public Categorization, Self-Concept, External Perception of Respondents

Name	Public Categorization to Others	Internal Self-Concept	External Perception: Reflected Appraisals
Andrew	Multiracial; White	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Ashley	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Brooklyn	Multiracial; White	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Bryan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Charlotte	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous
Claire	Multiracial	Multiracial; White	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous
Cole	Multiracial; White	Transcendent	Ambiguous; White
Conor	Multiracial; Black	Transcendent	White
Dawn	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Diamond	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Hannah	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous
Jake	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Jayla	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Jonathan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Joseph	Black	Black	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous
Katie	Multiracial	Multiracial; Black	Ambiguous; White
Kevin	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Lexus	Hispanic	Hispanic	Ambiguous; White

Lia	Multiracial; Black	Multiracial; Black	White
Liz	White	White	White
Matthew	Multiracial; Black	Black	Part-Black or Black; Ambiguous
Megan	White	White	White
Michael	Multiracial; White	White	White
Naomi	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Nathan	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Nicole	Multiracial; Black	Black	White
Penelope	Multiracial	Multiracial	White
Sarah	Multiracial; White	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White
Stephen	Black	Black	Ambiguous; White
Triston	Multiracial	Multiracial	Ambiguous; White

Research has not yet addressed if consistent appraisals as "White" lead individuals to construct White identities. As Table 1 shows, there no consistent relationship between reflected appraisals and internal self-concept or public categorization that would suggest those who are consistently perceived as White adopt a White public categorization or internalized self-concept. In fact, a majority of respondents identify themselves to others as Multiracial. This finding is consistent with prior research that has found that Black-White Multiracials increasingly identify as Multiracial (Khanna 2010; Brunsma and Rockquemore 2016). Only three respondents in the study identify themselves to others exclusively as Black, and only three identify themselves exclusively as White. There is also at first seemingly little variation in racial self-concept, considering the majority of respondents cite their internalized self-concept as Multiracial. However, because scholars conclude Multiracials have non-White self-concepts from constraints of hypodescent and reflected appraisals, I focus on the meanings of a Multiracial self-concept for this group. I find a difference in considering Multiracial a minoritized status within this category that is significant for all scholars who include Multiracials in their research or those who theorize about racial minorities.

I begin with an overview of how respondents' broad interpretation of their reflective appraisals still lead to a general acceptance as White in-group members. Unlike prior qualitative research, which concludes that Black ancestry is constraining, I find these Multiracials are not interacted with as though they were exclusively Black (often they are perceived as White or ambiguously non-Black). Despite these differing appraisals, the patterns of Multiracial racial self-concept patterns are comparable to previous research, despite a seemingly higher access to White identity. It then becomes prudent to ask, if reflected appraisals and hypodescent do not work in conjunction to constrain identity options towards Black, which is more salient in how Multiracials form their

identity? I take an in-depth analysis of the patterns of those who have a Multiracial self-concept to assess the meanings associated with Whiteness, Blackness, and Multiraciality. Answering researchers' call to explore Multiracials' agency in identity formation, I conclude my analysis with how reflected appraisals create contested identities, how Multiracials negotiate this tension, and the racialized emotional labor that accompanies it.

Accepted as White In-Group Members: Similarity in Acceptance of White and Ambiguous Reflected Appraisals

Previous research that concluded hypodescent has created a broad phenotypic perception of Blackness causing Multiracial people with any Black phenotypic characteristics to be perceived as Black (Russell et al. 1992; Waters 1996; Khanna 2010). Therefore, In Khanna's (2010) article "'If You're Half Black, You're Just Black': Reflected Appraisals and the Persistence of the One-Drop Rule," she constructs the relationship between hypodescent and reflected appraisals in the following manner:

Figure 1. Relationship Between Hypodescent and Reflected Appraisals for First-Generation Multiracials (Khanna 2010)

The findings of this study challenge this relationship between hypodescent and reflected appraisals: only three respondents believed they were consistently seen as part-Black or exclusively Black, and each of these respondents reported that they were also perceived as members of other racial groups. Interestingly, "White reflected appraisal" respondents and "ambiguous reflected appraisal" respondents report similar experiences of being considered in-group members by Whites.

Reflected Appraisal as White

I find that twelve respondents indicate they are consistently identified by others as White racial group members. Although research, and sometimes the respondents themselves, may refer to this group as "White-passing" I elect to use "White-assumed" for those who receive White reflected appraisals to more accurately reflect the social reality of the interaction. Passing assumes a biological basis of race where there are discreet categories with distinct phenotypic characteristics. It also assumes Whiteness as normative and default category, and as this study shows, White cannot be constructed as the preferred racial group for Multiracials. Furthermore, White-assumed correctly

places the onus on the outsider who is assuming the racial category of the Multiracial, and does not negate the lived experience of the Multiracial person as non-White. While White-assumed Multiracials affirm others' assessment that they appear phenotypically White, they often draw on characteristics that they believe represents their Black ancestry. Megan, who identifies as White, shares:

> Sometimes people don't believe me when I say I'm part Black. But I stay pretty tan in the winter, and I have the same facial structure as my [Black-White] dad, so if they see a picture of him, they believe it.
> – Megan, White Public Categorization, White Self-Concept, White Reflected Appraisal

This contrasts previous literature that states that because of hypodescent any noticeable Black characteristic will prohibit a White identification for Multiracials (Khanna 2010). Penelope, who identifies as a Multiracial person of color, also believes that externally she appears to be White, stating that she is primarily seen as a "White person with a fro." Whereas prior research has concluded that having White phenotypic characteristics does not prohibit a Black reflected appraisal, Penelope mentions her phenotypically White features as indicating to others that they should categorize her as White.

> I was recruited by a lot of minority groups before I got to college, but once I arrived, no one reached out to me. I think if you can pass as Black they're much more likely to see you, but I never really thought that would be a space for me, primarily because I am very light and have blue eyes, and so in some ways they just assume . . . [laughter] that you're just another of the old Whiteys.
> – Penelope, Multiracial Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, White Reflected Appraisal

Megan and Penelope both draw conclusions about their phenotypic characteristics and their reflected appraisals as White. Being considered White in-group members was also visible in experiences of being considered as White in conversations. Nathan, who identifies as Multiracial person of color, shares:

> It's like a backstage pass, but not necessarily one that I want. It happens even with strangers who feel like they're amongst friends speaking to a White person—a White person who is as racist as them—saying things they would never say if they knew a person of color was in the room.
> – Nathan, Multiracial Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, White Reflected Appraisal

Nathan describes his phenotype as an "access" to social spaces where openly expressing offensive or racially insensitive language is acceptable under

the assumption that it is done exclusively in the midst of other White racial group members. Unexpectedly, the experience of White-assumed multiracials being considered as White in-group members also occurred in those who are perceived ambiguously. However, these respondents differ in the reflected appraisals they perceive from Black racial group members and other non-White racial groups.

Reflected Appraisal as Ambiguous Non-Black

Although the legacy of hypodescent suggests that rigid boundaries around the purity of Whiteness would lead ambiguous reflected appraisals to be categorized as non-White, some research indicates that White is commonly utilized as a "default" racial category when the racial group of someone is unknown (McDermott and Samson 2005). As Kevin, who believes his medium skin makes his reflected appraisal consistently ambiguous, shares:

> I just feel like typically a lot of people know I'm a little bit different but they don't know what it really is, so a lot of times people will just assume that I'm White.
> – Kevin, Multiracial Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, Ambiguous Reflected Appraisal

This helps explain how those who report an ambiguous appearance, often find themselves racially categorized by White racial group members similarly to Penelope and Nathan. Furthermore, nine of the 17 ambiguous non-Black reflected appraisal respondents, without being prompted, shared that they are often the same race of the person with whom they are speaking. One respondent describes their appearance as, "enter X race [of observer] here." Therefore, respondents who consider their reflective appraisal as ambiguous are not always perceived as non-White by Whites. For some, they are simultaneously considered in-group members by Whites and Blacks alike. Katie, an aid at a pre-school, illustrates what this can look like:

> In the morning, a White preschool teacher was saying to me that "all Black children behave this way," as if she was talking to a White person. At lunch, the Black principal was referring to [air quotes gesture] "our ancestors." This shit happens to me every day.
> – Katie, Multiracial Public Categorization, Multiracial and Black Self-Concept, Ambiguous Reflected Appraisal

Katie's frustrated use of swearing indicates the racialized emotional labor that having a contested identity causes for some. Her story is in alignment other multiracials in this ambiguous reflected appraisal category that that Black racial group members are more likely to perceive them as non-White than Whites. However, this does not necessarily indicate a Black reflected appraisal. For

example, Sarah, who has medium toned skin and straight hair says, her Black peers "know that I'm some weird ethnic mix, but they don't know what." Accounts like this challenges prior research that finds the norms of racial ascription are especially robust for those with African heritage (Noels et al. 2010).

This fluidity in reflected appraisals is also echoed by respondents who believe they are primarily seen as non-White. Dawn, who believes she is less frequently seen as White because of her medium skin tone and curly hair, echoes that her ambiguous appearance allows her to access Whiteness. When asked how her experiences compare to her other Multiracial friends, Dawn states:

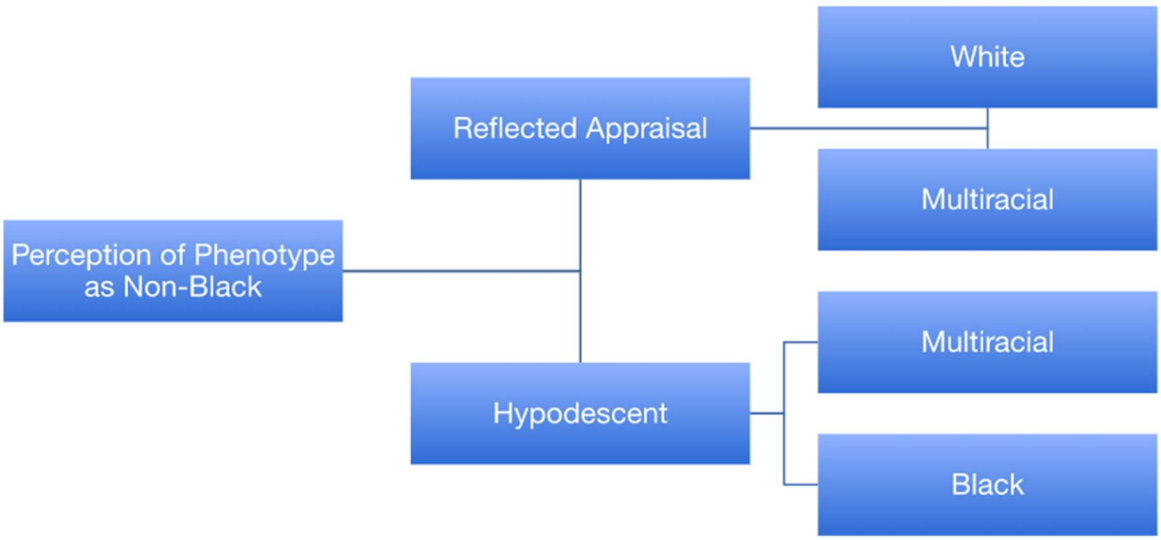
> When White people ask what I am, it seems more accepted to be a quarter Black than to be half-Black. They're like "Oh, I wish I had tan skin like yours, you got the perfect shading—the best of both worlds." I obviously just look more White so I think it's easier to be accepted into the White world [than first-generation Black-White Multiracials].
> – Dawn, Multiracial Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, Ambiguous Reflected Appraisal

Being perceived as either White and ambiguous function for these Multiracials as access into Whiteness. I find that individuals in this sample largely claim that they are not phenotypically ascribed to an exclusive Black identity. Given that constraints are considered as the explanation for why first-generation Multiracials do not identify as White, scholarship would suggest that lessening constraints on identity would influence the identity choices of second-generation Multiracials, particularly under the assumption that individuals would seek the dominant identity. Yet, when observing the identity choices of second-generation Multiracials in the sample, a variation similar to that of first-generation Multiracials is found in terms of not identifying as White, although there are fewer Black-identified individuals. To examine how this generation of Multiracials construct non-Whiteness, I take a closer examination at known mechanisms of constraint on the racial self-concept of those who develop a non-White racial categorization.

Racial Self-Concept: Difference in Orientation to Blackness

When reflected appraisals and hypodescent are not working in conjunction to form a Black self-concept, which theory explains the identity formation for members of this group? Reflected appraisals would suggest that if an individual is interacted with as though they are non-Black, they will develop a non-Black sense of self. If hypodescent was most salient, Multiracials would identify primarily with their Black ancestry. I find that a Multiracial self-concept is consistent with both; however, these Multiracials differ in the meanings associated with racial groups and their Multiracial identity.

Figure 2. Reflected Appraisals and Hypodescent on Self-Concept for Second-Generation Multiracials



To analyze how phenotypically similar Multiracials vary in regards to their experiences managing contested identities, constructions of Multiracial identity, and their perceived personal positions within racial hierarchies, I construct two ideal types. Those who do not identify at all with their Black ancestry, I term Honorary White Multiracials because they consider themselves non-White and not minorities; Honorary White signals their position in relation to Blackness as represented by the collective Black. I refer to individuals who integrate Blackness into their construction of a Multiracial self-concept as Hypodescent Multiracials.

Hypodescent Multiracials: If hypodescent is most salient, it would be expected that Multiracials identify as their lowest status racial group Black. Within this group of Multiracials, there are a variety of patterns visible: exclusively Black, exclusively Multiracial, and situationally moving between Black, Multiracial, and/or White. Personal identity is in orientation to Blackness, albeit to varying degrees. Race is one of the most significant group memberships for a majority of respondents within this category. As a result, invalidation becomes a critical focus of their identity development and causes significant emotional work. They often feel most comfortable in diverse spaces, feel committed to the plight of the Black collective, and identify as people of color.

> Honorary White Multiracials: Under the reflected appraisals assumption, those who receive a non-Black appraisal would be expected to identify as an honorary White Multiracial. Members of this group construct their identity with Whites as a reference group and distinguish themselves from Black racial groups by identifying as Multiracial. Within the nine respondents in this category, there were: transcendent, exclusively Multiracial, exclusively White, and situational between Multiracial and White identities. These individuals often report their racial background is not central to their identity and they rarely think of their race. Invalidation of their Multiracial background was referred to as insignificant. Occasionally, the respondents express sympathy to Black racial group members, but frequently interject with counter statements offering equal sympathy for the perspectives of White group members. These individuals express less comfort speaking to Black culture.

Construction of Whiteness

Honorary White Multiracials often employ Whiteness as a reference group when constructing meanings of their Multiracial identity. Sarah identified as White until college when she "sort of realized I wasn't White." Now she identifies most often as Multiracial:

> Because White people are not asked what their ethnicity is every day. And I have the benefits of being ethnic per se. People don't see me as Black, but the biggest thing people ask me about is my ethnic background.
> – Sarah, Multiracial and White Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, Ambiguous Reflected Appraisal

Unintentionally, Sarah's narrative confirms her assessment of Whiteness as "invisible." As a teen, people would ask her why her skin was tan in the winter, and she says, "I did not understand what they were getting at." Now she says she "realizes they are asking about my ethnic background," and interprets her reflected appraisals as non-White. Similar to Sarah, Charlotte refers to Whiteness as the ability to not being confronted with one's racial identity in daily interactions. Although, like Sarah, Charlotte did not "seriously think of" her racial identity until applying for college, she now identifies as Multiracial.

> [Multiracial is] a sense of feeling different and looking different than people as opposed to having a specific other race you feel connected to.
> – Charlotte, Multiracial Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, Ambiguous Reflected Appraisal

Neither Sarah nor Charlotte have Black racial group members in their social networks, as is common for Honorary White Multiracials who then

construct a Multiracial identity in relation to Whiteness. Charlotte shares that her medium skin tone causes her to feel like an out-group member among Whites. For some other Honorary White Multiracials, it is not their phenotype but having non-European ancestry that leads them to constructing a non-White identity. Ashley who has blonde hair and blue eyes, says:

> I'm not White. When I think of "White," I think of someone who is 100% from Germany . . . When I got my ancestry test results back it said I was only 13% African, but somebody who is White is like my boyfriend, who just had a bunch of different European things.
> – Ashley, Multiracial Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, Ambiguous Reflected Appraisal

Ashley constructs Whiteness as not having any Black ancestry, upholding the conception of White as "pure." Through identifying as Multiracial she is maintaining dominant current evaluations of Whiteness. This counters the associations of Whiteness in Hypodescent Multiracials, who while also frequently construct Whiteness as not forcing racial consciousness, often de-center Whiteness in their identity construction and further attach stigma to a White identity. Lia, who identifies as a Multiracial Person of Color, shared:

> Even though I look very white, I've never identified as white. My [black-white] father always said, "Nothing good ever came from identifying as white."
> – Lia, Multiracial and Black Public Categorization, Multiracial and Black Self-Concept, White Reflected Appraisal

Lia acknowledges she has had access to Whiteness from her phenotype and even suggests her identifying as White would be a probable assumption based on this; still, she received socialization from her Multiracial parent of White as an undesirable status and reverses the dominant appraisal as White as a preferred identity option because of the historical stigma of Whiteness in families of color. Jayla also describes the stigma of carrying Whiteness:

> I don't want to be a put in a category of just another racist White person that doesn't understand or can't identify with the world view of a Black person or a Hispanic person. I love that our skin colors are all different. I'm not just a White person on your side, I'm part of your group, even though I look White.
> – Jayla, Multiracial Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, White Reflected Appraisal

This statement reveals that a negative construction of Whiteness also extends to the attitudes and behaviors of White racial group members.

Penelope provides an apt example in her description of an interaction with a White peer:

> One of my best friends said she figure out why it is so hard for her to understand that I am mixed: "It's because you're so light and it feels like you're owning up to a culture that isn't yours" . . . It was frustrating that she interfered that now I'm mixed because she has come to terms with that categorization years after knowing me. But she's White, so.
> – Penelope, Multiracial Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, White Reflected Appraisal

Penelope constructs Whiteness as lacking consciousness of racial nuances in framing the inability to connect the Multiracial experience and its relationship to Black culture as a function of her friend's membership in the White racial group. Penelope further adds that she is not White because she has not had the "privilege of having a majority of" her ancestors be White racial group members. This evaluation of White as ancestral and contemporary privilege as negative was also employed by some respondents to explain why White racial group members have distinct experiences and perspectives. In speaking about the White racial group members in his wealthy hometown, Conor states:

> If you grow up in an environment that consists of a few types of people as opposed to millions of types of people, you're generally not going to be as open to other perspectives. There was a lot of conformity [in my home town] to accepting White privilege; it was just expected . . . It felt like their perspectives were not only just different than mine, but so much on the opposite side of the spectrum that it almost scared me.
> – Conor, Multiracial Public Categorization, Transcendent Self-Concept, Ambiguous Reflected Appraisal

Conor's experience in his primarily White hometown led him to conclude that contemporary privileges and rewards associated with Whiteness prevent White group members from understanding the perspectives of non-Whites. Whiteness as low racial consciousness becomes particularly salient for Hypodescent Multiracials who identify with their Black ancestry and often identify as people of color. As a result, being identified as White is particularly invalidating for this group causing emotional work not exhibited to the same extent within Honorary White Multiracials who usually do not identify as minorities or people of color and at times, intentionally do not disclose their Black ancestry, indicating an acceptance of the stigmatized status.

Construction of Blackness

Although a majority of respondents do not report their identity is a result of how they are perceived in society, many draw on reflected appraisals as

mediating their self-identification with as Black. While members of the two ideal types recognize the privileges that accompany White reflected appraisals, they differ in the extent to which this is considered a constraint to accessing an identity consistent with their self-concept. For Hypodescent Multiracials, this tension arose in the interview without prompting; as opposed to Honorary White Multiracials who often mention their reflected appraisals as non-Black only in response to questions related to identifying as Black. For instance, Claire is an Honorary White Multiracial who has medium tone skin and curly hair that she says makes her less likely to claim a White identity. However, she draws on reflected appraisals as having a different experience from Black racial group members because of her complexion:

> [I have] dark skin, but not so dark that in White situations people are uncomfortable around me . . . I'm not Black in terms of how I've been treated. I'm not going to face the same injustices that Black people face so it would be appropriating if I only identified as Black.
> – Claire, Multiracial Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, Park-Black Ambiguous or Black Reflected Appraisal

Sarah echoes this sentiment of Blackness as a stigmatized status in constructing her Multiracial identification as situational. When people compliment her on her skin tone, she generally informs them of her racial identity:

> But it really depends on the person. I have this weird feeling sometimes that if I tell certain people—if I get a vibe from a certain person that they'll look at me strangely if I tell them I'm a quarter Black, and they'll look at me differently, then I don't.
> – Sarah, Multiracial and White Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, Ambiguous Reflected Appraisal

Still, it is important to note that when asked, Sarah says she does not identify as Black because "a big argument is getting pulled over and if I was pulled over by a police officer, I don't think I would face any kind of discrimination." Thus, using reflected appraisals may be a socially desirable answer that allows some Honorary White Multiracials to avoid the emotional work of reevaluating dominant standards of Blackness. Charlotte also constructs an idea of Blackness in regards to likelihood of facing discrimination from Whites who would consider her Black. When asked about how connected she feels to other Black racial group members, she states:

> I'm not going to face race racial tension because of the way I look, so it's not something that I connect to with my experiences. I'm not going to be

> pulled over for being Black or discriminated against in the same way so I just can't relate to being Black.
> – Charlotte, Multiracial Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, Ambiguous Reflected Appraisal

While over two-thirds of respondents partially constructed Blackness as discrimination from dominant racial groups, and drew on reflected appraisals for why they would not be considered a part of this group, they differ in stigmatization of White-assumed privilege and construction of Blackness as a preferred status. Jayla, a Hypodescent Multiracial, says she sometimes "wishes my dad were full Black so that I could have features that would identify me as mixed." Jayla continued:

> A part of me desperately wants to be like, "Yeah I'm Black, I have that piece of me." But I also really understand that I can't really identify with Black because I look so White and because I have grown up mostly perceived as White, I feel like I have White privilege . . . I feel bad for identifying with Black as strongly as I do.
> – Jayla, Multiracial Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, White Reflected Appraisal

Hypodescent Multiracials are more likely to mention desires for consistent reflected appraisals that permit access to identifying with their Black ancestry and avoid the emotional labor of a contested identity. Nicole, who has blonde hair and blue eyes, realized at a young age that she did not identify as White. While Nicole's personal identity is Black, she perceives her blonde hair and "very White skin" as constraining her identity options. Nicole chooses to express her Multiracial identity to others and on forms:

> I know life would be more difficult in a lot of ways, but I always say that if there was a way to make my skin darker that was not tanning, I would do it so I wouldn't have to explain myself so much . . . People are never going to accept what they're not going to accept, but for myself, I feel like I would be able to feel like who I am.
> – Nicole, Multiracial and Black Public Categorization, Black Self-Concept, White Reflected Appraisal

Nicole finds it "easier to connect" with her Black peers who are not Multiracial because she says they "identify wholeheartedly with Black culture in the same way" that she does, yet she identifies as Multiracial because it is the identity she perceives access to. Katie, who has light brown skin and curly hair, similarly feels more connection to Blackness than Multiraciality and often expresses frustration from that tension:

> Being Black is the best thing about me. I just don't want to get into a long complicated thing every day about my identity and if I identify as Black. I

> don't want to have to have a conversation explaining that I'm part Black, or that my dad's Black, so I just say I'm biracial. I'm not going to get older and look Blacker. When your phenotype doesn't match your soul, that's being biracial.
> – Katie, Multiracial Public Categorization, Multiracial and Black Self-Concept, Ambiguous Reflected Appraisal

For Nicole and Katie Multiracial as an identity is a strategy to access Black identity while avoiding invalidation. They perceive their reflected appraisals act as a constraint to Blackness but not to identifying as Multiracial. This in-between status of Multiracial is echoed by Nathan, who expresses doubt in his prospects to attain validation from identifying as Black:

> I think I would get some side eye [looks of disapproval] from my Black friends, and rightfully so. If you're going through life treated largely by people you don't know as White, if you're mixed than you're mixed, but it would be difficult to justify identifying as Black if that's your experience.
> – Nathan, Multiracial Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, White Reflected Appraisal

These respondents suggest that their access to Whiteness mediates their identification with Blackness. This is a reversal of most findings on Black-White Multiracials that conclude reflected appraisals constrain Multiracials toward identifying as Black. Therefore, this research speaks to the call of Multiracial literature to assess the development of non-Black identities. I find the development of non-Black identities occurs when Multiracials receive reflected appraisals as non-Black based on their phenotype, especially when Black is considered as a stigmatized status. However, as the Hypodescent Multiracials show, individuals have considerable agency in identifying with their Black ancestry, even when this identity is contested.

Contested Identity: Emotional Work for Hypodescent Multiracials

When social identities are pertinent to individuals, they prefer to be perceived by others in the same way they think of themselves. Racial group membership is more central to the identities of Hypodescent Multiracials than Honorary White Multiracials, and as such, these ideal types react differently to receiving reflected appraisals as White: Hypodescent Multiracials are more likely to seek consistent identification when they are inaccurately identified by others. Jake reflects this frustration through in recounting "legal trouble" he encountered years prior:

> It made me so angry. The court wanted me to select one race, but I refused—even when they kept asking me to select just one. When I got

> my court information, they had selected White for me. It's like I told you what my race was, and you still got it wrong.
> – Jake, Multiracial Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, Ambiguous Reflected Appraisal

Having a Multiracial identity in systems that are monoracial-dominant causes Hypodescent Multiracials to have to engage in considerable emotional work to achieve a validated self-concept. The desire to be accurately identified as Multiracial, despite recognition that Whiteness holds clear systematic advantages, was also echoed by Naomi, as she recounted a story concerning getting her driver's license:

> The woman tried to put me down as Caucasian and I had a fit about it. They're entering the information and I saw it, and I was said, "What? I'm not White!" My [Black-White] dad was like, "You look the closest to Caucasian," which infuriated me.
> – Naomi, Multiracial Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, Ambiguous Reflected Appraisal

This emotional work contrasts the strategies of Honorary White Multiracials who may opt in to a White identity when only given the option to select one race. Cole summarizes a consistent explanation as to why:

> I always just check African and White. It's just the truth. I usually check both, but if you can only check one I choose White, because I'm more White. That's just the highest percentage of my background and I look more White.
> – Cole, Multiracial and White Public Categorization, Transcendent Self-Concept, White Reflected Appraisal

Sarah echoed that she selects "White" when only given one option, however she says she identifies most strongly as Multiracial. Still, accurate identification from her peers could lead to emotional labor as evidenced by a story she shares about a class on race at her university where only three Black students are enrolled:

> My classmates know [I'm part-Black] but some of them obviously forget. Even after I tell them about it, they don't think about how that may have any kind of impact. You can see me and know I'm a quarter Black and still forget about it [laughs slightly] . . . because I don't look like that's what I am . . . My [Black-White] dad always said I should be mad when people say I don't look Black, but it doesn't because I don't.
> – Sarah, Multiracial and White Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, Ambiguous Reflected Appraisal

Sarah acknowledges and accepts the reflected appraisals she receives as non-Black, avoiding additional emotional work. This is opposed to Dawn's experiences in classrooms. When discussing teaching classes in predominantly Black high schools in contrast to teaching in White spaces, she reflects:

> Teaching in a class with half-Black people and Black people and even fourth-Black people is really fun. It's really different; it doesn't feel like I'm battling all the time with "Oh my gosh, how do I inform them?" and then feeling hurt when people don't understand or don't get it.
> – Dawn, Multiracial Public Categorization, Multiracial Self-Concept, Ambiguous Reflected Appraisal

As a Hypodescent Multiracial, Dawn draws on images of a battle to describe her considerable emotional work and internal discord due to others' inability to provide an accurate assessment and labeling of race that matched her own internal racial self-concept. Although Hypodescent Multiracials often cite their "light-skin privilege" or "White-passing privilege," race has significant consequences in their daily life partially through holding a contested identity. Lost in this conversation is the privilege in feeling as though one has access to publicly identify as the racial group that is in alignment with their self-concept. Hypodescent Multiracials feel restricted in this because of their orientation to Blackness, as opposed to Honorary White Multiracials who do not include Blackness in their identity and thus, experience less racialized emotional work when they are seen as non-Black.

DISCUSSION

To extend Multiracial identity theory and our understanding of the constraints perceived in racial identity options, I conducted interviews with 30 second-generation Multiracials. Although researchers have concluded that White-Black Multiracials are confined in their identity choices towards Blackness and away from Whiteness, I find that this is not consistent for second-generation Multiracials. Whereas qualitative literature has found first-generation Multiracials are perceived as exclusively Black by out-group members, second-generation Multiracials in this sample are rarely perceived as exclusively Black. Consequently, their identity options are not as constrained as prior research suggests. Respondents across socioeconomic status, geographic region, and educational attainment report being identified by others as White and actively rejecting this identification.

Subsequently, this study contributes to sociological literature on Whiteness that demonstrates Whiteness is unstable and changing because individuals constantly challenge its meaning. For Whiteness to expand, members of racial minority groups must pursue admission into the White group, and White racial group members must also incorporate these new members (Lee and Bean

2007). When quantitative literature uses the identity choices of Multiracials to assess White boundaries, researchers often conclude that decreases in White identification are a result of robust White boundaries becoming less permeable (e.g., Liebler 2016) rather than attribute agency to individuals' and potential trends in refusing to identify as White. I find the boundaries of Whiteness have expanded to now include some Multiracials; and it may be Black-White Multiracials that are not be pursing entry into White in-group status. Thus, a decline in individuals who identify as White may not be an indication of impenetrability of the White boundary, rather it may be a shift in the meaning of Whiteness as a racial category to a stigmatized status. This adds to the growing literature on the burden of Whiteness (Burke and Kao 2013), and suggests more research is needed on the identity formation of Multiracials who develop a White identity.

In addition to how we understand Whiteness, this study expands how we think of Multiracial identity formation and the status of Multiracials. When reflected appraisals and hypodescent are not working in tangent to create an internalized Black self-concept, two broad orientations to Blackness form. Some develop an identity independent of Blackness, termed Honorary White Multiracials in this paper: this group does not consider Multiracial a minoritized status and often do not identify as people of color; thus, questioning employing "Multiracial" as a minoritized category in academic research and policy. Others construct their identity with an orientation toward their Black ancestry. For the latter, they are actively and intentionally accepting hypodescent, even when adopting a contested identity requires racialized emotional work. These findings illustrate the enduring salience of racial boundaries in a group considered to indicate weakening social distances between racial groups.

They also suggest further research is needed to inform where Multiracials will fall in the shifting racial hierarchy: Hypodescent Multiracials actively pursuing entry into the "collective Black" while Honorary White Multiracials seem to be joining an intermediary near-White status, even when given the option to identify as White. This could indicate a trend toward a Multiracial dividend effect, where Multiracial is a preferred identity status over Whiteness (Curington, Lin and Lundquist 2015). What this research does reveal is there are multiple meanings of Multiraciality and an agency involved in identity formation that is hidden by assuming hegemonic meanings of racial groups. Who considers themselves a racial minority is an important question for conducting academic research, designing policy, and creating a coalition people of color that challenge the emerging tri-racial hierarchy (Bonilla-Silva 2004).

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About the author

Prior to joining Bain, dr. haley pilgrim received her PhD from the University of Pennsylvania, developing an expertise in inequality and intersectionality. During this time, she traveled around the country leading workshops on how to build more inclusive campuses and create thriving marginalized communities. She has served on the Board of Directors for Young Involved Philadelphia, the African American Resource Center, and Mayor Kenney's Millennial Advisory Committee. She also was elected to serve as Committeeperson for the 27th Ward of Philadelphia (occupied Lenape land). Email: haley.pilgrim@bain.com

The Hulk and Venom: Warring Blood Superheroes

By Greg Carter

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Introduction

Thinking about racially mixed characters across media and historical periods, the term "warring blood" communicates three notions that have endured since the antebellum period. First, a character's positive characteristics are bestowed by their racially white essences and their undesirable characteristics are brought by their minority essences, literally through the blood. Second, the racialized bodily fluids are engaged in a winner-takes-all struggle of the highest of stakes in our racialized society: the privileges of whiteness. Third, the minority blood inevitably triumphs over the white, regardless of the character's parent races, although most prominently in United States history, the other is Black. As the engine driving many tragic mulatto stories, facets of the warring blood idea have endured into the post-civil rights era, drawing on white audiences' identification with mixed characters' white parentage, and then drawing out the pathos that comes with those characters' undoing.

In retracing Sterling Brown's (1933) dissection of the tragic mulatto trope in his essay, "Negro Character as Seen by White Authors," Werner Sollors (1999) attributes "warring blood" (224), Wall to the elder poet and scholar. But the closest Brown comes to this phrase is in excerpting a passage from Evans Wall's novel, *No-Nation Girl* (1929), that describes the heroine's "warring qualities" (17). The phrase likely hails from the work of Georgia Douglas Johnson, the African American writer based in Washington, D.C., and active during the New Negro Movement. Over four decades, she wrote poetry, plays, and a syndicated newspaper column. Her home became known as the S Street Salon, a regular meeting place for writers, including Jean Toomer. The two used some of the same imagery to herald a new race whom Johnson also described as "scion of fused strength" aware of "the Earth's frail dilemma" (Johnson 2009, 59). Circulating through the core of the Black intellectual world, their ideas were not marginal; they were discussed with Alain Locke, Jessie Fauset, and likely W.E.B.

Du Bois (Foley 2014, 55–58). Her poem, "Fusion" (1922), celebrates the potential that comes from acknowledging one's roots:

> How deftly does the gardener blend
> This rose and that
> To bud a new creation,
> More gorgeous and more beautiful
> Than any parent portion,
> And so,
> I trace within my warring blood
> The tributary sources,
> They potently commingle
> And sweep
> With new-born forces! (Johnson 2009, 60)

Johnson evokes blood as indicative of racial essence. At the same time, the poem disrupts the negative connotations "warring blood" had before this point. Knowing that Johnson's poems at that time "blend conventional themes of uplift with expressions of political radicalism" (Foley 57), these verses suggest that the speaker is not just affirming her own worth, but also her membership in larger groups participating in social change.

"Fusion" draws from the theory of hybrid vigor, which agricultural scientists had accepted long before it began circulating as an antithesis to the hybrid degeneracy idea that had survived the transition from nineteenth century Lamarckism to twentieth century eugenics. As W. E. Castle (2012), the geneticist who introduced Gregor Mendel's work to the United States in 1903, argued, "It is a fact well known to breeders of animals and plants that crossing two pure breeding but different strains or varieties of the same species, as a rule produces offspring more vigorous in growth than either parental variety" (16). Johnson's poem, like Castle's article, argues that this was true for humans as well. By attaching positive meanings to warring blood, the poet has complicated its usage, making it hard to think only of its connection to the tragic mulatto. More than this, "Fusion" offers a way to evaluate positive statements about mixed race on two levels, the individual and the collective.

I bring together warring blood, the works of Johnson, and the science of hybrid vigor to examine The Hulk and Venom, two comics characters who, by alternating between two forms and containing two personas within them, operate in a way distinctively resonant with past tropes about mixture. More than racially stable superheroes like Captain America, Iron Man, and Black Panther, who make up the majority; more than shape-shifting heroes like Mr. Fantastic, Mystique, and Martian Manhunter, whom some presume are mixed;

and more than Firestorm and Ghost Rider, who share bodily control with another spirit, Marvel's *The Incredible Hulk* and *Venom* tell stories offering visual, verbal, and diegetic evidence that they are, on a symbolic level, biracial. However, the creators of the Hulk and Venom have offered interventions in their relationships that give them chances to enjoy equilibrium similar but not identical to the potential to which Georgia Douglas Johnson refers. For Bruce Banner and the Hulk, and for Eddie Brock and the alien symbiote, this comes with setting ground rules, agreeing on how the relationship operates, and dictating how they will fit in society. As I write elsewhere, praise of racial mixing in the United States often resembles any of five tiers of sophistication, from mere flattery of comeliness to acknowledging how it is a byproduct of a broader program of reform (Carter 2013, 221–224). "Fusion" opens with the former but ends with the latter, using terminology that has been misconstrued for decades. Similarly, examining Hulk and Venom offers distinctive examples of superpowers brought on by mixture that ultimately transform the world.

I point out these tropes, not to reify them, but to show how they echo in characters seemingly unconnected to racial mixture. Like cyborgs in science fiction, the characters with two physical forms yet two personas "must be read as a powerful metaphor for the historical bogeyman of contamination-racial mixing" (Nishime 2005, 34). Their conditions symbolize a type of racial mixture comics creators, readers, and viewers may easily overlook, even as their popularity grew. Simultaneous with the movie industry's self-censorship in the early twentieth century, comic books furthered the "impulse to deny, or at least dramatically revise, narratives that point to the decidedly miscegenated America of the past" (Courtney 2005, 105). Like the movie studios, comics publishers formed a regulatory organization when they came under attack for indecency. The Association of Comics Magazine Publishers (A.C.M.P.) began issuing seals of approval only to morally upright titles in 1948, yet inconsistent participation by publishers hampered their effectiveness.

Claiming a direct relationship between comics and juvenile delinquency, mid-century crusaders wrote editorials, made demands at community meetings, and led burnings to destroy the threat of comic books. The successor to A.C.M.P., the Comics Magazine Association of America (C.M.A.A.), continued its mission. Frederic Wertham, the esteemed psychiatrist, gave credibility to their arguments in his book, *Seduction of the Innocent*, already a Book-of-the-Month Club selection by the time he testified before the United States Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency in 1954. Soon after, the C.M.A.A.'s new rules, famously known as the Comics Code, added guidelines for presenting sexual relations to its restrictions on sympathetic portrayals of illegal activity. "Illicit sex relations are neither to be hinted at nor portrayed. Violent love scenes as well as sexual abnormalities are unacceptable... The treatment of live-

romance stories shall emphasize the value of the home and the sanctity of marriage" (Nyberg 166). This echoes Wertham's assertions that Batman, Robin, and Wonder Woman were gay. But a rulebook meant to deflect 1950s moralistic criticism would surely have miscegenation, our nation's greatest taboo, in mind. At a time when twenty-seven of forty-eight states were prosecuting interracial marriage, the depiction of those relationships and their offspring would rarely appear. Decades later, those prohibitions expired and transformed into slightly more permissive, but still repressed, standards. Even now, with a higher acceptance rate, increasingly diverse demographics, and the appeal of ethnically ambiguous public figures, portrayals of mixture has concealment as a starting point.

But racial mixture has been a central feature in the history of the United States, and the Americas as a whole. Since "seeing race is making race," Americans learn to discern ambiguous bodies just as they learn to spot their homogenous kin (Guterl 2013, 4). Because racial mixture pervades so many facets of our society, its concealment has been happening in clear sight. Whether on the debut cover of *The Incredible Hulk* or in the most recent Marvel Cinematic Universe (M.C.U.) movies, it takes an astute eye to notice racial mixture in media like movies and comics.

Warring Blood Superheroes

Superheroes such as Namor, Peter Quill, and Damian Wayne are biracial in a conventional sense, having parents from two different racial groups or species. Their story lines explore their births, unpack their inheritances, and try their loyalties. With one bodily form and one consciousness, they are nearly as stable as their biracial counterparts in the United States. However, Hulk and Venom reflect the warring blood motif in far more dramatic ways. Essentialism, zero-sum conflict, and atavism are so much of their operations that I consider them a separate classification: warring blood superheroes. Like the biracials above, membership in this group must include mixture in their origin stories and general descriptions. Possessing two personae and two physical forms is the distinguishing prerequisite for the warring blood superheroes. But Ghost Rider, who most famously binds a demon upon a stunt motorcyclist, is never described as mixed. Firestorm, whose best-known version makes copilots of a high school athlete and a Nobel prize-winning physicist, has just one look. So I consider them neither biracial nor warring blood.

Even more than the biracials, the possessed, and the copilots, Hulk and Venom share another key experience with racially mixed Americans: They have bodies difficult to categorize. In their more famous forms, they look like nothing from the regular world, something new and imaginative. Their selves come from distinct places, perceived to be biologically dissimilar, like racially mixed people.

A muckraking journalist and a ravenous alien parasite? A Hollywood stuntman and a demon? A nuclear physicist and a rage giant? These are varieties of what horror films scholar, Noel Carroll, calls "fusion monsters" who, like many inventions within the genre, are impure. Those created by fusion "transgress categorical distinctions such as inside/outside, living/dead, insect/human, flesh/machine, and so on" (Carroll 2015, 43). As Justin Ponder (1972) further describes in analyzing the blaxploitation movie, *The Thing with Two Heads*, fusion monsters violate physical difference, combine multiple psychologies, and unite multiple souls, functions of the Hulk and Venom (141–142). Bruce Banner (the Hulk's alter ego) and Eddie Brock (Venom's alter ego) expose themselves to gamma radiation or encounter contraband aliens, then they acquire a second form and a second persona. At that point, they become unstable and thus symbolically mixed.

The tensions between the two personas within the Hulk and Venom follow the three aspects of the negative warring blood assumptions in tragic mulatto literature listed above. The good qualities come from the human ingredients, and the bad qualities come from the inhuman. For the elder superhero, the intellect comes from Banner, while the destruction, ill manners, and unkempt presentation come from the Hulk. Whether in comics, the 1970s television show, or motion pictures, most stories of the Hulk also rely on the unstoppable power of his monstrous, racialized characteristics. His body is big and differently colored. Unable to speak and act like civilized people, he may resort to violence. He behaves like a fugitive, often hiding from authority. In a way, he resembles a runaway from abolitionist slave narratives, constantly on the run, relying on kind-hearted strangers, and likely to be killed or dissected if caught. But eventually the beast passes out and resumes life as the genius.

Venom debuted in 1988, around the same time opponents of presidential candidate Michael Dukakis began associating Massachusetts' weekend furlough program with Willie Horton, a convict who committed rape, assault, and armed robbery while disregarding the conditions of his release. Venom's creators may not have had the associations between Black men and violent crime in mind, but Texas Governor George H. W. Bush's presidential campaign demonstrated they were active in American minds. As a representation of nightmares of Black men, he is a descendant of *Birth of a Nation*'s Gus, and distant cousin to the Black criminals from Dirty Harry movies.

In the Venom comics, Brock has lost his job as a journalist because Spider-Man had revealed how he misreported the culprit of the "Sin Eater" murders. After this loss of reputation and employment, vengeance consumes the journalist, and the symbiote, once partnered with Spider-Man (see Dagbovie-Mullins in this volume), amplifies that bitterness. Venom's muscular build and his

association with urban spaces code him as African American. Again, the character's coloring brings racial associations the creators never intended with his white, spider logo popping out from his Black skin, suggesting he is the opposite of Spider-Man, not friendly, not beneficial to the neighborhood, and not well-intentioned.

Most of the Hulk and Venom's adventures, whether print or film, present zero-sum conflict between their two sides. At least a dozen times in the comics, Banner has achieved his goal and cured himself of the Hulk. Eddie Brock has been separated from the symbiote nearly half a dozen times. In both cases, the men eventually go back to their rival identities. Even though readers sympathize with Banner and Brock, the two seem destined to fail in their efforts to become wholly human. The effectiveness of these characters is based on the same kind of empathy white audiences feel, seeing the goodness and whiteness in themselves reflected in that of the tragic mulatto. Readers of comics see the normalcy, stability, and whiteness of their lives in the lives of comics characters, but they also relish the suffering Banner and Brock must endure.

The physical body is not the only site of this conflict. If we think of culture as ways of living, beliefs, and practices, then the personalities within the Hulk and Venom have representatives of different cultures within them. In each, they are so disparate from each other that conflict seems unavoidable. According to many opposed to interracial marriage, disparate cultures will produce a home unsuitable for a family. They often say, "What about the children?" revealing that the negative associations with warring blood persist, even if they are spoken of in terms of warring traditions.

The Hulk: 1962–1986

The Hulk, perhaps the most powerful superhero in the Marvel universe, has one of the longest careers in comic books across all publishers. The cover of *The Incredible Hulk*'s debut calls him "the strangest man of all time," promising readers something new. Then the text asks, "Is he man or monster or . . . is he both?" a question with racial undertones that hint at mixture. As opposed to wearing his better-known green skin, the Hulk appears mostly ashen in May 1962, resembling Boris Karloff's Frankenstein's monster. After his gamma radiation accident, he must be normal Banner by day and the Hulk at night, a system resembling Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, another of Stan Lee's inspirations. The gray coloring was part of Lee's wish that the Hulk not mirror any specific racial group, thus distancing him from known racial stereotypes (Lee 1962, 76–77).

The truth is, because of the standard four-color printing of the time, this gray was difficult to sustain in early issues. Since the covers are printed on better paper, the color appeared correctly there. But inside, it alternated between

gray, blue, and black. Lee never intended that the gray color would symbolize an intermediary racial status between Black and white, but by questioning the Hulk's humanity, the words resonate with longstanding discourses about mixture. Those discourses are strong enough to cast the gray color along racial lines as well. After all, gray is a mixture of Black and white, and it is often used to describe ambiguity.

The Hulk's origin story warns of social trends sometimes related to mixing. Hubris had precipitated in scientists' downfalls since Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) and beyond in ways like Banner's recklessness on the day of the G-Bomb test. According to Samuel Morton's (1847) proslavery writing, humanity's inherent repugnance to racial mixing was only "partially overcome by centuries of proximity" (39), like Banner's exposure to the unnatural force of gamma radiation. The "probable extermination of the two races" predicted by Morton's follower, Josiah Nott, comes true as the Hulk endangers infantrymen, Betty Ross, and Banner himself.

Two years later, *Avengers* #3 explains that emotional distress sparks Banner's transformation. As an in-universe patch, Marvel explained that he turned into an intermediary gray hulk automatically at night (Lee et al.1978). *Incredible Hulk* #227 provided another retcon, attributing Banner's transformation into The Hulk to a multiple personality disorder, and the giant was an expression of repressed childhood experiences—plus gamma radiation (Stern et al. 1978). This alteration replaces mixture with trauma as the source of his challenges. In a decade with increased acceptance of psychotherapy, this plays on a less racialized sort of empathy than the white narcissism that made the tragic mulatto effective. This maneuver was more effective at deracializing the Hulk than choosing the color gray in 1962. Taken seriously, the change could make the Hulk of the comics no longer fit into the tragic mulatto mold. However, the character's similarities were renewed with *The Incredible Hulk* television series (1977–1982). Even though the show took liberties with some of the original elements—for example, creating the Hulk out of regret about his wife's tragic car accident—it was very popular, serving as an introduction for viewers. In terms of the three aspects of the warring blood idea that pathologize mixed people, the juxtaposition of Bill Bixby and Lou Ferrigno (the actors who played Banner and the Hulk, respectively) makes the essentialist attribution of positive and negative traits even more pronounced. Similarly, having Ferrigno appear and Bixby disappear when he "Hulks out" confirms the winner-takes-all dimension of the warring blood trope. These moments of transformation were the highlights of every episode. They were inevitable, spectacular, and necessary for the show's sustainability.

Venom: 1988–2018

In the comics, Spider-Man brings an alien symbiote to earth from Battleworld, acquired in *Secret Wars* #8 (Shooter et al. 1984). Peter Parker believes it to be a set of clothing to be put on and taken off, allowing it to bond with him. When he realizes that wearing the suit has invited a ravenous, unrestrained, predatory personality into his mind, he seeks the help of Mr. Fantastic. They work together, using sonics to remove and imprison the suit (DeFalco et al. 1984). After it escapes and rebonds with Spider-Man, he manages to expose the living suit to the high-decibel sound of church bells, and it unwillingly separates. Then, like a faithful rescue dog, the symbiote pulls Parker's body to safety and slinks away (Simonson, Larocque, et al.). Soon after, it spots the unemployed journalist, Eddie Brock, sensing that he holds a grudge against Spider-Man that may resemble its own resentment. The interaction between these two produces a much deeper case of the two-forms-and-two-selves configuration. As opposed to when Spider-Man wears the black suit, when the symbiote joins with Brock, it transforms his body. The exaggerated features and tendrils make it clear that he is not just dressed differently (Michelinie and McFarlane 1988).

By the time Spider-Man and Venom spar again, Brock has enjoyed the augmentation the symbiote brings him, and he is even more determined to act on his grudge against Spider-Man. Brock does seem to possess some mastery in the relationship, transforming into Venom at will, rather than at sunset, or when his guest decides to. In the subsequent showdown between Spider-Man and Venom, Brock describes what has happened, in rather erotic terms. "a shadow moved, caressed me. I was joined." He calls the shadow an "It," but he uses the plural, first pronoun, "we," when bragging of finding Peter Parker's wife. Parker shoots him with the Venom blaster developed by Mr. Fantastic, but it does not separate from Brock's body. "It must have completely bonded," he wonders, echoing what Brock's speech had already said (Michelinie and McFarlane 1988). Eventually, living as Venom dominates Brock's life. Years later, they go their separate ways as the symbiote grows tired of having a terminally ill host and Eddie rejects its growing bloodlust.

The *Venom* movie fared badly with critics upon its release in 2018, but fans regarded it more highly (IMDb, Metacritic). At $855 million worldwide, it ranked thirteenth in movies released in that year (Box Office Mojo), a result of good timing, the increased popularity of the character, and the movie's distinctiveness from the M.C.U. In this version, the symbiote's natural form is a constantly moving, dog-sized amoeba. As in the comics, Brock, the white journalist brings gentleness, principles, and a sense of right and wrong, while the symbiote, who snuck into the country from Asia, brings impulsiveness, a ravenous appetite, and selfishness. Following Robert G. Lee's six faces of the Oriental, the symbiote is a pollutant while working alone. Like a Chinese worker in the 1870s

and disrupting the fantasy that California was a promised land for free, white people, the symbiote ruins our idea of a humans-only world; out of place, its "presence constitutes a boundary crisis" (Lee 1999, 3). It ends up in the lab of Carlton Drake, a suspicious biotechnology tycoon. But another symbiote, Riot, follows by possessing one Malaysian woman's, and then another's, body. That symbiote compels each host body to amble around like zombies until it spots a more suitable one. Prowling at an airport terminal, the second woman targets a young girl with blonde hair and white tights and follows her into the bathroom. Lee argues that, within the later decades of the nineteenth century, American antipathy towards Asians went from considering each as a pollutant, which described individual aliens, to considering them all a yellow peril, or a mass "threat to nation, race, and family" (10). When the Venom symbiote reveals that it and the other are the vanguard of many of their kind coming to Earth, the menace to the United States and its people becomes even more urgent.

In the hands of Columbia Pictures, Eddie Brock is a San Francisco journalist covering corruption. He encounters the symbiote while investigating Drake. Some aspects of the symbiote's backstory resemble American beliefs about Asians, as discussed above. But, upon joining with Eddie, his racialization increasingly follows that of black men. The beast that results from their union possesses a much larger physique than his hand-drawn counterpart. His eyes and mouth recall caricatures of African American men from blackface minstrelsy in the 1830s. In Venom's initial onscreen appearance, the symbiote wields more control over their actions, compelling Brock to feed its urges, mainly for freshly killed flesh, actualizing the common stereotype of the primitive cannibal. Brock's enlightened consciousness remains present, feeling disgust over the deeds he must commit while the guest does its work.

Rather than follow a specific schedule, like the early Hulk, motion picture Brock might change into Venom at any time, changing back when the symbiote's current objective is met. As opposed to the comics, here the symbiote speaks to Brock in his head and Brock responds out loud. Much of the movie's wit comes with the dialogue between the two. "Why are you putting your hands up?" the symbiote asks Eddie when faced with armed burglars. "You're making us look bad!" Lastly, Venom eschews conventional morality and justice. For example, it seems natural for them to sever the heads off the bodies they have just killed and stack them in a corner of the room.

While Venom debuted in print after the Willie Horton incident, he appears onscreen after the escalation of the War on Drugs, the 1994 crime law, and what Mark Mauer calls, "the race to incarcerate." He has transformed from the Black criminal waiting to jump you to the desensitized menace who might kill you for fun. His allure as an anti-hero resembles that of gangsta rap; through his

blackness, physicality, and criminality, mainstream fans get to dabble in an idea of a perspective about which they only have a sliver of understanding. Both literally and symbolically, Venom and his kind resemble what Hillary Clinton notoriously labeled "superpredators" at a 1996 campaign speech in New Hampshire: He is a hunter from outer space with superpowers, and he evokes the stereotype of minority youth who act with "no conscience, no empathy" and who are allegedly connected to drug cartels ("Mrs. Clinton"). Venom is colored black, he threatens our safety, and he should be contained.

In a way, Eddie's story is one of crime and punishment. Having snooped around his lawyer girlfriend's confidential emails, Eddie has fallen from grace and he must do penance. He ends up a symbolic cellmate with a black figure who frightens, provokes, and dominates him. Following the depiction of prison in much popular culture, the relationship between Brock and the symbiote is also sexual and not consensual. The symbiote has entered Eddie and uses his body as he pleases. With their bodily systems so intertwined, they become physically codependent on each other. In terms resembling the consequences of a sexually transmitted disease, either will die if separated. It is only near the end of the movie that the characters talk of encountering the symbiote as erotic. Eddie's ex-girlfriend has temporarily joined with the symbiote to rescue him. When Eddie and Anne reflect on the experience, they acknowledge "the power… you know, when it's inside you."

Venom's final appearance in the film takes place in a convenience store where Brock has witnessed periodic armed robberies. It is about to happen again and, instead of watching from a safe spot, Brock confronts the thief. As opposed to the many strenuous transformations throughout the movie, Brock has learned to be calm during this one. Scared for his life, the thief asks what he is. He and the symbiote speak in unison, "We are Venom," before he devours the thief. When his face peels back, we are invited to judge Venom, not by the color of his skin, but by the content of his character: the composed white man with a strong moral compass.

Tom Hardy as Venom in *Venom*. Columbia Pictures, 2018.

As the movie ends, Eddie and the symbiote discuss the ground rules for their relationship. They will remain joined, but they cannot just kill people on a whim. Under Eddie's tutelage, the symbiote will learn to appreciate the many good people on Earth and may only eat the very bad ones. It seems that *Venom* is also a buddy cop movie, many of which feature two men from different races learning to deal with each other's differences. Though *Lethal Weapon* is an exception, these films often make the white cop the rule-bound one and the Black cop the rebel (e.g., *Beverly Hills Cop* and *Training Day*). In the end, as in romantic comedies, they commit to their relationship. Rather than producing a child, they bring about a new conception of law-making, combining the procedural acumen of one with the street-smarts of the other. Eddie and the symbiote do the same, and they combine into a new body as well. This resolution follows the three components of the warring blood idea by preserving their racialized traits. But by submitting to Eddie's rules, the story diverges from those by neutralizing the winner-takes-all conflict and tempering the black side's possession of the body. Recalling the positive use of warring blood by Gloria Douglass Johnson, they have come to appreciate all sides of Venom's background and they can fulfill their potential as a force for change, by punishing the bad guys—the ones Eddie chooses.

The Hulk: 1986 to Present

Between the reappearance of his gray coloring in 1986 and the beginnings of the M.C.U. in 2008, Marvel comics put the Hulk through many changes. He undergoes psychotherapy more than once, alternately integrating

and dissembling his different-hued personas. Generally, Hulk gets smarter, communicating less often in the way ascribed to the developmentally delayed. He spends long stretches in his Hulk body. His experiences expand, and by the Planet Hulk series (2006–2007), he becomes a military tactician and global leader (Pak set al., 2008). However, some of the tensions within his treatment remain, namely whether Bruce Banner's affliction was because of repressed emotions, or because of the existence of two different personas. I side with the latter, because of the monumental success of the Marvel Cinematic Universe. These movies have sold so many tickets, provided so much content for media outlets, and appeared on so much merchandise that they have essentially become the Marvel canon that moviemakers had cherry-picked from. So many non-comics readers have followed the movies that the character arcs there are the most known.

In the first Avengers movie, everyone calls Hulk "the other guy," whom you may or may not want to wake. In the final battle, Banner says, "That's my secret, Cap: I'm always angry." Does this affirm the repressed emotions model, or is it ironic? Does Banner maintain a sort of pilot light of rage, or does is it more like a fire alarm, present if necessary but unused on most days? In any case, Banner seems the boss of the relationship. He can call on Hulk, and he can compel Hulk to stay even when the combat has ended.

But, by the end of *Avengers: Age of Ultron* (2015), Banner and Hulk's relationship follows the separate personae model, which the M.C.U. commits to from that point onwards. They inhabit the same body, kind of like roommates in a two-bedroom apartment who work opposite shifts, rarely sharing the same space at the same time. They can read the signs of what the other has been up to, but they don't know exactly what those activities were. Hulk knows what has distressed Banner, but probably doesn't know the lead-up. Banner knows Hulk must have been smashing things but doesn't know for how long. If it were the repressed feelings model, then they would know more about each other.

At the end of that movie, Hulk flies off into the sunset, piloting his and Banner's journey. When we see Hulk again in *Thor: Ragnarok* (2017), he has been in control for two years. Like his 1980s comic book counterpart, he has become calm, conversational, and attentive to the demands of a professional combatant. Until Thor shows him a video of Black Widow (Natasha Romanoff) addressing him, Hulk is successful at suppressing Banner. When she asks him to "turn this bird around," he is unable to buttress his emotions. After Banner returns, he wants to stay because he fears that if he changes again he may never come back. Regardless, for the sake of defending Thor's home world in the movie's final showdown, Banner is willing to change.

Avengers: Infinity War (2018) picks up soon after that, with Thanos attacking the refugee Asgardians. Hulk and the Mad Titan fight hand to hand, and the villain gives him what seems to be his first beating. For the rest of the movie, Banner is unable to transform into the Hulk, offering Tony Stark opportunities to tease him ("Come on, you're embarrassing us in front of wizards"). It appears that Hulk is suffering performance anxiety. However, on MTV's *Happy, Sad, Confused* podcast, Anthony and Joe Russo reveal a dynamic far more complex: Hulk is refusing to come out. "If the Hulk were to say why, it's that Banner only wants Hulk for fighting. He's had enough of saving Banner's ass. People have interpreted it as the Hulk's scared. But it's really reflective of his journey from Ragnarok, that these two characters are constantly in conflict with each other over control" (Horowitz). This expands the two-personas motif, suggesting that both personas want to dominate, but neither can have total control. Like warring blood, this competition is forever active for them, but each has tricks to make the other submit.

What are the tricks? Will the war end? Will one of them have to die for there to be peace? Hulk and Banner's subsequent appearance in *Avengers: Endgame* (2019) offers some answers to these questions. Steve Rogers, Natasha Romanoff, and Scott Lang (Ant-Man) catch up with "the Bulk" (my portmanteau, combining *Banner* and *Hulk*, much like how *Blasian* combines *Black* and *Asian*) at a diner. He speaks in Mark Ruffalo's casual yet concise voice, goes around in a sweater, and chats it up with young fans. They take a booth, and he explains his new form.

> For years, I've been treating the Hulk like he's some kind of disease, something to get rid of. But then I start looking at him as the cure. Eighteen months in the gamma lab, I put the brains and the brawn together and now look at me. Best of both worlds!

The colors of the background, his skin, and his clothing are very muted. In a way, he has returned to the gray color of the debut issue, and his words emphasize this embrace of hybridity. Beyond the coloring, the Bulk does not just look like the Hulk in clothes, he looks like the offspring of Mark Ruffalo and the "enormous green rage monster" Iron Man described in The Avengers (2012). His facial features, his musculature, and his gait are all blends of the other two.

Mark Ruffalo as the "Bulk" in *Avengers: Endgame*. Marvel Studios, 2019.

The scene does not take the time to explain the process, nor share Hulk's side of the story, so it appears that Banner got the winning hand. But the Hulk must have gained something he always wanted. Judging by how much he enjoyed fighting, adulation from fans, and unwinding at his apartment on the planet Sakaar, it seems likely that what he wanted most was to be in his body as much as possible. As in *Venom*, he and Banner must have set agreeable ground rules, and Hulk was fine with letting the professor take the wheel most of the time, as long as they could be big and green.

Calling himself "the best of both worlds" brings a cringe to viewers aware of the adulation Americans often lay upon racially mixed people. The praise of their physical appearance, the assumption that they are bridges between parent racial groups, and the fascination with their genealogy often reveal that the speakers have good intentions about race relations. This single-serving flattery works on the individual level, like the first half of Georgia Douglas Johnson's "Fusion" and the Bulk's self-description. Another set of compliments works on the more collective level: predictions that everyone will be mixed, pointing to intermarriage rates as a gauge of racial progress, and suggesting that ambiguity will dissolve racial identities. The latter part of the poem promises to use ambiguity for social change.

The Hulk's much longer career has compelled his creators to explore, complicate, and expand the relationship between Bruce Banner and the Hulk. Spanning six decades, his stories reflect changes in social mores about psychotherapy, trauma, and racial mixture. Over these years (and quite by accident), they have moved the story from the traditional facets of the warring blood idea, which undergirds the whole tragic mulatto myth, to one that reflects Gloria Douglas Johnson's 1918 poem, "Fusion," which deploys the term to

communicate positive attitudes towards mixed race. Like Eddie Brock and the symbiote, Banner and Hulk reach a compromise that gives the nonhuman partner more visibility while letting the human dictate personal relationships, decorum, and morals. Stated explicitly in *Avengers: Endgame*, Bulk is a combination of the two, ready to do his job as an Avenger.

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About the author

Greg Carter is associate professor of history at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. His writing has appeared in Ethnic Studies Review, the Journal of American Ethnic History, Race and the Obama Phenomenon: The Vision of a More Perfect Multiracial Union, edited by G. Reginald Daniel and Hettie V. Williams, and Mixed Race Hollywood, edited by Mary Beltrán and Camilla Fojas. He is author of The United States of the United Races: A Utopian History of Racial Mixing (2013). Email: cartergt@uwm.edu

But Where Are You Really From? Using the Ethnically Ambiguous Mixed-Race Identity to Examine Current Limitations in Critical Mixed-Race Studies

By Emily Grace Cashour

Introduction to Identity

Feeling unrepresented (or often, entirely unrecognized) by one or more racial groups is one of the most common threads of experience that tie together the wide range of individuals who belong to the mixed-race community. As mixed-race people, we are frequently able to bond with each other despite vast individual racial differences because of our shared experiences of not fitting perfectly within limited boundaries of racial labeling. Mixed-race individuals' identities are complex and cannot be minimized to simply assimilate into only one racial group; doing so creates an incomplete representation of the mixed-race person as a *whole* person, made up of many different (racial) parts. Through my autoethnography, *The Mixed-Race Body, The Mixed-Race Identity*, I explored the concept of identity as it is both recognized and experienced by the mixed-race person, focusing heavily on concepts such as "phenotypical belonging" and "behavioral belonging," the former of which I will explore in depth in this paper. Initially, however, I wish to expand on the concept of identity as it was generally understood by the individuals I interviewed during my project.

During my research, I asked my respondents—each of whom identifies as a mixed-race person—to describe exactly what "identity" as a concept meant to them. Here are a few of the responses I received:

> To me, identity is the way I portray myself to others, the way I feel about myself, how I see myself, whether I see myself as a Black chick, or as a[n] Hispanic chick. To me, my identity comes from every way that I look, for me, my food identifies me, my language identifies me, my dry, kinky hair identifies me. Listening to calypso music identifies me. Any parts of my story, any things that I have lived, identifies me.

> In general, I see identity as a collection of adjectives, adverbs, etc that can describe oneself. It's basically the concept of stats, but not so much what one can *do*. Later you learn that some things are changeable, and some things are fixed, and some things are kind of in between. And I think identity is an integral part of oneself, how one chooses to embrace it, reject to things about it. In general, how I feel about identity is that as long as it's not harming others, I really don't care how someone wishes to identify.

> Like in terms of like a racial culture, right? I am a Black person and a White person in one person. I am both of those races. That is how I identify. So when I say mixed, I am owning completely that I'm a Black person and completely that I'm a white person, but I am *also* owning that I am a mixed person, though that means something a little different than being a Black person or being a White person.

What is most key to take away from these definitions is that they each embrace the idea of identity as being fully representative of the mixed-race person who claims it, regardless of whether it fits neatly into one predefined box. According to my respondents, identity is not limited to one racial or ethnic group (or even to just one social group), but rather is something inclusive, something that allows access to different communities.

A key theoretical concept I find useful to understand this idea of the mixed-race person's relationship to identity is W.E.B. Du Bois's idea of double consciousness. Double consciousness can be understood as "the internal conflict experienced by subordinated or colonized groups in an oppressive society . . . [which] illuminates the experiences of black people living in post-slavery America, and also sets a framework for understanding the position of oppressed people in an oppressive world."

To be a Black person in the United States, according to the ideas set forth by Du Bois regarding double consciousness, means to exist both as the person you understand yourself to be *and* as what the world ascribes onto you: the label of a Black person. The Black person in the United States, then, has a complex sense of self that is constantly shifting based upon the environment in which they are immersed and the people by whom they are surrounded. Double consciousness is something that every person of color in the United States has experienced: this formulating of an identity and a sense of self based on personal experiences, interests, etc., and the simultaneous formulating of a sense of self and identity based on the way they are received/perceived by outsiders based on ascribed stereotypes, prescribed narratives of identity, and (often emotion-filled) reactions.

The multiracial person experiences this same sense of double consciousness, albeit there are some slight differences that make the mixed-race experience of double consciousness a bit different. It is important to understand that while the mismatch between interior sense of identity and exterior prescription of identity by outsiders is not an experience limited to the multiracial person, it is often exacerbated when one is mixed-race. For instance, consider a mixed-race person such as Lauren, who I quoted above. While she claims a mixed-race identity might not be perceived as such, thus creating a mismatch between the identity that Lauren claims and the identity that is externally ascribed to her; why couldn't Lauren exist as a Black person, a White person, and a mixed person all at the same time? The way that the racial labelling system in the United States survives is due, in part, to the idea that belonging to multiple racial groups at the same time is impossible—eventually one will be forced to choose. The impossibility of living within the racial system of the United States *and* achieving the fullness of this identity and being recognized for it demonstrates the double consciousness of the mixed-race person.

Introduction to Ethnic Ambiguity

This double consciousness is exacerbated only further when considering the main concept of this paper: the ethnically ambiguous mixed-race experience. Though ethnic ambiguity can refer to ambiguity in a racial, cultural, or ethnic sense, I choose to retain the label of "ethnic ambiguity" because it is more widely recognized. Ethnic ambiguity refers to the phenomenon of one's physical appearance not clearly indicating belonging to any one racial or ethnic group. As I understand it, ethnic ambiguity causes questioning and discomfort *because* a mixed-race individual's physical features do not appear to directly correlate with a viewer's perceptions of a particular racial or ethnic group. In many cases, the ethnically ambiguous individual might appear to different people as belonging to a host of different races, ethnicities, or nationalities, and often receives frequent lines of questioning requesting that their race or ethnicity be clarified. Ethnic ambiguity is attached to various questions such as "What are you?," "What's your ethnicity?," or "Where are you from?" In other words, the uniqueness of creating an identity as an ethnically ambiguous mixed-race person deals heavily with the way in which this person is received/externally identified based primarily on their appearance. The "viewer" is an important part of this definition, as an individual who appears ethnically ambiguous to one person may not appear ethnically ambiguous to another. Ethnic ambiguity is *externally projected*; it is defined by the perception of the viewer, rather than influenced by the actual identity of the ethnically ambiguous person(s) themselves.

To introduce a bit of additional context: in general, the vast majority of mixed-race individuals' identities are often heavily influenced by a factor which I have termed *phenotypical belonging*. During my autoethnographic research on self-identified mixed-race people in the United States, I used the term phenotypical belonging to refer to this idea of physical appearance and, more importantly, of distinctive physical/genetic markers being used as a primary or significant secondary method of distinguishing one's belonging to a particular race or ethnicity. It is important to note that phenotypical belonging *also* includes the socially influenced conceptions (and misconceptions) about physical differences that exist between races/ethnicities. In the United States, the racial designation system is rooted in a system of White supremacy, and has often been manifested in racist images, caricatures, and stereotypes that limit the imagined possibilities of what a person belonging to any one racial group might look like. United States history is full of examples of these images that have historically been used for propaganda and genocidal activities.

Ethnically ambiguous mixed-race people create an unusual subgroup that directly calls into question the idea of phenotypical belonging being an infallible system of racial identification. Namely, ethnically ambiguous mixed-race individuals' physical features do not always directly showcase their belonging to any one particular racial or ethnic group. By confusing the ability to determine an individual's race or ethnicity through visual observation alone, ethnic ambiguity often leads people to ask the aforementioned questions—"Where are you from?," "What are you?," or "What is your nationality/ethnicity?"—as a means of clarification. In my personal experience as well as in the experience of many of the individuals I interviewed, the "What are you?" questions will frequently be asked very early on in conversation, indicating that things cannot continue until the race/ethnicity mystery has been solved. One of my respondents described it thoughtfully:

> And I mean, also it's just like, when you don't know how other people perceive you, I think that really greatly impacts how you then think about yourself because I get confused a lot. I constantly ask people, what do you think I am? What do you think my ethnic background is? How do I look to you? How do I come off? Cause I don't know. I don't know. Some people are like, you look White? And I'm like, I guess, oh, I, you know, I must look that way. But then what's crazy is I found that White people think I look White and then non-White people think I look non-White, but that just means people of a culture just basically see a lot of themselves in me. It's like, you're somebody that's more White. You're only gonna look at the kind of cultural aspects in my, you know, genetic makeup that are similar to you.

Though this quote represents only one conversation with one mixed-race person, it remains an extremely common theme in speaking about identity with ethnically ambiguous mixed-race people—namely, the influence of an outside viewer's perception on whether a mixed-race person is defined as ethnically ambiguous.

Differences abound for each ethnically ambiguous mixed-race person's experience upon receiving questions requesting clarification of their race/ethnicity, but I have come across several common threads in my research of this phenomenon. One of the most harmful of these is the oft-expressed experiences of *nonacceptance* when an ethnically ambiguous mixed-race person has explained their racial mixture. I personally can detail several anecdotes where upon revealing my being mixed *with Black and White* garnered outward expressions of disbelief, and, most hurtfully, insistence that I was being dishonest. What else can someone do than internalize this experience, an experience I describe as not being trusted to dictate my own racial identity *and be believed*?

It is no secret that the experience of being forced to choose one or another of one's races to be representative of one's entire identity as a mixed-race person is as common as it is traumatic. This commonness persists despite my and other mixed-race people's insistence that limiting a mixed-race person's identity based on ignorant, White supremacist-influenced understandings of race and racial identity is one of the most damaging things to do to a mixed-race person's core sense of self.

How is Ethnic Ambiguity Tied to Identity?

In terms of ethnic ambiguity, there is often a mismatch between projected image of what a person who embodies a mixture of different races might look like and the actual physical appearance of a mixed-race person. All of us, dependent on the way in which we have been socialized to recognize different racial or ethnic groups, have body images and physical features that we associate with particular races and ethnicities. To deny this, I believe, is dishonest. To rely on stereotyping and racism is of course harmful, but I take the same approach as I do to things like colorblindness—we cannot address problems that we pretend not to see nor refuse to acknowledge the existence of. The image of a Black person you conjure up when you close your eyes and imagine a "normal-black-person" says a lot about the ways you have been conditioned to understand the general themes, understandings, stereotypes, and *possibilities* inherent in Blackness and Black people. In addition, the image of an "average mixed-race person" you create in your mind's eye says a multitude about the ways you have been conditioned to understand racial identities/stereotypes, and what you imagine happens when different ones are

mixed together. In recognizing the mismatch between an assumed image of a mixed-race person and the mixed-race person's appearance, ethnically ambiguous or not, we can begin to understand the complexities of the mixed-race person's experience.

When I consider the mixed-race community, I consistently return to this theme of mismatch between an imagined picture and an actual manifestation. It is so important to remember that just as different individuals might have vastly different ideas of what mixed-race people look like, so do mixed-race people have vastly different experiences. The realization of this mismatch, unfortunately, does not always beget expansion outside of limited perspectives, but rather additional requests for clarification, simplification, and adherence to singular racial categories. All of this, I argue, occur to protect systems of racial categorization as they currently exist. The United States racial system is highly complex, with very specific rules of behavior segregation in order to avoid ambiguities and inconsistencies between racial identities. There is no room for ambiguity, for things that cannot be clearly labeled, automatically clarified. Race is strictly policed, both figuratively and literally.

Where does the necessity for a term like "ethnic ambiguity" come from if not from the idea that different races and ethnicities have specific *looks* to them? I am only ethnically ambiguous because *I do not look (to outsiders) like (their imagined perception) of what I genetically am*. And perhaps the most frustrating part about it is that even this experience is not universal—to some I look ethnically ambiguous, to some I look Black, to some I look White, to some I look mixed. This is the inconsistency of the ethnically ambiguous mixed-race experience: what do we look like? Everything. Nothing. We don't know. It never seems to be up to us.

Mixed-race people are a fantastic group of people to use as living proof of the failures of current systems to fully represent humanity in all its manifestations. What considering the ethnically ambiguous mixed-race person adds to this discussion is a *physical representation*—a body that does not visibly announce its race—of the limits of our racial categorization system to represent humanity. I think all the time about how *not unique* it is to be a physical manifestation of two parents' genes. But because my parents are not the same race, that physical manifestation of mixing carries *much* more weight. *Two races are mixed together in my blood, in my skin, in every part of my body.* How to think about that? Everyone has a different idea of what a perfectly blended vision of two different races would look like. The only thing they have in common is that those ideas never look like me. How do we understand representation when trying to represent identities found between the lines of race? What is the

impact on identity when what an ethnically ambiguous person claims as their identity and the way they are identified do not match?

The ability to choose more than one race on the United States Census was not permitted as a practice until the 2000 Census, meaning that the data collection method before that time was purposefully exclusive of self-identified multiracial individuals. A simple exploration of the United States Census system of classification over the last millennia provides ample proof of this concept's persistence in the US racial classification system.

There have long been arguments regarding the impossibility of a mixed-race person to truly form any identity, torn as they are between cultures, representative as their body is of the most taboo type of mixing—with blood, with genes. To dispel this and other rumors like it, let me take a moment to address some ideas surrounding the mixed-race identity and community with clarity: multiracial people are *not* a new phenomenon. We are not a vision of a utopic future of abolished racism, nor are we a clue of what bodies will all look like in a few decades. What we *are* is symbolic of all the ways in which race is both socially constructed and full of material consequences. I was listening to a podcast the other day that mentioned a woman who gave up her multiracial baby because "her white husband didn't want another man's child raised in his home, not least of all one whose color so boldly announced that fact." Multiracial children are a physical manifestation of all the things that are taboo, are interesting, are beautiful and freakish about interracial relations. Our bodies are the site of political commentary affected locationally by a particular country's understanding of race and racial groupings. Whatever social rules are instituted regarding race and purity and bloodlines is relegated to nothing simply by the skin, the hair, the *body* of a multiracial person. And yet, the social rules live on, in simultaneous, confusing existence with the multiracial body, the multiracial identity, and the growing global multiracial community.

It is important to acknowledge that the discourse surrounding the multiracial experience hasn't left out the ethnically/racially ambiguous experience. But it is also important to acknowledge that the racially/ethnically ambiguous experience is not a *universal* one within the multiracial community. One of the respondents from my ethnography described the ethnically ambiguous experience as a specifically different experience *within* the multiracial experience—her siblings (who look unambiguously White) do not share her ethnically ambiguous mixed experience, they have a *White* mixed experience. Many of my cousins do not share some of the experiences I have had regarding my race and racial identity, simply because when we enter the same room, where they might immediately be read as Black, I am not.

That's the thing about ethic ambiguity—it isn't something that goes unnoticed or unspoken about. My physical appearance is a conversation starter. Ethnic ambiguity begets acknowledgement. It inspires questions, inspires guesswork. In my own experience, it's something that is often addressed before anything else. I read a story once about someone who started charging people based on how long it took for them to ask a question directly related to figuring out her ethnicity. I've written about the questioning extensively—the way that it feels to constantly have variations of the same questions be thrown at me as if nothing other than solving the mystery of my ethnicity is interesting about me or about my existence.

One thing I have not yet referenced is the relationship between the multiracial experience and White supremacy. The theme of this year's conference, ancestral futurisms, directly addresses the idea of combatting legacies of White supremacy. Ancestral futurism seeks to combine a yet undefined future of multiraciality with histories of the multiracial experience that are *not* limited by narratives of White supremacy. In regards to my own experience, White supremacy seeks to limit my experience of multiraciality to a classification system that requires percentages, fractions, decimals, in pursuit of a mythical, always out-of-reach "racial purity." Whiteness itself is an invention, empowered to include and exclude groups based on arbitrary racial categorization at will. White supremacy forces multiracial people like me to choose between Black and White, with ramifications from both sides if we push back "standards" against.

For me, and other multiracial people like me, a future envisioned through ancestral futurism means a future in which racial categorization does not constitute an individual's ability to belong. It means opening up identity not just to those who have been forever forced to circumnavigate identity categories too limited to accept them, but also to those who have been able to fit into racial identity categories, but who are fully human, and who therefore wish for more. It means decolonizing multiraciality, yes, but it also means creating a world in which all identities have been decolonized. It entails no longer needing to categorize the ethnically ambiguous person or to understand the ethnically ambiguous experience because it means no longer limiting representations of varying races and ethnicities to parameters of physical appearance—of phenotypical belonging.

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About the author

Emily Cashour is a multiracial woman currently living in Oakland, California. Understanding her identity has been a lifetime journey, and is what has inspired her to research the multiracial experience in all its many manifestations. Her work is available on medium.com, cashourportfolio.blogspot.com, and mixedracestudies.org. Email: egcashour@gmail.com

Mixed-Race Kanak in "a World Cut in Two": Contemporary Experiences in Kanaky/New Caledonia

Anaïs Duong-Pedica

Paul Spickard Graduate Student Paper Award Winner 2022

Abstract: This article interrogates how the profound history of spatial segregation across colonial, racial, and cultural lines appears in contemporary narratives of mixed-race people in Kanaky/New Caledonia (K/NC). By tracing the moments that specific spaces, such as "the city" and "the tribe," are mentioned in these narratives, the article shows how the colonial divide structures selves, relations, spaces, and society and manifests itself in discussions with self-identified métis/ses Kanak-White people, especially in the context of the formal decolonization process K/NC is going through. The research draws primarily on interviews with self-identified métis/ses Kanak-White people that took place a few months before the 2018 referendum for independence. The primary question this article seeks to answer is: how does French colonialism spatially determine the lives of métis/ses in K/NC? For this purpose, it analyzes how métis/ses Kanak-White people navigate the variety of spaces they inhabit through experiences of everyday racism and explores how spatial polarization appears in their stories, particularly given the significance of the land for Kanak identity. Notably, the article shows how colonial rhetoric transpires in these different spaces by way of regulating whether the métis/se body belongs within a particular space.

Keywords: Kanak, settler colonialism, mixed race, space, racism

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The colonial world is a world cut in two.
– Frantz Fanon

Consider the duality of space in New Caledonia today. We have to imagine possible solutions to overcome the irreducibility of these two spaces that oppose each other. If it is impossible to organize the city to integrate the tribe, let's attempt to organize the country to achieve the simultaneous integration of the city and the tribe.
– Jean-Marie Tjibaou

Introduction

At the "Métis en Calédonie, Té ki toi !" (Mixed race in Caledonia, who are you!) conference at the University of New Caledonia in 2017, Marie-Madeleine Lequatre, whose mother is Kanak from Drehu/Lifou and father is White French, spoke about growing up in a Kanak environment on the east coast and feeling different because of her métissage. She underlined the importance of acknowledging "where we are speaking from, where we are from, and in which milieu we have grown up to live or define ourselves as métis/ses." She added that what she describes as her racial ambiguity was more an advantage, "a key," in other geographies, such as in hexagonal France, whereas in Kanaky/New Caledonia (K/NC), her "Kanak part" was invisibilized: "I lived my métissage as the invisibilization of a part of myself but a part that was visible enough so that my Kanak environment judged it different." In her testimony, *space* emerges as a constitutive element of the métisse experience.

While narratives of "being caught in the middle" or of "suffering" are ever-present in discourse on métissage in K/NC, this article is not an attempt to resist them. Rather, it explores the spatial component by embedding contemporary mixed-race experiences in the history of settler colonialism in K/NC. Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill define "settler colonialism" as "a persistent social and political formation in which newcomers/colonizers/settlers come to a place, claim it as their own, and do whatever it takes to disappear the Indigenous people that are there." Within this structure, settlers extract value from the land, a project that demands that Indigenous people are "destroyed, removed, and made into ghosts." To achieve this, the colonial space is organized to separate the natives from the settlers. Frantz Fanon illustrates this violent division and Manichean dualism that are found at the socio-spatial level of the French colony. For Kanak, it is through relationships to the land that collective identities are formed and told. Therefore, the removal of Kanak people from their ancestral land required by settler colonialism had dramatic consequences for tribes and clans, as it is their "whole world that is shaken, their network of relations with their brothers, with the efferent protocol that ends up mired in general confusion."

In this article, I interrogate how the history of spatial segregation across colonial, racial, and cultural lines appears in contemporary narratives of métis/ses in K/NC. I show how the colonial divide structures selves, relations, spaces, and society and how spatial division manifests itself in discussions with self-identified métis/ses Kanak-White people, especially in the context of the current formal decolonization process in K/NC. I draw on interviews with self-identified métis/ses Kanak people conducted several months before the 2018 independence referendum. The primary question here is: how does French colonialism spatially determine the lives of métis/ses in K/NC? At the heart of this article is Daphne V. Taylor-García's acknowledgment that "the person that experiences the world as 'mixed race' is not the problem, but rather the problem is the coloniality of being that demands the politics of purity," a legacy of French colonialism. In making visible the country's colonial history and what has been left unsaid, this project understands métis/ses people as "subjects of historical, social, and cultural processes rather than simply objects of analysis." It also takes seriously Minelle Mahtani's question: "what would an anticolonial mixed race studies look like?" If settler colonialism in Oceania overlaps with White supremacy, both the analytics of settler colonialism and the sociohistorical process of racial formation are necessary to reveal the contours of race and mixed race in K/NC.

This article falls into two parts. The first introduces how settler colonialism reorganized spaces and peoples and how both settler colonialism and Kanak nationalism have shaped the evolution of métissage across time. Drawing on Fanon, space and geography are understood as existing "in a relationship to time and history," which métissage does not escape. The second part explores mixed-race people's relationship to space principally as alienating and divided in their experience of everyday racism and the colonial spatial divide between "the city" and "the tribe." The particular focus on history and geography addresses Mahtani's observations that "many analyses of multiraciality tend to be largely ahistorical and ageographical" and therefore tend to evade the colonial histories of families and individuals in specific times and places. This focus, therefore, reflects how the stories that métis/ses people told me are deeply informed by the colonial history of K/NC.

Methodology

This six-month ethnographic work, carried out around the 2018 independence referendum in K/NC, focuses on interviews with people who self-identified as métis/ses. The data comprises fifty-five interviews conducted in Nouméa, in Koohnê/Koné, and online for those working and/or studying abroad. Interviewees were found through personal networks, an online call for participants in local discussion groups on Facebook, and posters displayed in Nouméa and on the car I was using. Here, "self-identification as métis/se" refers

to *their* recognition of mixed raceness and willingness to talk about it. However, it does not necessarily mean that they mainly identify as métis/ses or at all. They may identify as Kanak or Caledonian primarily and may actually rarely use "mixed race."

During the interviews, I followed a set of questions on the broad themes of identity regarding mixed race, belonging, and politics, especially in the context of decolonization. The research began as an opportunity for mixed-race people in K/NC to share personal experiences and political opinions but also "emotional and intellectual expectations about the outer and inner limits of race/ethnicity, and/or culture in their everyday lives." Some interviews depict long conversations and exchanges unmediated by the guiding questions.

Métissage across Settler Colonial Time and Space in Kanaky/New Caledonia

Métissage exists in space and geography and in relation to time and history. Multiraciality and its expression (or lack thereof) is contingent on the political situation of the country and its evolution over time and through spaces. David Chappell recognizes three phases in the historical trajectory of colonial settlement in New Caledonia. I use these phases to show how they coincide with the evolution of métissage and the "métis question" across time. Chappell's phases are "the colonial era (1853–1946), post–World War II decolonization, regression and revolt (1946–1988), and the era of negotiated peace accords that have proposed economic 'rebalancing' and seeking a 'common destiny' for the nearly equal settler and indigenous communities (1988–today)." The French annexation of New Caledonia is marked by Kanak uprisings as resistance to the loss of lands and tampering with Indigenous ways. After the creation of the penitentiary for French convicts and political prisoners from the Paris Commune and Algerian rebels in 1864, most French settlers were convict laborers in coffee plantations and later in nickel exploitation. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, free settlers from France arrived and received lands expropriated from Kanak for farming through convict, Kanak, Oceanian, and Asian labor. White settlers today are the descendants of those involuntary and convicted settlers who were unable/prohibited to return after their sentence and free settlers attracted by economic ventures.

Kanak were confined to native reserves created by the French. On the main island known as "Grande Terre," these reserves represented only 10 percent of the total land surface, whereas the outer islands (today known as the "Loyalty Islands") were entirely native reserves. The colonial administration randomly organized different clans into tribes, attributed tribal chiefs, introduced a "head tax" to be paid only by Kanak who were then forced to work for settlers, and appointed gendarmes to police their movements. From 1887 to 1946, the Indigénat colonial system structured and limited Kanak life, displacing

and confining Kanak further into reserves. This attempted destruction of Kanak life was based on the fact that Kanak people are defined by their ancestral link to the land. As Jean-Marie Tjibaou and Philippe Missotte explain:

> A clan that loses its territory is a clan that loses its personality. It loses its land, its sacred places, its geographical and sociological points of reference. The whole universe of the group is affected, its network of relations with its brothers and with protocol finds itself in a state of general confusion. In this chaos, everyone loses a part of their identity since as we have seen, the name is related to land.… Space as it is conceived in this way is not a separate thing; it is the fabric, impregnated of the network of human relations, in the middle of which men live.… The space is used as a living archive of the group; it is even one of the fundamental elements constituting canaque personality.

In this context, through land spoliation and expropriation, France created the conditions for the disappearance of Kanak "naturally," since "by being deprived of their lands, they were deprived of the very meaning of life." New Caledonia is an exceptional case in the French Empire as the only territory in which native reserves were created based on the US and Australian colonial models. This exception can be attributed to the fact that "France imagined the Kanak as *unassimilable* others, barely human at all—beyond the reach of France's civilizing mission"—which justified the French declaration of *terra nullius* and extraordinary juridical regimes. By the end of the "colonial era," "two countries in one had developed, the settler colony and the indigenous reserves."

This first period was marked by an ideological refusal of métissage dominant in colonies in the nineteenth century. However, the lack of White women in the colony resulted in mixed unions, more prevalent in "the bush" since bourgeois city settlers could look for White partners in Australia. In *Empire's Children*, Emmanuelle Saada investigates the condition of the métis through the lens of French colonial law and argues that there was an absence of the métis question in New Caledonia. She attributes this to the fact that métis/ses children were absorbed in Indigenous, settler, or immigrant societies since "both colonizers and colonized were willing to care for children of mixed blood." Drawing on the work of French anthropologist Alban Bensa, she further suggests that another reason why there was no métis question could be that "there was no common stage on which it could have played out" since the populations were kept separated.

Yet, in the late nineteenth century, métissage was significant between Kanak and Europeans on the main island, especially on the coasts. Louis-José

Barbançon advances that in the first half of the twentieth century, this was still the case and that "when the métis chooses to live in the tribe or the village, he is considered as a Kanak or a white." The integration of métis/ses was motivated by social interests on both the Kanak and European sides. From a Kanak perspective, métis/ses children served "the socio-political reinforcement of the clan through the expansion of its membership using widespread adoptive practices."

In Kanak culture, métissage is not understood in terms of "race" but in terms of culture, belonging, and group identification. Kanak societies are structured according to relations established through customary practices between different clans and, in the case of children, between maternal and paternal clans. Hamid Mokaddem argues that "within this perspective, the welcoming of allochthone clans by the guardians of the land clans provides the foreigner with a status and position in the group." Similarly, Nidoïsh Naisseline, high chief of the Guahma District in Nengone (Maré), has stated that "in Lifou, there are people who are different by their race, there are blonds with blue eyes at the Luengoni tribe who identify as canaques, in other words, there are white people, métisses, or canaques who refer to the same culture, the same values. That is why it is essential that we distinguish the notion of culture from that of race when we speak."

There are significant disparities in identities resulting from unions between settlers and Kanak between the group of islands currently called the Loyalty Islands and the main island. The Loyalty Islands were declared reserves in the late nineteenth century, which meant that comparatively very few settlers were living there. These families could not own land, had to live in reserves, and thus could not live in White society. This difference forced these settlers to integrate and root themselves within Kanak society when marrying Kanak women. In the context of Nengone, Elsa Faugère notes that this is "why, today, their descendants proudly claim their *nengoneity* and *Kanakeity*." The existence of White villages and Kanak reserves on the main island did not motivate such an integration.

On the White side, the integration of métis/ses children benefited "the transmission of family inheritance during a period when 'white' women were relatively scarce." As in other colonial contexts in the Pacific, the emphasis on culture on both sides resulted in phenotypical markers not being indicators of belonging in either one of these social groups, since Whiteness and Kanakness were more matters of culture. Of course, culture operates alongside race since "the discourse of racism operates in a world of Manichean opposites—them and us, primitive and civilized, light and dark—which creates a seductive black-and-white symbolic universe." As will be shown later, we should remain critical of

the emphasis on culture at the expense of race in studies of mixed-race people in K/NC. Isabelle Merle reaches the same conclusion, highlighting that it is the environment in which a child is socialized that determined their legal status and social identity, while noting a "latent … but always present" colorism. She gives the example of a dark-skinned métis being raised in a village (therefore outside of the reserve and the tribe) by his White settler father and his Kanak mother.

She argues that he would consider himself and be considered White and he will tend to marry a mixed or White woman. She argues that he "will be, in this case, more or less well accepted depending on his success as a settler. In the case of failure or disagreement, he will be reminded of his Kanak origin, revealing a latent skin-related racism, but nevertheless always present. His social identity, however, cannot totally be challenged." She adds that, by contrast, a light-skinned child who was raised in the tribe and therefore the reserve by his Kanak mother "will be tied to a lineage, a clan, custom, and Kanak culture. He thinks himself undoubtedly Kanak, and even if, sometimes, he is 'whiter' than the settlers from the neighborhood, he enters, at the beginning of the century, the category 'native.'" This passage exemplifies that while skin shade did not determine legal status or social identity, it was not irrelevant in the social lives of métis/ses.

In the 1960s, as a result of state immigration policy implemented by the French administration during the "nickel mining boom" to minoritize Kanak, settlers, including White, Asian, and Pacific Islander communities, became a majority, worsening relations between White settlers and Kanak and providing fertile ground for the idea of independence. While the Indigénat was abolished in 1945, enabling Kanak to become citizens rather than colonial subjects, colonial spatial segregation persisted.

In 1975, an independence movement emerged, fueled by Kanak struggle for land, against racial discrimination and lack of Indigenous autonomy. By the end of the decade, the intensity of racial and political unrest and tension led to what is commonly called "The Events" (Les Evènements), a euphemism alluding to civil war. This historical period is marked by the 1984 ambush in Hyehen/ Hienghène in which a group of seven settlers, described as a "clan of *métis*" by the local media, murdered ten Kanak men, including two of the brothers of the pro-independence leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou. Throughout the trial of the murderers, their métissage was used by the defense to temper the racial and political character of the murders and to weaken "not only the prosecution's argument but [also] the entire premise of the Kanak political struggle." This instrumentalization of métissage by settlers gives rise to the discourse of métissage as being against Kanak independence.

If métissage was taboo until "The Events," some Caldoches later asserted they descended from Kanak as a way to claim their legitimacy in the country, which fueled anti-independence politics. This was relayed by French media and politicians, and the idea that, in New Caledonia, most Caldoches are métis/ses especially aimed to convey the notion that Kanak independence was divisive and racist, an idea that still prevails today for some loyalists. This instrumentalization paired with the immigration policy that aimed to minoritize Kanak people implies that métissage can be read as the continuation of what Tate LeFevre has identified as the "project of disappearance" of Kanak. This is why people who self-identify or claim to be métis/ses are often associated with anti-independence politics and are seen as politically suspect within pro-independence circles.

Population statistics show that spatially Kanak represent the largest population in the North Province (72 percent) and in the Islands Province (95 percent), with a growing presence in the South Province (29 percent). Nevertheless, in 2019, 52 percent of Kanak lived in the South Province. The "European community" remains concentrated in the South Province (92 percent), where non-Kanak communities are predominant. In the North Province, the "European community," which represents 10 percent of the overall population, remains concentrated in villages on the west coast. This spatial divide prompted commentators to argue that K/NC is divided in two: "the cultural, material and mental Kanak universe" and "the European universe." This separation is unequal and reflects the colonial history of the country: "K/NC has produced an ethno-cultural partition defined by territorial demarcation lines between Kanak villages and European townships and the sole city/capital, located in the South, Nouméa. Within the city boundaries, around the city centre, radiate out segregated social spaces between the 'poor' northern neighbourhoods and the 'rich' southern ones." This results in communities "living side by side, in juxtaposed and not intermingled social spaces." If colonial delineations still affect contemporary spatial organization, when it comes to métissage, revealing one's mixed-race heritage is no longer taboo. For Eddy Wadrawane, this is because métissage is now at the center of a strategy of appropriation, integration, and social progression. Indeed in a political context in which the future of the country is based on "shared destiny" and "living together," LeFevre notes that mixed-race identity is now promoted and celebrated to a greater extent in popular and political discourse and, more specifically, by anti-independence political parties. For Adrian Muckle and Benoît Trépied, the process of decolonization has given a "new currency" to this "métis question."

Space of Everyday Racism

Racism is a foundational and organizational element of New Caledonian society. Bensa writes of a "radicalized racism" that "functions as a bloc to proclaim an incommensurable difference between, on one side, all Kanak and, on the other, Europeans, rich or poor, urban or bush settlers, mixed-race or not." According to the same logic, Kanak, rich or poor, whether they live in the city, villages, or tribes, mixed-race or not, are seen as incommensurably different from "Europeans."

In many interviews, people recalled their experiences of racism in the contexts of the family, education, and work. These instances are spatialized stories that affirm settler entitlement to certain spaces and Kanak confinement to others. This is evident in the case of Anne-Marie, a twenty-nine-year-old whose mother is White British and Kanak from Drehu/Lifou and whose father was born in New Caledonia to White French parents. Anne-Marie recalled the difference in treatment she experienced when her family moved to Nouméa after spending ten years of her life in Drehu/Lifou and going to school in the capital:

> So, I had my childhood, my personal education, that landed in Nouméa and that was confronted to the city, to the ways of children who have always grown up in more or less urban areas. And when I speak of hardship, I'm mostly referring to ways of living, to the human in itself. Because children are even worse. They are very mean to each other and many told me when I arrived here that I was under-gifted, or stupid, because I came from Lifou. So from that point, there was a personal questioning that was very difficult. People would look at me weird because I had always lived in Lifou, even though I was really good at school in Lifou. I continued to be good [in Nouméa]. So I had to "prove" to them that I wasn't stupid. But I was so distraught by it that I would write a note to my teacher at the end of every paper: "I apologize for the stupid mistakes I made." So really, it was really difficult.

Anne-Marie specified that she was called and treated as "stupid" by her schoolmates specifically because she was from Drehu/Lifou. She associated this negative experience with "the city" space. She alluded to "the ways of children who have always grown up in more or less urban areas," which, according to her, have an impact on their way of being in the world and their way of being human. I asked Anne-Marie whether she had been made to "feel different" prior to this experience, and she insisted that it only happened to her in Nouméa. Initially, Anne-Marie did not use the word "racism" to describe these experiences. When I asked her if she considered this racism, she replied: "clearly, I was discriminated against because of my place of origin. That's called racism." It should be noted that Anne-Marie described herself as "White and blond with

straight hair," but she does not pass nor trespass, as it is her "place of origin," Drehu/Lifou, that is the basis of this racism rather than her phenotypical traits.

I argue that this racism linked to "place of origin" is anti-Kanak racism, since, according to the 2019 census, 94 percent of the inhabitants of Drehu/Lifou are Kanak and only 3 percent are "European." Anti-Kanak racism racially and culturally delineates the right to a space, here Nouméa, based on the French colonial construction of the "savage" Kanak and the "civilized" European, projecting unbelonging on the body of the (mixed) Kanak child from Drehu/Lifou.

Domination relies on the colonial legacy of keeping Kanak *in place*, specifically reminding Kanak children they do not belong in the "civilized" space of the urban school because of their supposed intellectual inferiority. Similarly, LeFevre writes about how young Kanak are criminalized and represented as deviant when they are physically present in the public space, because they challenge the colonial narratives around the urban space as "civilized" and "white." Confining Kanak to a particular place is a legacy of the Indigénat. Anne-Marie's childhood memory echoes the reality of métis/ses who have been raised in Kanak societies, maintain relations with their Kanak kin, and experience predominantly settler spaces not as métis/ses but as Kanak.

Often mentioned in my interviews was the family as a space in which racism is embedded. Sera, a thirty-four-year-old métisse woman currently living in Nouméa, recalled the fraught political and social context that pushed her family to leave the east coast (more specifically, the Kanak country known as Hoot Ma Whaap) for Nouméa during "The Events." Both her parents are métis/ses Kanak-White and were raised at a time when métissage was considered shameful. Sera explained with difficulty and hesitation the tensions within her family: "Because before we were … and they were stubborn.… That is to say, that on one side, there I was.… For me, there was racism because I'm sorry … On one side … I was raised on both sides. So my father, he was completely pacifist. He was for everyone, the family.… The Black is our family and all. But on my mother's side it was completely racist. It was the White, it's our family, the other one is not our family." Sera added that both her parents were raised "on both sides," that is, "in the tribe" and on the "White side."Despite this, she portrayed anti-Kanak racism on her maternal side:

> Even when her [Sera's mother's] parents got married, my grandfather did not want to put [Kanak] custom in all this so as to not embarrass my grandmother. Because otherwise my grandfather had to practice custom because of his mum you know.… And then, my grandfather's family were mad at my grandfather because he did not do the custom. He did not

> know what to do or choose because he was dating the White woman with blue eyes, you see. And on the other side, everyone wanted the yams, and all of that.... So that's it, they still got married but it was a little in secret. Let's say that they got married in secret.

The situation Sera recalled illustrates how for métis/ses children, acceptance in White settler society was dependent on their rejection of their and their mother's Kanakness. Indeed, métis/ses children living within Caldoche society had to show their loyalty to this local Whiteness by "critiquing their Kanak neighbors (and parents) more than average and by refusing, at least publicly, to practice custom and to respect the ancestral ways of their maternal lineage." Frédéric Angleviel notes that there were similar practices among Kanak. While I am not aware of such practices historically, a few contemporary examples of those practices were anecdotally brought up to me in interviews. For example, a métis man who was not raised in a Kanak milieu recalled being asked whether he would vote for or against independence in the middle of a pro-independence family discussion. In both contexts, these practices show a defiance toward métis/ses children, who are expected to show their loyalty to the culture and/or the political struggle. In this political context, métis/ses can, therefore, be perceived as suspect by anti-independence and/or pro-independence family members, demonstrating that the political axis characterized by the division between Kanaky and New Caledonia structures and orients intimate relations in K/NC. This is in spite of the fact that there are Kanak who position themselves against independence, even though they remain marginal.

Sera also highlighted the significance of yam not being gifted to the family. This decision to marry in secret and not to follow Kanak customary gestures marks a rupture with Kanak ancestral kinship. Patrice Godin explains that "what grows in the earth is nourished by the dead; therefore, the yam is nourished by the dead and nourishes the living. There is a cycle in which men and yam are in a reversed mirror relationship, and it is yam that creates the social link." Consequently, the colonial dynamics at play that created the conditions for Sera's maternal grandfather to decide against this relational gesture severed the link to the land and the people and was a starting point to her family being uprooted.

Sera noted that these painful stories were not talked about openly in her family and that she and her siblings only learned about them through family conflicts. She illustrated this when she recalled some of her mother's anti-Black and anti-Kanak comments: "no, they're not my family, they're Blacks." This rejection of family members based on their Blackness and Kanakness is reminiscent of Sharon Patricia Holland's concept of "blood strangers," which

illustrates the impossibility of miscegenation in the context of the United States: "While race creates the possibility for blood strangers, it also employs its primary ally and enforcer, 'racism,' to police the imaginary boundary between blood (us) and strangers (them). Racism transforms an already porous periphery into an absolute, thereby making it necessary to deny all kinds of crossings."

This quotidian racism appears in the familial sphere and requires seeing the family as the intimate space(s) divided by racial, cultural, and political conflicts but also as divisive in the pressures met by individuals to align themselves racially, culturally, and politically. Sera also remembered the sadness of her White maternal grandmother when recalling "The Events" and the impact it had on their family, including having to move away from their village to the capital, which was a refuge for White settlers at the time. Sera explained that she had never felt at home in Nouméa and that she feels at home and well when she is back on the east coast: "It's because I grew up here [in Nouméa]. I was forced to grow up here, even in these apartments, but in reality, it was not our life. That's why we've never … It's been difficult for us to create an identity here." She notably linked the feeling of having no roots to their native place to the suicide of one of her siblings: "I think I lost one of my brothers because of this *mal-être*." He did not have an identity, he had nothing, and he left young. He killed himself maybe because he had no roots, nothing at all.

Sera's story exacerbates the colonial and racist intimate histories that led her parents to sever links with their Kanak kin and land and led to the displacement of her family following racial conflicts on the east coast. It is this being *out of place* that has obstructed the construction of Sera's and her siblings' identities and psychological well-being. Unlike Anne-Marie, Sera grew up away from Kanak kin due to the shame her maternal grandmother had of being associated with Kanak people and culture. Despite the overt racism of her mother and the trajectory of her family moving from the village to the White city, she demonstrated a wish to reconnect with her family in Hoot Ma Whaap, notably, through a customary gesture of forgiveness between families that she described as "already linked by blood." Sera manifested a "desire to move beyond an encounter that has in fact already occurred in the blood, and yet in time and space remains a nonoccurrence." Blood may not be the only important factor to take into account in this equation, as such a gesture would inscribe itself in a relational group logic that encompasses complex dynamics of alliances, coalitions, divisions, and reconciliations that make the social field in K/NC.

"The Tribe"/"The City"

The division of space between settlers and Kanak is also reflected when métis/ses speak in *sides* that are opposed to each other. These sides can be

cultural, mental, or familial and are evident through and in space. This can be seen in Anne-Marie's use of the word "confront" several times to refer to what she described as two diametrically opposed worldviews and systems of representation. Anne-Marie explained that "in Lifou, I had a version of life: Kanak. And then when I got here [in Nouméa], the two versions *confronted* each other." She added that she grew up in Drehu/Lifou: "So, in the end, I only had one side. I was rarely *confronted*, except when I used to come here [in Nouméa] some weekends to see my father's family, I was rarely *confronted* with the other side. And it was when I had to root myself and live here [in Nouméa] that I was *confronted* with the world of Europeans and that hardships started. Because before I didn't ask myself the question actually … where I came from."

Her métisse experience echoes the fact that, historically, métis/ses Kanak-White people live in either one of these social worlds. Moreover, she illustrated the mirror relationship between Kanaky and New Caledonia and between Kanak nationalism and European colonialism. Indeed, as Mokaddem points out, Kanaky does not make sense without (French) New Caledonia and vice versa. It is the encounter of those opposing systems of representation that provoke the "identity crisis" that is often alluded to in discourses on youth and métissage. Narratively, this is often brought forward by the oppositional spaces of "the city" and "the tribe," which are deployed in a similar mirroring relationship. This is notably illustrated by a Kanak interviewee in Fagou Qalue's master's thesis on Kanak people's "quest for identity" who commented: "I would like for the younger generation to learn to respect different cultures instead of rejecting them. I have a friend who is métisse French and Kanak who has had a difficult adolescence, searching for her identity, lost between the city and the tribe, but with maturity, she has managed to find a balance so that's encouraging." Being "lost between the city and the tribe" is used as a metaphor to show the challenging task of forming a cultural identity in a society structured around divisions between settler and Kanak societies.

This colonial organization of space is both real and imagined: real because spatial segregation is a social reality in K/NC and imagined because, in this construction, "the city" and "the tribe" are imagined as culturally impermeable spaces that do not communicate with each other. This geographical metaphor takes root in the historical pathologization of multiraciality. Indeed, the imagined space between "the city" and "the tribe" becomes a transitory space in which mixed-race people are suspended or trapped in between until they find a cultural and psychological balance and become "whole," therefore contributing to the "stereotype of the damaged mixed race soul." This balance is often said to be developed over time as individuals age, relinquish the social pressures to be "either/or," or anchor themselves in one of these "worlds." On the other hand, the social reality points

toward a skillful navigation of these spaces by métis/ses people specifically and Kanak more generally. While Anne-Marie spoke about this "confrontation" in the context of métissage, this experience is common to many Kanak whether or not they identify as métis/ses.

In fact, Tjibaou also referred to the "identity crisis" and "cultural alienation" that have resulted from French colonialism and that "make the colonized strangers to themselves and render Kanak anonymous." This suggests that the individualization of the question of métissage (through the psychologization of the métis/se question, for example) and a perception of the "métis/se experience" as exceptional and unique in K/NC should be avoided. This exceptionalization of the "mixed-race experience" can contribute to anti-Black and anti-Indigenous, here manifested as anti-Kanak, racism in mixed-race scholarship and discourse. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, mixed race as a category of analysis is not always relevant and it is not necessarily the most determinant factor in one's experience of racialization or cultural alienation. This being said, while many multiracial Kanak people experience the colonial world as Kanak primarily, they may experience Kanak society differently based on their multiraciality.

Farida Fozdar and Kirsten McGavin note that a recurrent theme in the exploration of mixed-race identity in the Pacific is "the complex ways in which history, and colonial history specifically, has generated mixed-race populations and current challenges for many regarding questions of authentic indigeneity, and ensuing rights." The opposition between tribe and city, traditional and modern, Kanak and settler also permits the association of métis/ses with assimilated identities. In fact, métis/ses people who travel between these different spaces can be made to feel as though they are cultural invaders. For example, César who was thirty-four years old when we met, is the son of two métis/ses Kanak-White parents from the main island. His grandmothers are Kanak from Waa Wi Luu/Houaïlou and Bu Rhaï/Bourail and his grandfathers are Caldoche and from hexagonal France. As we were discussing various ways he has felt othered by both "sides" of his family, he recalled: "Myself, I know that, for example, when I would go to the tribe, a silly thing, I would walk in flip-flops and someone would comment 'ah but that's typical White people's way not to walk barefoot' or something like that. So that is to say that it was as much on one side as it was on the other that we would sometimes get negative comments for which, at the time, we did not have the weapons to defend ourselves against." César's wearing of flip-flops is related to his "White ways" (les manières de blancs) and therefore settler ways. The flip-flops become a marker of his otherness in the Kanak space. He does not belong because he is not barefoot, a characteristic that is put forward as more "authentic," quintessential to Kanakness and to symbolic Indigeneity more generally. Fanon notably writes:

"*The settler's feet are never visible*, except perhaps in the sea; but there you're never close enough to see them. *His feet are protected by strong shoes* although the streets of his town are clean and even, with no holes or stones."

In César's memory, the flip-flops are called on to show that he is culturally unfit as Kanak. Later in our conversations, César told me about having had to learn the "codes" of the "European world" and those of the "Kanak world" and to master when to use these "codes" in order to feel at peace with himself. When I asked him if he had ever been made to feel that his métissage was the cause of him not understanding or mastering these "codes," he answered: "I'm going to say yes, it was very rare but … I'm still going to say yes. But it wasn't due to being métis. It was more related to the fact that I had grown up closer to the city. I'm not saying 'urban,' because I was never urban. But with too much contamination of the city." César is from Pweyta/Païta, a town approximately twenty-seven kilometers from Nouméa, where he was predominantly raised by one of his Kanak grandmothers. César used the word "contamination" to explain the city's cultural influence on him. Pollution, dirt, and contamination can be used "as analogies for expressing a general view of the social order." In using the analogy of "contamination," César alluded to his "impure" cultural identity, which he was reminded of when his "White ways" were commented on. Bringing his "White ways" in Kanak spaces disrupted the (imagined) social order of the Kanak tribe.

Craig Santos Perez, a CHamoru (Chamorro) poet and scholar, wrote in a tweet about diasporic identities: "Geography quantum is real. The closer natives live to the homeland the more 'authentic' we are considered. The further away, the less 'authentic.''' Drawing on the concept of "blood quantum," Santos Perez illuminates a similar colonial strategy aimed at subordinating Indigenous cultures and dividing Indigenous peoples based on colonial understandings of Indigeneity being confined to specific spaces. In this fantasy of Indigeneity, "authentic" Kanak people live in tribes, according to "traditional" knowledges, and those who do not are simply assimilated into dominant Caledonian/settler culture. While this strategic essentialism comes from the long-standing devaluation of Kanak lifeways and should be read as a response to colonialism and resistance to cultural domination, this policing of bodies also reveals territoriality by suggesting that there is a correct "authentic" way of being Kanak and that there are places where Kanakness belongs more than others. Through this lens, one may assume that métis/ses who are raised and socialize primarily in "the tribe" are closer to what is imagined as the "quintessential Kanak" than those who are not.

If, as Fanon puts it, "the settler's town is a town of white people, of foreigners," then, according to César's experience, the city can mark one

as/make one White. Indeed, César attributed his past inability to understand "Kanak codes" (and, by association, his "White ways") to growing up in proximity to the city. Kanak sociologist Jone Passa alludes to the importance of mastering these codes for Kanak people who must perform according to the milieux they are in so that "Kanak must be able to have a [European] way of expressing themselves and go home and have another way of expressing themselves, and not make any mistakes in these ways, to be coherent within the society in which they live." This is reflected when César stated that he felt he had "two brains," which, with training, can automatically adapt to the system of representation of the environment he is in or person he is interacting with. The divided spaces of K/NC create a double consciousness which requires that Kanak, mixed or not, become experts at understanding the codes of a specific space and use them adequately. While not only is this skill required of métis/ses people specifically, but given the particularity of Kanak métis/ses, especially those who have relations with non-Kanak family members, this skill also needs to be used with family as well as in the public sphere, and poor performance of this skill may be attributed to racial impurity. For César, it is the mastering of this code-switching skill, to the extent that he no longer has to think about it because "it's automatic," that allowed him to be "at peace with [him]self."

César's reflection also illuminates the place of Indigenous people in the city. In fact, his feeling of being "contaminated" by the city is in line with "discourses that [define] Indigenous peoples and their culture as incongruous with modern urban life." Here the pollution of and by the city is so strong that César has never lived in an urban milieu, but he is still culturally contaminated. Furthermore, it is not impossible for métis/ses Kanak who have grown up among Kanak to have their identity challenged in "the tribe." Indeed, Anne-Marie, who grew up in Drehu, also raised the issue of authenticity:

> I have been a little traumatized by language when I was little because people would see me, blond with small curls. I was White and blond with straight hair and people would ask my mum "but does she speak Lifou?" and my mum would say "of course." Then people would say "go on, say something," but what do you say?… If you say "hello" they will think it's too easy, so what do you say to someone to prove them that…. So you see, even when I was little, I had to prove, despite being young…. It was only through language, but it's a reality I've always known.

In their research on linguistic microaggressions experienced by students at the University of New Caledonia, Elatiana Razafimandimbimanana and Fabrice Wacalie put forward that the phrase *qene drehu* means both "to speak Drehu" and "to be Drehu," highlighting the significance of language as a marker of Kanak identity. The reclaiming, teaching, and safeguarding of Kanak languages

were at the heart of the pro-independence movement in the 1970s in a context in which cultural affirmation is fundamental to the survival of Kanak identity. While the affirmation of Kanak languages still represents a political challenge today, Razafimandimbimanana and Wacalie identify the entrenchment of nativist myths in which cultural practices outside the city are perceived as "truer," "purer," and "more authentic." However, while in the city it was her "place of origin" that marked her as Other, in this instance, Anne-Marie identified her skin color, eye color, and hair type as raising suspicion as to her *Drehuness*.

This would convey that despite claims that Kanakness and Whiteness are cultural, we should not be too quick to dismiss the relevance of racial hierarchies. Indeed, because of these markers, Anne-Marie was required to participate in a "project of belonging" in which she was asked to perform *Drehuness* through speaking Drehu. According to Holland, "racism requires one to participate in … a *project of belonging* if the work of producing racial difference(s) is to reach fruition." She uses the term ''project of belonging'' to indicate two sets of relations: "One is a 'real,' biological connection, a belonging that occurs at the level of family (blood relation). A crude understanding of race is that it is always already the thing that happens in the blood.… The second set of relations is the result of the work of identifying with others, a belonging usually imposed by a community *or* by one's own choice."

Since it does not suffice that her mother is Kanak and that she confirmed that Anne-Marie speaks Drehu, Anne-Marie was asked to speak as a way to assess her *Drehuness*, which is put into question by the fact that she "looks White." Razafimandimbimanana and Wacalie argue that this is a form of contempt, which, in this case, signifies to the individual a refusal to be socially acknowledged as Drehu. Among other microaggressions related to skin color experienced by their students, they, with Sylvia Frain, list: "You're mixed-race so why are you white?" and "Yeah right you're Kanak! But why are you light skinned?" For some Kanak students, it appears that both culture and race are relevant in determining their "legitimacy" in the social group. This colonial discourse aims to classify Kanak according to their "authenticity" and "legitimacy" based on their degree of assimilation and proximity to French Caledonian or French culture and Whiteness. As is the case in Australia, this creates a hierarchy of Indigeneity that can "either descend or ascend, from authentic, primitive black to inauthentic, civilized or light-skinned Aborigines."

While the tribe is born out of violence and forced occupation, it is also paradoxically the only customary space in the colonial landscape whereby "Kanak social life inscribes its identity and its mode of being." For this reason, the tribe has become "a space to protect, to perpetuate, to save, a new meaning-

making space, a safe space," but it is also a space where identity is acknowledged and denied. Indeed, Passa writes that the tribe "is simultaneously a place-bearing identity, and a place of identity imposture. A place depositary of real and symbolic identity toward a place of identity dispossession, a place stripped of meaning." For Passa, "legitimacy and place" are indicators of the reality of social mutations in K/NC. While he does not write about mixed-race people specifically but about Kanak more generally, his reflection on legitimacy and the tribe may allow us to consider what is at stake in questioning the legitimacy and authenticity of some métis/ses Kanak in the tribe. In recognizing the tribe as both a safe and unsafe place with regard to identity, Passa concludes that "this is most definitely about place. The place of Kanak in the tribe, the place of the tribe in the Kanak, and the place of Kanak society in the entity that is New Caledonia." The tribe as the "spatial creation of the Other" is the mirror of the city. If the tribe claims authenticity, it does so in a "silent struggle with the urban" against symbolic and real assimilation. The policing of the boundaries of Kanakness within the tribe can be read as a survival strategy as well as a way for Kanak society to *make place* in K/NC. Some young Kanak, métis/ses or not, who are not firmly anchored in the tribe find themselves in the midst of this silent struggle. Therefore, Passa's political and symbolic understanding of the tribe allows to interrogate the place of (mixed-race) Kanak youth in the tribe, the place of the tribe within them, their place in K/NC, and "Kanak society's capacity to digest the impact of colonization."

Conclusion

The social reality of K/NC is that seven decades after the end of the Indigénat, social inequalities persist; the concept of space is a fruitful lens through which to investigate these inequalities. While métissage is not new in the country, its celebration departs from the civil war and the Nouméa Accord, which lays the foundation for Kanak people and non-Kanak to construct a community based on a "shared destiny." Métissage has historically been used as a way to undermine the Kanak political struggle and to assert non-Kanak legitimacy in the country. The history of métissage parallels the power dynamics at play in the political sphere. If "Kanaky" and Kanak nationalism mirror "New Caledonia" and Caledonian attachment to France, métissage hardly troubles their reflection. Indeed, métissage is hardly a cultural reality in K/NC.

This article does not offer any solution or ways to move forward, but it does provide a glimpse of what embodying two opposing racial, cultural, and political groups looks like through the prism of space in a settler colonial context. When it comes to the relationship between claims of métissage within the context of anti-independence politics, Anne-Marie, César, and Sera did not identify as loyalists or anti-independence proponents. César is pro-independence and Anne-Marie and Sera were critical of the bipolar political

landscape in K/NC. This calls for a more nuanced approach to the political identities of mixed-race people and to the political portrayal of mixed raceness.

Perhaps for métis/ses, a politics of partiality can be adopted, as Anne-Marie concluded: "There are situations in which we can conciliate the two, and there are some in which we can't," conveying ease and comfort in fluctuation rather than "psychic restlessness." A politics of partiality would require métis/ses to be self-conscious of the limits of métissage and métisse identity in a colonial context and to resist totalizing identities. Métis/ses is not a biological category but a political construction, which has indeed gained currency in recent decades, especially in its instrumentalization against Kanak sovereignty in the South Province and in anti-independence politics. This is why métis/ses should be conscious of what is done politically when métissage is claimed and deployed. At the same time, while the responsibility to build political and cultural bridges should not fall on métis/ses, being métis/ses Kanak refers to specific lived experiences that bear similarities to the lived experiences of Kanak and colonized people more generally. Perhaps, it is bridges between these experiences that should be built. Métis/ses identity will remain split as long as settler colonialism underwrites relations in K/NC.

Since independence politics crystalize the political debate and social life in K/NC, Mokaddem notes, there is a need for a "mental," "intellectual," "spiritual," or "thought" revolution for Caledonians and Kanak to constitute a nation together. This will be a difficult endeavor since Caledonians and Kanak mostly do not inhabit the same sociohistorical spaces. Nevertheless, the development of new modes of consciousness will be necessary to transgress racial, cultural, and political codes and to develop relationships across these divided worlds. The study of mixed race in K/NC has the potential to illuminate how the colonial and racial divide persists in structuring selves and society by corroding relationships to space, land, and people; erasing histories; and regulating life. In this way, it opens the door to think through and imagine new possible modes of consciousness through which "les gens du pays" (people of the country) must develop a tolerance for ambiguity, contradiction, and ambivalence.

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About the author

Anaïs is a descendant of Vietnamese and white French settlers from Nouméa. Currently based in the Minority profile and Gender studies at Åbo Akademi University, her PhD explores the politics of mixed race identity in Kanaky-New-Caledonia. Email: anais.duong-pedica@abo.fi

Transracial Adoptee and Multiracial Solidarity: Exploring Identity Interconnections Between Critical Mixed Race and Critical Adoption Studies with Compassionate Caution

Lisa Delacruz Combs

The Ohio State University

Aeriel A. Ashlee

St. Cloud State University

Abstract

Transracial adoptees (TRAs) and multiracial people have long found common ground and connection around shared racialized experiences. The shared experience of transgressing the rigidity of monoracial constructions of race may serve as a site of solidarity between transracial adoptees and multiracial people. Compassionate caution also requires acknowledging the differences in these experiences. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to explore similarities and differences across and between the racialized experiences of TRAs and multiracial people in order to inform aspiring allyship and future directions for solidarity and coalition-building in Critical Mixed Race Studies and Critical Adoption Studies.

Keywords: transracial adoptees, multiracial, compassionate caution, identity interconnections

Transracial Adoptee and Multiracial Solidarity: Exploring Compassionate Caution Critical Mixed Race and Critical Adoption Studies

As an interdisciplinary field, Critical Mixed Race Studies (CMRS) offers expansive and liberatory perspectives on dominant conceptions of race. CMRS scholars explore the fluidity of race and its contextual nature as a social construction. By examining how power shapes racialization and racial stratification, CMRS scholars invite critical and poststructural analyses of the social, cultural, and political implications of monoracism as a tool of white supremacy. For the purposes of this paper, we draw upon Johnston and Nadal's (2010) definition of monoracism as "a social system of psychological inequality where individuals who do not fit monoracial categories may be oppressed on systemic and interpersonal levels because of underlying assumptions and beliefs in singular, discrete racial categories" (p. 125). In particular, we consider how the shared experience of transgressing the rigidity of monoracial constructions of race may serve as a site of solidarity between transracial adoptees and multiracial people.

Transracial adoptees (TRAs) and multiracial people have long found common ground and connection around shared racialized experiences; namely navigating liminal and contested racial identities (Combs et al., 2022). However, despite the value of connecting across diverse racial positionalities to interrogate the limiting and limited nature of monoracist renderings of race, it is important to acknowledge that the racialized experiences of TRAs and multiracial people are not synonymous; nor are they mutually exclusive. Rather they are nuanced and necessitate a thoughtful and thorough examination. The purpose of this paper is to explore similarities and differences across and between the racialized experiences of TRAs and multiracial people in order to inform aspiring allyship and future directions for solidarity and coalition-building in Critical Mixed Race Studies and Critical Adoption Studies.

An important note: Although the focus of this manuscript is unpacking parallels between the racialized experiences of transracial adoptees and multiracial people, we do not suggest that transracial adoptees and multiracial people exist only as two distinct and mutually exclusive groups. As such a rendering problematically erases those who identify as multiracial transracial adoptees. However, our positionality as co-authors of this manuscript and co-presenters of the corresponding CMRS conference proceeding (Ashlee & Combs, 2022c) are what inform our approach to and analysis of identity interconnections to inform aspiring allyship and coalition-building between transracial adoptees and multiracial people. As a monoracial Adoptee of Color (who racially identifies as an Asian American transracial adoptee, raised by a white adoptive family) and a multiracial Person of Color (who racially identifies

as multiracial Asian and white, raised by a Filipina mom) our original conference presentation and this subsequent manuscript arose from our shared experience of feeling racially othered in both Asian and white racialized spaces.

What Brought Us Together

We found each other through the mechanism we explore in our latest publication, *Identity Interconnections: Pursuing Poststructural Possibilities in Student Affairs Praxis* (Ashlee & Combs, 2022b). We first met at Miami University in Ohio where Aeriel was an instructor for Lisa's Foundations for Student Affairs class. Our connection began around our shared identity as Asian Americans. We can remember vividly sitting in a campus coffee shop one autumn afternoon, unpacking and discussing what it meant for us to both be Asian American raised by parents who hold different racial identities than we do (both of Aeriel's parents are white, whereas Lisa's dad is white and her mom is Asian). As a transracial adoptee and multiracial person respectively, we instinctively knew that our identities and racialized experiences as Asian Americans were not exactly the same. Nevertheless, we found profound connection in some shared commonalities, particularly as we looked back on our childhood experiences of questioning our racial authenticity as Asian Americans raised in trans/multiracial families.

We initially wondered if our racialized experiences as a transracial Asian American adoptee and multiracial Asian American might be a meaningful identity analogy (Tran & Johnston-Guerrero, 2016). However, we soon realized there were important differences in our racialized experiences and family formations that necessitated acknowledgement. In fact, exploring the differences in what it meant to be an Asian American transracial adoptee *and* an Asian American multiracial person actually enabled us to better understand one another and our own racialized experiences in new and deeper ways. What has unfolded since that first shared cup of coffee has been a profound journey of empathy, connection, and solidarity embedded in the interconnectedness of our identity experiences. The empowering relationship and potential for kinship through exploring identity interconnections—and the imperative to do so with compassionate caution, by responsibly acknowledging points of differences between our racialized experiences—are exactly what we hope to further elucidate in this manuscript.

As a transracial adoptee and multiracial person we have both struggled with feeling racially isolated and misunderstood in predominantly white spaces undergirded by monoracism. However, through identity interconnections, comparing anecdotes of marginalization and exotification due to the ways our racialized experiences defied the rigidity imposed by essentialized notions of race, we connected around our shared experiences of not feeling racially

enough (Ashlee & Quaye, 2020). This connection was healing and formative for our individual identity experiences and catalytic for allyship rooted in empathy. Transformed by the experience of thoughtfully examining similarities and differences across our racialized identities led us to wonder if others might be connecting and engaging in similar ways.

For years we have noticed students and scholars alike draw comparisons between identity experiences as a meaning-making strategy (Tran & Johnston-Guerrero, 2016). For example, Enriquez and Saguy (2016) suggest that "coming out" is a cultural schema that can advance not only the LGBTQ+ movement, but also the undocumented immigrant youth movement. We have heard students in our classrooms compare racially passing as white to passing as heterosexual, and we have read how exploring commonalities and differences between masculinity and whiteness can be useful in facilitating critical consciousness and social justice action (Ashlee & Cash, 2022). The frequency with which we have observed this often intuitive—and perhaps in many instances unconscious—practice, coupled with our own connection across our respective racialized experiences, compelled us to investigate this phenomenon more formally.

In 2017 we presented a symposium at the annual Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE) conference entitled, "One of these things is not like the other: Using identity analogies and metaphors in higher education" (Ashlee et al., 2017). Building momentum around the topic, we expanded the conversation and presented an invited session at the annual meeting of the National Conference on Race and Ethnicity in Higher Education (NCORE) entitled, "It's sort of like . . . Using identity analogies and metaphors in higher education" (Johnston-Guerrero et al., 2018). While these initial conference proceedings were framed by Tran and Johnston-Guerrero's (2016) conceptualization of identity analogies, since then, we have shifted our focus to identity interconnections to attend to the need for compassionate caution, and to capture the opportunity for empathy, solidarity, and coalition-building across and between identities (Ashlee & Combs, 2022b; Ashlee et al., 2021; Combs & Ashlee, 2020).

As such, we want to be clear about the differences between identity analogies and identity interconnections. Identity analogies are offered as a teaching and learning tool for multicultural education, a way of comparing and relating between similar identity experiences (Tran & Johnston-Guerrero, 2016). Whereas, we frame identity interconnections as a "yes, and" to identity analogies. While exploring similarities can serve as a site for connectivity, the point of identity interconnections as a praxis is not to suggest sameness, but rather to recognize similarities and differences in ways that enable individuals to

consider power beyond specific identity categories and then use this knowledge to unlearn internalized dominance and inform social justice allyship (Ashlee & Ashlee, 2021).

By recognizing how our areas of dominance are intrinsically connected to others' oppression, we can confront the interconnected nature of power. Equipped with this insight, we are compelled to dismantle our internalized dominance and work toward each other's (and our own) liberation. Identity interconnections extend Tran and Johnston-Guerrero's (2016) identity analogies through a call for compassionate caution, which is an intentional examination of differences as necessary to inform aspiring allyship (Ashlee & Combs, 2022b). During the 2022 CMRS Conference, we provided space to explore identity interconnections for transracial adoptee and multiracial communities. For the purpose of this manuscript, we focus on these two specific communities and provide several examples (at the individual, group, and systemic levels) of identity interconnections that might arise between TRAs and mixed race people.

What Are Identity Interconnections?

Identity interconnections are a practical tool that can be utilized to inform aspiring allyship and coalition-building between transracial adoptees and multiracial people. While both racialized positionalities transgress hegemonic constructions of race upheld by monoracism, there are still important points of distinction in the racialized experiences between transracial adoptees and mixed race people. Our intention with this manuscript is to provide language and a practical framework to a theoretical shift and phenomenon that is already happening in Critical Mixed Race Studies, such that scholars and practitioners might purposefully employ this approach to facilitate identity development, aspiring allyship, and coalition-building to effect social change and disrupt monoracism.

The tendency to draw identity interconnections, which we define as comparing two (or more) identity experiences (either inter-identity or intra-identity exploration) with the purpose of better explaining and understanding both (Ashlee & Combs, 2022b), necessitates that this phenomenon be named and explored such that scholars and practitioners can ethically and responsibly engage in this practice. To utilize identity interconnections means to find commonalities across experiences as a pathway into dominance work in order to explore points of difference as opportunities for allyship. This is distinctly different from relating across marginalization as a means to pivot away from dominance. Identity interconnections are a gateway to empathy, solidarity, and allyship across and between communities in order to disrupt inherited systems of power. Identity interconnections serve as a practical and

pedagogical approach to actualizing interconnectivity (Keating, 2013), a poststructural theoretical perspective that invites individuals to consider how they are situated within interlocking systems of power and empowers them to find agency and take action.

A Model for Identity Interconnections

A goal of this manuscript is to present a model of what identity interconnections can look like in practice. Identity interconnections are a cyclical process of reflection, connection, and action. The reflection part of the model can be described as self-work (Ashlee & Ashlee, 2015) or cultivating awareness of one's own positionality. This begins by examining historical and contemporary manifestations of inherited systems of power. Doing so, means extending personal insights to systemic positionality. The next part of the model is connection. Connection is facilitated through story-sharing and perspective-taking. By connecting across and between identities (intrapersonally or interpersonally) individuals can consider shared experiences of power (exploring similarities between oppressed experiences or parallels across dominant experiences). It is important to name that these comparisons are not conflated with assertions of sameness, rather a deeper understanding of similar or shared experiences can elicit further introspection and understanding of the other. Action is the third component of the model. Identity interconnection expands individual understandings of positionality and gives rise to sites for solidarity (ways in which individuals may enact social change). No one part of the process is better than any other, rather each element is made powerful by its relationship to the others.

Theoretical Framework

We use Keating's (2013) theorizing on interconnectivity as a framework to anchor our analysis of the kinship and connection between transracial adoptee and multiracial communities. According to Keating (2013), making connections through difference, positing radical interrelatedness, and listening with raw openness—all lessons derived from womxn of color standpoints and scholarship shared in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*—can develop and inform a nuanced politics of interconnectivity. According to Keating (2013), most western education is premised upon "disconnectionist terms" (p. 7) that emphasize examining differences between ourselves and others while ignoring possible points of connection. Keating contends that higher education is entrenched in *oppositional consciousness*, an us-versus-them politics and way of thinking that is insufficient for social transformation. The dichotomous framework perpetuated by oppositional consciousness is a "binary structure [that] flattens out commonalities, reducing them to sameness" (p. 6). Identity interconnections are a post-oppositional response—a yes, and—to the disconnection that plagues society, by inviting an exploration of commonalities

and differences across similar or shared identity experiences. Through an interconnected understanding, we can begin to heal and find shared liberation through a new distribution of power.

As mentioned earlier, the three lessons that Keating (2013) introduces uses to frame interconnectivity are (a) finding commonalities across difference, (b) positing radical interrelatedness, and (c) listening with raw openness. Put differently, to find commonalities across differences means to look for both similarities *and* differences in experiences to build solidarity. Radical interrelatedness involves intentionally employing empathy when building relationships and connecting authentically. Finally, to listen with raw openness means to listen with an openness to be changed.

Leaning into points of difference serve as opportunities to practice aspiring allyship, solidarity, and coalition building. We briefly define these words and situate them within the context of our manuscript and identity interconnections across and between TRAs and multiracial people. Through identity interconnections, we can recognize and interrupt our complicity in others' oppression and choose something different. Aspiring allyship means attending to how one might unintentionally contribute to the oppression of others and with that awareness, show up better with and for other communities. Aspiring allyship is an ongoing process rooted in relational and cultural humility. It is a process of becoming rather than a point of arrival, requiring regular attention and awareness. Solidarity is recognizing commonalities across differences. For example, for TRA and multiracial communities, there is a call to transgress monoracism and the rigidity of oppressive hegemonic renderings of race. Coalition-building works in tandem with solidarity and aspiring allyship to forge momentum across differences and collectively pursue healing and liberation; recognizing our oppression and liberation are interconnected.

Proceed with Compassionate Caution

While there is profound opportunity for coalition-building through shared scholarship and fostered kinship between transracial adoptee and multiracial communities, it is imperative that we pursue coalition-building with compassionate caution. This means tending to both how our racialized experiences may be similar and examining how they are distinctly different. The latter is the focus of this manuscript, for failing to do so dangerously minimizes the distinct ways in which transracial adoptees and multiracial people have been racialized (and oppressed by white supremacy) differently. We must be willing to confront and explore how we may (unconsciously) be complicit in each other's oppression to begin the work of actively unlearning and dismantling the inequitable systems of power we have inherited, in favor of (re)imagining power with healing and liberation as the goal.

Practical Implications

Identity interconnections, particularly those between transracial adoptees (TRAs) and multiracial people, have the potential to make significant contributions to how these two communities organize and relate to each other, engage in collective activism, and advance scholarship. As such, we share our experiences engaging identity interconnections with compassionate caution and offer recommendations for utilizing identity interconnections in ways that do not signify sameness, but rather build empathy across TRA and multiracial communities to disrupt inherited systems of power and invite unlearning of internalized dominance in multiracial and transracial adoptee communities. We provide practical considerations and implications for proceeding with compassionate caution as we explore ways to apply identity interconnections at individual, group, and systemic levels within Critical Mixed Race Studies. The purpose of this writing is to help make an otherwise often unconscious meaning-making process explicit, such that individuals, community and professional organizations, and bodies of scholarship can more intentionally engage identity interconnections as a strategy to facilitate identity development and advance social justice.

Rather than relying solely on individuals' abstractions of power, privilege, and oppression, identity interconnections invite affective-relating across and between specific identity experiences. This more personalized approach to engaging diverse perspectives enables greater empathy and understanding, creating space to examine differences between identity experiences as opportunities for aspiring allyship and encouraging an expansive consideration of possible commonalities that might serve as sites for connectivity. We hope that by providing concrete examples of how to approach identity interconnections with compassionate caution, Critical Mixed Race Scholars can utilize this praxis in a ways that do not minimize differences in and between transracial adoptee and multiracial identity experiences, but rather facilitates empathy and connectivity in ways that disrupt and challenge inherited systems of power.

As people with liminal racialized experiences (in a society mired in monoracialism, which upholds white supremacy with rigidity and oppressive structures) we have personal experience (and now after listening to each other's stories compelling narratives) that demonstrates the systems we have inherited (monoracism, white supremacy) do not work for us; with this realization we have the opportunity to change how race is understood and constructed. We invite readers and fellow Critical Mixed Race Studies scholars to resist the structures that have been set for us. Rather than feel confined or excluded by the smallness of monoracial boxes, let us be expansive. Let us be changed by what we have experienced, heard, and shared; let our identity interconnections

(as brilliant, liminal racialized bodies) inform a (re)imagining of how power can be distributed and shared. Rather than reify monoracism, which does not serve our communities; let us show up for each other differently. Through identity interconnections, let us lean into our internalized dominance, recognizing and interrupting our complicity in each other's oppression.

In the remainder of this manuscript, we share several examples of TRA and multiracial identity interconnections across interpersonal relationships, in community organizing, and in academia. We offer these identity interconnections to demonstrate the transformative potential of this praxis to Critical Mixed Race Studies at the individual, group, and systemic level. We start with individual identity interconnections, which are comparisons and parallels drawn across and between transracial adoptee and multiracial individuals' identity experiences. We transition to group examples, which are comparisons and parallels drawn across or between organizations that serve and center transracial adoptee and multiracial communities. Finally, we present systemic implications of identity interconnections such as connections between the interdisciplinary fields of Critical Adoption Studies and Critical Mixed Race Studies.

Individual

An important consideration for applying identity interconnections at the individual level is compassionate caution, or responsible stewardship. Before we discuss compassionate caution considerations for transracial adoptees aspiring to be allies to multiracial folx and multiracial folx aspiring to be allies to transracial adoptees, Aeriel shares a personal experience with identity interconnections at the individual level.

As may be apparent through my writing, being a transracial adoptee is one of the most salient aspects of my racialized identity. Less salient has been my monoracial identity (in large part because it is a privileged positionality and thus one that I have not had to think much about). However, through countless conversations with Lisa, I have come to appreciate that integral to my journey of multiracial motherhood—as the parent of a multiracial Asian and white child—is my commitment to actively unlearning monoracism (Ashlee & Combs, 2022a). I am aware that despite my very best intentions and attempts, as a monoracial person I will not be able to fully understand or adequately prepare my daughter for her multiracial experience. This is why intentionally cultivating authentic relationships with multiracial folx (like Lisa) is so important to me. I want to ensure my child has access to and meaningful relationships with multiracial mirrors and role models.

Compassionate Caution Considerations for Transracial Adoptees

Although there are many similarities in how transracial adoptees and multiracial people transgress and complicate hegemonic conceptions of race, compassionate caution requires that transracial adoptees engaging identity interconnections within Critical Mixed Race Studies also recognize differences that exist between our racialized experiences and those of our multiracial peers. For example, TRAs do not typically have to confront the dehumanizing question, "What are you?" whereas, this is a common microaggression faced by multiracial folx. Furthermore, many transracial adoptees (myself included) who have the phenotypic privilege of presenting monoracially, will never have to navigate being rendered racially invisible in the collection of or reporting out of demographics data.

Compassionate Caution Considerations for Multiracial Folx

As stated previously, although transracial adoptees and multiracial people transgress concrete racial categories, their racialized experiences are not the same. Compassionate caution for multiracial people engaging identity interconnections within Critical Mixed Race Studies necessitates recognizing systemic differences when creating individual relationships and coalitions with transracial adoptees. For example, multiracial people typically have access to one parent who shares part of their racial identity whereas transracial adoptees do not. In other words, multiracial people have the privilege of having known biologically-related family members. Moreover, multiracial people also have the ability to attain biological records regarding genealogy and health information. It is imperative to consider the dehumanizing effects of monoracism *and* biologism (or adoptism) and consider how the similar—and different—racialized experiences can inform aspiring allyship and solidarity between transracial adoptee and multiracial communities (Ashlee et al., 2021; Combs & Ashlee, 2020).

Group

Next, we zoom out from the individual level to offer considerations for engaging identity interconnections with compassionate caution at the group level. Before we discuss compassionate caution considerations for transracial adoptees and multiracial folx, Lisa shares a personal experience about coalition-building across and between multiracial and transracial adoptee communities in a professional organization.

As a leader of a multiracial professional organization, one of my goals was to build a community that was more inclusive of TRA voices because of my close connection to Aeriel and my desire to engage identity interconnections and aspiring allyship. I believe in the power of finding similarities in transgressing racial rigidity to disrupt monoracism and wanted to extend this insight to this organization. One of my first recommendations as chair of the organization was

to invite a transracial adoptee scholar to serve on our board in order to integrate their perspective and provide nuance within our space. This suggestion was met with immediate push back. It was as if our multiracial community was trying to "protect" our space, rather than extend and invite expansiveness. Throughout my tenure as chair, I continued to receive feedback as I advocated for the transracial adoptee community. Building coalitions is complex, and I do not argue that every single TRA needs to find a space in multiracial communities. That choice remains with them. However, I did not want to provide a place to land and that requires nuanced approaches and compassionate caution which I discuss more in this manuscript.

Professional and community coalitions abound that purposefully bring transracial adoptees and multiracial people together in solidarity. For example, MidWest Mixed is a dialogue and arts-based organization that supports "mixed people and transracial adoptees of color to learn through an intersectional framework, heal racial trauma, and build community solidarity in the struggle for equity and justice" (MidWest Mixed, 2021). Within our discipline, the field of student affairs and higher education, there are two professional organizations that explicitly foster aspiring allyship and coalition-building between transracial adoptees and multiracial people. The NASPA Transracial Adoptee and Multiracial Knowledge Community "endeavors to be a dynamic and supportive organization that brings multiracial, transracial adoption and mixed-heritage issues and related research to the forefront of higher education" (TAMKC, n.d.). Whereas the mission of the ACPA Multiracial Network is to "provide both resources and information about working with multiracial, multiethnic, transracial adoptees, and [those] with fluid racial identities" (MRN, 2021). These organizations have long served as integral space for transracial adoptee and multiracial student affairs educators to engage in dialogue and examine the political potential and power of forging racial coalitions. Yet, for true coalition-building between these communities to occur, compassionate caution must be exercised even at the organizational-level.

As emerging scholars, we have noticed that Critical Mixed Race Studies has a tendency to absorb transracial adoptee narratives at conferences and in publications, dedicating one session or one chapter to the transracial adoptee experience. However, when planning conferences and developing volumes about mixed race experiences it is crucial to be intentional about including transracial adoptees in the larger discourse about the discipline. We argue that transracial adoptee scholars and practitioners deserve more space within conversations about racial fluidity. Including transracial adoptees in multiracial spaces should not be an afterthought, but rather an intentional act of coalition-building between communities. It is also important to avoid a "one size fits all" strategy when planning conferences, events, and spaces for *both* multiracial

people and transracial adoptees. More nuance about the shared needs and distinct differences across the communities is needed in order to engage coalition-building with compassionate caution.

Systemic

As we transition to systemic examples of identity interconnections between and across transracial adoptee and multiracial communities, we both wonder if we have seen this before. We recommend more intentional nuance and attention to inherited systems of power when engaging identity interconnections on a systemic level for TRAs and multiracial folx. For example, it is imperative to examine differences in social location with compassionate caution by not only naming biological family privilege and monoracism, but also deliberately interrogating and dismantling the inherited systems of power that reinforce these positionalities and distinct racialized experiences.

One opportunity for systemic identity interconnections is to collaborate and create interdisciplinary partnerships between Critical Adoption Studies and Critical Mixed Race Studies. Scholarship and research have the opportunity to create systemic change because of the ability to shift narratives around systems of power. We engage interconnectivity as a frame and model the application of identity interconnections to examine the similarities and differences between Critical Mixed Race Studies and Critical Adoption Studies to find potential opportunities on a systemic scholarship level.

Critical Mixed Race Studies is an interdisciplinary field of research that purposefully centers the mixed race experience and multiraciality (Daniel et al., 2014). It is pivotal to note that while Daniel and colleagues coined Critical Mixed Race Studies in 2014, studying multiraciality is not new in academia. However, Daniel and colleagues draw explicit attention to the *critical nature* of this scholarship, calling for awareness of interlocking systems of power when studying multiraciality. Scholars within the critical mixed race studies discipline also highlight the voices of multiracial people, and name monoracism as a system of power that uniquely affects the mixed race community.

Critical Adoption Studies is, like Critical Mixed Race Studies, an interdisciplinary field that questions and nuances dominant epistemologies. Aligned with the greater "turn" toward more critical theoretical and methodological approaches in academia (Myers, 2018), Critical Adoption Studies questions claims of objectivity and foregrounds intersectional analyses and social justice ideologies (Park Nelson, 2018). Critical adoption studies acknowledges the layers of loss involved in adoption and recognizes the abuses of power that have historically and globally played out in adoption.

From a systemic perspective, we recommend collaboration amongst scholars in critical mixed race and critical adoption studies to engage interdisciplinary work with criticality as a foundation. As scholars work together in these two fields, it is crucial to acknowledge systems of power and approach partnerships with compassionate care. In other words, these two fields and oppressive structures are not the same; however, there are opportunities to approach the scholarship with expansiveness and find similarities in how transracial adoptees and multiracial people transgress race. This nuanced and "both and" approach creates possibilities for solidarity and disrupting racism and monoracism.

Conclusion

As we conclude our piece, we reflect and observe that a common theme threaded throughout our manuscript is *compassionate caution*. Throughout our writing process, we offer recommendations and intentional considerations for coalition building across and between the transracial adoptee and multiracial communities. To put it succinctly, TRA and multiracial communities share a liminal and threshold existence that pushes against rigid notions of race and racial categories. These experiences are not the same because of the different systems of power, such as monoracism and biologism, that create differences in these racialized experiences. Interrogating *both* the differences and similarities in these power structures allows for the recognition that our liberation is connected and facilitates avenues to acknowledge points of privilege in the journey towards aspiring allyship. Approaching Critical Mixed Race Studies and Critical Adoption Studies through the lens of interconnectivity and compassionate caution has the potential to push these disciplines forward with the aim of dismantling monoracism and biologism.

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About the authors

Lisa Delacruz Combs (she/her/siya) is currently a doctoral candidate at The Ohio State University in the Higher Education and Student Affairs program. Prior to Ohio State, she was a Program Coordinator in the Student Diversity and Multicultural Affairs Office at Loyola University Chicago. Prior to working at Loyola University Chicago, Lisa also worked as a Coordinator for Campus Life at Illinois Institute of Technology and as a Graduate Assistant in the Office of Community Engagement and Service at Miami University of Ohio. Lisa's research interests include identity interconnections, multiraciality in higher education, Filipinx identity development, and deconstructing social constructs around race. Lisa has been published in the Journal of College Student Development and also currently serves as the Co-Chair for the Multiracial Network in ACPA. She

received her B.A in Political Science and English from The Ohio State University and her M.S. in Student Affairs in Higher Education from Miami University in Oxford Ohio. Email: combs.235@osu.edu

Aeriel A. Ashlee (she/her/hers) is Assistant Professor and Graduate Director of College Counseling and Student Development at St. Cloud State University. Her research interests include coalition building between transracial adoptee and multiracial communities, pedagogies of belonging, poststructural possibilities for student affairs praxis, and the racialized experiences of underrepresented Asian Americans in higher education (i.e., transracial adoptees and Hmoob Americans).

Desiring the standard light skin: Black multiracial boys, masculinity and exotification

Alyssa Newman

Paul Spickard Graduate Student Paper Award Winner 2017

Abstract: Although studies of the multiracial population have long identified the connection between multiraciality and exotification, much of the focus has been on the exotification of multiracial women that are part-white. Consequently, most understandings of exotification in this literature are insufficient to account for how a broader multiracial demographic is exotified and the mechanisms of exotification that are specific to mixed-race bodies. This article analyses black multiracial boys' experiences of exotification in Northern California. Interviews with the boys revealed how interactions around their multiraciality intimately linked perceptions of their attractiveness to their mixedness. Their physical features, behaviours and dispositions were dissected according to their multiple racial backgrounds in ways that rendered them desirably hybridised. The interaction of black masculinity with their other racialised masculinities is essential to understanding the construction of the black multiracial male as desirable, pointing to the critically important yet understudied intersection of mixedness and masculinity.

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About the author

Alyssa M. Newman is a Senior Research Scholar at the Kennedy Institute of Ethics and Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology at Georgetown. Previously, she was a Hecht-Levi Postdoctoral Fellow at the Johns Hopkins Berman Institute of Bioethics, and the Hixon-Riggs Early Career Fellow in Science and Technology Studies at Harvey Mudd College. Her research currently focuses on race and assisted reproductive technologies, as well as on institutional solutions to racial health disparities. She has also published extensively on multiraciality, exploring the topic through a variety of research projects relating to collective identity formation; biology and genetics; the intersection of mixedness and masculinity; immigration; as well as family relationships and reproduction. She is currently the editor in chief of the *Journal of Critical Mixed Race Studies.* Alyssa received her PhD in Sociology with a doctoral emphasis in Black Studies from the University of California Santa Barbara. Email: alyssa.newman@georgetown.edu