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IMPROVING ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION FOR MULTIRACIAL STUDENTS

A Dissertation Presented

by

ERIC HAMAKO

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 2014

College of Education

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IMPROVING ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION FOR MULTIRACIAL STUDENTS

A Dissertation Presented

by

ERIC HAMAKO

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A decade ago, when I arrived in Massachusetts, I created a collage: photographs of friends, family, and mentors. In the center, a quote from Milan Kundera: "The struggle of [people] against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting." Now, looking back, I am grateful to have so many people to remember.

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ABSTRACT

IMPROVING ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION FOR MULTIRACIAL STUDENTS

MAY 2014

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This dissertation explores how anti-racist education might be improved, so that it more effectively teaches Multiracial students about racism. A brief history of anti-racist education and a theory of *monoracism* – the systematic oppression of Multiracial people – provide context for the study. Anti-racist education in communities and colleges has supported U.S. social movements for racial justice. However, most anti-racist education programs are not designed by or for students who identify with two or more races. Nor have such programs generally sought to address Multiraciality or monoracism. Since the 1980s, Multiraciality has become more salient in popular U.S. racial discourses. The number of people identifying as Multiracial, Mixed Race, or related terms has also increased, particularly among school-age youth. Further, the size and number of Multiracial people's organizations have also grown. Anti-racist education may pose unintended challenges for Multiracial students and their organizations. This study asked twenty-five educators involved in Multiracial organizations to discuss anti-racist education: what it should teach Multiracial students; what is working; what is not working; and how it might be improved. Qualitative data were gathered via five focus group interviews in three

West Coast cities. Participants proposed learning goals for Multiracial students. Goals included learning about privilege and oppression; social constructionism; historical and contemporary contexts of racism; and impacts of racism and monoracism on Multiracial people. Participants also called for education that develops interpersonal relationships, self-reflection, and activism. Participants also discussed aspects of anti-racist education that may help or hinder Multiracial students' learning, as well as possible improvements. Participants problematized the exclusion of Multiraciality, the use of Black/White binary racial paradigms, linear racial identity development models, and the use of racial caucus groups or affinity spaces. Participants also challenged educators' monoracist attitudes and behaviors, particularly the treatment of questions as pathological "resistance." Suggestions included addressing Multiraciality and monoracism, accounting for intersectionality and the social construction of race, validating self-identification, and teacher education about monoracism. The study then critically analyzes participants' responses by drawing on literature about anti-racist education, social justice education, multicultural education, transgender oppression (*cissexism)*, and monoracism. Based on that synthesis, alternate recommendations for research and practice are provided.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iv

ABSTRACT viii

CHAPTER

1. INTRODUCTION 1

Significance of the problem 3
Goals and intended audiences 14
Locating myself as a researcher 16
Research questions 22
Organization of the study 23

2. FOUR CRITIQUES OF COMMUNITY-BASED ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION 25

A brief overview of CBARE 25
Two brief histories of CBARE 36
Anti-intersectional praxes 58
Binary racial paradigms 63
Racial essentialism 67
Pathologizing "resistance" 73
Toward new anti-racist praxes: Accounting for monoracism 78

3. THEORIZING MONORACISM 80

Theorizing monoracism 81
Addressing challenges to a theory of monoracism 100
Benefits of theorizing monoracism 120
Summary 127

4. METHODOLOGY 129

Focus group interview methodology 129
Participants 135
Focus groups: Number, size, and locations 147
Pre-focus group data collection: Surveys, curricula sharing, and curricula analysis 150
Focus group data collection 154
Data analysis 162

5. LEARNING GOALS FOR MULTIRACIAL STUDENTS 170

Representational knowledge: Learn about racism and monoracism 171
Representational knowledge: Hierarchies that trouble Multiracial organizing 180
Relational knowledge: Learn to connect with other people 192
Reflective knowledge: Learn about oneself 195
Summary 211

6. DISCUSSION OF LEARNING GOALS FOR MULTIRACIAL STUDENTS 213

Representational knowledge: Learn about racism and monoracism 215
Representational knowledge: Hierarchies that trouble Multiracial organizing 237
Relational knowledge: Learn to connect with other people 255
Reflective knowledge: Learn about oneself 260
Summary 280

7. ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION: WHAT IS WORKING AND NOT WORKING FOR MULTIRACIAL STUDENTS 281

Monoracism in anti-racist educational theories, curricula, and pedagogies 282
Monoracism in educators' attitudes and behaviors 311
Summary 323

8. DISCUSSION OF ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION: WHAT IS WORKING AND NOT WORKING FOR MULTIRACIAL STUDENTS 325

Monoracism in anti-racist educational theories, curricula, and pedagogies 326
Monoracism in educators' attitudes and behaviors 358
Summary 370

9. CONCLUSION 371

APPENDICES

A. RECRUITING SCRIPT 381
B. PARTICIPATION CONFIRMATION EMAIL 384
C. HUMAN SUBJECTS WRITTEN INFORMED CONSENT FORM 386
D. SURVEY 1: PARTICIPANT INTAKE SURVEY 389
E. PHONE/EMAIL REMINDER SCRIPT 391
F. SURVEY 2: CURRICULA EVALUATIONS 392
G. SURVEY 3: FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANT WORKSHEET 394
H. FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW PROTOCOL 396

I. MULTIRACIAL TIMELINE CURRICULUM 402
J. DESIGN A MONORACIST INSTITUTION CURRICULUM 412
K. RACIALBREAD COOKIE CURRICULUM 416
L. MULTIRACIAL POWER SHUFFLE CURRICULUM 424

BIBLIOGRAPHY 432

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores how anti-racist education might be improved, so that it more effectively teaches Multiracial students about racism. A brief history of anti-racist education and a theory of *monoracism* – the systematic oppression of Multiracial people – provide context for the study (Guillermo-Wann, 2010; Johnston & Nadal, 2010a; Murphy-Shigematsu, 2010). Anti-racist education in communities and colleges has supported U.S. social movements for racial justice. However, most anti-racist education programs are not designed by or for students who identify with two or more races. Nor have such programs generally sought to address Multiraciality or monoracism.

Since the 1980s, Multiraciality has become more salient in popular U.S. racial discourses. The number of people identifying as Multiracial, Mixed Race, or related terms has also increased, particularly among school-age youth. Further, the size and number of Multiracial people's organizations have also grown. Thus, anti-racist education may pose unintended challenges for Multiracial students and their organizations, as well as for other students participating in such programs.

This study asked twenty-five educators involved in Multiracial organizations to discuss anti-racist education: what it should teach Multiracial students; what is working; what is not working; and how it might be improved? Qualitative data were gathered via three surveys and five focus group interviews in three West Coast cities. Additionally, participants were asked to share curricula with one another and

to comment on the curricula, with both the curricula and commentary being used as secondary data sources.

Participant data is presented in two sections; the first addressing learning goals, the second participants' commentaries about what they feel is and is not working for Multiracial students in anti-racist education. Participants proposed learning goals for Multiracial students. Goals included learning about privilege and oppression; social constructionism; historical and contemporary contexts of racism; and impacts of racism and monoracism on Multiracial people. Participants also called for education that develops interpersonal relationships, self-reflection, and activism. Participants also discussed aspects of anti-racist education that may help or hinder Multiracial students' learning, as well as possible improvements. Participants problematized the exclusion of Multiraciality, the use of Black/White binary racial paradigms, linear racial identity development models, and the use of racial caucus groups or affinity spaces. Participants also challenged educators' monoracist attitudes and behaviors, particularly the treatment of questions as pathological "resistance." Suggestions included addressing Multiraciality and monoracism, accounting for intersectionality and the social construction of race, validating self-identification, and teacher education about monoracism. The study critically analyzes participants' responses by drawing on literature about anti-racist education, social justice education, multicultural education, transgender oppression (*cissexism)*, and monoracism. Based on that synthesis, alternate recommendations for research and practice are provided.

Significance of the problem

In the United States, teaching people about racism has been an important part of social movements for racial justice (Luft, 2004). Programs to teach about racism have grown from collective struggles such as the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements of the 1960s and 1970s (Perlstein, 1990). Such anti-racist educational efforts have also been informed by subfields within academic psychology (Lasch-Quinn, 2001). Further, such programs spurred the development of commercial "race training" programs and various academic disciplines (e.g., Ethnic Studies, Multicultural Education, Social Justice Education). In this dissertation, I focus primarily on influential community-based anti-racist education programs, which have influenced their academic and commercial colleagues. In the spirit of contributing to anti-racist education, I present my dissertation research on a few particular challenges and possible improvements to such programs, with a focus on their treatment of Multiracial people as students and Multiraciality as a topic. I present an exploratory study and discussion of ways that popular anti-racist education programs may be falling short when it teaches Multiracial students or teaches about Multiraciality to students in general.

Since the 1980s, the combined efforts of academics and community activists have helped put increased focus on Multiraciality as a subject for academic study (Nakashima, 1996;Elam, 2011). However, monoracism is generally undertheorized and, in research on anti-racist education, understudied. Over more than fifteen years of research and community involvement, I have found only a few curricula that specifically attempt to teach Multiracial people about racism or, in teaching about

racism, address the Multiracial people's experiences in a sustained way (Burch, 2006; California Child Care Health Program, 2000; The Fusion Program, 2004). In my estimation, most anti-racist education is not designed with Multiracial people in mind, nor does it attempt to address Multiracial people's experiences of racism or monoracism. Further, I believe that the available anti-racist education curricula fail to proficiently teach about monoracism itself. But, it is not only anti-racist education curricula that are deficient, it is also the theories on which the curricula are based and the pedagogies with which we, as anti-racist educators, attempt to enact those theories in practice. For example, many current anti-racist training materials rely on and perpetuate the mistaken notion that all people identify with one and only one racial group (Pao, Wong, & Teuben-Rowe, 1997; Schwartz, 1998b; Wardle, 1996). I suggest that such assumptions, enacted in curricula, interfere with students' ability to learn about racism. In this dissertation, I attempt to explore such problems of monoracism in anti-racist education, incorporating the other critiques I have mentioned.

The most prominent community-based anti-racist education programs, discussed later in Chapter 2, have some characteristic shortcomings and possible areas for improvement. First, they tend to focus only on racism, to the exclusion of a multi-issue or intersectional analysis (Collins, 1990; Shapiro, 2002). Second, they tend to use a binary racial paradigm that frames racism in terms of Black and White (or sometimes People of Color and White) (Martínez, 1998). Third, within this Black/White racial paradigm, much of anti-racist education uses racial essentialism to focus on particular Black experiences, largely ignoring the intra-group diversity

within Blackness (Lee & Lutz, 2005). Fourth, anti-racist education tends to treat students' questions or challenges to curricula as racist "resistance," rather than seriously considering their critiques (Luft, 2004. And, fifth, anti-racist education tends to discriminate against Multiracial students and Multiraciality in particular ways {Luft, 2004 #2008).

Each of these shortcomings limits anti-racist education's effectiveness for all students and, consequently, for the social movements it seeks to serve. In response to the transformative social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, the United States has been engaged in a generation-long conservative backlash against such movements' (Churchill & Vander Wall, 2001; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). With this regressive backlash holding many anti-racist movements at bay, anti-racist education training programs have become "abeyance structures" that are quietly nurturing those stifled struggles (Luft, 2004). However, anti-racist education's effectiveness is limited by numerous factors. Here, I begin elaborating on the challenges I named above.

Four common shortcomings in anti-racist education

Anti-racist education's tendency to prioritize teaching about racism as a singular phenomenon, independent of other aspects of oppression, limits its analytic power and its credibility with some students. In the past three decades, the concept of "intersectionality" has gained intellectual and political cache among politically progressive academics and activists (Combahee River Collective, 1983; Crenshaw, 1991; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). While intersectionality proposes that racism is inextricably intertwined with other forms of oppression (e.g., sexism, classism, and

ableism), many anti-racist educational programs continue to use an anti-intersectional analysis that prioritizes racism (Shapiro, 2002). This strategic anti-intersectionality tacitly privileges particular experiences of racism (e.g., racism against heterosexual, Black men) while marginalizing or distorting ways that racism may operate synergistically with other forms of oppression (Luft, 2004). Not only does this limit anti-racist education's analytic and educational power, it also limits its credibility with potential students who see value in an intersectional analysis.

Within its race-based focus, anti-racist education's use of binary ways of thinking about race also limits its reach and effectiveness. The U.S.'s prevailing Black/White racial paradigm also shapes many anti-racist educational programs (Alcoff, 2003). This focus on anti-Black racism and Black-White relations omits the experiences of many People of Color, both as subjects and as students (Kim, 1999). And, while some programs have shifted from a Black/White paradigm to a People of Color/White paradigm, too often the change in terminology is not accompanied by a broadening in analysis of racism's scope (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). And, as with intersectionality, more people in the United States are recognizing that racism in the U.S. is more complicated than Black and White – and more students may be recognizing that it is more complicated than anti-racist education may convey (Martínez, 1998; Okazawa-Rey & Wong, 1997).

Further narrowing its scope, anti-racist education may limit its effectiveness when it uses essentialistic representations of Blackness and Whiteness. Strategically constructing an "essential" Black experience of racism marginalizes the experiences of Black people who do not fit that mold (e.g., recent African immigrants, Afro-

Caribbeans, transracial adoptees, and Multiracial Black people). Not only may students raise questions about the complexities that are being omitted, they may also see such essentialism as indistinguishable from racial stereotyping (Lasch-Quinn, 2001).

When anti-racist education programs treat such questions and challenges as evidence of students' racism or resistance, it may further foreclose learning opportunities. Invalidating students' questions or critiques of curricula may silence curiosity and confusion, alienating students whether they were the one asking or were just a witness. Such ideas about student "resistance" run counter to the democratic tendencies present in recent progressive social movements, instead favoring more autocratic currents (Luft, 2004). And, by treating so many questions and critiques as invalid resistance, anti-racist education programs may also limit their ability to adapt as the racisms they teach about changes over time.

An underacknowledged fifth shortcoming: Monoracism

In addition to those four more acknowledged critiques of anti-racist education, in this dissertation, I present a fifth, less acknowledged shortcoming: monoracism in anti-racist education. Anti-racist education's unacknowledged discrimination against Multiracial students and Multiraciality as a concept may also limit its effectiveness. The number of people in the U.S. who identify as Multiracial has increased over the past three decades (Jones & Bullock, 2012; Jones & Smith, 2001). So, the number of Multiracial-identified students who may show up in anti-racist education programs has also been increasing (Lopez, 2003). Concurrently, Multiracial people have been organizing in loose social movements, but their

collective political agendas have not yet been clearly articulated (Burchill, 2006; Rosenbaum, 2004a). Conservative politicians have attempted to use Multiraciality to advance racist colorblinding agendas and policies (Connerly, 2000a; Locke, 2004; Williams, 2006). While anti-racist education can help educate and mobilize students about racism, if it marginalizes or alienates Multiracial students, then such political potential may be forgone and other agendas may co-opt and direct Multiracial movements. And, as more and more people in the United States become familiar with the concept of Multiraciality, more students may question anti-racist education's relevance if it cannot account for Multiraciality in more than a cursory and derogatory way. In this section, I briefly explore some of these concerns.

Multiracial-identified people are a significant and growing proportion of the United States population (Jones & Smith, 2001; Yen, 2009). So, the probability that an anti-racist educator will be teaching (and possibly under-serving) Multiracial students is increasing. In 2000, for the first time, the U.S. Census allowed all respondents to mark one or more races, instead of forcing them to check only one race (Jones & Smith, 2001). Almost seven million people took the opportunity and identified with more than one racialized group; the Two Or More Races (TOMR) population constituted almost 2.5% of the U.S.'s total population in 2000 (Jones & Smith, 2001). Currently, the Multiracial-identified population skews younger than the overall U.S. population; about 42% of Multiracial people (3 million people) are under age 18, whereas only 25% of monoracial people are under age 18 (Jones & Smith, 2003). This means that a significant proportion of the Multiracial-identified population is of school age or college-age, with a large number of Multiracial people

coming of college-age between 2010 and 2020 (Lopez, 2003). The increasing population of Multiracial-identified people, particularly young people, means that anti-racist educators may face increased challenges as they try to teach about racism using curricula that do not account for Multiracial students – or, worse, that actively discriminate against them. I suggest that anti-racist educators should be better prepared to work with Multiracial participants and to address issues of Multiraciality as they relate to racism.

The stakes are larger than just the education of Multiracial students. The direction of Multiracial people's social movements is also at stake. Although people with multiple racialized heritages have existed since ideas about race began, it has only been a few decades since Multiracial people began to organize and gain recognition as Multiracial, per se (Fleming, 2003a). Since the mid-1990s, Multiracial people in the United States have been organizing groups to serve their interests more than ever before (Douglass, 2003). Riding a wave of enthusiasm and concern created by a confluence of historical and political factors, Multiracial college students and community members have created dozens of Multiracial organizations across the U.S. (DaCosta, 2002; Hochschild & Weaver, 2008; Lee & Hardin, 2004; Root, 1992). Some Multiracial activists have called on Multiracial people and their organizations to move from examining their identities to taking collective action to end racism and other forms of oppression (Douglass, 2003; Sundstrom, 2008; Welland, 2003; Yuen, 2005). However, these groups have yet to forge a common set of goals or political agenda (Rosenbaum, 2004a).

Various groups continue to contest the meanings of Multiraciality and Multiracial people's existence. In each case, the meanings hold political importance. The struggle to define the meaning of Multiraciality is part of larger struggles over race and racism in the U.S. (Omi, 2001). Groups often use the meanings they assign to Multiraciality as symbols of their broader sense of U.S. "race relations," and claim that Multiraciality supports their perspectives (Nakashima, 2001).

Political conservatives already attack anti-racist education (Applebaum, 2009). Now included in these attacks are attempts to argue that Multiraciality is evidence of the decline or end of racism – and thus the end of the need for race-based remedies to racism (Byrd, 2003; Connerly, 2000b; Douglas, 1997; HoSang, 2002; Nakashima, 2001). Some Multiracial activists, guided perhaps by libertarian ideals, have supported neoconservative efforts to implement color-blinding policies and/or a "Multiracial category" that would serve similar color-blinding functions (Locke, 2004; Nakashima, 2001). But, other Multiracial activists have strenuously opposed such color-blinding policies (Kelley, Yuen, & Brown, 2004; Yuen & Kelley, 2004).

Meanwhile, some traditional civil rights groups have argued that Multiraciality itself represents self-hatred, denial, and betrayal, and threatens current Communities of Color and anti-racist efforts (Banks, 1997; Davis, 1995; Espiritu, 2001). Such claims have been used to justify rhetorical attacks on Multiraciality as a concept and on people who identify as Multiracial (Sexton, 2008; Spencer, 1997a).

So, while Multiracial people's existence may potentially disrupt current notions of race, Multiraciality's new meanings are still being debated and forged. They may or may not reinforce racist ideas and policies. When anti-racist education discriminates against Multiracial people or fails to account for monoracism, it leaves itself open to attacks; some legitimate, some not. However, even illegitimate attacks or claims may gain political currency. Thus, I suggest that, if anti-racist education better addressed Multiraciality as well as monoracism, educators could better help all students critically evaluate claims about the meanings of Multiraciality, vis-à-vis understandings of U.S. racism.

Community-based education has played an important role in many movements for social justice, often moving learners to collectively change society (Collins & Yeskel, 2000; Evans, 1979; Freire, 1970/ 2003; Glass & Wallace, 1996; Howe, 1964/1984; Rachal, 1998; Sarachild, 1974/1978). Some Multiracial scholars and educators argue that helping Multiracial people learn about racism/White Supremacy is crucial to moving them toward collective action (Glass & Wallace, 1996; Hamako, 2005; Williams, Nakashima, Kich, & Daniel, 1996). Teaching Multiracial people about racism and monoracism, both broadly and as they affect Multiracial people in particular, can help move them and their organizations toward an anti-racist, social justice agenda and away from the neoconservative, colorblinding political backlash against racial justice.

However, few Multiracial organizations engage their members in anti-racist education, and then only inconsistently (Rosenbaum, 2004a). I suggest that one impediment to anti-racist education within the Multiracial Movement is a lack of

anti-racist education curricula that acknowledge and draw on Multiracial people's existence and their experiences of racism or monoracism. Anti-racist education that can reach and teach Multiracial students may also encourage Multiracial political activism toward a racial justice agenda. Conversely, anti-racist education that alienates Multiracial students through its monoracism is unlikely to be welcome or persuasive to Multiracial organizations or their agendas. And, such struggles over Multiraciality may occur even in the absence of Multiracial students.

Anti-racist educators may find themselves confronted by challenging questions about Multiraciality, even when Multiracial students are not in the room. For example, as popular discourse about Multiraciality has increased over the past few decades and exploded with the political ascendance of now-President Barack Obama, students are thinking about Multiraciality more and more. When anti-racist education seems to omit or discriminate against Multiracial people, students may pose tough questions to their teachers. In good faith, some students may apply social justice concepts to curricula itself, asking why curricula seem to omit or discriminate, seeking to reconcile what may actually be internally inconsistent. And, in bad faith, some students may use apparent curricular failings as a way to discredit curricula, throwing the racial justice baby out with its monoracist bathwater. For example, I have heard resistant White students ask, "Well, if this lesson doesn't account for my Mixed-Race friend, then how do I know it applies to me or to anyone?" By learning about monoracism and reducing anti-racist education's monoracism, anti-racist educators can better prepare themselves for foreseeable challenges; both those posed by curricula and those posed by students.

Understanding monoracism may help anti-racist educators better teach about underacknowledged aspects of racism. Intersectional analyses, exploring the interplay and mutually constituting nature of various forms of oppression, can help reveal obscured or ignored aspects of oppression; aspects otherwise lost in the analytic gaps or intersections (Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 2000). Accounting for Multiracial people in anti-racist education can offer "critical insights into the contradictions and discontinuities of the racial order because of their unique place within it" (Glass & Wallace, 1996, pp. 353-354). Nakashima (2005) argued that Asian American Studies could gain new insights into Asian American experiences of racism by acknowledging the experiences of Multiracial Asian Americans. Similarly, I suggest that, by better accounting for and teaching about monoracism, anti-racist education might better help all students learn about both monoracism and racism.

Conceptualizing and examining monoracism in anti-racist education may also help anti-racist educators grow, professionally and intellectually. As theorists and activists develop new analyses, anti-racist educators can derive a host of benefit from looking to the cutting edges of our field and the learning edges of our own knowledge. New analyses of oppression, such as an analysis of monoracism, can help anti-racist educators better know themselves, their positionality, and their prejudices (Bell, Love, Washington, & Weinstein, 2007). By better knowing ourselves, we can increase our effectiveness as educators.

When we are unaware of or unwilling to acknowledge our own oppressive attitudes and praxes (Gillborn, 2006a), we may find ourselves ill-prepared when we are confronted by students' questions or outright challenges. Even for anti-racist

educators who believe that more recent and controversial analyses of oppression (e.g., monoracism) are invalid, understanding those analyses may yield benefits. Whether or not one holds monoracism to be a valid concept, educators who have already thought out their own analyses of monoracism will be better prepared when students bring forth questions or analyses of monoracism in the world or in the classroom. And, for anti-racist educators who are prepared to critically consider monoracism, doing so may help them develop new lessons and new ways of teaching, as well as helping their students consider new ways of thinking about themselves and their worlds. As anti-racist education theories reciprocally inform anti-racist education pedagogies, an analysis of monoracism may also prompt the further evolution of how anti-racist education practitioners conceptualizes how they help students learn.

Goals and intended audiences

My research serves two broad purposes: to improve anti-racist education and, through a better analysis of what is meant by racism, to serve the colleagues who volunteered to participate in my research. When I designed my research process, I set out to provide opportunities for anti-racist educators in the Multiracial Movement to connect with one another and to collaboratively reflect on their goals, the problems they see, and potential solutions to those problems. From its inception, I have intended that my research would provide reciprocal benefits for the participants, who generously shared their perspectives and expertise. And, whether the reader participated in the research or not, I also intend this project to help anti-racist educators examine their theories, pedagogies, and curricula for

unacknowledged biases. By identifying problems and potential solutions, I hope my work will help other educators improve anti-racist education's effectiveness.

I began my research with an interest in improving anti-racist education curricula for Multiracial students in Multiracial organizations. However, my work led me to examine problems underlying anti-racist education's theories and pedagogies. This examination prompted me to seek out and then develop a conceptual framework for viewing and understanding those problems and to provide an analysis of monoracism, elaborated in Chapter 3. Most broadly, I hope that, by analyzing monoracism, I can help improve anti-racist education. To that end, I have written this dissertation as one way to disseminate my findings.

I am particularly speaking to two audiences: people who teach anti-racist education and people who work with Multiracial people in Multiracial social movements. My main intended audience is anti-racist and social justice educators working with teens and adults in formal classroom settings or nonformal education settings (Adams, Bell, & Griffin, 2007). Formal classroom settings might include high school, college, or graduate school classrooms. Nonformal education settings might include workplace trainings, community and afterschool programs, and other ungraded co-curricular educational programs in high school and college settings (e.g., student organizations; residential education). Within this broad audience, I particularly hope to reach nonformal educators who are working within the U.S. Multiracial Movement and Multiracial organizations; especially those who seek to teach Multiracial people about racism and monoracism.

However, I believe that educators who are not working with Multiracial students will still find value in my research, in the same way that educators in all-male or all-White educational contexts can still benefit from improving the ways they teach about sexism or racism. Racism and social injustice are relevant whether a setting is homogenous or "diverse." Anti-racist education does not exist only for teaching the oppressed about their oppression; it serves to teach everyone about the complex dynamics of injustice in which we are all implicated and which, thus, we can all participate in challenging and changing (Kumashiro, 2000).

Locating myself as a researcher

As is often the case for researchers, my interests in these problems and my research questions have been motivated in part by my own personal and professional experiences. In various ways, I have been teaching about racism for more than twenty years and working with Multiracial people's organizations for more than ten. My experiences as both a Multiracial student in anti-racist and social justice education settings and a Multiracial teacher of social justice education curricula have confronted me with problems and prompted me to ask questions about why such curricula may fail and how they might be improved. To both illuminate some of my own background, as the author, and to provide a few concrete examples to the reader, I will share three of the formative experiences on which I have drawn as I have pursued my dissertation research.

Theories of identity development, theories of "resistance" at CSTI

In 2001, I participated in a conference workshop on "Internalized Racist Oppression" for community organizers at the Community Strategic Training

Initiative (CSTI) in Portland, Oregon. The trainers presented a model that proposed that People of Color might move up a "ladder of empowerment," developing from a state of internalized racist oppression and naïve acceptance of the racist status quo upward toward a state of empowerment, critical consciousness and anti-racist activism (Western States Center, 2003). One early stage involved "immersing" oneself in "one's own racial culture." I recognized that the model was interpreting psychologist Dr. William Cross's "Model of Black Identity Development" (Cross, 1991). When I tried to pose questions about the model and its theoretical foundations, conflict emerged.

While affirming my own commitment to anti-racist education and activism, I suggested to the trainers that their model was based on a theory that did not account for the experiences of Multiracial people. For example, I said, Cross's model depicts a "Pre-Encounter" stage of identity development in which a Person of Color has no consciousness of their racial identity. Yet, for many Multiracial people, that period does not exist; people often confront Multiracial children (and their parents) about their racial identity from a very early age (Kich, 1992; Poston, 1990). Further, I said, the Cross model depicts a subsequent "Immersion" stage, in which a Person of Color, realizing that their "Pre-Encounter" understandings cannot explain their "Encounter/s" with racism, seeks out alternate knowledge from people who are racially "like them." Yet, many Communities of Color have rejected Multiracial people who have sought them out, seeing those Multiracial people as "not [Black/Asian/Latin@/Native/etc.] enough" (Root, 2003b).

Given that reality, I asked, how might Multiracial people move up the ladder, when Communities of Color may deprive them of access to one of the key rungs? Adding to my questioning, another participant identified herself as a genderqueer, queer, Arab woman. How was she to "immerse" herself in "her cultures" when racist queer communities rejected her for being Arab and her Arab community rejected her for being queer and genderqueer? The trainer paused in seeming consternation, then said, somewhat patronizingly, "Well, you know, sometimes Multiracial people think they're White." No further response was given; no answer to my question and no acknowledgement of the young woman's question. The young woman and I dropped the subject. The trainers moved on with their lesson.

After the workshop, the young woman and I talked with each other about our dissatisfaction with the model and the trainer's response to our critical questions. I wondered, how could I improve on the trainers' lesson, so that other Multiracial participants and I could learn about internalized racism in a way that accounted for our experiences? And how could the facilitators have better dealt with our questions, rather than shutting us down with a seeming non sequitur that implied that we were identifying with or as White people? And how could the facilitator have reflectively evaluated the model, rather than retrenching into the implication that our questions merely demonstrated our inadequate ascension up the "ladder of empowerment" and therefore further validated the model?

Racial caucus groups at the IMRJ

In 2002, I participated in a three-month anti-racist training for community activists in the California Bay Area, led by the Institute for MultiRacial Justice

(IMRJ).[1] During one session, the trainers instructed us to convene in "racial caucus groups," so that we could discuss our experiences of racism as members of different racial groups (for an introduction to racial caucus group curricula, see Western States Center (2003), Vasquez (1993), and Shapiro (2002)). They called for several separate groups: Blacks, Asians, Native Americans, Latin@s,[2] and Multiracials.

I expressed concern that a Multiracial caucus group, like the defeated Multiracial category that had been proposed for the 2000 U.S. Census, creates several problems (Castagno, 2012; Williams, 2006). First, it forces Multiracial people to make a false choice between identifying as Multiracial and identifying with any of their constituent racial identities (e.g., Asian, White, Black, etc.). Not only might this prove a difficult choice for Multiracial participants, but also participants in other caucus groups might mistakenly infer that Multiracial participants were attempting to disidentify with one or more of the groups, regardless of which group they chose. If I chose the Multiracial group, the Asians might mistakenly think that I did not also identify as Asian. Yet, I rarely had opportunities to gather with other Multiracial people, so I was wary of foregoing the Multiracial caucus group.

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[1] Here, the difference between the IMRJ's use of the term "Multiracial" and my own use is noteworthy. The IMRJ's use referred to a quality of racial justice, that is, "racial justice for more than one racial group." In that case,"multi-" modifies their term "racial justice." In my own use, I mean "people or things that are racialized as belonging to more than one racial group." Although the units of analysis differ, I think that both uses of the term might be considered correct, in their uses. However, given the challenges that arose in the training, the IMRJ's use of the term "Multiracial" seems to me, at least, ironic.

[2] In fact, the trainers probably used the term "Latinos," or the phrase, "Latinos or Latinas." However, here and throughout this dissertation, I will use the more recent term "Latin@s"(Wallerstein, 2006). I believe the term is both less sexist than the standard masculine default term, "Latino," and less cissexist (i.e., less oppressive toward transgender and gender non-conforming people) than the gender-binary phrase "Latinos or Latinas" (Laureano, 2012; Nicoletti-Martinez).

Second, a Multiracial caucus group might obscure the vast differences in Multiracial people's experiences. If the trainers intended the caucus groups to provide participants a space in which we felt commonality and relative safety in the presence of "like" others, would a Multiracial caucus group suitably satisfy that purpose? Would I, as a Multiracial Asian and White person be similar enough to my Multiracial Black and Latin@ colleagues that we would be able to accomplish the activities' learning goals?

While they listened more receptively than the CSTI trainers, the IMRJ trainers also expressed their frustrations. The last time the group held the training, the trainers said, Multiracial participants had complained because the facilitators had *not* provided a Multiracial caucus group. Now, I was complaining because they were offering a Multiracial caucus group. Ultimately, they noted my concerns, but proceeded with the activity as planned.

My experience as a student in the training left me both wanting and reflective. I wondered, how could the racial caucus group activity be redesigned so that it did not reinforce stereotypes about Multiracial people's loyalties or force a false choice onto Multiracial participants? And how could trainers create spaces for Multiracial students to collectively explore their experiences of Multiraciality and monoracism? The following year, I had a practical opportunity to wrestle with these questions, as a trainer myself.

Racial caucus groups redux at NCCJ's Anytown

In 2003, I helped the National Conference for Community and Justice (NCCJ) organize a one-week residential diversity training camp for high school students,

called Camp Anytown. The camp's standard curriculum included a racial caucus groups activity, to help participants feel safe sharing their experiences with racism, as members of their racial group. I told my co-leader of my concerns about racial caucus groups and the problems of including a Multiracial caucus group. My co-leader was sympathetic to my concerns; she asked me how we might alter the activity so that it would work for Multiracial participants.

Together, we decided to try allowing participants to move between caucus groups, if they identified with multiple groups, as well as offering a Multiracial group. But, we knew that this redesign was not an ideal solution. Multiracial participants might not feel comfortable leaving one group to go to another. Meanwhile, Monoracial-identified participants would stay with a single group the whole time, witnessing Multiracial participants come and go, disrupting each group's discussion process. And we still had a Multiracial caucus group, with the liabilities I had identified at the IMRJ's training.

When we facilitated the activity, we were unable to avoid the foreseen challenges. Of the several Multiracial students, most stayed in the Multiracial caucus group; one or two moved among groups. But, one student was stumped from the start. After I finished giving instructions for the activity, and participants began to move to their groups, I noticed a young man sitting motionless in his seat.

Raul was a young man who identified as Black, Latino, Native, and White. I asked him how he was feeling and noted that racial caucus groups were often hard for Multiracial participants. He said he did not know which groups to attend; he wasn't sure which parts of his experiences could be assigned to each of his multiple

racial identities. It was as though I had asked him to point out which parts of a cake were flour and which were eggs.

For the first half of the activity, I sat with Raul and we were a caucus of two, talking haltingly about his experiences and ideas about his racial identity. It was the first time he had had an opportunity to talk about his racial identity in-depth. Rather than facilitating Raul's understandings of race or racism, our activity design had thrown up obstacles no less challenging than if we had ignored Multiraciality altogether. I wondered, how could we have more successfully redesigned the activity? And, considering my work with Mixed-Race people's organizations, I wondered, what use would such an activity be with a group composed entirely of Multiracial-identifying participants?

Although these personal experiences are part of my motivation, they are merely the tip of a larger phenomenon. I imagine that other anti-racist educators face similar challenges when teaching about racism. Colleagues in both anti-racist education and Multiracial activism have shared with me their own stories and asked me how they might address these challenges. So, in service to those colleagues and, indirectly, to their students, I have undertaken my doctoral research.

Research questions

Informed by these personal experiences and academic literature on both anti-racist education and monoracism, I begin answering the question, "How can we analyze and reduce current anti-racist education's monoracism, so that it more effectively helps Multiracial students learn about racism and monoracism?" Within this broad framing question, I have posed several research questions:

1. What do anti-racist educators in the Multiracial Movement think Multiracial participants should learn? (i.e., what are the learning goals?)
2. Among the popular and available anti-racist education curricula, what helps participants accomplish those learning goals? And what hinders participants' learning?
3. How might anti-racist education be improved, to better accomplish those learning goals?

By pursuing these questions, I hope to learn more about how to reduce monoracism in anti-racist education, thus benefitting *all* its students, regardless of how they are racialized.

Organization of the study

In organizing the presentation of my research, I first review relevant literature to lay a conceptual foundation as context, then present the participants' answers to my research questions, and finally analyze their answers and present recommendations of my own. Specifically, in Chapter 2, I provide a brief overview of community-based anti-racist education in the United States and four critiques of such programs, as well as introducing a fifth critique regarding monoracism. In Chapter 3, I review available literature to develop a theory of monoracism. In Chapter 4, I detail my methods for pursuing answers to my research questions. In Chapter 5, I present the participants' proposed learning goals for Multiracial students of anti-racist education. Then, in Chapter 6, I provide my interpretations of those propositions, framed by my own recommendations for practice and further research. In Chapter 7, I present the participants' perspectives on aspects of anti-

racist education that they believe are or are not working for Multiracial students. Then, in Chapter 8, I provide my own recommendations, which frame my interpretations of the data. In Chapter 9, I conclude the study by offering my reflections on the research project and proposals for further work.

CHAPTER 2

FOUR CRITIQUES OF COMMUNITY-BASED ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION

In Chapters 2 and 3, I present two syntheses of different bodies of literature as context for the participants' answers to the research questions and my own discussion and recommendations in subsequent chapters. In this chapter, I present an overview of what I call *community-based anti-racist education* (CBARE) in the United States. I use the term CBARE to characterize various anti-racist education programs. It is not a formal, coherent movement, per se; rather, it is my shorthand for a set of traditions and programs that meet particular criteria.

I begin by briefly outlining the scope of the term, the settings in which such programs take place, and the ideologies and pedagogies that distinguish CBARE from other types of "race trainings." I present two histories of CBARE programs; one connected to social movements, the other to academic psychology. Then, I discuss four general critiques of popular CBARE programs, regarding their anti-intersectional approaches, their binary racial paradigms, their use of racial essentialism, and their negative responses to what they characterize as "resistance" to learning. In Chapter 3, I synthesize literature on monoracism to lay a foundation for understanding anti-monoracist critiques of anti-racist education. Both of these literature reviews will be important for understanding the participants' critiques and suggestions for anti-racist education.

A brief overview of CBARE

In the past sixty years or so, "race trainings" have proliferated in various U.S. settings, including in schools, businesses, and social movements (Lasch-Quinn,

2001; Luft, 2004; Shapiro, 2002). In 1992, the Levi-Strauss Foundation-funded organization Project Change commissioned a study of ten prominent anti-racist organizations and their educational programs (Delgado, Browne, & Adamson, 1992). A decade later, Project Change commissioned a coalition of organizations to update the study (Shapiro, 2002). This second study identified ten prominent anti-racist education programs conducted by U.S. organizations. Each of the programs met five criteria: 1) grounding in a conceptual analysis of racism and social change, particularly ones that address structural racism; 2) being based in a nonprofit or non-governmental organization that teaches community groups across the U.S.; 3) providing discrete training sessions and other consultative services; 4) being well-known by professionals concerned with race-related programs; and 5) being well-reviewed by participants and other publications.

Based on these criteria, the study reviewed ten organizations and noted four others. The ten focal cases were: The People's Institute for Survival and Beyond (PISAB); National Coalition Building Institute (NCBI); Vigorous InterventionS into Ongoing Natural Settings (VISIONS); The Anti-Defamation League's *World of Difference Institute*; Crossroads Ministry (aka Crossroads Anti-racism Organizing and Training); Study Circles Resource Center (aka Everyday Democracy); Hope in the Cities; The National Conference for Community and Justice's (NCCJ) *Dismantling Racism Institute*; The Challenging White Supremacy Workshop (CWS); Training for Change's *White People Working on Racism* (TC). Several of these organizations will be referenced in this study: The People's Institute for Survival and Beyond (PISAB), Crossroads Ministry (CM), ChangeWork (CW), the Challenging White Supremacy

Workshop (CWS), the National Conference for Community and Justice (NCCJ), the National Coalition Building Institute (NCBI), and the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). These programs, while numerous, represent only a fraction of a much larger field of organizations providing trainings about race and racism in the United States.

Based on these organizations and the study's criteria for inclusion, a host of other CBARE programs, some contemporary, others recently defunct, might also be included. Other similar CBARE programs include/d or have been provided by the following organizations: The Alliance of White Anti-Racists Everywhere (AWARE-LA); the Anti-racism Training Institute of the Southwest (ATISW); the Aspen Institute; the Catalyst Project and its Anne Braden Anti-Racist Training Program; the Center for Third World Organizing; the Coalition of Anti-Racist Whites (CARW); Cultural Bridges; Cultural Leadership in St. Louis, MO; Dismantling Racism Works in Carrboro, NC; the Institute for Dismantling Racism (IDR) in Salem, NC; the Institute for MultiRacial Justice (IMRJ) in San Francisco, CA; the National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation (NCDD); the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI); Racism Free Zone (RFZ); Re-evaluation Counseling's United to End Racism (UER); the School of Unity and Liberation (SOUL) in Oakland, CA; Seattle Young People's Project (SYPP); Showing Up for Racial Justice (SURJ) in Oakland, CA; the TODOS Institute in Oakland, CA; the Tyree Scott Freedom School (TSFS) in Seattle, WA; the Unitarian Universalist Association's CrossRoads program and, later, its *Examining Whiteness: An Anti-Racism Curriculum*; the UNtraining in Oakland, CA; the U.S. Episcopal Church's *Seeing the Face of God in Each Other* program; the Vermont Partnership for Fairness and Diversity (VPFD); the Western

States Center's *Dismantling Racism*; the White Noise Collective; Young Women United (YMU) in Albuquerque, NM.

In addition to my fieldwork and my library research, I also have personal experience with several such programs. In the late 1990s, I student-taught in the Students Talk About Race (STAR) program, organized by People for the American Way (PFAW). I also helped organize race-dialogue programs influenced by early Inter-Group Dialogue curricula (Dessel, Rogge, & Garlington, 2006) and Re-Evaluation Counseling/NCBI. In the early 2000s, I participated in Re-Evaluation Counseling (aka "RC" or "Co-Counseling"), with its "United to End Racism" (UER) program, as well as participating in trainings hosted or influenced by NCBI (e.g., the TODOS Institute; DiversityWorks in Berkeley, CA) (Brown, 1995). In 2002-2003, I co-directed an NCCJ Camp Anytown in the San Francisco Bay Area. During that same period, I also participated in a multi-week training organized by the Institute for MultiRacial Justice (IMRJ), the second to be held in conjunction with the Challenging White Supremacy Workshops (CWS). In 2011, I participated in a two-day PISAB "Undoing Racism" training in New York City. And, from 2003 until the time this was written, I was a student and practitioner in the Social Justice Education Concentration at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. But, not all such trainings are equally relevant to my current study.

Settings

As the name suggests, community-based anti-racist education programs take place in a variety of settings, at varying distances from schools' formal classrooms. In the broader scope, some anti-racist education occurs in the classrooms of

primary, secondary, and postsecondary schools. Such formal programs are often characterized by multi-week or multi-month classes; state-credentialed teachers; coerced or compulsory attendance; homework, testing, and grades (Luft, 2004; Srivastava, 1996). In the U.S., as well as the U.K. and Canada, academic studies of anti-racist education have tended to focus on these types of formal, school-based programs (Allcott, 1992; Dei, 1996; Gillborn, 2006b; Karumanchery, 2005; Young, 1995).

Outside formal schools and their classrooms, other forms of anti-racist education happen in spaces that might be called "nonformal" or "informal" (Srivastava, 1996). This includes programs in community settings; education within organizations primarily dedicated to functions or causes other than education; after-school programs; and schools' extra-curricular or co-curricular settings (e.g., student clubs and organizations; residential education). Such nonformal settings differ from formal settings in many ways, including but not limited to shorter timeframes (e.g., a few hours or days at one time or spread out over several weeks); un-credentialed educators or trainers; voluntary attendance; and a lack of testing, homework, or grades. While I acknowledge educators are teaching about anti-racism in a variety of settings (Dei, 1993, 2005, 2007), I have limited the scope of my study and discussion to what might be considered "nonformal education." In addition to setting, I have also honed the scope of my definition of CBARE programs based on their ideologies and pedagogies.

Ideologies

Within the broad realm of "race trainings," only a small subset might be considered community-based anti-racist education programs. DeRosa (1994) and Luft (2004) have suggested a typology of "race trainings" and offered criteria for the various types, suggesting that many race trainings are not actually "anti-racist," despite their claims. DeRosa's typology (as cited by Luft, 2004) characterizes six different types of race trainings:

1. The Intercultural Approach, which relies on sharing information about different cultures and modes of communication (e.g., The Southern Poverty Law Center's Teaching Tolerance program).
2. The Legal Compliance Approach, most popular with corporations, which teaches organizations how to operate in accordance with legal and policy mandates (e.g., Art Feinglass's Access Communications).
3. The Managing Diversity Approach, which aims to optimize corporate performance through managing differences (e.g., National MultiCultural Institute's Diversity Training and Consulting program)
4. The Prejudice Reduction Approach, which tries to decrease people's biased cognitive processes by addressing their hypothesized emotional roots (e.g., Re-Evaluation Counseling and its offshoots, such as Lee Mun Wah's Stir Fry Seminars and Consulting).
5. The Valuing Differences Approach, which combines the Intercultural Approach with either an "anti-oppression" paradigm or the Managing Diversity approach's focus on tolerance and pluralism.

6. The Anti-Racist Approach, which has an explicit institutional and cultural analysis of racism and distinguishes itself with its a three-part methodology, addressing cognitive learning, subjective/affective experience, and organizing (e.g., PISAB, CM, CW, and CWS).

Perhaps most notably, DeRosa's typology suggests that programs are only "anti-racist" in their approach if they take racism (rather than race, prejudice, diversity, or culture) as their unit of analysis *and* are part of larger anti-racist organizing efforts (Luft, 2004). Thus, programs that are not situated in larger anti-racist organizing efforts might be better characterized as Prejudice Reduction or Valuing Differences, rather than Anti-Racist, despite their anti-racist *analysis* or their self-characterizations (Luft, 2004). Both an anti-racist ideology and an anti-racist pedagogy, situated in an effort to organize people for collective anti-racist activism, are required.

Anti-racist education programs distinguish themselves from other race trainings, in part, by their theories of race and racism, particularly their units of analysis and of change. Other race training approaches draw on theories of *individual* ignorance, prejudice, or cultural appreciation. Consequently, based on a theory of human nature, they primarily attempt to solve racism by changing individuals' attitudes or emotions (Luft, 2004; Scott, 2000). The Anti-Racist Approach is based on a theory of systemic white supremacy that focuses on *institutional* racism, accounting for the historical and pervasive racialization of U.S. society (Luft, 2004). Luft (2004, p. 65) identified seven characteristic ideological components that distinguish the Anti-Racist Approach from other approaches:

1. Racism is a historical, system, pervasive problem.
2. Racism is “prejudice plus power.”
3. All White people benefit from racism, therefore all white people are racist – and people of color can be prejudiced, but not racist.
4. Racism is "preeminent and irreducible," and while other issues may be important, they cannot be effectively addressed unless anti-racism is central.
5. Liberal racism (e.g., colorblindness, meritocracy) is currently the prevailing form of racism.
6. Anti-racism intends to transform and heal all people, races, and communities, because racism damages White people as well as People of Color. However, People of Color should lead anti-racist efforts.
7. Only grassroots organizing (including within institutions) can overcome racism; therefore, the work requires "cultivating and training movement participants."

Thus, for the Anti-Racist Approach, both the unit of analysis and the unit of intended change is the institution or society (Luft, 2004). From this explicit Anti-Racist Approach, other approaches that claim to be anti-racist are merely liberal racial remediation measures that prioritize changing individuals while effectively ignoring the encompassing society, which is presumed to be racially neutral at worst (Kailin, 2002; Luft, 2004).

Pedagogies

CBARE programs can be differentiated, as noted above, by their approaches to analyzing racism. Perhaps more fundamentally, CBARE programs further differentiate themselves with their pedagogies, the methods they use for teaching and implementing those analyses. While other approaches may offer institutional analyses or discuss privilege and oppression (Shapiro, 2002), the Anti-Racist Approach distinguishes itself with its emphasis on preparing people to participate in collective organizing efforts to challenge institutional racism (Luft, 2004).

Some other approaches focus on cognitive processes (e.g., Intercultural and Managing Diversity), identifying prejudices, biases and misinformation, providing alternative information about groups or cognition. Still other approaches add a focus on the emotional or subjective experiences of racism (e.g., Prejudice Reduction, Valuing Differences), working on the interaction between emotions, personal experiences, and thoughts. But, only the Anti-Racist Approach uses a three-part methodology, which integrates the cognitive and the emotional/subjective with methods that explicitly prepare and engage participants in collective organizing (Luft, 2004). Such Anti-Racist trainings engage participants in changing their behavior as individual actors, but also provide "strategic guidelines for long-term instrumentalist politics" (Luft, 2004, p. 173). At best, other approaches focus on changing individual's psyches and intentions, leaving to faith that people will individually find ways to somehow transform society.

In Chapter 5, I discuss Park's (2001) "Three types of knowledge": representational, reflective, and relational knowledge. I suggest that, of the various

race training approaches, the Anti-Racist Approach's three-part pedagogy is best-suited to engage and develop all three types of knowledge. Cognitive pedagogies develop representational knowledge, helping students develop an institutional analysis of racism. Emotional/subjective pedagogies develop reflective knowledge, engaging students' experiences and the emotions and values derived from them. And organizing methods develop relational knowledge, developing students' knowledge of each other and their connections to one another.

Using the three parameters of setting, theory, and pedagogy, my working definition of community-based anti-racist education excludes many race training programs that might otherwise be considered anti-racist education. Many school-based anti-racist education programs (Dei, 1993) and critical multicultural education programs (Grant & Sleeter, 2011; Nieto, 1999) still focus on individual change (e.g., replacing prejudice and misinformation with weak pluralistic values and more accurate information), without engaging students in organizing for institutional transformation (Hernandez & Field, 2003; Luft, 2004). Likewise, most of the programs named in the Shapiro report (2002) lack an organizing component and instead focus on changing participants as individuals (e.g., NCBI, NCCJ, VISIONS, ADL). Many of the same programs also use a more multi-issue analysis of oppression, with racism as one of many forms of oppression addressed (though often still central). Thus, they might be more aptly characterized as Prejudice Reduction or Managing Diversity programs.

The dearth of research on CBARE

Within academic research on education, relatively little has been conducted about anti-racist education. The literature discussing CBARE programs in particular is sparser still. Educational scholars have dedicated little energy to studying school-based anti-racist education, relative to some other areas. It has given even less attention to the work and histories of community-based anti-racist education programs (Luft, 2004).

Likewise, social movement scholars have largely ignored anti-racist trainings as a subject, lumping them together with other race trainings (Luft, 2004; Shapiro, 2002). Further, I have found very little written about CBARE's dealings with Multiraciality, even when I broadened my search to include programs that do not meet one or more of the three criteria I have used. Of the ten programs reviewed by the ProjectChange study, my library and online research turned up precious little about most of these programs. Even the two of the largest and arguably most influential programs, PISB and NCCJ, are little-studied (Donaldson, 1994; Freeman & Johnson, 2003; Luft, 2004; Lyons, 2005; McWhirter, 1988; Plastas, 1992; Slocum, 2009; Wilson, 2006).

In searching for academic research or discussion of CBARE programs, I found only a handful of citations (Freeman & Johnson, 2003; Luft, 2004; O'Brien, 2001; Plastas, 1992; Shapiro, 2002; Slocum, 2009; Wilson, 2006). Over time, theories about racism have developed and continue to inform or appear in race trainings (e.g., racialization, social constructionism, privilege and oppression). However, methodological innovations that embody those theories in practice have lagged

behind the pace of theorizing (Luft, 2004). Luft argued, "there is not as of yet a discrete body of scholarship on the methodological logic of anti-racist intervention more generally that materializes racial theory innovation as tactical guidelines for linking the abstract to the concrete, and the macro to the micro" (Luft, 2004, p. 41).

For example, Critical Race Theorists have produced a formidable body of literature with suggestions for analysis and interventions, but it has not produced nearly as much in the way of Critical Race *Methodology* or Critical Race *Pedagogy.* With so little documentation of the development of anti-racist praxes, academic research on the practice or effectiveness of such praxes is scarcer still. So, with my research, I have attempted to contribute to the study of community-based anti-racist education programs by identifying theoretical and pedagogical problems, possibilities, and suggestions that put CBARE praxes in conversation with theories and experiences of monoracism and Multiraciality. To contextualize community-based anti-racist education, I now present a brief historical overview of CBARE programs, in two parts.

Two brief histories of CBARE

Community-based anti-racist education's roots can be traced back through two historical lineages: one in recent social movements, the other in academic psychology. The current "workshop" or "training" format, as a small group educational model, draws from a variety of predecessors, including union education programs, Freedom Schools, T-Groups, consciousness raising groups, and corporate consulting (Greig, 1999; Katz, 2011; Luft, 2004; Perlstein, 1990; Sarachild, 1974/1978). In the early 1900s, interfaith movements for religious tolerance

developed educational programs that incorporated racialized discussions of religion. Later, some of these programs would incorporate more explicit education about race and racism. In the same era, labor unions and "social unionism" movements incorporated "mutual culturalism" into their education and organizing programs (Katz, 2011). Communist activists' anti-racist work also contributed to pillars of what later became the Civil Rights Movement. After World War II, the Civil Rights Movement developed a variety of community-based educational programs intended to combat racism and organize participants, including Citizenship Schools and the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Schools.

During the post-World War II period, academic psychologists also grappled with questions of prejudice and discrimination, seeking to understand genocidal aspects of the war. Early organizational psychologists developed "sensitivity training groups," also called "T-Groups," as a means to analyze group dynamics. Later, the Human Potential Movement adapted T-Group methods into "Encounter Group" pedagogies. Some psychologists then attempted to integrate Black psychologists' newly developing theories and practices of "ethnotherapy" into Encounter Group work, bringing more overt attention to particular racist dynamics in such groups. Then, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the repression of various social movements, the ascendance of corporate power, and a liberal remedial approach to "diversity" and "multiculturalism," popularized particular forms of "race trainings" among businesses, social service agencies, and nonprofit organizations. In the midst of such developments, community-based anti-racist education programs have emerged as an abeyance structure, a mechanism for

holding open a particular space for repressed social movements to quietly continue rebuilding themselves (Luft, 2004).[3]

A history in U.S. social movements

CBARE programs have taken various forms in the past, depending on the state of the social movements using them. In the first half of the 20th Century, although not frequently acknowledged as such, interfaith efforts, Jewish labor organizing, and Communist organizing each developed early forms of community-based anti-racist education. Then, in the 1950s and 1960s, the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Movement developed educational programs to teach about racism and to build organized political power (Luft, 2004; Lynd, 1965/ 2011; Perlstein, 1990). Such movements and their programs went on to influence the development of more recent CBARE programs, even after government forces significantly suppressed many of the preceding social movements.

In the early 20th Century, U.S. faith-based movements for religious tolerance developed programs and organizations that would later use their presence and infrastructure to develop one thread of contemporary "race trainings." In the 1920s, fueled by growing concern about hate groups, Catholics and Jews, along with some liberal Protestant allies, began creating interfaith dialogue groups in English-speaking nations (Ariel, 2011). The U.S. NCCJ (then called the National Conference of Christians and Jews) was founded in 1928, with the goal of improving relations between U.S. Protestants, Catholics, and Jews (Ariel, 2011; Winborne & Smith,

[3] I am particularly indebted to Rachel Luft for her work documenting and synthesizing significant histories of anti-racist education programs, particularly regarding the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements, as well as histories tied to academic psychology.

2001). During this time, numerous other Jewish organizations also promoted interfaith dialogue, including the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the American Jewish Committee, and the American Jewish Congress (Ariel, 2011). Post-World War II, such interfaith efforts were strengthened by several factors: wartime camaraderie between U.S. Jewish and Christian soldiers; Christians' desire to distance themselves from Nazism's anti-Semitism; and the upward mobility, Whitening, and suburbanization of some Jews (Ariel, 2011).

Later, the U.S.'s Cold War interests further motivated interfaith projects; the U.S sought to buoy its image as a land of religious freedom and harmony, contrasting an image of the U.S.SR as a godless, repressive state (Ariel, 2011). In this way, U.S. Cold War international interests similarly motivated the U.S. government's softening toward Civil Rights Movement activism; an effort to woo unaligned Third World nations with demonstrations of U.S. racial equanimity (McAlister, 2001). During the same period, and perhaps motivated by similar interests, the Catholic Church's Vatican II created significant doctrinal changes (including the disavowal of its earlier anti-Semitic Deicide doctrine). This spurred changes not only within Catholicism, but also within numerous liberal Protestant denominations. Such changes greatly enabled the growth of interfaith projects.

However, such interfaith projects were later complicated and sometimes soured both by liberal Protestant denominations' growing concerns with Third World national liberation movements and by mainstream Jewish leaders' investment in pro-Zionist agendas (Ariel, 2011). Yet, during the same period, interfaith activism informed Civil Rights activism's growth, with early Civil Rights

leaders incorporating interfaith strategies and drawing on key concepts and rhetoric developed by earlier tri-faith programs (Ariel, 2011; Stahl, 2010).

In the mid-1930s, in an early and under-acknowledged story of social movements using educational programs about race or ethnicity, Yiddish Socialists promoted an early "multiculturalist" approach to union organizing (Katz, 2011). Yiddish Socialist émigrés from Russia brought with them an ideology and strategies of "mutual culturalism," which had served their resistance to Russian Czarist demands for assimilation. These Yiddish Socialists emphasized mutual learning about union members' cultures, both as a means of resisting forced assimilation into the Czarist Russian cultural agenda and as a means to build connections and mutual understanding among members. Feminist women in the International Ladies Garment Worker Union (ILGWU) were particularly influential in developing such educational programs. Their efforts built on union efforts to educate and radicalize members during the previous three decades.

This push for multicultural understanding was explicitly understood as a movement-building strategy for creating community solidarity and resistance to the bosses' divide-and-conquer strategies that pitted various racial and ethnic groups against one another (Katz, 2011). Union educational programs, such as Unity House in New York City, served to bring workers of different races and ethnicities together, to reinforce ethnic pride, to celebrate and learn about members' cultures, and to connect with workers of different races. At its peak in 1937, the New York City ILGWU Local 22 reached more than 20,000 workers with hundreds of classes, including English language education; principles of unionism, history, and social

science; music, theater, dance, and athletics. These courses served the larger movement toward "social unionism," a broader community-based approach to organizing than traditional workplace-focused organizing.

While called "mutual culturalism," such efforts manifested several aspects of DeRosa's Anti-Racist Approach. Although such programs often used a hybrid Celebrating Differences/Cultural Understanding Approach, some also taught about systemic racism, particularly racism against Black and Puerto Rican people. Further, the courses, even those in music and athletics, were consciously and explicitly designed to build a militant and multicultural union movement. Anchoring such educational efforts was the understanding that capitalism uses racism to divide and conquer workers. Rather than recommending assimilation into yet another monoculture (this time U.S. rather than Russian), these union leaders and participants used mutual culturalism education programs to promote ethnic identification, while also promoting inter-ethnic solidarity and understanding.

The mutual culturalism approaches of the ILGWU and other unions involved in social unionism, including their educational activities, helped expand, retain, and train a more racially and ethnically diverse union movement. Such efforts trained rank-and-file leaders, radicalized many workers, and stabilized the union, allowing it to step up to a more powerful footing with both industry and politics.

Unfortunately, the ILGWU's mutual culturalism efforts were abandoned as male union leaders pursued a broader (and Whiter) base, political power, and the U.S. moved toward entering World War II. As unions expanded to organizing in regions that were Whiter and more Protestant, some leaders decided to de-

emphasize multiculturalism, for fear of alienating racist, anti-Semitic, and anti-Catholic workers. Further, as union leaders pursued a more formalized place at the table with industry and government, in part through the National Recovery Administration (NRA), they abandoned many of the multiculturalist efforts that had so effectively fostered union militancy.

In the same era, the Communist Party U.S.A took up some anti-racist campaigns and educational efforts. In the 1930s, as Black bourgeois nationalism waned, the CPUSA momentarily established itself as a leading advocate for equal civil rights for Black people (Allen, 1990). Unlike older Socialist Party positions, which saw Blacks simply as darker skinned workers, the CPUSA recognized anti-Black racism as a distinct oppression, worthy of concerted anti-discrimination efforts (Allen, 1990).

Some notable Black liberation activists, disillusioned by the Socialist Party of America's lukewarm stance on racism, joined the CPUSA and led the efforts to make racism a priority problem (Kailin, 2002). In the late 1930s, the CPUSA helped create the National Negro Congress (NNC), headed by longtime Socialist Party member and notable Black leader, A. Philip Randolph. The CPUSA, along with the NNC, supported Black organizing, anti-discrimination activism within unionism, and anti-lynching work. The CPUSA also influenced luminary Black artists, including Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison, and Paul Robeson. Later, many would break with the CPUSA for various reasons, including its rapid change from an isolationist position on World War II to an interventionist one, following Nazi Germany's invasion of the U.S.SR.

In 1946, two scholars connected to the CPUSA published The Races of Mankind (Benedict & Weltfish, 1946), a pamphlet commissioned by the War Department, intended to educate U.S. soldiers about racism. Several decades before such arguments would be more widely received, *The Races of Mankind* deconstructed and challenged biological notions of race, pointing toward the social construction of race by racism. Conservative politicians tarred the pamphlet as Jewish, Communist propaganda and proof that the Communists had infiltrated the federal government. While such allegations went unproven, I suggest that the pamphlet might indeed have been informed by the CPUSA's anti-racist efforts – to the credit of both the authors and the CPUSA.

As the Cold War progressed, the FBI succeeded in pressuring some anti-racist organizations of color to distance themselves from Socialist and Communist movements – including marginalizing the Communist-influenced Civil Rights Congress (CRC) in the mid-1950s (Kailin, 2002). Despite this repression, in subsequent decades, numerous Black liberation activists continued to strongly align themselves with a Marxist class analysis (e.g., W.E.B. Du Bois, Angela Davis, the Black Panther Party) (Kailin, 2002). Such class analysis then inflected aspects of the early Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and early 1960s. Then, in the later 1960s, as governmental and social repression curdled liberal optimism, the rise of Black Power synthesized Black humanism with Marxist class analysis to create a more disillusioned, sober radicalism (Allen, 1990; Luft, 2004).

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Movement used community-based anti-racist education programs to educate and

connect people, as well as to organize and mobilize them. In the 1950s, the Highlander Folk School helped launch Citizenship Schools that aimed to help Black as well as White rural and working-class citizens learn to read and develop their analysis of civil rights; tools to help them challenge White supremacist disenfranchisement of Black voters (Adams & Horton, 1975). Early Civil Rights Movement leaders, such as Septima Clark and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., participated in trainings at Highlander. After a few years, Highlander transitioned control of the Citizenship Schools to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Later, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), another Civil Rights organization influenced by Highlander, would also work closely with the Citizenship Schools (Perlstein, 1990). As the Civil Rights Movement grew in the early 1960s, activists developed various community-based education programs, including SNCC's Nonviolent High, James Lawson's nonviolent resistance classes in Tennessee, and Freedom Schools (Emery, Braselmann, & Gold, 2004; Perlstein, 1990).

Following *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, activists developed early Freedom Schools to serve Black students who were denied education by White constituencies; constituencies who preferred to close public schools rather than desegregate. Some public school systems shrank or collapsed as White parents withdrew their children, enrolling them in private schools. Some White-run county governments closed public schools rather than desegregate them. Trying to fill this educational void, some teachers developed curricula for teaching students in community-based settings; curricula that would teach both academic skills and

politicize students for anti-racist activism (Perlstein, 1990). Such programs also informed the development of the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Schools.

In the summer of 1964, the Coalition of Federated Organizations (COFO) organized forty-one informal day schools in Mississippi, known as Freedom Schools, as part of the larger Mississippi Summer Project (later known as Freedom Summer) (Levine, 2001). COFO comprised various Civil Rights organizations, including the NAACP, SNCC, SCLC, and CORE (the Congress On Racial Equality). Along with campaigns to register voters and the creation of community centers, Freedom Schools were one prong of Freedom Summer's three-part campaign to challenge racism in Mississippi. In the short-term, by building Black political power, Freedom Summer aimed to unseat the racist and deeply entrenched Mississippi Democratic Party (MDP) delegation to the 1964 Democratic National Convention (Emery, et al., 2004) and to prevent Mississippi from expelling Black citizens from the state (Civil Rights Movement Veterans, 2008). Freedom Schools ran from mid-July thru early September of 1964, teaching two six-week sessions in five Mississippi congressional districts.

Freedom Schools' curricula included academic instruction, but also extended to recreational and cultural education, while maintaining a focus on political education and political organizing (Emery, et al., 2004; Levine, 2001). At the March 21-22, 1964 Curriculum Conference, representatives from COFO organizations and other teacher-activists developed the initial Mississippi Freedom School curricula. Among the participants were civil rights activists Ella Baker and Bayard Rustin; Myles Horton of Highlander; Septima Clark, the head of the SCLC's Citizenship

Schools; and Noel Day, who had planned earlier Freedom School curricula (Perlstein, 1990). Through the Freedom Schools, COFO intended "1) to provide remedial instruction in basic educational skills but more importantly 2) to implant habits of free thinking and ideas of how a free society works, and 3) to lay the groundwork for a statewide youth movement" (Emery, et al., 2004). In such ways, Freedom Schools would be an approach to community organizing, training students to become a force for social change in ongoing organizing efforts (Emery, et al., 2004).

Freedom Schools were a coordinated effort by a cadre of Civil Rights activists, Northern White volunteers, and local Black communities. SNCC and CORE project staff recruited volunteer teachers, provided basic training, and coordinated the districts' Freedom Schools. Several hundred people volunteered to fundraise, recruit, and teach for the Freedom Schools; mostly Northern, middle-class, White college students. Local Black communities provided all manner of support, including housing, logistical coordination, money, space for the classes, armed protection, and the participants for the schools.

Freedom Schools primarily taught Black youth, whom the Mississippi school systems purposefully miseducated, but also served adults in the communities (Emery, et al., 2004). Once teacher-organizers arrived in the districts, they door-knocked and networked to recruit students for the classes. Students participated voluntarily. Classes were taught in whatever spaces could be obtained, including church basements and people's lawns. Freedom Schools' eventually grew to serve

more than 2,000 students during the summer of 1964, roughly double the originally planned number of schools or students (Perlstein, 1990).

Throughout, organizers and teachers strove for flexibility and responsiveness in their curricula, intending to organize and educate students about the issues most relevant to their own lives (Emery, et al., 2004). Initial curricula addressed issues such as racism, materialism, assimilationism, Negro history, housing and working conditions, public schools, and voter registration (Emery, et al., 2004). However, teachers were encouraged to discard curricula, in part or entirely, if it failed to engage students' real-life problems (Perlstein, 1990). Freedom Schools' pedagogies rejected teacher-dominated, lecture-based pedagogy, as well as testing, grades, and other aspects of formal school pedagogies (Emery, et al., 2004). Instead, Freedom Schools favored asking questions, exploration of emotions, discussion, and other interactive methods, such as music, debates, role-plays, theatrical productions, and newspaper journalism (Civil Rights Movement Veterans, 1991; Emery, et al., 2004). At several schools, students directly involved themselves in political organizing campaigns, particularly the Freedom Summer voter registration efforts.

Through such efforts, Freedom Schools were integral to the growth and organization of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), which challenged the Mississippi Democratic Party (Emery, et al., 2004). Ultimately, the MFDP's challenge to the MDP was defeated, but Freedom Schools had contributed to the ongoing sea change created by the Civil Rights Movement (Emery, et al., 2004). Students organized the 1964 Freedom School Convention, published student

newspapers, and carried forward their activism into the school year, including in several school boycotts (Civil Rights Movement Veterans, 2008). Some Freedom Summer workers and older students continued to teach in "Freedom Centers," despite White-imposed legal obstructions (Emery, et al., 2004; Perlstein, 1990). Others continued registering voters or used newly won federal funding for day care centers (Emery, et al., 2004; Perlstein, 1990).

Despite the Mississippi Freedom Schools' efforts, a host of factors prevented SNCC or other organizations from mounting another comparable Freedom School campaign (Perlstein, 1990). White supremacist opposition, from both governmental and nongovernmental organizations, continued to gouge away at SNCC and other social movements. White constituencies continued terrorist campaigns, but also moved to outlaw "uncredentialed" schools, in clear attempts to shut down Freedom Schools. COINTELPRO and other malevolent government programs worked in tandem with more seemingly benevolent Federal programs that provided new access to education and day care, while coopting their organizing potential into a social service delivery model. Some activists regarded the Mississippi Freedom Summer as a success, because of changes at the local or Federal level. Others, disillusioned by realizations of the similarities between Mississippi and the rest of the U.S., regarded the campaign as a failure and turned to more radical analyses and approaches. Rather than believing that racist regions of the U.S. could be redeemed through enacting U.S. ideals, they came to realize that racism was more integral to U.S. society than they had initially believed. Likewise, some realized that they had

underestimated the degree to which their own White comrades' racism affected them and their work.

In such a shifting climate, separatist ideals and approaches became more popular among some Black Civil Rights activists, ushering in the Black Power Movement and shaping further anti-racist education efforts. Early Civil Rights activists had appealed to supposedly core U.S. values (e.g., equality, meritocracy, opportunity) to argue against racism (Luft, 2004). But, as many activists discovered, racism was *not* inconsistent with liberal U.S. values (Bell, 1992; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Pointing out supposed hypocrisies and contradictions proved insufficiently effective to transform U.S. racism (Luft, 2004).

In what would become known as Black Power, some activists began calling for radical change and revolution, with Black separatism as one means for advancing those goals (Joseph, 2006; Luft, 2004). Black Power's analysis emphasized the macro structural dimensions of racism and their connections to the daily interpersonal enactments of racism, which reciprocally supported structural racism (Luft, 2004). Such radical analyses also influenced anti-racist trainers (Adams, 2010; Luft, 2004). Some activists came to doubt that students could readily create a liberatory pedagogy, poisoned as they were by pervasive U.S. racism (Luft, 2004). To convey a more radical anti-racist analysis and a particular experience of the oppressed, pedagogues began to replace the traditions of self-discovery and question-based pedagogies with more didactic pedagogies (Perlstein, 1990). During the same period, governmental and nongovernmental U.S. forces repressed many organizations, further reversing movement gains (Churchill & Vander Wall, 2001;

Rosenfeld, 2012). In this developing backlash, many anti-racist social movements moved into a period of wounded recovery and relative quiescence (Luft, 2004).

Since the 1970s, the repression and rolling-back of many anti-racist social movements has shifted CBARE programs into an abeyance role, as activists attempt to rebuild movements. Anti-racist training programs seem to both draw on Civil Rights racial politics and diverge from them (Adams, 2010; Luft, 2004). As new racial politics develop, CBARE programs attempt to weather the current regressive racial politics and connect the Civil Rights Movement with whatever new anti-racist master frame may be developed next (Luft, 2004).

To help rebuild organized political power during this gap between the Civil Rights Movement and whatever social movements will inherit that legacy, CBARE programs have shifted their focus somewhat. Recently, CBARE programs have increased their emphasis on teaching White people about how White supremacy affects them as White people and about how challenging White supremacy might actually serve their own interests. Critical Race Theorists would later articulate such shifts as an example of "interest convergence," in which anti-racist movements are permitted more gains when White people believe those gains also serve their own interests (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Luft, 2004).

Among their new strategies, CBARE programs have begun using pedagogies that restructure participants relations of accountability to one another, that help them re-imagine and re-tell stories about their political interests, that re-write their scripted interracial dynamics, and that provide racially separate "caucus group" spaces (Luft, 2004). Although CBARE programs make up a relatively small

proportion of the larger field of "race trainings," one CBARE program, the People's Institute for Survival and Beyond (PISAB) has significantly influenced other CBARE programs and the broader realm of "race trainings" (Luft, 2004; O'Brien, 2001).

In the Post-Civil Rights Era, the People's Institute for Survival and Beyond (PISAB) has emerged as one of the most prominent, influential, and long-running CBARE programs in the United States. In 1979, Ron Chisom and Jim Dunn, two Black activists with Civil Rights Movement experience, founded PISAB in New Orleans, Louisiana with intention to train a new generation of organizers. Growing from African American anti-racist movements, PISAB's racial analysis is rooted in a Black-White racial paradigm, though it has attempted to incorporate other Peoples of Color into both its analysis and its training cadre (Shapiro, 2002). Blending organizing tactics with Freedom School-type popular education, PISAB manifests the ideas that training *is* organizing (or at least that training should be used in conjunction with organizing), that People of Color should lead, and that trainings should be "guided by an historical analysis, and animated by culture (Luft, 2004, p. 72). PISAB's most prominent CBARE program is the "Undoing Racism" workshop, which gathers activists and social service workers for a tightly structured, two-day training led by PISAB's cadre of regionally-based organizer-activists (for a detailed description and discussion of PISAB's curriculum, see Luft (2004)).

Since its founding, PISAB has expanded, collaborating with local activists to create satellite offices in the West (Berkeley, CA), Northwest (Seattle, WA), North (Minnesota), Northeast (New York City), and Southeast (Atlanta, GA). Over the past three decades, PISAB has trained thousands of participants, developing their

structural analysis of racism while engaging them in local organizing. Further, PISAB's larger impact extends beyond its own programs. PISAB has inspired or directly influenced other notable CBARE programs, including Crossroads Ministry, the Challenging White Supremacy Workshops, the Anti-racism Training Institute of the Southwest (ATISW), the Catalyst Project, the National Network, the Tyree Scott Freedom School, and the Western States Center (Luft, 2004; Shapiro, 2002). While such CBARE programs draw on social movements' legacies, they also draw on post-War developments in academic psychology.

A history in academic psychology

In addition to their origins in social movements, CBARE programs have been influenced by psychological theories and clinical practices developed since World War II (Lasch-Quinn, 2001; Luft, 2004). As the subfields of cognitive psychology and social psychology developed, they contributed theories about stereotypes, prejudices, and individuals' attitudes.

Organizational development psychologists' work with "sensitivity training groups" or "T-Group" pedagogies focused greater attention on trainees' group dynamics. In the 1960s, the Human Potential Movement adapted T-Group methods into "Encounter Group" methods. Meanwhile, Black humanist psychologists were working to develop theories and methods to address racial identity development and "ethnotherapy." Collaboration between Encounter Group practitioners and Black ethnotherapists then created "Racial Confrontation Group" methods, in which trainees' racial group dynamics became a focus for learning and individual transformation. Racial identity development theorists' ideas of healthy identity

development have also shaped CBARE trainings' praxes related to participants' learning and development.

Cognitive psychology, with its focuses on meaning-making processes, has informed theories implemented in various race training approaches (Luft, 2004). Cognitivism has suggested that stereotypes and prejudices, rather than being aberrant, are natural products of mental meaning-making processes. However, cognitivism has also proposed ahistorical and essentialist ideas about "human nature," naturalizing racism as a primarily psychological process rather than a historically situated political and cultural system. Further, cognitivism has often failed to acknowledge the socially constructed nature of many of its own foundational concepts (e.g., race, gender, age, etc.). Nonetheless, concepts from cognitive psychology have continued to show up in various race training approaches, as have theories from other subfields of psychology.

Early social psychology premised much of its work on the assumption that behaviors are driven by attitudes. Social psychology has not only influenced the development of race remediation efforts, it has also been informed and shaped by such efforts, as far back as the 1940s (Aronson, 2008; Luft, 2004). Seeking to understand the racism and religious oppression manifest in the genocidal campaigns and mass killings during World War II, social psychologists studied how groups' ideas and dynamics could influence individuals' thoughts, attitudes, and behaviors (Aronson, 2008).

Drawing on this tradition, most race trainings have generally focused on changing attitudes rather than changing behaviors (Hernandez & Field, 2003; Luft,

2004; Melamed, 2011; Rogers, 2003). However, some psychology and cultural studies scholars have asserted that behavior precedes beliefs, rather than following them; this suggests that altering behaviors is the way to alter beliefs (Luft, 2004). Others have demonstrated that combating stereotypes in schools or mass media, while commendable, are insufficient to end even individuals' racist attitudes or behaviors, let alone ending structural racism (Luft, 2004; Operario & Fiske, 1998). Nonetheless, social psychology's conceptual contributions continue to loom large in the theories and pedagogies of most race training approaches (Hernandez & Field, 2003; Lasch-Quinn, 2001; Luft, 2004).

In addition to social psychology's theoretical contributions, several of its methods and interventions have influenced race training pedagogies. In the mid-1940s, MIT psychologist and researcher Kurt Lewin's research team developed "sensitivity training groups," also known as T-Groups, a research methodology that explicitly focused discussion group participants on their own group dynamics (Lasch-Quinn, 2001). T-Group methods grew out of Lewin's decision to allow some discussion group participants to sit in on his team's evening debriefs of the day's discussion sessions. Participants' engagement and learning from these debriefing sessions led the researchers to revise the discussion group methods; discussing the dynamics of the discussion groups themselves became the focus of T-Group methodology.

In 1947, with the support of the Connecticut State Inter-Racial Commission, Lewin helped establish the National Training Laboratories (NTL). Over the next two decades, NTL became internationally recognized for its use of T-Groups to address

racial and religious prejudice. Along the way, T-Group methods were adopted and transformed by other psychology-based movements.

In the 1960s, the Human Potential Movement drew from T-Group methods to develop its own theories and methods for "Encounter Groups." Fusing radical personal politics with therapeutic theories and methods, the Human Potential Movement argued that self-transformation was a crucial political project (Lasch-Quinn, 2001). By transforming oneself, individuals might help change society – or at least free themselves from society's oppressiveness. Built on the assumption that individuals needed to excavate and "encounter" their most deeply repressed feelings, Encounter Group pedagogies aimed to help participants express intense emotions in the compressed time-frame of a training. This emphasis on unearthing and purging hidden feelings as a means for personal development began to manifest in race trainings, as well.

In the late 1960s, Black psychologists and psychiatrists developed and popularized new racial theories and clinical methods; some were later combined with Encounter Group methods to create "Racial Confrontation Groups" (Lasch-Quinn, 2001). Psychiatrist Price Cobbs and William H. Grier's influential book, *Black Rage,* prescribed a new "racial therapy" in which White therapists would work to divest themselves of White Supremacy and root out White cultural practices from their therapeutic work. Therapists were also instructed to learn about normative Black experiences and about racism, so that they might better understand and depathologize Black client's behaviors, in the larger context of societal White supremacy (Lasch-Quinn, 2001). Cobbs went on to found Pacific Management

Systems in 1967, a consulting firm that provided trainings to schools, police departments, social service agencies, community organizations and, increasingly, businesses (Lasch-Quinn, 2001).

Cobbs also became increasingly involved in the Human Potential Movement, co-facilitating “racial confrontation groups” with HPM facilitators from the Esalen Institute. Such groups were intended to help White participants surface racist fears and guilt, while helping Black participants express their Black rage about racism. Conflicts within Esalen ended that joint venture, but Cobbs and other interracial leaders continued their encounter-type work. In the early 1970s, Cobbs and his colleagues conducted interracial encounter groups, including more than one hundred groups with 1400 participants at the University of California San Francisco Medical Center.

In 1972, Cobbs published an article naming his approach "ethnotherapy" and explicitly connected his work back to Lewin's T-groups (Lasch-Quinn, 2001). Cobbs also articulated the idea, popular with many race trainings, that racism is a disease, one requiring therapy (Lasch-Quinn, 2001). Such theories about the racial essences of Black people and White people also fed the creation of prescriptive racial identity development models.

To better “treat” racism, some psychologists and scholars developed theories that modeled the development of supposedly “healthy” racial identities (Cross, 1970; Jackson III, 1976; Milliones, 1973; Thomas, 1971). Of these many models, Bill Cross’s model of Black racial identity development is perhaps the best known and most influential (Lasch-Quinn, 2001). Studying the experiences of numerous

prominent Black leaders, Cross proposed a model of five stages through which Black people could move from a pathological, racist self-concept to a healthy, anti-racist Black identity (Cross, 1991, 1970, 1971).

Cross's model later influenced a host of other psychologists, as they theorized identity development models for Whites, Asians, Latin@s, women, gays and lesbians, and many other groups (Cross, 1995). Such models propose not only the means to develop one's identity, but also the desirable identity at which one should eventually arrive. Psychologists and laypeople might then use such models to diagnose an individual's stage of identity development and degree of internalized racism, then determine how to help the person progress toward a healthier identity. These racial identity development models, particularly Cross's, also influenced various race trainers.

To greater or lesser degrees, many anti-racist training programs integrated racial identity development theories into their curricula and pedagogies, aiming to help participants move toward an anti-racist identity and the behaviors presumed to accompany it (Bell, 2007; Lasch-Quinn, 2001; Western States Center, 2003). Participants whose racial identities and ideologies changed over the course of a workshop might be perceived to be progressing, becoming less racist. But participants who challenged such models, resisting the prescribed path toward health, might be seen as motivated by their own internalized racism. As I discuss later in this chapter, trainers may interpret participants' resistance as further proof of the model's validity; resistance is taken as proof of participants' yet-to-be-unearthed racism.

Community-based anti-racist educational programs have been influenced by the theories and practices of both social movements and the psychological scholarship. By tracing the CBARE's roots into both fields, I hope to have provided a context in which to understand CBARE and to inform critiques of CBARE's problems. In the rest of this chapter, I articulate four critiques of CBARE to further contextualize the participants' ideas and my own commentaries that follow in later chapters. I begin by discussing CBARE's predominant focus on racism, to the exclusion of other aspects of oppression. Second, within that focus, I examine CBARE's use of a binary racial paradigm that emphasizes Black-White racial dynamics. Third, even within that Black-White paradigm, I discuss CBARE programs' tendencies to rely on theories that center some racial experiences are "essentially" Black (or White), while marginalizing others. And, fourth, I conclude this chapter by returning to a discussion of CBARE's tendency to interpret participants' resistance as proof of their racism, rather than as legitimate criticisms to which trainers or curricula might respond.

Anti-intersectional praxes

Many CBARE programs focus on teaching about racism, to the exclusion of teaching about other aspects of oppression, such as sexism or classism. They largely theorize racism as a single, stand-alone problem, independent of other problems. Based on such theories, CBARE programs use teaching methods that rely on and convey a single-issue analysis, not only in content taught, but also in the structure and dynamics of activities.

At best, some programs pay lip service to multiple forms of oppression or intersectionality in curricular content or attempt a pedagogy that teaches about various forms of oppression in a series of single-issue units (Adams, Bell, & Griffin, 1997; Luft, 2004). Some academics have called this single-issue focus an example of "strategic anti-intersectionality" (Luft, 2004). CBARE programs' lack of intersectional praxes may increasingly interfere with their effectiveness. And, although CBARE programs cannot be held responsible for the dearth of available intersectional pedagogies, their reliance on anti-intersectional theories may limit their effectiveness.

CBARE programs' singular focus on racism is informed by their practitioners' foundational theories about racism. Numerous CBARE programs are explicitly built on the theory that racism is more important than other forms of oppression and, accordingly, teach about racism as the central or sole phenomenon of interest (Dei, 2007; Lasch-Quinn, 2001; Luft, 2004; Shapiro, 2002). Tapping roots in Black ethnotherapy and other aspects of Black Power ideology, CBARE programs draw on theories that conceptualize racism as more important than and separate from other systems of inequality (Kailin, 2002; Lasch-Quinn, 2001; Lee & Lutz, 2005). CBARE programs operationalize these theories about racism in their pedagogies, creating praxes that reinforce the single-issue focus in form as well as content (Slocum, 2009). Some programs may acknowledge the interrelatedness and importance of other aspects of oppression (e.g., capitalism, imperialism, patriarchy, heterosexism) (Dei, 1993, 1995). But, to reconcile their emphasis on racism with the popular aphorism, "There is no hierarchy of oppression," such programs seem to proffer an

Orwellian defense: All oppressions are equal, but some are more equal (i.e., important) than others (Dei, 2007; Lorde, 2009; Orwell, 1996; Shapiro, 2002). In theory and in practice, community-based anti-racist education programs are, first and foremost, focused on teaching and organizing for anti-racism.

As a pedagogy, anti-intersectionality serves strategic functions (Luft, 2004). CBARE participants frequently and predictably seek any opportunity to talk about or prioritize *anything* other than White supremacy, particularly when they feel guilty about benefiting from it (Gorski, 2012; Kivel, 1998; Luft, 2004). For example, participants may dismiss racism by arguing that something else is more foundational (e.g., classism, sexism) (Gorski, 2012). White participants may also argue that they already understand racism, by virtue of having been oppressed in other ways (Kivel, 1998). Sometimes, by drawing supposed parallels between racism and other oppressions, participants may derail conversations, entirely leading away from racism or flattening important differences in the functions and dynamics of oppression (Luft, 2004, 2010; Shapiro, 2002). Even good faith calls for intersectional analysis or a broader "social justice" approach may still shrink the focus on racism, reframing it as only one of many topics (Kailin, 2002).

Consequently, some CBARE programs strongly assert an anti-intersectional approach to pre-empt participants' predictable attempts to talk about anything *but* racism. In its training ground rules, PISAB refers to this strategy as their "No Escap*ism*" clause (Luft, 2004). For PISAB, using anti-intersectional reductionism helps them provoke participants into confronting PISAB's particular framing of racism, which is part of prompting participants to re-imagine and re-locate

themselves in relation to racism and anti-racism (Luft, 2004). As participants "resubjectify" themselves, they are better able to participate in anti-racist organizing (Luft, 2004).

Some CBARE trainers may believe that by focusing on one issue (or one issue at a time), participants can learn important things about racism and transfer that learning to other aspects of oppression. Yet, the prevailing praxis seems to express that learning about racism is crucial to understanding other forms of oppression in ways that learning about those other forms of oppression are *not* crucial to learning about racism (Slocum, 2009).

Whether deployed for ideological or purely strategic reasons, the prevailing single-issue, anti-intersectional praxis imposes a number of problems on CBARE programs. Intersectional theorists have argued that racism cannot, in fact, be fully understood without also understanding its inextricable interconnectedness with what are mostly conceptualized as other, separate oppressions (Brewer, 1994; Collins, 1990; Combahee River Collective, 1983; Lee & Lutz, 2005). Likewise, some scholars of anti-racist education have argued that anti-intersectional approaches render CBARE programs incomplete and inaccurate (Dei, 2005; Kailin, 2002; Luft, 2004). A racism-only approach also excuses other forms of oppression, enabling them to play out in CBARE programs' own dynamics, as they have in larger social movements (Combahee River Collective, 1983; Luft, 2004). Such approaches and the dynamics they abet may alienate or marginalize many participants, hindering their learning and participation in anti-racist organizing (Dei, 2005; Gorski, 2012). And, with intersectionality's current popularity in both academic and activist discourses,

CBARE programs can expect sustained and increasing questions and challenges to their anti-intersectional approaches. Unfortunately, neither the will nor the ways to address such problems may be readily available.

Attempts to improve problematic single-issue praxes will be hindered by the current lack of alternative, intersectional praxes. In the past three decades, the growing popularity of intersectional theories has not been matched by comparable developments in intersectional pedagogies or research methodologies (Luft, 2004; McCall, 2005; Nash, 2008). This lag may be due, in part, to academia's general inattention to methodology and pedagogy, relative to theory (Luft, 2004). And, in particular, many of the bodies of theory that inform ongoing development of CBARE programs (e.g., Critical Race Theory, Critical Whiteness Studies) tend to favor deconstructive approaches such as textual, legal, or cultural analysis, rather than reconstructive approaches that might lend more readily to pedagogies that encourage collective action (Gamson, 1995; Luft, 2004). So, in prescribing a more intersectional praxis, it will be incumbent upon proponents of intersectionality to create, experiment, document, and analyze new intersectional training methods.

To better develop ways to teach intersectionally, it may be instructive to examine proposed methods for researching intersectionally. McCall (McCall, 2005) suggested three research methods for studying intersectionality: anticategorical complexity, intracategorical complexity, and intercategorical complexity. Anticategorical methods examine the processes through which categories, hierarchies, and boundaries are created, maintained, and transformed. Intracategorical methods explore the complexity within a given category, beginning

by studying the experiences of a multiply marginalized identity or social location (e.g., queer Black women), as a means to better understand each category and its related hierarchies (e.g., queerness, Blackness, womanness). Intercategorical methodologies provisionally use existing categories to show inequalities among groups and how those inequalities change in relation to those categories.

With each research methodology as a means for creating knowledge, I suggest that CBARE trainers might consider ways to create pedagogies that help participants learn about each form of complexity. For example, an anticategorical complexity pedagogy might involve examining current organizational or legal policies (e.g., immigration policies; Stand Your Ground gun laws), to consider how they construct or maintain particular categories while affecting particular multiply-categorized groups. An intracategorical complexity pedagogy might begin by studying one person's experiences of multiple forms of oppression, then using that as a position from which to discuss the means through which they are positioned in multiple social hierarchies, as a means to consider those hierarchies. Further exploration of this suggestion is beyond the scope of this chapter, but I hope to continue exploring this idea with colleagues, in the future.

Binary racial paradigms

Within this racism-only or racism-first praxis, CBARE programs tend to further narrow their focus, using a binary Black/White racial paradigm that emphasizes anti-Black racism and Black-White race relations (Luft, 2004). At times, the Black/White paradigm is expanded somewhat to a People of Color/White paradigm, but the underlying model remains binary (Shapiro, 2002). In either case,

the model emphasizes the relationship between Whiteness and non-Whiteness, rather than the relationships of various non-White groups to each other. As with the limitations of an anti-intersectional praxis, CBARE programs' general reliance on a Black/White racial paradigm shapes what and how they teach, creating limitations that warrant exploration and remediation.

With their particular roots in the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements, many CBARE programs focus particularly on anti-Black racism, as enacted by White people and institutions against Black people and by Black people against themselves. Such programs tend to conceive of racism as a singular, if multifarious, phenomenon that operates in a binary system of privilege and oppression (Luft, 2004). Perhaps similar to the exceptionalism that motivates a racism-only approach, many CBARE programs propose that understanding racism's effects on Black people is key to understanding and challenging all other aspects of U.S. racism (Luft, 2004). Further, although members of various racial groups participated in the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Movement, both movements are remembered for their Black leaders and their challenges to the White establishment's anti-Black racism. Likewise, the contributions of Black scholars and ethnotherapists have directed deserved attention to theorizing anti-Black racism. So, it is perhaps unsurprising that the CBARE programs, which may constitute abeyance structures during a period of relatively wan social movement, would manifest such legacies in their own understandings and teachings about racism. Nonetheless, such a Black/White paradigm imposes some limitations.

The continuing use of binary racial paradigms creates a number of problems for CBARE programs (Shapiro, 2002). Critical Race Theory's "differential racialization" thesis proposes that racism is not a singular phenomenon; there is not one "racism," but rather many different "racisms," which also vary by time and location (Dei, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Sethi, 2001). Therefore, understanding one racism does not necessarily confer understanding of all other racisms. A Black/White racial paradigm is inadequate for analyzing or responding to the increasingly non-Black populations of People of Color, as well as the multi-dimensional ways that race, ethnicity, color, nationality, culture, and citizenship status interact (Baynes, 1997-1998; Dei, 2005; Martínez, 1998; Sethi, 2001).

Even when programs try to expand the Black/White paradigm to a People of Color/White paradigm, anti-Black racism remains the standard against which all other racisms are judged or even recognizable. Racisms that do not resemble anti-Black racism may not be considered racism at all (Sethi, 2001). Many students may question or protest their marginalization and be met, as I later discuss, by accusations that they are racist for challenging the curriculum (Luft, 2004). So, the use (and vigorous defense) of a Black/White paradigm may disrupt CBARE programs' own goal of building alliances or solidarity for anti-racist organizing (Martínez, 1998; Sethi, 2001).

By deploying a relatively static curriculum to far-flung areas of the U.S., CBARE programs are relatively unable to respond to those areas' specific social geographies and histories (Slocum, 2009). For example, while an analysis of anti-Black racism is still relevant to the Hawai'i or the Southwest, a Black/White

paradigm will largely miss those areas' specific histories of racisms against Indigenous, Latin@, and Asian peoples. Further still, the reliance on a Black/White oppositional binary hinders CBARE programs' ability to respond to new racisms and new racializations (e.g., the Orientalist racisms deployed by the U.S.'s "War on Terror;" the propagation of Black-versus-Latin@ narratives of "ethnic cleansing" in Los Angeles, "immigrant hordes," and "lazy Black workers") (Lee & Lutz, 2005; Lee, 2007). By acknowledging the shortcomings of a Black/White paradigm, rather than patronizing or demonizing its critics, CBARE practitioners might open themselves to alternate theories and pedagogies.

Critics have proposed that CBARE programs could benefit by shifting from a binary racial paradigm to one that recognizes differential racialization, multiple racisms, and dynamics between various marginalized racial groups (Dei, 2005; Shapiro, 2002). As noted previously, Critical Race Theory's differential racialization thesis could, if operationalized in pedagogy, help draw attention to the multifariousness of racism and the political exigencies that motivate different forms (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Torres & Ngin, 1995).

Such a focus on racialization and racism could help deflate the disproportionate emphasis on identity over ideology, experience, or organizing (Dei, 2005). Theories and pedagogies that emphasize comparative approaches to racisms might also provide an alternative to the centrality of Whiteness in Black/White and People of Color/White models, to help various Peoples of Color build intergroup solidarity and address conflicts in which they are pitted against one another by White Supremacy (Okazawa-Rey & Wong, 1997; Torres & Ngin, 1995).

But, as with intersectional praxes, pedagogies to match such theoretical innovations seem to lag behind. People seeking to improve CBARE programs with alternatives to a Black/White paradigm may face a dearth of pedagogies and curricula for enacting the available alternate theories. Pedagogical innovations will require further attention and energy, as well as academic research to study and spread innovations already being tried in the field.

Racial essentialism

With their focus already narrowed by anti-intersectionality and a Black/White paradigm, CBARE programs generally narrow their focus even further by theorizing an essential "Black experience." By doing so, the experiences of some Black people are centered as essentially Black, while other Black experiences are marginal or pathological. Sometimes synonymous with "the community," CBARE programs imagine the essential Black experience to be urban, working-class, Christian, heteronormative, monoracial, multi-generational African American and, if not already, then prepared to be politicized and organized (Luft, 2004). Consequently, only some forms of anti-Black racism are recognizable.

CBARE programs' racial essentialism taps deeper wells of theory and strategy about racism. Contemporary CBARE programs, with their social movement roots, have retained many of the same assumptions and priorities of those movements. In the 1910s and 1920s, Marcus Garvey's early Black nationalism emphasized racial purity, racial integrity, racial hegemony, and racial solidarity for Black economic cooperation and political independence (Allen). W.E.B. DuBois's Black cultural nationalism presupposed an essential "soul" of Blackness and strong

bonds between African American Black people and African Black people (Allen, 1990). CBARE programs have extended such essentialist theories for both Black and White people, proposing that different racial groups need to learn different things about racism (Blackwell, 2010; Dei, 1993; Lasch-Quinn, 2001; Shapiro, 2002).

In practice, such theories have popularized pedagogies alternately referred to as "caucus groups," "affinity groups," or "safe spaces," wherein participants convene in separate racial groups that are ostensibly racially homogenous (Blackwell, 2010). Proponents argue that separate spaces provide numerous benefits: reducing the privileging of White students' learning; reducing tokenistic and exploitative pressures on Students of Color to serve White students as cultural experts, aides, and witnesses; reducing White students' (or trainers') opportunities to dispute Students of Color's experiences and perspectives; and allowing Students of Color space to critically examine their own experiences and narratives (Blackwell, 2010).

As with strategic anti-intersectionality, some theorists and practitioners defend the use of "strategic essentialism," whereby groups agree to pretend that an identity is uniform as a means to achieve educational or political goals (Heyes, 2009; Lipsitz, 2003; Luft, 2004). Luft partly defends the CBARE trainings' essentialism, suggesting that we must understand its methodological functions (Luft, 2004, p. 438). Spivak (as cited in Luft (2004)), argued that we are all essentialist in our strategies, from time to time, and should acknowledge that, rather than professing that essentialism is always bad and that we never use it. For example, Lisa Lowe argued that critics may use strategically essentialize "Asian American" to contest

and disrupt discourses that, in their own strategic essentialism, exclude Asian Americans – and at the same time, can critique their own essentialisms, to ward against those essentialistic ideas of Asian Americans being reproduced and proliferated in, for example, anti-racist trainings. However, in my experience, when anti-racist trainings do try to extend beyond a Black/White paradigm, they end up incorporating essentialistic notions of Asians, Latin@s, Natives and, perhaps soon, Multiracial people. I suggest that CBARE's racial essentialism carries with it liabilities that may limit its strategic value.

While sometimes adopted consciously and strategically, racial essentialism has numerous shortcomings that may burden CBARE programs. Essentialism presupposes the existence of racial categories, which reinforces racial thinking and obscures racism's role in constructing race (Lee & Lutz, 2005). Harkening back to ethnotherapy, some CBARE programs' pedagogies aim to help White people work through their presumed guilt and resistance, while helping People of Color to tap into their innate rage and knowledge (Lasch-Quinn, 2001; Luft, 2004). People of Color, as "the oppressed," are sometimes imputed with special sensitivity to oppression and, thus, a disinclination to replicate oppression, if or when they possess some power (Luft, 2004; Slocum, 2009). Such essentialist logic, when combined with the presumption that People of Color uniformly do not possess enough power (in the "prejudice + power" formulation), can easily slide into the presumption that a Person of Color in a position of authority (e.g., a trainer) is by definition incapable of behaving in ways that support White supremacy or being incorrect in their analysis. Proposing that racial groups have essential

characteristics by which they can be recognized is not meaningfully distinct from racial stereotyping, in form if not in function (Lasch-Quinn, 2001).

Essentialism requires and espouses the existence of distinct racial categories with clearly delineated boundaries and contents (Kibria, 1998). By presupposing the existence of racial categories, essentialism reinforces racial thinking and obscures racisms' roles in constructing races (Lee & Lutz, 2005). Multiraciality and other in-between or boundary-blurring constructs may thus threaten a foundational premise of racial essentialism (Gamson, 1995; Lipsitz, 2003). In practice, essentialism requires CBARE programs to clearly establish each student's racial identity, so that students can be taught in accordance with the needs of their supposed racial essences.

CBARE programs may falter when faced with participants whose racial statuses are ambiguous, as in the cases of Multiracial people, People of Color transracially adopted by White people, South Asians Americans, Hispanics, and Arabs (Gamson, 1995; Kibria, 1998; Luft, 2004). Like their social movement progenitors, some programs disallow or pathologize identifying as Multiracial (Lipsitz, 2003; Luft, 2004; Slocum, 2009). So, racial essentialism contributes to an insular tautology, a closed circuit in which the experiences and perspectives of marginalized subgroups are suppressed. For example, Black experiences that do not conform to the supposed essential "Black experience" will be marginalized, rather than integrated into that essential Black experience; consequently, such marginalized experiences are likely to be continually rejected as "non-essential" in the future.

Racial essentialism also obscures significant categorical differences within racialized groups (Heyes, 2009). Essentialism glosses over intragroup differences in ethnicity, culture, generation, class, color, religion, sexuality, and gender (Baynes, 1997-1998; Sethi, 2001; Torres & Ngin, 1995). Even within a given racial category, some characteristics and experiences may be privileged as essential, while others may be marginalized. For example, some Afro-Caribbeans have challenged pan-Africanism's centering of multigenerational African American experiences as essential to Blackness, which marginalizes their experiences and problems (Lipsitz, 2003).

Essentialism not only describes imagined group characteristics, it dictates which characteristics are normative (Heyes, 2009). People who are putatively members of a racial group will have their authenticity tested against the essential ideal; those found lacking may be disciplined, marginalized, or excluded (Heyes, 2009; Lipsitz, 2003). This disciplinary function, along with authenticity-testing and boundary-policing, can take up valuable energies that might otherwise be directed toward challenging institutional racism, rather than challenging insufficient racialization (Lipsitz, 2003). By disciplining and marginalizing people, essentialism and the CBARE programs that rely on it may alienate many of the very participants they see to educate, organize, and mobilize.

Alternatives to racially essentialist theories may suggest ways for CBARE programs to create anti-essentialist praxes, or at least less-essentialist praxes. Postmodern analyses have suggested various concepts with which anti-racist activists might challenge essentialism, such as "diaspora, third space, hybridity,

multiplicity, metissage, transnationalism and other spatial metaphors of movement" (Lee & Lutz, 2005, p. 14). Explorations of relational social ontology, which emphasizes the interplay and fluidity of social groups, could also challenge essentialism's reification of racial categories (Heyes, 2009). Or, trainers and pedagogues might explore the training applications of strategic *anti*-essentialism, drawing on the not-unproblematic traditions of one oppressed racial group identifying with or representing itself as another oppressed racial group, as a means to better express itself (Lipsitz, 2003)(33).

Zeus Leonardo (2010) warned that the use of caucus group pedagogies and "safe space" discourses presume that homogenous spaces will automatically create "safety" for People of Color. Thus, such practices mystify the processes through which racism creates danger and violence. Instead, Leonardo suggests shifting from a "safe space discourse" to a "risk discourse" that uses heterogeneous race dialogue pedagogy, one that more actively challenges the privileging of White students' entitlement and learning. As another alternative to essentialistic notions of race and racism, detached from actual local or regional manifestations of racism, CBARE programs might increase their efforts to understand and tailor their curricula to the specific locales and populations with whom they are training.

However, this responsibility cannot fall to CBARE programs alone. To better understand a community's needs, CBARE programs would need well-organized community movements who can articulate the needs of an actual community, rather allowing an imagined and idealized "community" to stand in for real communities. And, as in the cases of anti-essentialism and binary racial paradigms, anti-

essentialist pedagogies continue to lag behind anti-essentialist theorizing. With these three trends dominating CBARE programs' theories and pedagogies, it is perhaps unsurprising that resistance and alternatives may be unwelcome among CBARE practitioners.

Pathologizing "resistance"

CBARE programs tend to pathologize participants' challenges or resistance, viewing them as further proof of participants' racism (Lasch-Quinn, 2001; Luft, 2004; Slocum, 2009). So, CBARE trainers may be disinclined to listen to participants' criticisms or to make changes to their curricula. This resistance may be partially rooted in the social movements from which the programs emerged. The Civil Rights Movement drew strength from Black Christian churches and was mentored by pacifist organizations such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, both of which have traditions of deference to religious authority (Polletta, 2002).

However, such cultural explanations likely oversimplify the situation, though they may inform it. In early Civil Rights organizations, White members used their abstract and intellectualized perspectives, as well as demands for participatory democratic processes, to reinforce their racialized power in organizations (Luft, 2004; Polletta, 2002). Such unresolved internal conflicts added to some Black activists' broader disillusionment with the Civil Rights Movement's liberal idealism, further pushing the movement toward Black Power radicalism. Thus, although Civil Rights organizations had traditions of both centralized authoritarian processes *and* participatory democratic processes, the latter came to be racialized as White and suspect, while authoritarian processes were endorsed as a Black orientation

(Polletta, 2002). Likewise, many prominent CBARE programs treat challenges to their authority and curricula as suspect.

CBARE programs may pathologize participants' criticisms and resistance. Luft (2004) discussed at length PISAB's perspectives on participants' "resistance." Beginning with the presumption that racism is pervasive and ubiquitous, PISAB trainers expect participants to resist the curriculum and attribute such resistance to participants' internalized racism. PISAB trainers emphasize the importance of participants "getting the analysis," which is important to demystifying racism and not being derailed into liberal pseudo-solutions. But, as she noted, trainers do *not* conceive of "getting the analysis" as a democratic process; people with mystified understandings of racism are not prepared or trustworthy enough to produce their own anti-racist analysis (Luft, 2004, p. 234).

Ideologically progressive White participants may resist "what they experience to be a tightly controlled workshop process, and a closed set of conclusions" (Luft, 2004, p. 234). Trainer Anne Stewart suggested that, "invocations of participatory democracy can be a screen for individualism and exceptionalism, which further racism" (Luft, 2004, p. 235). Such resistance is not limited to White participants; People of Color may also have mystified understandings of racism because, as one trainer put it "feeling the foot [the boot on the neck] isn't the same as knowing how the foot functions" (Luft, 2004, p. 235).

Because CBARE programs focus on anti-racism in the context of White supremacy, questions about conflicts within or between Communities of Color are likely to be understood as "resistance," rather than as "substantive ideological

differences" (Luft, 2004, p. 337). In trainings, there are tensions between what Luft called, "genuine democratic impulse and democratic racism," and between "trainer insight into counter-movement tactics and trainer authoritarianism" (Luft, 2004, p. 236). Presuming that participants are insufficiently developed in their racial identity or ideology, CBARE trainers may suspect not only participants' preferences or critiques, but also their racial identities.

While each participant may be seen as in need of education, CBARE programs regard Multiraciality as a particular sign of internalized racism and pathology. Rooted in particular racially essentialist theories and social movements, anti-racist trainings often recapitulate stereotypes and prejudices against Multiracial people and Multiracial identity. For example, some CBARE programs deride Multiracial identity as a sign of internalized racial oppression, false consciousness, confusion, an overt or unwitting rejection of Blackness, a bid to be White or to Whiten the U.S., an attempt to dilute Black power, and/or an insufficiently non-White status (Luft, 2004). Further, CBARE programs may reserve particular hostility for participant questions about how curricula do or do not include or apply to Multiraciality and Multiracial people (Luft, 2004).

From an essentialist perspective, Multiraciality (particularly being part-White) is not only a deficiency or impurity in one's racial essence, it may also pose an existential threat or an embarrassment to essentialist projects by challenging the precept of clearly defined racial boundaries. Such questions or criticisms may then be taken as particular proof of the White supremacy that CBARE trainers believe drives all insufficiently developed participants. Thus, questions about Multiraciality

may not only challenge a particular curricular activity, they may be interpreted as a challenge or distraction from the core purposes of the curricula, from "getting the analysis." But, such responses are only one of a set of responses to participants' "resistance."

CBARE programs use a variety of strategies to try to prevent, defuse, or reinterpret participants' criticisms and resistance (Luft, 2004). Trainers may choose to avoid engaging in power struggles with participants during trainings, as they view such confrontations as a distraction from getting the analysis and getting organized (Luft, 2004). Luft noted numerous ways CBARE trainers attempt to control the process as a means to controlling the analysis. Trainers begin by inoculating participants, establishing groundrules (e.g., the "no escapism" clause) and expectations (e.g., casting the training space as a place where oppressive racist dynamics will be precluded as much as possible). Trainers prepare participants for the discomfort and newness of anti-racism, providing concepts such as "a learning edge," to help participants understand the positive significance of their discomfort. Trainers also reframe participants' understandings of "expertise" away from formal education, credentials, or other activist experiences, deconstructing "White common sense understandings" and valuing the supposedly essential knowledge and experiences of People of Color (Luft, 2004, p. 247). Trainers may preempt disruptive calls for participatory or democratic processes by aligning themselves with participants, to create a new sense of "we," from which the group can be led onward. When challenges or conflicts do arise, trainers may manage discord by ignoring, diminishing, or redirecting conversation away from participants' confrontational

questions or comments. Alternately, they may opt to briefly name participants' disagreements and challenges as examples of "racism defending itself" (Luft, 2004, p. 249). Yet, even when such tactics successfully manage conflict, they may incur costs.

By pathologizing participants' questions or criticisms, CBARE programs may limit their effectiveness at both educating and organizing. Even if participants are cowed, they may remain unconvinced and alienated from the training and its lessons. CBARE programs may in turn view this as the participants shirking responsibility to learn or accept the truth. CBARE trainings often adhere to a tautological defense, through which trainers may devalue participants even as they attempt to educate and organize them: if a participant challenges the curriculum (or the trainers), it is because that participant is racist, which further validates the curriculum and its assumptions about the participant (Luft, 2004). However, resistance may be motivated by more or other than a desire to avoid anti-racism (Slocum, 2009). By pathologizing challenges and resistance, CBARE programs may be shutting out valid criticism that, if considered, could help strengthen CBARE curricula and pedagogies.

Rather than pathologizing resistance, CBARE programs might draw on alternate traditions from their own social movements' origins. The Civil Rights Movement itself had a storied history of participatory processes and critical, question-based pedagogies in its education efforts (Polletta, 2002). The Mississippi Freedom Schools' curriculum proposed a format and content, but its central premise was that students must learn to question (Emery, et al., 2004). The Freedom School

program encouraged teachers to improvise and, if the curriculum failed to serve students and get them questioning, to create new curriculum. I do not discount the energy needed to improvise curriculum on the fly or the reality that both social movements and trainings are frequently disrupted by internal conflicts, some of which *are* motived by bad faith efforts to avoid dealing with oppression. Still, I do suggest that trainers could benefit from a more nuanced analysis of participants' resistance. Not all resistance or criticism is valid or in good faith, but surely some may be. CBARE trainers and developers need continually improving ways to discern the value and utility of participants' questions and challenges.

Toward new anti-racist praxes: Accounting for monoracism

Thus far in this chapter, I have articulated four critiques of CBARE programs couched in historical contexts and noted alternative approaches that might address the problems suggested by these critiques. Racisms and processes of racialization mutate over time, as political exigencies shift (Lee & Lutz, 2005). Anti-racist movements modify their theories and strategies to respond to their contemporaneous manifestations of racism (Luft, 2004). Baby Boomer Civil Rights activists have contributed much to the "workshop" theories and methods of anti-racist education, as a strategy to carry on their movement's work during a period of abeyance, until the next blooming of anti-racist movement activism (Luft, 2004). But, as responses to racism, both anti-racist theories and strategies may lag behind racism's transformations (Luft, 2004). Current shortcomings in theory and practice, some of which I have discussed in this chapter, may increasingly hinder CBARE programs' effectiveness (Lee & Lutz, 2005; Luft, 2004). Luft (2004) has suggested

that anti-racist education, as an abeyance structure, will either adapt to newly mutating forms of racism or be replaced by newer racial justice models and strategies. Some theorists and practitioners have acknowledged these shortcomings and continue to consider the theories and pedagogies anti-racist education will need to address next, to stay relevant and effective (Lee & Lutz, 2005; Luft, 2004; Martinas).

It is my hope that, by examining a few of anti-racist education's theories and pedagogies, I may be able to purposefully bring to bear relatively new developments and, by doing so, contribute to further improvements in community-based anti-racist education. Throughout this chapter, I have mentioned ways that CBARE programs may fall short in addressing Multiraciality and working with Multiracial participants. However, I believe that such shortcomings can be addressed so that CBARE programs might be more effective with Multiracial students and with Multiracial organizations.

In the next chapter, I present other scholars' writings about discrimination against Multiracial people and Multiraciality to synthesize a theory of "monoracism." Juxtaposed with this chapter's more general critiques of CBARE programs, a theory of monoracism will help provide both a framework for understanding the participants' perspectives on anti-racist education and a base from which to attempt further improvements to anti-racist education.

CHAPTER 3

THEORIZING MONORACISM

Theories and practices of anti-racist education have overlooked or marginalized a variety of concerns and perspectives. As noted in the previous chapter, only a few scholars have critiqued anti-racist education's dealings with Multiraciality and Multiracial participants. To better understand the data provided by my research participants, I suggest that a more clearly articulated theory of oppression of Multiraciality and Multiracial people is needed. However, few academics have attempted such theorizing.

In this chapter, I first review literature about Multiracial oppression to create a working theory of monoracism (Johnston & Nadal, 2010a). Here, I eschew reviewing the disproportionately oversized psychological and literary literatures dedicated to theorizing Multiracial *identity* or *categories*. Instead, I focus specifically on literature that discusses the racialization or racial formation (Omi & Winant, 1994a) and systematic oppression of Multiraciality (Johnston & Nadal, 2010a). Second, because of anti-racist education's pre-existing biases against such theorizing, I anticipate and address a few likely objections to the concept of monoracism. Third, I conclude the chapter by discussing the potential benefits of incorporating a theory of monoracism into anti-racist education programs. By introducing a theory of monoracism, I intend to help the reader prepare to understand the data and analyses in a relatively new theoretical context.

Theorizing monoracism

To analyze anti-racist education's problems teaching Multiracial students and teaching about Multiraciality, I suggest expanding and elaborating on a newly coined concept: *monoracism* (Johnston & Nadal, 2010b). Because monoracism is not yet solidly conceptualized or even generally acknowledged, in this section, I review material from disparate bodies of literature to synthesize a new and broader idea of monoracism. As an initial working definition, I propose that monoracism (which I also refer to as "Multiracial oppression") is *the systemic privileging of things, people and practices that are racialized as "single-race" and/or "racially pure" (e.g., "Monoracial") and the oppression of things, people, and practices that are racialized as being of more than one-race (e.g., "Multiracial," "Mixed-Race," "Multiethnic," etc.).* I consciously draw on concepts from anti-racist education and Social Justice Education, aware that my project itself encompasses some of their shortcomings and tensions. First, I review and expand Johnston and Nadal's concept of monoracism, using the concept of "levels and types" of oppression to broaden the scope of monoracism. Next, I differentiate racism from my conceptualization of monoracism. To further this distinction, I highlight similarities between the suggested differentiations of monosexism from heterosexism (Eisner, 2011) and cissexism from sexism (James, 2010; Koyama, 2002; Serano, 2009). Then, I use the "Five Faces of Oppression" model (Young, 2000) to assert monoracism as a form of oppression.

Expanding the concept of monoracism

Johnston and Nadal (2010a) were perhaps the first to coin the term "monoracism" in academic writing. They defined 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" (Johnston & Nadal, 2010a, p. 125). Situating themselves within microaggression literature (Sue et al., 2007), Johnston and Nadal identified five subsets of monoracist experiences common to many Multiracialized people: "being excluded or made to feel isolated;" "exoticization" and objectification; denial of "a person's multiracial reality;" assumption of monoraciality; and pathologizing Multiraciality (Johnston & Nadal, 2010a, pp. 131-132). Although Johnston and Nadal's definition acknowledges that monoracism occurs on both "systemic" and "interpersonal" levels, their emphasis on interpersonal microaggressions tends to frame monoracism as a set of interpersonal phenomena. Some microaggressions theorists, rather than overtly acknowledging the persistence of what might be called *macro*aggressions, have awkwardly attempted to stretch and contort the interpersonally-focused framework to include institutional and cultural phenomena, with concepts such as "environmental microaggressions" (Sue, et al., 2007). As a colleague and admirer of Johnston and Nadal's work, I hope to join the small group of academics and practitioners who are taking up and extending their work (Guillermo-Wann, 2010; Murphy-Shigematsu, 2010; Touchstone, 2012).

To more effectively expand Johnston and Nadal's concept of monoracism, I first apply the Social Justice Education (SJE) concept of "levels and types" of oppression (Hardiman, Jackson III, & Griffin, 2007). In particular, monoracism might be more broadly conceived by integrating it with SJE's analysis of oppression as a multi-level set of phenomena. Johnston and Nadal's articulation of monoracism handily analyzes the interpersonal level of oppression. However, I suggest that the concept can be augmented by attending to the ways that monoracism is enacted on institutional, cultural, and intrapersonal or internalized levels of analysis (Hardiman, et al., 2007).

Beyond the interpersonal level, we can use the work of a few scholars to analyze institutional monoracism. For example, affirmative action and anti-discrimination policies and jurisprudence often discourage legal recognition of monoracism, obscuring discrimination against Multiracial people (Davison, 2005; Leong, 2010). Further, despite Federal policies that mandate the recognition of people of "two or more races," many federal and state governmental agencies have implemented data-management policies that obscure or marginalize information about Multiracial people (Zhang, 2010). And, institutional monoracism is not limited to governmental agencies or White-dominated institutions. Some Communities of Color and their community organizations have excluded Multiracial people through the use of criteria, such as "blood quantum," as conditions for participation (King, 1997; Leong, 2010). These institutional enactments of monoracism mesh with broader cultural aspects of monoracism.

A cultural level analysis can help illuminate aspects of monoracism than are pervasive, yet taken-for-granted. Within such "Monoracial cultural logic" or "Monoracial paradigms," Monoraciality is frequently presumed and normalized (Kelley, 2003; Payson, 1996). In such paradigms, Multiraciality may be obscured or unintelligible; as Alsultany (2004, p. 143) put it,

> This pervasive inability to conceptualize multiethnicity results in misrecognition and displacement as a defining experience for multiethnic people. I would characterize the multiethnic experience as an unmappable space. To inhabit more than one ethnicity is to go against the monoracial cultural logic. … Identities that make sense within the cultural logic (monoracial) are rewarded with belonging, while those posited as "illogical" (multiethnic) are denied community belonging.

As with institutional monoracism, cultural monoracism is not limited to dominant White cultures. Many Communities of Color value their own sense of racial purity or Monoraciality, devaluing Multiraciality and marginalizing those Multiracial people deemed to be "inauthentic" or insufficient (Espiritu, 2001; Hall & Turner, 2001; Kelley, 2003; Lewis, 2007; Williams-León, 2002). Monoracist ideas and values regarding group membership contribute to the "patrolling" of racial borders and the testing of Multiracial people's authenticity and validity, including their physicality, language, interactions with out-group members, their geographies, and their cultural capital (Dalmage, 2003). Monoracially-identified Communities of Color frequently subject Multiracial people to harsh double-standards, expecting them to know more history or be more politically involved than Monoracial People of Color (Root, 2002) or to renounce or suppress their Multiraciality (Espiritu, 2001). Further, Communities of Color may interpret protests against this border patrolling and discrimination as further evidence of Multiracial people's disloyalty and

marginality (Mengel, 2001). So, cultural level monoracism not only devalues and marginalizes Multiraciality, while normalizing and privileging Monoraciality, it also renders itself normal and thus difficult to conceptualize.

Differentiating monoracism from racism

Because claims of monoracism are frequently dismissed as invalid or, at least, not readily recognized, I'll also take a moment to distinguish *monoracism* from *racism*. Some Multiracial activists and scholars argue that Multiracial oppression exists, as a subset of racism (Brown, 1990; Dalmage, 2002; Kelley, 2003, p. 156). However, I argue that monoracism, while related, can be conceptualized as distinct from racism. Monoracism is *not* merely a subset of racism against Monoracial People of Color, though the two may overlap (Knaus, 2006; Leong, 2010). Leong (2010, pp. 483-484) advocated this position, saying,

> A mixed-race person may be viewed as polluted, defective, confusing or confused, passing, threatening, or—in our diversity-obsessed society—as opportunistic, gaining an advantage by identifying with a group in which he is at best a partial member. These negative associations may be distinguished from those directed at people perceived as monoracial.

While racism and monoracism may operate in combination to varying effects, I assert that they do differ in ways worth conceptualizing and teaching. Communities of Color perpetrate monoracism, even while being targeted by racism (Collins, 2000a; Espiritu, 2001; Leong, 2010; Olumide, 2002; Payson, 1996). Multiracial people "catch it from all sides" experiencing racism and monoracism from Whites and monoracism from Communities of Color (Alsultany, 2004, p. 145). They experience "all of the impact of being non-White in a White society without being accorded full membership in their particular minority group" (Brown, 1990, p. 334).

Multiracial people suffer both White supremacy *and* monoracism, but without the full shelter or defense of Communities of Color (Brown, 1990; Johnston & Nadal, 2010a; Knaus, 2006; Leong, 2010; Mengel, 2001; Payson, 1996; powell, 1997).

Notably, curious bedfellows have recognized that Communities of Color marginalize Multiracial people. For example, J.M. Spencer, a popular and strident critic of the Multiracial Movement, said, "[P]art of the history of oppression that mixed-race blacks suffer comes from the hands of blacks themselves" and blamed "a narrow black nationalism [for placing] limitations on what it means to be black – which is partly responsible for the multiracial movement" (Spencer, 1997a, p. 28). Spencer even went so far as to say, "[W]e can see that mixed-race people face their own peculiar brand of racial discrimination" (Spencer, 1997a, p. 39). However, Spencer then argued that, although Blacks have discriminated against Multiracial Blacks, the level of discrimination is less than that practiced by Whites. In seeming contradiction, Spencer called the Black community a "steady home" for Multiracial Blacks, yet he opposed Multiracial recognition, arguing that formal recognition might *further* exacerbate Black distrust of Black-heritage Multiracials. Spencer seemed to want a Multiracial Black population that will stand with Black communities, even if those Blacks communities will not reciprocally stand with their Multiracial members. Spencer cited a South African coloured woman who asked, "Why can't they just call themselves African Americans?" (Spencer, 1997a, p. 75), but Spencer himself failed to answer the question, "Why don't *Black* people call Multiracial people African American?" Spencer seems unable to shake off his own prejudices against Mixed-Race Blacks. Spencer said that "the black community must

accept as black those of mixed race who want to be black-identified, *even though they may not look black and may not know what it feels like to be discriminated against on a daily basis like darker-skinned people"* [emphasis added] (Spencer, 1997a, p. 161). There, Spencer seemed to question the credibility and blackness of many of the light-skinned, Mixed-Race Blacks he earlier claimed as valuable Black heroes, including Frederick Douglass, Malcolm X, and Colin Powell, all light-skinned ostensibly Mixed-Race Black people who claimed a Black identity. Further, Spencer said, "The black community must therefore accept mixed-race blacks who choose white spouses, *even though we may wonder if this reflects their primary racial identification"* [emphasis added] (Spencer, 1997a, p. 161). At best, Spencer's own words demonstrate how difficult his prescriptions will be for many Black people to fulfill – and how difficult Multiracial Black people may find it to gain full acceptance in Black communities.

Many racial movements have used essentialist, identity-building strategies (Gamson, 1995) to build and consolidate power (Dalmage, 2002). Such strategies can lead to an emphasis on identity, rather than on oppression (Leong, 2010; Lipsitz, 2003). Such strategies also lead to "disciplinary functions," in which members and identities must be brought into conformity with the identity project (Heyes, 2009; Lipsitz, 2003). In such racial essentialist strategies, Multiracial people are deprived of a conceptual or political space. Their existence disrupts some of the fictions on which the strategies are built.

Essentialist strategies cast Multiracial people as inauthentic and therefore untrustworthy (Alsultany, 2004; Olumide, 2002). This marginalization creates a

conundrum: Multiracial people are expected to perform compensatory actions to prove their loyalty and authenticity (Brown, 1990; DaCosta, 2002; Espiritu, 2001; Knaus, 2006; Leong, 2010; Mengel, 2001; Payson, 1996; Root, 2000; Spickard, 2001). Yet, those very performances also draw attention to their marginal status. Like a person labeled "insane," the more one tries to prove one's sanity, the more one's efforts are interpreted as attempted deception and evidence of insanity. Multiracialized people may try to prove themselves through authenticating actions; however, it is not their actions or lack of actions, but their Multi-racialization, for which they are marginalized.

Marginalization of Multiraciality by Communities of Color can be particularly apparent and virulent when Communities of Color see Multiracial members as outsiders who are opportunistically trying to "game the system" (Clarke, 2005; Davis, 2006; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; DeVega, 2011; Schmidt, 2010; Thomas, 2007). The mistrust of Multiracial people may condemn them for failing at contradictory demands. For example, some Black-White Multiracials are condemned for claiming a Multiracial identity that acknowledges that they are both Black *and* White. In such cases, monoracist People of Color demand that they suppress their White-identification and identify primarily or solely as Black.

However, there's also evidence that Black-White Multiracials may also be condemned for doing exactly that. When *claiming* a primarily Black identity and suppressing their White ancestry or affiliations, some People of Color have accused Multiracial people of trying to "game the system" by concealing their presumed White privilege. In effect, Multiracial people are constructed as unjustly "squatting"

or appropriating scarce resources allocated for Communities of Color. Thus, these Black-White Multiracials may be simultaneously expected to claim a Black identity and to *not* claim a Black identity. Or, perhaps more cynically, they are expected to claim whatever identity is most *dis*advantageous to them in a given circumstance. In such ways, monoracism bears some potentially instructive resemblances to other aspects of oppression that construct other "in-between" identities.

Similarities between monoracism, cissexism, and monosexism

To help differentiate monoracism from racism, I will draw parallels with two other systems of injustice that construct other "in-between" identities: monosexism and cissexism. Monosexism privileges sexual attraction to one and only one gender, while oppressing people who express attraction to more than one gender (e.g., bisexuals, pansexuals, omnisexuals) (Eisner, 2011). Cissexism privileges people whose gender-identification and gender-expression are congruent with other people's perceptions and demands, while oppressing people who're seen as gender-deviant or -nonconforming (James, 2010; Koyama, 2002; Serano, 2009). By looking at cissexism and monosexism, and how they are different from sexism and heterosexism, we can better see how monoracism is different from racism.

Racism, sexism, and, to some extent, heterosexism, construct race, gender, and sexual orientation as immutable (Clarke, 2005; Davison, 2005; Lees, 2000). For example, in *Frontiero v. Richardson (1973)* the Supreme Court held that "sex, like race and national origin, is an immutable characteristic determined solely by the accident of birth" (Davison, 2005). Here, we see jurisprudence that connects the marginalization of transgender people with the marginalization of Multiracial

people. In both cases, courts have ruled that race and sex are immutable and thus, legally, neither group exists in the courts' realm of imagination qua claims of discrimination.

More broadly, each of these oppressive systems has no clear or valid place for "in-between" categories (Collins, 2000b; Dworkin, 2002; Johnston & Nadal, 2010a). The Sylvia Rivera Law Project (SRLP) (2005) has identified a number of factors that contribute to the disproportionate impoverishment of transgender people. Among those factors, SRLP named the marginalization of transgender people from gender-segregated services and spaces (e.g., low-income housing, homeless shelters, group homes), workplace discrimination without legal protections, and healthcare systems that pathologize and marginalize people who do not fit into a gender-binary system of medical research and treatment (Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2005). Each of these discriminatory processes has parallels, in structure if not in degree of consequence, to the monoracist treatment of Multiracial people. For example, U.S. prison systems are heavily segregated both by race and by gender, leading to challenges for imprisoned people who may find themselves perceived as being in the "wrong place," often with violent or lethal consequences for such perceived transgressions (Leong, 2010).

All three targeted groups (i.e., Multiracial, Transgender, and Bisexual/Pansexual) lack sufficient and rigorous legal protections under antidiscrimination law and jurisprudence (Chan, 2006; Clarke, 2005; Leong, 2010; Woodward, 2006b). For example, only a few states and areas provide anti-discrimination legal protections for transsexual and transgender people. Even

where such discrimination is illegal, it may still be rampant, underinvestigated, and underprosecuted (Clarke, 2005). Similarly, antidiscrimination laws generally fail to protect Multiracial people against discrimination that targets them specifically for *being* Multiracial, rather than for being a member of a particular single racial group (Leong, 2010).

Monoracist, monosexist, and cissexist stereotypes often draw on similar characterizations (Kich, 1996; Williams-León, 2001). Multiracials, transgender people, and bisexual or pansexual people are each stereotyped as pretenders or betrayers, and "get it from both sides" (Collins, 2000b, 2004; Ekins & King, 1998; Gamson, 1995; Kich, 1996). For each group, authenticities are questioned and policed.

Similar to monosexism and cissexism's functions, I suggest that monoracism oppresses the target group (e.g., Multiracial people), but it *also* serves to police the privileged group's behaviors (e.g., *Monoracial* people). Monoracial-identified members of a group may have their Monoraciality and their racialization questioned or challenged by in-group members who perceive them as behaving in an insufficiently in-group way.

Here, I see further parallels to the ways that cissexism and monosexism are deployed to police people's gender and sexuality. For example, both women and men may have their gender policed if they are insufficiently gender-conforming. And while, for men, one might read this as simple sexism with the imperative that men avoid anything gendered feminine, they may be subsequently targeted not for *being* a woman, but for behaving in a feminine and gender-nonconforming way. The

example becomes clearer with women. In a patriarchal system that values men and masculinity over women and femininity, we might assume (if we did not already know better) that women who perform some masculine gender behaviors might be favored, given the privileging of masculinity. However, this isn't the case. Transphobia helps explain why women who perform masculinity may be punished, even in a society that favors masculinity. Likewise, a lesbian-identified woman who confesses to sexual interactions with (or even sexual desire for) cisgender men, transgender men, or transgender women may have her lesbian identity and her belonging in many lesbian communities vigorously challenged.

Opponents dispute the categorical validity of such interstitial groups, as well as the validity of their claims of oppression (Rust, 2000; Wilchins, 2002). For example, some anti-transgender activists have disputed the validity of the concept of "transgender," arguing that everyone is somewhat transgendered or gender-nonconforming, therefore the concept is categorically invalid and legally indefensible. Likewise, similar claims have been made in attempts to invalidate the concept of Multiraciality, arguing that either everyone is Mixed or no one is, a claim that I address later in this chapter. While it may be true that everyone is racially or gender-transgressive in some ways (as it is impossible to be perfectly racialized or gendered), it is *also* true that not everyone is equally recognized or censured for those transgressions.

Both broadly and in anti-racist education, these oppressive systems suppress and stigmatize "in-between" identities and positions (e.g., bisexual, pansexual, transgender, genderqueer, Multiracial). Such identities are feared for their potential

to disrupt identity movements and curricula (Gamson, 1995; Heyes, 2009; Lorber, 1996; Wilchins, 2002; Williams-León, 2001). Monoracism, cissexism, and monosexism are each marginalized in anti-racist education (Scholl, 2001). All three targeted groups may be marginalized by attempts to create "safe spaces" when group boundaries are drawn through their bodies (Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2005; Woodward, 2006a).

Yet, anti-racist education and related educational movements also often tokenistically use Multiracials, Transgender people, and Bisexuals/Pansexuals as means to other ends in arguments that do not really speak to those groups' particular concerns (Khanna & Harris, 2009; Koyama & Weasel, 2003). Feminist and gender studies scholars, in teaching social constructionism, have used transgender and intersex people in a tokenistic way – using their existence to make a different point about gender or sex, without actually acknowledging the concerns of either group (Koyama, 2003b). Koyama said, "Intersex existence is understood and presented largely as a scholarly object to be studied in order to deconstruct the notion of binary sexes (and thus sexism and homophobia) rather than a subject that has real-world implications for real people" (Koyama & Weasel, 2003, p. 3). Likewise, some anti-racist educators have used Multiraciality and racial ambiguity as a way to teach about the social construction of race – but without any further concern for teaching about Multiraciality or monoracism (Khanna & Harris, 2009).

Monoracism, cissexism, and monosexism may also possess underacknowledged intersectional connections, in addition to their parallels and similarities. A few scholars have argued that monoracism constructs Multiraciality

as a *type* of queerness (Chang-Ross, 2010; Dariotis, 2003b; Rubin, 1992; Williams-León, 2001). Rubin (Rubin, 1992) has argued that "queer" sexuality encompasses more than just the gender of the person or persons with whom one is sexual. Interracial relationships may thus be construed as a form of queer sexuality; they are regarded as "non-normal" and are often stigmatized – often in ways very similar to the stigmatization of bisexual people (e.g., hypersexual, emotionally damaged, suspect or disloyal, closeted or dissembling) (Williams-León, 2001). Chang-Ross (Chang-Ross, 2010) followed similar logic in articulating her ideas about "racial queerness," harkening to queer theory ideas about queerness as a destabilizing, deconstructive process.

However, in comparing monoracism, cissexism, and monosexism, I do not mean to overstate their similarities. There are important differences and disjunctures. A cough might not be a cold, it could instead be lung cancer; similar symptoms can have different causes and thus require different treatments. Some have argued that racism and heterosexism differ significantly because race is "visible," while sexuality is invisible, suggesting that LGBQ people can "pass" as heterosexual, while People of Color cannot "pass" as White. However, some People of Color *can* pass as White, yet civil rights jurisprudence does not exclude those people from legal protections (Onwuachi-Willig, 2006). Thus, such comparisons cannot be invalidated based on the idea that one group can "pass" while another cannot (Onwuachi-Willig, 2006).

On a different note, the law does not equally deploy performance reification for cases of race and gender (Clarke, 2005). While courts have decided that

performing Whiteness can be sufficient for legal Whiteness, they have not decided that for gender; rather, they have used a more biological standard for gender (despite the ambiguities of biology and the socially constructed nature of gender). Further, there are many laws that proscribe gender-transgressive performances (e.g., municipal ordinances prohibiting cross-dressing) – whereas there are fewer comparable legal prohibitions of race-transgressive performances (Clarke, 2005). So, while I do not suggest that monoracism, monosexism, and cissexism are completely comparable, I do suggest that comparing and contrasting them may be fruitful for conceptualizing and teaching each one.

Asserting monoracism with the Five Faces of Oppression

Using evidence about Multiracial people's experiences, I assert that monoracism is a form of oppression, using the Five Faces of Oppression model (Young, 2000). Young proposed the Five Faces of Oppression model as a means of evaluating claims about whether a group is or is not oppressed. The five faces are exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. As the faces are interrelated, it is not uncommon for an oppressed group to experience more than one. However, Young suggested that even a single "face" is sufficient to legitimate a group's claim of oppressed status. In what follows, I assert that monoracism qualifies as a form of oppression based on Multiracialized people's systematic experiences of marginalization, cultural imperialism, and violence.

Marginalization is a significant aspect of monoracism. Young characterized marginalization as exclusion from participation or consideration in key social systems (Young, 2000). In the United States, where social systems are so heavily

racialized, to be without a valid and recognized racialization is to be without a place in the system or society (Kibria, 1998; Omi & Winant, 1994c). As such, Multiracial people are largely without a valid racialization and without a place in much of U.S. society (DaCosta, 2002; Johnston & Nadal, 2010a; Nojima, 2012; Olumide, 2002). On an interpersonal level, Multiracial people's lack of place is frequently marked by "What are you?" confrontations, in which Multiracialized people are reminded of their non-place and demanded to fit themselves into the current system of racialization, which the questioner may then disbelieve, dispute, or reinterpret to their own satisfaction (Allen, 2012; Alsultany, 2004; Cole, 2008; Collins, 2000b; Williams, 1996). But, such lack of place and marginalization is not merely interpersonal; it also occurs on much larger, institutional and cultural levels. Monoracism also marginalizes Multiracial people via residential and housing segregation (DaCosta, 2002; Dalmage, 2003; Knaus, 2006). Dalmage (2006) suggested that intense and persistent racial segregation of housing and social spaces makes it difficult for interracial families and Multiracial people to find spaces in which they are racially accepted and comfortable. In a society that has been heavily racially segregated and is becoming more so, Multiracial people have little space and are, at best, marginal (Collins, 2000a; Olumide, 2002).

Multiraciality has also been marginalized, omitted or reinterpreted out of existence in academic theory, research, and teaching (Nakashima, 2005; Olumide, 2002; Williams, et al., 1996). Law, jurisprudence, and governmental policies have also marginalized Multiraciality, rendering it at times illegal, invisible, or ineligible for legal protection (Davison, 2005; Leong, 2010; Payson, 1996). As a heavily

regulated and racialized institution, schools have also marginalized Multiraciality and Multiracialized people, whether in curricula, administration of policies, or school culture (Chau, 2005; Chen-Hayes, 2001; Chiong, 1995; Collins, 2000a; Guillermo-Wann, 2010, 2012; Guillermo-Wann & Johnston, 2012; Knaus, 2006). Such marginalization also conveys and enforces cultural values about Monoraciality and Multiraciality.

Cultural imperialism figures prominently into monoracism. Young characterized cultural imperialism as a set of processes through which a dominant group "reinforces its position by bringing the other groups under the measure of its dominant norms" (Young, 2000, p. 45). By such monoracist cultural metrics, Multiracial people are often found grievously lacking and subjected to legions of negative messages, stereotypes, and narratives (Collins, 2000b; DaCosta, 2004, 2009; Dalmage, 2002; Elam, 2011; Johnston & Nadal, 2010a; Knaus, 2006; Leong, 2010; Root, 2000; Sanchez & Bonam, 2009; Wallace, 2001). Further complicating their representation, Multiracial people are also saddled with positive-sounding monoracist stereotypes and messages (Dworkin, 2002; Elam, 2011; Johnston & Nadal, 2010a; Olumide, 2002). While superficially appealing, such "model minority" messages are not primarily created for the benefit of Multiracialized people (Alsultany, 2004; Chang, 1996; Ropp, 1997; Rosa, 2001). Still, Multiracial people are blamed for them, as though they had created them (Beltrán, 2005; Hamako, 2012).

Further, such seemingly positive "messianic" notions of Multiraciality can constrain Multiracialized people, creating new and impossible standards against which they may be measured (Azoulay, 2001; Lipsitz, 2003; Rockquemore &

Brunsma, 2004). Academia has long been a tool through which monoracist cultural imperialism has pathologized and vilified Multiraciality and Multiracialized people (Brown, 1990; Collins, 2000b; Davenport, 1928; Park, 1931; Spencer, 1999; Stonequist, 1961). This continues today, although it is further complicated by equally false and impossible messianic propositions about Multiraciality (Gormley, 2005; Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2004; Scholl, 2001; Spickard, 1997; Wallace, 2001). Such narratives in academic and popular culture have also shaped and been shaped by monoracism in law and jurisprudence (Leong, 2010). Monoracist discourses were used to justify legal prohibition of miscegenation and integration; such laws then contributed to the marginality of Multiracialized people which was then used as further proof of their inferiority (Leong, 2010). Likewise, formal education institutions have promoted the value of monoracial identity and affiliation, while devaluing Multiraciality, even in ostensibly anti-racist niches in schools (Knaus, 2006). Even the cultural construction of "family," which is both an institution unto itself and construct shaped by other institutions, has been racialized as monoracial (DaCosta, 2004; Dalmage, 2002; Johnston & Nadal, 2010a). Given such systematic marginalization and vilification, monoracist violence becomes both comprehensible and necessary as a means to maintain those monoracist systems.

Monoracism executes violence, both directly and indirectly. Olumide has given historical and contemporary examples of extreme forms by which nation-states have attempted to "manage" political problems seen as arising from race-mixing; strategies including "genocide, economic exploitation, social exclusion and rape as social control" (Olumide, 2002, p. 90). As one example, Olumide named

Australia's attempts to remove mixed-race people from their aboriginal communities and assimilate them into lower-class White communities, which meets the United Nations' criteria for genocide. Such policies bear similarities to the United States' own dealings with Native Americans, via the "Indian Boarding School" system (Grinde Jr., 2004; Spring, 2001; Takaki, 1993). But not all forms of violence are so blatant or easily recognized.

Numerous social institutions implement policies that do particular violence to Multiracial people. Racialized mistreatment by the medical establishment, which uses monoracist standards for research and treatment, can be conceptualized as a form of violence (Tashiro, 2005; Tashiro, 2003; Veenstra, 2011). Lack of Multiracial recognition and tabulation in government policies may also constitute an indirect form of violence, in that it impedes the ability to document and redress systemic monoracism (Nojima, 2012; Olumide, 2002). In the legal realm, this lack of recognition hinders antidiscrimination efforts and protections (Davison, 2005; Leong, 2010; Payson, 1996). Such lack of recognition by education institutions has been a particular focus for Multiracial advocates (Chiong, 1995; Cooper-Plaszewski, 2001; Graham, 1996; Leong, 2006; Padilla & Kelley, 2005; Saulny, 2011; Zhang, 2010).

While claims about Multiracial oppression in education are abundant, few Multiracial advocates have pointed out possible Multiracial oppression in a related sector: the prison-industrial complex. For example, without Multiracial recognition, it would not have been possible to identify that Multiracial youths' rate of incarceration in Oregon youth prisons was growing disproportionately quickly,

relative to other groups (Atkin, 2001). Some reports suggest that that Multiracial people are the racial group with the highest rate of reporting sexual abuse by both other inmates and by prison staff (Beck, Harrison, Berzofsky, Caspar, & Krebs, 2010; GOOD & Albertson Design, 2010). In the case of prisons, failing to recognize Multiraciality in a violently racialized space means that violent monoracism and border patrolling may go unaddressed (Noll, 2012). Being forced to straddle a border is one thing when the dividing line is a picket fence or classroom groupings; it is quite another when it is a wall topped with razor-wire or cellblock divisions policed with batons and makeshift weapons. Failure to recognize systematic discrimination enables that discrimination and, further, emboldens challengers to dispute that such discrimination exists at all.

Addressing challenges to a theory of monoracism

Having argued for conceptualizing monoracism as a form of oppression to be addressed by anti-racist education, I now turn to addressing some potential criticisms of my position. I value monoracism as a conceptual and analytical tool. I intend to use it to make sense of the participants' experiences. For intellectual rigor and to address the reader's potential questions and critiques of a anti-monoracist analysis, in the following section, I explore and address some potential critiques of an analysis of monoracism. Because monoracism is still not conceptually well-formed or well-known, I have found it difficult to find direct critiques of the idea or of attempts to articulate monoracism as a form of oppression. However, there are criticisms of various Multiracial projects, including the projects that assert that Multiraciality is subject to oppression. Some critiques are relatively hostile to both

Multiraciality and analyzing monoracism. These critiques include arguments that monoracism is an invalid, insufficiently demonstrated, or even backward concept and that naming monoracism caters to conservative, oppressive political agendas.

Monoracism constructs Multiraciality

Some suggest that Multiraciality itself is an invalid concept, arguing either that *everyone* is already Multiracial or that *no one* is actually Multiracial – and sometimes both. Spencer argued, "At this point in human history it must be admitted either that race does not and never has existed; or that if it once existed all people are now multiracial, and that as a practical matter the term *multiracial* is meaningless" (Spencer, 1999, p. 93). Further, Sexton has disputed the validity of conceptualizing "interracial relationships," in part, by saying that, because all people are technically mixed-race (based on a fallacious biological conception of race, which Sexton himself disavows), then all relationships are interracial relationships, even purportedly intraracial relationships (Sexton, 2001). Azoulay suggested, "the campaign for a multiracial category obscures the fact that Black/African-American is already a multiracial category and that the concept of race itself reflects socio-political not biologically based divisions" (Azoulay, 2001, p. 220). Even some Multiracial advocates use this faulty biological conception of race when discussing Multiraciality, sometimes suggesting that, "most people in the U.S. are multiethnic (if not multiracial)" (Knaus, 2006, pp. 56-57). As a variation on the argument, some critics suggest that Multiraciality cannot exist because it is too disparate or internally diverse to be a single or viable identity (Spencer, 1999). Thus, by such

arguments, if Multiraciality does not meaningfully exist, then, they suggest, how could discrimination against Multiracial people be possible?

However, I suggest that such arguments are invalid. First and perhaps foremost, from a social constructionist perspective, everyone is *not* Multiracial, because everyone is not racialized as Multiracial (e.g., *treated* as Multiracial) or comparably subjected to monoracism. john a. powell (1997, p. 804), a prominent Critical Race Theorist, acknowledged this point, saying,

> We are all racially mixed, and there is probably no such thing as racial purity. This is not to take away any special position that might be produced at the site we call multiracial. Nor does it mean that there are no other uniracial categories. What this does suggest is that we need to examine the political and power implications of reconsidering designated categories.

Critics who argue "Everyone is already Multiracial," are themselves drawing on biologically essentialist, rather than social constructionist, concepts of race. Using fallacious standard of biology or genealogy, one might argue that everyone or no one is Multiracial.

In such arguments, critics equivocate about what it means to be "biologically" Multiracial (which is a falsehood or an impossibility) and what it means to be "socially" Multiracial (i.e., being *treated* as a Multiracial person). As a simple analogy, such a fallacious argument would similarly suggest that no one is really "White," because biological ideas about Whiteness are false, and therefore no one is treated as though they are a White person and, by extension, White Supremacy does not exist. Or, we might say that no one is really "Black," because biological races are fictive and, even if they weren't, all "Black" people in the U.S. are "racially Mixed," and therefore no one is treated as a Black person and, by extension, anti-Black

racism does not exist. If one faithfully applies the logic of hypodescent, then *everyone* is Black because everyone can, eventually, find a Black or African ancestor in hir[4] family tree; it is merely a matter of how far back one goes. But, regardless of biological or genealogical notions of hypodescent, which have never been as prevalent or powerful as currently presumed (Clarke, 2005), not all people *are* Black. We understand that not all people *are* Black, nor are they racialized as Black or treated as such. By pointing out the equivocation between biological realities and social realities, I hope to make the point that, whether or not a group's existence is "biological" in nature, they may still exist as a socially recognized group and be treated as such.

A category need not be "biological" to be socially real – were that the case, categories such as race or gender would hold no value in society. But, in social reality, some people are treated as Multiracial and others are not, whether the differences between them are biological or not (and they are not) (Chang, 1998). Applying a social constructionist argument, because not all people are *treated* as Multiracial, not all people *are* Multiracial (Payson, 1996). Attacking the concept of monoracism by arguing that Multiraciality is invalid or constructed misses, perhaps willfully, the point that it is monoracism that *constructs* Multiraciality. Disputing the value of a product (e.g., race or Multiraciality) does not disprove or undermine the process through which that product is created (e.g., racism or monoracism).

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[4] Throughout this dissertation, I use the gender-neutral pronouns ze, hir, and hir as an alternative to the traditional, sexist use of the masculine pronouns he, him, and his as universal pronouns. I feel this gender-neutral alternative, as opposed to other alternatives such as "s/he, him/her, his/hers," both easier to read and more inclusive of transgender people and others who resist a binary framing of gender.

Second, critics who suggest that, “Everyone is already Multiracial, therefore Multiraciality is invalid,” may not understand what waits further down that road. Such claims can have practical, political consequences. Claiming that everyone is *already* Multiracial runs the risk of destabilizing current race-based attempts to remediate racism. For example, opponents of affirmative action might easily argue that, if everyone is already Multiracial, then affirmative action programs are neither necessary nor tenable (Gamson, 1995). Further, if everyone’s already Multiracial, then many claims of racial discrimination may become unintelligible and more difficult to prosecute (Leong, 2010). Such arguments have similarly entangled some gay-rights activists. In the political fight over Colorado’s anti-gay Amendment 2, anti-gay advocates argued, using queer logic, that if sexual orientation is fluid and unstable or, perhaps, “Everyone’s a little gay,” then the group is too vague or fluid to warrant legal protection (Gamson, 1995). Of this, Gamson said, "As long as membership in this group is unclear, minority status, and therefore rights and protections, are unavailable" (Gamson, 1995, p, 598). Thus, monoracist critics may want to consider the broader implications of assailing the concept of monoracism or Multiraciality with claims that everyone is already Multiracial.

In disputing the viability of a Multiracial identity or racial construct, some critics simply lack empirical support for their claims and seem to reiterate tired monoracist stereotypes (DaCosta, 2007). Some critics have presumed to know what Multiracial groups can and cannot do without actually researching what Multiracial people *are* and *are not* doing (Spencer, 1997a). This is a particularly effective response to critics who argue that Multiraciality or Multiracial organizations are not

viable (e.g., because they are too internally diverse). With only a bit of empirical (even anecdotal) research, we find that Multiraciality identity and activism *is* currently viable, despite internal differences – although *how* viable remains to be seen (Burchill, 2006; Rosenbaum, 2004a). As Lipsitz put it, "The pain and political frustrations of mixed race people are real. They cannot be wished away by glib formulations or erased by the example of a few inspired eccentrics" (Lipsitz, 2003, p. 37). I believe that intra-group diversity is not the primary factor impeding Multiracial organizations, nor does it disprove the existence of monoracism any more than the intragroup diversity of Blackness or the multifariousness of anti-Black racisms disprove the existence of racism.

Arguing that monoracism is invalid because Multiraciality is too internally diverse a category disregards the role that strategic essentialism has played in many anti-racist movements. Such an argument constitutes a convenient double-standard. *All* strategically essentialist constructed identities or categories might be critiqued as "too diverse" to really be a singular identity (Stephan, 1991). This overlooks or ignores the *strategic* component of such constructions. Yet, as Lipsitz (2003, p. 20) has asserted,

> [E]ven among those who recognize that *all* identities are socially constructed, that all ethnic groups are coalitions, and that racial identities are political, provisional, and strategic constructions rather than biological or anthropological facts, mixed race people can sometimes find themselves unwanted in any group, ridiculed as disloyal, despised as the "other's other," because they carry within their embodied selves an identity that seems to threaten the unity and uniformity of aggrieved collectives.

I suggest that it is unfair to singly blame Multiracial people for taking up the biological, essentialist fallacies that have been used to create identity movements.

Those who do are merely adopting what has been a pervasive and popular strategy. Such strategies have also been propagated by people who, not coincidentally, oppose recognizing monoracism (DaCosta, 2007; Knaus, 2006; Mengel, 2001). And, seemingly without irony, critics who argue against Multiracial recognition (and might similarly oppose analyzing monoracism) often deploy biological essentialistic notions of race to *defend* their own group-ness or goals, recapitulating common bad faith critiques of their own anti-racist analyses and strategies. Lipsitz (Lipsitz, 2003) has pointed out that "enemies of anti-racist activism" have accused anti-racist activists of biological essentialism – of being more essentialistic than they actually are or were, when in fact such movements acknowledged the political and ideological components of such identities much more than we may remember or be told. Similarly, I argue that some anti-racist activists have turned around and leveled the same criticism against Multiracial activists, when in fact some of us are *not* embracing biological essentialism and *are* acknowledging the role of ideology and oppression-analysis in framing Multiraciality and monoracism.

Doubly denying evidence of monoracism

Some critics charge that advocates have not sufficiently proven the existence of monoracism. Opponents have challenged Multiracial recognition by saying that Multiracials lacked the data to prove they are oppressed, let alone to support bids for Federal recognition and protections (DaCosta, 2002, p. 71). Such critics imply that they might believe, if Multiracial advocates could provide better evidence; yet, at the same time, they oppose the *collection* of such evidence (Williams-León, 2003). During Congressional hearings in 1997, the NAACP charged, "[T]here was no

documented history of discrimination against multiracials and stated that their recognition on the census... would make it more difficult to track discrimination" (Williams, 2006, p. 58). Later, Sexton (Sexton, 2008) reiterated this argument, charging that Multiracial advocates couldn't provide proof of any civil rights violations. However, such arguments contain a significant flaw, particularly in a struggle over Federal recognition and data collection. Some opponents of Multiraciality have doubly denied monoracism: they deny the existence of monoracism and they have attempted to deny access to typical means by which such discrimination might be demonstrated.

Such charges rely on a tautological double standard. Multiracial proponents have been quick to point out the frustrating circularity of the charge that Multiracial people should not be recognized for data collection and civil rights protection purposes because they could not provide such government data on their experiences. Before a Congressional hearing, AMEA's then-President Carlos Fernández (Fernández, 1993, p. 198) testified, "Disallowing the specific identity of multiracial/multiethnic people… deprives our community of the basic data required to objectively assess or even discover those of its needs which might require legislative or even judicial action." Susan Graham of Project RACE made similar arguments, saying that, without being counted, it is near impossible to prove discrimination (Graham, 1995). The unfairness of this argument had little to do with the particular experiences of Multiracial people; any group seeking recognition could be saddled with the unfair burden of proving its worthiness of recognition without sufficient resources to do so.

While the Census is not the only way an aggrieved group might gather information about their experiences, the idea that the government should gather *less* data about a group or its oppression, rather than more, seems to fly in the face of civil rights activism, both past and present. When then-University of California Regent Ward Connerly proposed Prop 54 (CRECNO) to ban California from collecting data about race or ethnicity, a coalition of civil rights organizations (which included several Multiracial organizations), argued strenuously that data collection is crucial to civil rights enforcement. Thus, the idea that Multiraciality should not be Federally recognized and that no data should be collected on Multiraciality seems to make the most sense if one *presupposes*, without substantive proof, that Multiracial people are *not* an oppressed population.

Some opponents of Multiraciality have charged that Multiracial people are not oppressed or, at least, are not oppressed for being Multiracial. While occasionally willing to acknowledge stereotypes, stigma, or discrimination against Multiraciality, opponents have often dismissed the claim of Multiracial oppression (Sexton, 2001; Spencer, 1999). Notably, Rainier Spencer (1999) juxtaposed Multiracial people with another group he felt was unworthy of a Federal racial category: "Middle Eastern" people. Even allowing that Spencer made this claim prior to the explosion of anti-Arab/anti-Muslim racism following the Al Qaeda attacks of September 11, 2001, Spencer's argument unconvincingly ignored a long history of anti-Arab/anti-Muslim racism in the United States (Said, 1979/ 1994; Shaheen, 2003). Without comparing the oppression of Muslims, Arab Americans and other "Orientalized" groups to that of Multiracial people in the United States, I believe that

Spencer's juxtaposition demonstrates at least two things: 1) racial oppression may exist in the absence of a corresponding federally recognized category, and 2) racial oppression can intensify in a short period of time. In disputing Multiracial oppression, some opponents also raised questions about advantages Multiracial people allegedly experience.

Anti-monoracism and colorism

Some critics dispute the validity of a anti-monoracist analysis by arguing that Multiracial people are not oppressed for their Multiraciality; rather, they are privileged by colorism (Jones, 2000). Some claim that Black communities aren't monoracist or exclusionary (Ball, 2010); instead, it is suggested, they are colorist (Elam, 2011; Harris, 2008). Colorism exists, distinct from racism, and has negative impacts (DeCuir-Gunby, 2006; Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Hunter, 2002; Keith & Herring, 1991; Romero, 2007). Thus, opponents might imply that claims of monoracism are merely a dodge or a symptom of false consciousness (Heyes, 2009), seeking to avoid acknowledging one's own supposed light-skinned privilege. However, it is a fallacy to suggest that colorism disproves the existence of monoracism.

Colorism and monoracism may be related, but they should not be conflated; they are not the same and may act independently of one another. Lightness of skin color and Multiraciality are not the same, nor does one necessarily imply the other. We cannot assume that all of monoracism is about colorism, nor can we assume that all Multiracial people are of some intermediate or lighter hue than Monoracial People of Color. Again, I quote Leong (2010, p. 475) at length,

> [C]olor discrimination [is] an issue related to but distinct from multiracial discrimination. ... undoubtedly skin color cues multiracial identification in some instances. But as I explain, physical appearance is not the only characteristic by which an individual might come to be identified as racially mixed, nor will any particular physical trait automatically cue multiracial identification. Thus, race and color are not coextensive in the context of multiracial discrimination. An individual might suffer color discrimination even if others do not identify him as multiracial. Likewise, he might suffer discrimination on the basis of multiracial identification regardless of the color of his skin.

The equivocation of colorism with monoracism tacitly centers Whiteness, suggesting that all Multiracial people are lighter and that that is because they are all part-White. This mistakenly assumes and proposes that Multiracial people are, individually and collectively, lighter than Monoracial People of Color. Further, such equivocation tacitly suggests that the "color" or hue of various racial groups are distinctly different (e.g., that all Latinos or all Asians are, on a racial basis, lighter than all Black people). If such an assumption is rightly disallowed, then the argument has little to say about monoracism against "multiple minority" Multiracial people (or anyone dark who is targeted by monoracism).

I suggest that we should distinguish racism, colorism, and monoracism *and* study how they interrelate. Monoracism and colorism can and do co-exist in Communities of Color. Communities of Color may both privilege *and* resentfully discriminate against both Multiracial people and light-skinned people (Rockquemore, 2002). Both colorism and monoracism arouse resentment and recrimination from some anti-racist ethnic nationalists (Davis, 2006). Both colorism and monoracism are poorly covered in anti-discrimination law (Banks, 2000; Harris, 2008; Jones, 2000; Leong, 2010). Notably, john a. powell (1997) suggested

recognizing Multiraciality and colorism as separate entities and emphasized that doing so need not and should not distract from challenging institutional racism.

Anti-monoracism and non-phenotype-based White privilege

Separate from claims about colorism, it might also be possible to argue that some Multiracials are privileged by aspects of White supremacy that do not depend on an individual's appearance being racialized as White. Some critics might claim that even if Multiracials aren't lighter, they are Whiter, and are privileged for aspects of their Whiteness that are not phenotypic (e.g., greater access to intergenerational wealth; White cultural ways and cultural capital; comfort with Whites). But, not every Multiracial person is part-White (Jones & Smith, 2001). Even being part-White doesn't guarantee that one will have access to those aspects of Whiteness; such things depend on other factors (e.g., being *raised* by White people). And, while it may be the case that some of the most prominent advocates of Multiracial identification or of an anti-monoracist analysis *are* part-White and do have access to some of the benefits (DaCosta, 2007; Dalmage, 2002; Lewis, 2007; Rosenbaum, 2004a), this amounts to an *ad hominem* attack. It has also been the case with other movements that the leaders are often relatively privileged in comparison with rank-and-file members or the populations they aim to serve (e.g., the White Middle-class Christian women who popularized many feminist critiques of sexism). Further, it is possible for some Multiracials to be privileged by some aspects of White Supremacy while still being targeted by monoracism. Here, I draw a parallel to the experiences and positionality of some passing transgender men, who may be

privileged by sexism for their masculinity, yet also targeted by cissexism for their transgender status.

Anti-monoracism and politically opportunistic counter-arguments

The fact that political conservatives have occasionally used anti-monoracist positions to challenge anti-racism does not mean that anti-monoracism is itself conservative. Critics have accused Multiracial academics and advocates of knowingly or unknowingly supporting conservative agendas; similar claims might be deployed against projects that analyze monoracism. Some argue that if it weren't for conservative machinations, no one would care about Multiraciality or monoracism (Azoulay, 2001; Ball, 2010; Banks, 1997; Dalmage, 2004; Thornton & Gates, 2001). Thus, analyzing or theorizing monoracism might serve conservative ends by helping conceptualize or solidify Multiraciality. But, naming monoracism is *not* exclusively or even mostly part of a conservative agenda. Some Multiracial organizations are explicitly anti-conservative. For example, Thompson (2006, p. 444) noted,

> Many of the newer, younger multiracial organizations are very adamant about maintaining a supportive stance of civil rights enforcement and monitoring. Consequently, it is unlikely that these movements will reproduce the rhetoric of earlier generations of multiracial activists. Whether or not they are as easily co-opted will of course depend heavily on the ways in which they articulate their own demands.

While an anti-monoracist analysis does critique and challenge some racially essentialist approaches to anti-racist education and activism, it is simplistic to suggest that such racially essentialist approaches are beyond reproach or that any reproaches are automatically conservative in nature.

Related to such claims, some critics have also accused Multiracial advocates of reifying race and racial purity (Espiritu, 2001; Spencer, 1997a; Spencer, 1999). Again, such critics might also use such an argument to invalidate attempts to analyze monoracism. But, I suggest that analyzing monoracism does not require reifying Multiraciality or racial categories. An explicitly anti-oppression analysis counteracts such reification by naming and analyzing oppression, rather than presuming or reifying categories created by oppression. Borrowing an analogy from one critic, one can be against anti-witch oppression without believing that witches actually exist; one need only acknowledge that some people are *labeled* as witches and then *oppressed* as such (Spencer, 1999). Or, as Spencer put it more abstractly, "A personal stance against racism does not require acceptance of the false concept of racial categorization" (Spencer, 1999, p. 55). Likewise, I suggest that a stance against monoracism does not *necessarily* require accepting or reifying false concepts of race.

Such charges of inescapable reification constitute yet another monoracist double standard. Critics have charged that categorical recognition of Multiraciality is negative because it represents "racial thinking;" yet, for already recognized Peoples of Color, categorical recognition and the "racial thinking" it represents go unchallenged (Spencer, 1997a). Many Multiracial advocates aren't doing anything that other racial movements aren't continuing to do. Here, I do credit Rainer Spencer (Spencer, 1999) for critiquing Monoracial groups that use essentialist arguments to advance their causes. Unlike so many others, Spencer does not reserve such criticisms, valid as they are, for Multiracial advocates alone. Further, I suggest

that articulating monoracism is not significantly different from articulating particular forms of racism (even though such articulations of the varying forms of racism have been criticized as "divisive" by some who promote a strictly Black/White racial paradigm).

Anti-monoracism and classism

A few critics have charged that monoracism is exclusively the concern of class-privileged people and, therefore, concerning oneself with monoracism is classist. Small (2001) and Ifekwunigwe (2001) have lambasted the middle-class biases of Multiracial activism, with its emphases on identity and psychology and relative silence about classism (Olumide, 2002). However, I suggest that the middle-class bias in current analyses of monoracism does not prove that monoracism does not exist; it merely demonstrates the limitations of its current articulations. Analogously, Second Wave Feminism was rightly accused of classism and racism in its articulations of sexism; but that does not mean that sexism does not exist, it merely means that Second Wave Feminists were articulating only a limited analysis of sexism. Further, given working-class Multiracialized people's more vulnerable positions, they may be *less* likely than class-privileged Multiracials to raise the issue of monoracism; doing so might lead to further marginalization from Communities of Color on which they depend for solidarity (however limited) (Olumide, 2002). Thus, I suggest that charges of classism tacitly and sometimes cruelly invoke a "multiple bind." Critics who deploy it may not recognize that the silence of working-class Multiracials has not yet been determined to be due to a lack of monoracism; it might

be due to the silencing of those Multiracial voices by threat of further marginalization.

Anti-monoracism differs from promoting Multiracial identity

Analyzing and eventually eliminating monoracism might also draw criticism from some Multiracial advocates for dissolving the oppression that gives shape to ideas and identities of Multiraciality. Put another way, eliminating monoracism could eliminate the *need* for Multiracial identity or group-ness. Related to conflicts about what Multiraciality comprises, there are also disputes about the goals of Multiracial activism; what they are and what they should be. Sundstrom described (without endorsing) the goal of the Multiracial movement as, "social recognition and acceptance of mixed race identity and its category" (Sundstrom, 2001, p. 301). But, critics of identity politics point out that struggles for group recognition can often create a perverse incentive for groups to retain their oppression, if their oppression is what gives their group recognizable shape and political coherence (Heyes, 2009; Nash, 2008). Thus, if monoracism *were* eliminated and Multiracial people were fully accepted in their constituent communities, then they might no longer *be* recognizably Multiracial; being Multiracial would no longer carry meaningful social value as a differentiator from other categories or subcategories. Thus, the goal of eliminating monoracism might actually and eventually be at odds with an agenda focused on the construction of a Multiracial identity or Multiracial ethnic nationalism.

Some Multiracial scholars have forecast that Multiraciality's significance will eventually collapse (Bratter, 2007; Williams-León, 2002). Bratter (Bratter, 2007)

suggested that people who are read as "first generation Multiracial" (e.g., both biological parents are racialized as Monoracial) are more likely to identify as and be read as Multiracial than people who have one or more Multiracial-identified parents. However, Bratter added, "contexts of heightened racial difference" increase the likelihood that even "multi-generationally Multiracial" people will identify as Mixed (Bratter, 2007, p. 1). Given that critics of Multiraciality argue that the current backlash and intensification of White supremacy is what has prompted current Multiracial identification and activism, Bratter's research seems to suggest that the more White supremacy intensifies, the more some people will identify and be treated as Multiracial – not necessarily because they are seeking to escape Blackness, but because the limbo of their "in-between" status becomes more intense as the racial differentiation caused by White supremacy intensifies. While it has arguably been the case that Black-Other Multiracials have sought Multiracial spaces outside Monoracial Black spaces, that is not the case for all Multiracial populations or even most of them. For example, Asian-Other Multiracials have often been excluded from Asian-ness and Asian communities and have sought to be included, not distanced. So, it would seem that, if Monoracial Communities of Color want to maintain solidarity and "keep" Multiracial members or draw them in, then Monoracial Communities of Color will need to reduce their own monoracism. And, certainly, Multiracial communities and individuals will need to work on their own internalized racism, colorism, and monoracism. There's work for everyone to do; it is insufficient, unrealistic, and poor strategy to suggest that the only work to be

done is work that must be done by *someone else*, while maintaining oneself as blameless.

Anti-monoracism differs from "the right to self-identify"

Some Multiracial advocates and critics have expressed concern that framing monoracism as the primary determinant of Multiraciality disregards self-identification and could institute new and politically distasteful modes of patrolling the borders of Multiraciality (Kelly Jackson, 2012, personal communication). The emphasis on oppression (e.g., monoracism) preceding and determining categories (e.g., Multiracial) flies in the face of the most commonly held ideas about race in the United States (Blackburn, 2000). By emphasizing monoracism, as a form of oppression and a means of "group-making" (DaCosta, 2002), rather than Multiraciality as a self-proclaimed identity, my framing argues that monoracism targets some Monoracially-identified people, too (e.g., "racially ambiguous" Monoracials). Further, my framing may suggest that some Multiracial-*identified* people are *not* Multiracial, because they are not significantly targeted by monoracism. This may discomfort some Multiracial people, as such a framing may seem exclusionary or that one's experience of monoracism is an inappropriate litmus test for one's Multiraciality.

Some Multiracial activists have argued that Multiracials, in their group-making, should not replicate the border-construction and border-patrolling decisions/mistakes of other category-building movements; instead they should be broadly inclusive or even all-inclusive (Olumide, 2002). Voicing this, Dariotis (2003a, p. 121) quoted one Multiracial student activist, Emily Leach, who said,

> [W]e must remember to actively consider always that the need for a hapa community has arisen from a sense that we did not have a place in the other ethnic communities we may have felt connected to. Thus, we must always be vigilant in maintaining open borders to our community; the difficulty is knowing how, when, and why to have borders of any kind. How do you create a community based on inclusivity rather than exclusivity?"

Counter to Leach's ideas, I am testing out a social constructionist framing that I think may be useful for teaching about monoracism and racism.

I'm arguing that monoracism *can* and *should* be a mechanism for determining who is in the group. To the extent that people are disadvantaged by monoracism, they are Multiracial, regardless of their identity, ancestry, or biology. By articulating monoracism as the determinant of Multiraciality and Monoraciality, I intend to shift the group-making efforts of Multiracial activism, based on a different standard for group-ness. Previously, I have suggested that Multiraciality encompasses both personal identity *and* social identification; how one sees oneself *and* how one is seen by others. For the sake of this literature review, I have shifted my focus from defining who may or may not be *Multiracial* to emphasizing the dynamics of *monoracism*. Yet, among Multiracial scholars and activists, there are arguments about how Multiracial group-making should be conducted. I expect that these disputes among conflicting projects will continue. I hope that they will be productive, as they have been for me with some of my colleagues. I have limited power to impose my perspective on others and I do not apologize for my perspective or project.

I suggest that using the social constructionist thesis and arguing for a anti-monoracist analysis, despite potential political costs, is preferable to suggesting that Multiraciality be constructed on a faulty foundation of biological essentialism or

self-identification. Some Multiracial advocates tacitly or explicitly suggest that Multiracial group-making should be based on *self-identification* (DaCosta, 2002; Johnston & Nadal, 2010a). But, I suggest that that's not how racialization or racism actually works and we shouldn't pretend it is; doing so muddies both critical analyses and political agendas. We should use our ideologies to build our identities, not our identities to build our ideologies (Lipsitz, 2003; Spencer, 1999). Identity categories aren't just for self-actualization, they are for organizing and mobilizing to fight particular kinds of oppression. Each identity project serves different ends. If the goal is to create a "big tent" in which people who've felt excluded do not ever feel excluded, then perhaps Multiracial *identification,* devoid of an analysis of monoracism, might be enough. But really, it isn't enough; not even to "big tent" advocates.

As Emily Leach asked, how do you strategically organize a movement or create a sense of group-ness if *everyone* is in the group and thus no one has much in common? If the goal is to name and combat monoracism, then Multiraciality should be a category that somehow corresponds to experiences of monoracism, rather than self-identification. Otherwise, self-proclaimed Multiracial identities can be claimed for any variety of reasons having nothing to do with monoracism (such identity claims might even be built on racist or monoracist ideas). However, strategically, this is a hard sell and a harder row to hoe. People have a clearer, if false, sense of who is and who is not Multiracial; a sense based on biologically essentialistic conceptions of race. It is easier for people to ask, "Do you have (biological) parents of different races?" than to ask, "How do you experience various forms of

monoracisms?" People may not even understand what monoracism *is*, but they likely have seemingly self-apparent understandings of "race" and "parents." For this, I have no pat answer, other than reiterating the necessity for anti-racist education that challenges people's socialized misconceptions about categories and the oppressions that produce them.

Benefits of theorizing monoracism

Conceptualizing and analyzing monoracism could benefit a variety of groups. Multiracial people could benefit from the naming of a "problem without a name," giving recognition to collective experiences that might otherwise seem idiosyncratic. Monoracial people could benefit by better understanding the costs of Monoracial supremacy and the unwitting trade they are forced to make, in exchange for Monoracial privilege. And scholars, educators, and activists could benefit from the further development of the ways that oppression is theorized, taught about, and transformed.

Betty Freidan (1963), a prominent Second Wave Feminist, popularized the phrase, "the problem that has no name," in characterizing a group of women's experiences with what would come to be conceptualized as "sexism." By helping to name and articulate forms of oppression, Freidan's work helped catalyze both scholarly analysis and community activism confronting sexism. The same is true for other forms of oppression: naming and articulating oppression is a key step in challenging it (Bell, 2007).

For Multiracialized people, conceptualizing and learning about monoracism may help *conscientize* them, transforming their understandings of themselves and

society, denaturalizing their understandings of oppression, and possibly encouraging activism (Bell, 2007; Freire, 1970/ 2003; Hardiman, et al., 2007; Williams, et al., 1996). Merely connecting with other Multiracial-identified people can improve Multiracial students' identity development, sense of belonging, and self-esteem (Collins, 2000a, 2000b). By connecting their personal experiences with a broader political analysis, Multiracial people might better resist the isolating and alienating effects of monoracism. Further, by connecting with other Multiracial students and analyzing monoracism, Multiracial people might clarify and sharpen the political goals of Multiracial organizations (Rosenbaum, 2004a).

In considering some of Luft's (2004) discussion of resubjectification, I suggest that articulating monoracism could be part of helping Multiracial (and Monoracial) people resubjectify themselves and their relationship to a system that derogates Multiraciality (while also using it for its own ends), to mobilize them into organizations. I believe that my bid to articulate monoracism as part of an organizing strategy constitutes a strategic effort to help Multiracial people resubjectify themselves. Current anti-racist trainings' discussions of Multiraciality de-subjectify and objectify Multiracial people as emblems of racial confusion, delusion, and false consciousness. Anti-racist trainings assert, as in the What Do You Like About Being...? activity that "When multiracial people identify as multiracial instead of with their darker racial heritage, they display internalized racism and white identification. Multiracialism is an effort by the white establishment to whiten the population" (Luft, 2004, p. 418). If, "For people of color anti-racist resubjectification means resisting internalized racial inferiority," (Luft, 2004, p.

444), then I suggest that for Multiracial People of Color, part of anti-monoracist and anti-racist resubjectification means resisting the external and internalized racial inferiority cast onto Multiraciality. And if, as Luft added, "it also means combating hopelessness and the sense that fighting racism is futile, and becoming willing to struggle against it, which requires working collectively with other people of color and with //whites," (Luft, 2004, pp. 444-445), then I suggest that for Multiracial People of Color, part of that means developing connections and the will to collectively struggle against monoracism *and* racism. For those Multiracial people with claims to Whiteness, whether couched in socialization/culture, biologized notions of family, or adoptive notions of family, it also means "fighting internalized racial superiority" (Luft, 2004, p. 445) connected to that Whiteness. And it is not only Multiracial people who might benefit from analyzing monoracism.

Understanding and challenging monoracism could also benefit Monoracially-identified ("Monoracialized") people. Social justice education theorists have suggested that SJE should help people understand not only their experiences of oppression, but also their experiences of privilege, to better understand the unacknowledged costs exacted in exchange for privileged status (Bell, 2007; Goodman, 2001; Hardiman, et al., 2007). By understanding Monoracial supremacy, Monoracial people might better understand the hidden costs they pay for their privileged status. Such benefits might be similar to the ways that understanding racism or sexism can also benefit White people and men, respectively. Also, because monoracism targets people regardless of whether they *self-identify* as Multiracial (Buchanan & Acevedo, 2004; Leong, 2010), understanding monoracism could also

help *Monoracial*-identified people (who may not always be "read" as Monoracial) understand their own experiences of monoracism. To draw a parallel, racism targets people who are racialized as non-White, regardless of how those people *self-identify*. A person who is intermittently or consistently racialized as non-White, yet thinks of hirself as White, could benefit from understanding how White Supremacy operates and may negatively affect hir, either directly or indirectly. Likewise, by understanding monoracism, Monoracial-identified people might better understand their own experiences of racial border patrolling or authenticity-baiting (Dalmage, 2003). One need not be identified as Multiracial to benefit from understanding and alleviating monoracism.

Scholars of anti-racist education and other academics might broaden and complicate their theories and pedagogies by accounting for monoracism. By studying Multiracial people's experiences and using their understandings of monoracism to conceptualize monoracism, academics might transform their disciplinary boundaries and productively disrupt the racial categories with which some academic boundaries are constructed (e.g., Asian American Studies, African American Studies) (Nakashima, 2005; Wilkinson, 2012). Such moves follow the tradition of Critical Race Theorists' "voice of color" thesis, as well as intersectional theorists' concept of "epistemic privilege" (Collins, 1990; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Moya, 1997). Both posit that being subjected to oppression provides the sufferers particular, and often ignored, insights into how that oppression operates. However, Elam (2011) disputed the suggestion that experiencing monoracism or being Multiracialized might allow (if not guarantee) access to novel insights. While I do

find it worthwhile to question the "voice of color" thesis and the concept of "epistemic privilege," as well as to challenge the potential romanticizing of oppression (Heyes, 2009), an analysis of monoracism should not be subject to a significantly higher standard of proof or caution than other categories or racial projects. In the case of monoracism, academics might benefit from critically attending to Multiracial people's perspectives on monoracism (Knaus, 2006; Lipsitz, 2003; Olumide, 2002; Payson, 1996; Scholl, 2001; Williams, et al., 1996).

Failing to conceptualize and understand monoracism limits people's understandings of an aspect of racism (Leong, 2010). This may be particularly costly for anti-racist educators who find themselves unprepared to answer students' questions about Multiraciality in discussions of racism. While few authors have written specifically about the problems caused by monoracism in anti-racist education or related educational projects (Glass & Wallace, 1996; Knaus, 2006), Johnston and Nadal's (2010a) analysis of monoracism in psychology and their recommendations to psychologists could be instructive. Echoing Social Justice Education tenets (Bell, 2007), Johnston and Nadal (2010a, p. 140) suggested that practitioners should,

> [1] become knowledgeable about the experience of multiracial persons ... [2] be aware of multicultural dynamics that may occur... particularly with monoracial-multiracial dyads. ... [and] be conscious of the ways in which their monoracial identities may influence their biases, assumptions, and attitudes about multiracial persons, while recognizing the privilege that they have as monoracial individuals.

Adding to this, I suggest that anti-racist educators might teach about monoracism, not as "the discrimination against people who are Multiracial," but rather as a system of oppressive practices and behaviors which govern many peoples. These

peoples include, but are not limited to: Multiracial people, people *perceived* as Multiracial and, in terms of patrolling racial boundaries, *anyone* who might be in some way non-conforming to essentialist ideas of racial membership, which, really, is everyone. Here, I again draw a parallel to cissexism: transgender-identified people may be the *most* gender non-conforming people targeted by cissexism, but *all* people (to differing degrees) have their gender policed by cissexism and can be punished for gender non-conformity. Leong (Leong, 2010) drew another parallel to a different aspect of oppression: ableism. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) includes in the definition of "disability" any person who is "regarded as having" a disability. Thus, Leong argued, "The fact that courts have found the 'regarded as' model manageable in the disability context indicates that it would be serviceable in the race discrimination context as well" (Leong, 2010, p. 548). Such reconceptualizations of oppression and its dynamics could productively transform social justice activism, as well.

Developing critical understandings of monoracism could help a variety of racial justice movements avoid further institutionalizing essentialist traps that could entangle Monoracialized People of Color as well as Multiracialized People of Color. Without it, in anti-discrimination legal cases, Monoracial People of Color cannot demonstrate that they are treated differently (and in some cases worse) than Multiracial members of their group (Leong, 2010). For example, in the case of *Moore v. Dolgencorp, Inc.* (cited in Leong (2010)), the Court ruled that a dark-skinned Black woman could not claim that her employer had racially discriminated in favor of a lighter-skinned Multiracial Black woman. The Court disavowed claims based on

colorism and, further, viewed both women as indistinguishably Black. Therefore, because both women were regarded as members of the same protected class, the Multiracial Black woman could not be used as a point of comparison to demonstrate differential treatment of a *different* racial group. Here, even monoracists might find incentives to lobby for the legal recognition of Multiraciality, if only to advance arguments that Multiracial people are treated better than Monoracial People of Color. Further, challenging monoracism might also help legal advocates challenge courts' right to judge racial performances (e.g., whether a claimant "acts Black enough" to be considered a Black person for the purposes of a civil rights discrimination claim) (Clarke, 2005).

Such concerns are also at issue in demographic statistics, education and affirmative action (Guinier, 2004; Schmidt, 2010). Without Multiracial recognition, Monoracial People of Color cannot demonstrate that they are discriminated against, relative to Multiracial People of Color who may be being counted as members of that group. And, despite some Communities' of Color marginalization or disowning of Multiracial people, Monoracial People of Color also have an interest in Multiracial people *not* being recategorized as White. Doing so inflates White numbers and distorts or obscures the rates of racial discrimination (Payson, 1996). And, conversely, counting as minorities the Mixed people who are functionally White contributes to functionally White people getting access to opportunities (e.g., minority hires and admissions) intended for People of Color (Payson, 1996).

Emphasizing a monoracism discourse, rather than a Multiracial *identity* discourse, could also help redirect attention from the faulty and limiting categorical

approaches used in some academic and legal movements, replacing them with approaches that explicitly name and analyze procedures and systems of oppression (Leong, 2010). In such a way, claims of monoracist discrimination could be strengthened and made more broadly available. By eschewing a categorical approach, a plaintiff would not need to self-identify as Multiracial or be generally racialized as Multiracial; they would only need to demonstrate that a particular act of discrimination against them was monoracist. So, for example, light-skinned Black people could claim monoracist discrimination, even if they identify as Monoracial Black, provided the discrimination had a monoracist character or motivation. In educational settings, Leong's suggestion also lends toward teaching "the system rather than the symptoms," as Critical Race Theorists might put it. As Leong (2010, p. 554) put it,

> Ultimately, my advocacy of acknowledging animus against those identified as multiracial reflects my belief that our race discrimination jurisprudence should focus on racism rather than on the social constructs we call races.[390] We should aspire to develop a jurisprudence that does not rely on categories per se, but rather targets animus directed at an individual due to a particular perception of his race.

Yet, despite the potential benefits of theorizing monoracism, few scholars have yet applied an analysis of monoracism to their disciplines and few anti-racist educators have attempted to incorporate it into their curricula.

Summary

In this chapter, I have introduced key ideas about monoracism, addressed several possible disputes regarding monoracism, and discussed the benefits of theorizing monoracism. This conceptual framework provides background and tools for making sense of the participants' responses and my analyses of the data they

provided. To begin identifying possible aspects of anti-racist education's monoracism, I conducted fieldwork to gather information from potential experts: people who do some form of anti-racist education writ large and who, through their work with Multiracial people, have developed some critical consciousness about Multiraciality and/or monoracism. In the next chapter, I explain the methods with which I gathered data from the research participants.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

To answers to my questions about anti-racist learning goals and what is working and not working in anti-racist education, I used focus group interviews to gather data from educators who espouse an anti-racist stance and work within the Multiracial Movement (Morgan, 1997). Throughout the study, I focused on three main questions:

1. What do anti-racist educators in the Multiracial Movement think Multiracial participants should learn (i.e., what are their learning goals)?
2. Among the popular and available anti-racist education curricula, what works well or helps participants accomplish those learning goals? And what works poorly or hinders participants' learning?
3. How might anti-racist education be improved, to better accomplish those learning goals?

I supplemented the focus group interview data with three written surveys, completed by the participants. I conducted five focus groups across three West Coast U.S. cities, meeting with twenty-five participants in total. In this chapter, I discuss my methods for collecting and analyzing the data.

Focus group interview methodology

In the this section, I introduce basic aspects of focus group interview methodology and discuss why focus groups interviews were well suited to answering my research questions. Various scholars have recommended that research methods, including focus group interviews, should be selected for fit with

the purpose of the project and shaped accordingly (Fern, 2001; Krueger, 1994; Morgan, 1997). My priorities were to conduct research that would 1) identify a breadth of responses to my research questions, while conveying the voices of the participants, 2) develop participants' interpersonal connections with each other, and 3) meet the standards of my dissertation committee. I chose focus group interviewing as my primary method because of its "fit" with my priorities, relative to other available research methods.

In what follows, I discuss focus groups' benefits for research, such as mine, that intends to be participatory, exploratory, and efficient. Focus groups are basically group interviews, in which a moderator, often the researcher, poses questions to a group and relies on interaction with and among the group to generate data (Morgan, 1997). Broadly, focus groups are "collective conversations… [that] can be small or large, directed or nondirected" (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005, p. 887). Focus groups are focused discussions among people who share particular characteristics, assembled in a series of groups, providing qualitative data (Krueger, 1994). In this research project, all participants were involved in Multiracial organizations and generally agreed with a particular definition of racism; these criteria are discussed further later in this chapter. According to Morgan, "The hallmark of focus groups is their explicit use of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group" (Morgan, 1997, p. 2). These qualities produce can yield a variety of benefits for researchers.

Focus groups can be well-suited to participatory research. I chose focus groups, instead of other techniques (e.g., one-on-one interviews or surveys), because I wanted a method that would allow people to explore their experiences more deeply and interactively; one that would engage participants in a collective process that might generate both information and interpersonal connections. Focus groups provide a more natural setting than experimental methods; this can help participants feel more comfortable sharing and interacting (Krueger, 1994). Further, focus groups allow a more collaborative research environment than one-on-one interviews. Focus groups support participatory research by "enabling a partnership between researchers and the informant community" (Baker & Hinton, 1999, p. 79). They provide a space in which participants can share their experiences in the presence of people with similar experiences (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). Morgan noted, "[participants] often say the most interesting aspect of their discussions is the chance to "share and compare" their ideas and experiences" (Morgan, 1997, p. 20). By sharing, participants have the opportunity to elaborate and account for their beliefs and make meaning of their experiences (Morgan, 1997).

Focus groups also help participants synthesize new ideas through interpersonal interactions (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005; Kleiber, 2004). I used focus groups to gather data and build theories about how to improve anti-racist educational activities, by better understanding how they may work or not work for Multiracial students. Focus groups, through their interactive nature, can help participants identify conflicts both between ideas and within an individuals' own

beliefs (Morgan, 1997; Waterton & Wynne, 1999). Focus groups can help participants discover new questions, language, ideas, and priorities (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999). This can even help develop political work on a local level (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005).

Focus group methods can also empower participants (Cunningham-Burley, Kerr, & Pavis, 1999). In addition to finding ways to improve anti-racist curricula, I also used focus groups to build connections among the participants, in hopes of supporting further activism. In that vein, feminist focus groups have emphasized helping participants discover their "voices" (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). Similarly to feminist consciousness-raising groups, focus groups can also help participants build theories out of lived experiences; theories that can be applied to freeing themselves from oppression (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005; Sarachild, 1974/1978). Focus groups can help participants reframe problems from individual matters to collective problems, which may foster collective identities and "conscientization" (Chiu & Knight, 1999; Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999). And, like consciousness-raising groups, focus groups are particularly well-suited to "problem-posing" educational strategies, because they draw on the collective knowledge and power needed to solve collective problems (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). Progressive educators, such as Freire and Kozol, have used focus groups as part of "problem-posing" pedagogies, to help groups analyze problems, identify solutions, and to take action to resolve them (Chiu & Knight, 1999; Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999).

Focus groups interviewing is also well suited to exploratory studies (Krueger, 1994). As an exploratory study, I expected that these interpersonal

connections might help participants draw out new ideas from one another. Little has yet been written about how monoracism influences the effectiveness of anti-racist curricula and pedagogies. By using focus groups, my study allowed participants to connect with each other, share ideas, and generate new ideas, while also allowing me to probe for more information when unanticipated ideas emerged (Krueger, 1994). Because my study is exploratory and intended for both academic and lay audiences, it was also important to me that my research methods tap into participants' ideas in a way that yield data that would seem reasonable to my participants, the populations from which they've emerged, and academic audiences alike.

From the beginning, I intended that the participants and other educators would have the opportunity to read and use the results of my study. Lay audiences often regard focus groups as having high face validity, as the data are easy to understand relative to statistical reports of survey data (Krueger, 1994). With their conversational, collaborative, and thick nature, focus group interviews allow researchers to gather and report data in voices accessible to lay readers. To address readers' potential concerns about the validity of participants' expertise (Cunningham-Burley, et al., 1999), I selected participants whose experiences with anti-racist education and the Multiracial Movement marked them as experts on the research topics and as peers of one of my primary audiences: educators working primarily with Multiracial participants. I chose focus group interviewing, in part, because I wanted to produce data that my readers (including the participants) will find accessible, believable, and useful.

Focus groups also offer efficiency. Focus groups allow researchers to "generate large quantities of material from relatively large numbers of people in a relatively short time" (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005, p. 903). They are a relatively low-cost way of gathering data and allowed me to add more participants without significantly increasing time or cost (Krueger, 1994). Because I funded the project by spending my own monies and soliciting small monetary or in-kind donations from private parties (e.g., money from family members; lodging with family members or friends, while traveling), focus groups' efficiency was appealing.

With this study, I did not venture into the field to directly observe anti-racist education among Multiracial students; instead, I used focus group interviews with people experienced with the phenomenon. For this study, naturalistic observation would have been prohibitively difficult because relevant instances for observation are sporadic and often not tied to any particular geographic locations. To my knowledge as a member of the population being studied, such anti-racist trainings happen only infrequently among groups of Multiracial students. Thus, waiting for such trainings to happen and then trying to observe them could have been both time- and cost-prohibitive. For example, if I had tried to observe participants as they conducted trainings, I would have had to discover each training before it happened, obtain permission to attend from the trainers and their students, and then travel to each training. Further, such observations would not necessarily have stimulated critical or reflective discussions of the participants' practices. As several participants in my study noted, they generally have few opportunities to gather to discuss their curricula and practices regarding teaching Multiracial students. So, to efficiently

create opportunities for critical and reflective discussions of practice, I convened focus groups.

Focus groups also offer advantages over individual interviews. Focus groups are more efficient than individual interviews for gathering data and they allow for group interaction (Morgan, 1997). Had I conducted individual interviews, I might have had an easier time scheduling interviews, but, the participants would not have had the opportunity to connect with each other in person. Because I intended to promote collegial connections and a collective effort, I chose focus groups, rather than individual interviews. I valued gathering groups enough to outweigh the logistical difficulties of convening focus groups, compared to those of conducting individual interviews (Morgan, 1997). But, because focus groups provide less in-depth data than individual interviews, I also created opportunities for individuals to individually share their thoughts. In particular, I created three separate participant surveys to supplement their focus group data, which I discuss in a later section.

Participants

To create a space for the research processes, participants and I prepared in several phases. First, I recruited participants and tried to involve them in my proposed research process. Second, I attempted to gather sample curricula from participants, to be shared with the group, to establish some common points of reference. Third, I organized and conducted the focus groups. In this section, I discuss my recruiting process and the resulting pool of participants.

Inclusion/exclusion criteria

I recruited participants based on their inclination toward an anti-racist stance, their connection to the Multiracial Movement, and their educational work. For my purposes, I initially defined an anti-racist stance as one that meets two criteria. First, an anti-racist stance generally agrees with the Wijeyesinghe, Griffin, and Love's (1997, pp. 88-89) definition of racism:

> The systematic subordination of members of targeted racial groups who have relatively little social power in the U.S. (Blacks, Latino/as, Native Americans, and Asians), by members of the agent racial group who have relatively more social power (Whites). This subordination is supported by the actions of individuals, cultural norms and values, and the institutional structures and practices of society…

Second, an anti-racist stance believes that racism should be challenged. In addition to their stance on racism, I sought participants who were involved in some form of anti-racist education and who were participating in some aspect of the Multiracial Movement. In operational terms, I recruited participants who a) generally agreed with the definition of anti-/racism that I provided, b) were involved in the Multiracial Movement, construed broadly, including student, community, and professional organizations, as well as artists and related businesses, and c) taught about racism in either a formal or nonformal educational context.

Notably, I did not include or exclude participants based on their race or other demographic factors. I did not seek out Multiracial participants, per se; instead, I sought out people involved in activism that focuses on Multiraciality. Further, I did not select for or against people based on the amount of time they had been involved in either anti-racist education or the Multiracial Movement. However, because of my snowball sampling methods, discussed in the next section, and the current

demographics of the Multiracial Movement, the participants did skew toward people who identified with two or more races and who had been involved in the Multiracial Movement for several years or more. I will further describe the general characteristics of my participant pool in a later section.

To help screen potential participants, I developed an intake protocol that I administered over the telephone or in person (Appendix A). With this recruiting script, I explained the subject of my research and asked a series of questions to determine whether the person met my inclusion criteria. If they did, I explained who else might be attending (in general terms), what I was asking of participants, the incentives, the logistics of participation, and what would happen before, during, and after the focus groups (Morgan & Scannell, 1998). Participants were then sent an email confirming their agreement to participate (Appendix B) and an informed consent form (Appendix C), which I requested they fill out and mail in.

Recruiting and sampling

To recruit participants, I used purposive, snowball sampling (Morgan & Scannell, 1998). Focus group research emphasizes purposive sampling, rather than random sampling, because it is important to gather participants who have relevant experience and are comfortable sharing their thoughts (Kleiber, 2004). A purposive sample allowed me to recruit participants who were more likely to generate relevant, insightful data than a random sample might (Morgan & Scannell, 1998). I began recruiting participants through my current networks, which was my initially available set of "key informants and relevant organizations" (Morgan & Scannell, 1998, p. 87). In particular, I began by recruiting from the set of people who

participated (or expressed interest) in a retreat for Multiracial Movement leaders that I co-organized in 2008. Then, through those connections, I solicited information about other potential participants and attempted to recruit them as well, growing my pool of qualified participants in a snowball fashion.

I acknowledge that my sampling method and the small sample size do not allow me to generalize about the opinions of other people who might fit the inclusion criteria (Krueger, 1994). However, the purpose of this study is to identify goals, critiques and potential improvements for anti-racist education, not to generalize the opinions of the participants to the larger population from which participants were drawn. Thus, focus groups were a reasonable approach (Chiu & Knight, 1999; Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005; Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999).

To help recruit participants, I offered several non-monetary incentives (Morgan, 1997). First, I offered the opportunity to share curricular materials and activities with peers. Second, I offered the opportunity to receive peer feedback on some of their current curricula and practices. Third, I offered the opportunity to build connections and a network of practitioners. I chose these incentives in lieu of monetary compensation, both because of my extremely limited budget and because I anticipated that participants would value these non-monetary incentives more than whatever nominal monetary compensation I might be able to offer (Morgan & Scannell, 1998). During the focus groups, numerous participants spontaneously expressed appreciation for connections and conversations the process had provided. I interpreted this as a sign that at least some of the participants did value the incentives I had built into the process.

To increase the likelihood that participants would follow through on their agreement to attend, I followed up with all participants prior to their focus groups (Morgan & Scannell, 1998). I also sent other emails to the participants, encouraging them to complete the online surveys and to share curricula. Then, I contacted participants via email and/or phone approximately one week prior to the focus group to confirm their attendance (Appendix E).

General profile of the participants

In this section, I provide a general profile of the participants, as a group. I begin by describing various steps I took to protect participants' confidentiality. Then, I discuss tensions considered when deciding how to report aspects of the data, particularly regarding the connection of individual demographic information to participants' responses. Finally, I present and briefly discuss characteristics of the participant pool, including inclusion criteria and demographic information.

Because focus groups allow participants to hear (and possibly disclose) other participants' statements, I was not be able to guarantee that participants would hold in confidence what other participants said (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999). However, I took steps to offer participants as much confidentiality as I could, both during the interviews and in reporting the data. First, I notified participants of this potential risk and reiterated it at various stages during the process (e.g., during recruiting; on the informed consent form; at the beginning of the focus groups). Second, to increase social pressure for participants to maintain confidentiality, I also facilitated a discussion among the participants at the beginning of the focus groups, establishing group agreements for standards of confidentiality and asking

participants to agree to those standards (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999). I believe that setting up consensual ground rules helped clarify the expected standard of confidentiality for participants and establish group norms that encouraged participants to uphold those standards.

At the request of my doctoral committee, I also took steps to conceal the identities of my participants when reporting the data. Initially, I had proposed that some participants might want to be credited for their ideas and that the nature of the data they would provide might not be sufficiently sensitive to warrant concealing their identities. What's more, this degree of voluntary transparency might allow interested readers information that might provide further context for interpreting the data. Thus, I suggested allowing participants the option to choose a pseudonym or to use their real names. However, my doctoral committee requested that I conceal the identities of all participants. By doing so, I might not only increase participants' ability to speak freely, without concern for possible public recriminations for their comments, but I might also more easily earn the required approval of the University of Massachusetts Amherst Institutional Review Board. Consequently, I have taken steps to conceal the identities of the participants, including altering identifying characteristics when relevant (e.g., when discussion of their racial identities might reveal their identities) and assigning assigned each participant a pseudonym.

However, to balance considerations of participants' privacy and the utility they might derive from participating, I did not ask participants to use their pseudonyms when addressing each other during the focus group interviews. Many

participants already knew each other by name, so I judged that asking them to address each other by a pseudonym would be disruptively contrived. Further, I wanted participants to be able to develop useful interpersonal connections by participating in the focus groups. So, during the interviews' early discussions of ground rules, discussed later in this chapter, I asked participants to agree that, if they were in contact with each other after the interviews, they would not discuss the content of the interviews, unless they were discussing something they themselves had said or that the person to whom they were speaking had said – and then only after asking that person's permission to revisit their comments. For example, if hypothetical participants Jane and John decided to work together on a inter-organization project after the focus groups, I asked that Jane not discuss the focus group content with John later, unless she was referencing something she herself had said or, with John's permission, something that John had said (and vice versa).

In addition to using pseudonyms and establishing guidelines for participants, I have also taken steps to conceal their identities in reporting the data. Consequently, although I gathered demographic information about the participants, I have not incorporated that information into my analysis of the data for several reasons. First, examining the differences in perspectives on anti-racist education based on race, gender, class or other identities is beyond the scope of this study. I did not select participants for their racial identities or other demographic categories; I selected them based on their experiences with anti-racist education and Multiracial organizations, as well as their anti-racist stance. Second, the number of participants is too small to make valid generalizations about how demographic

designations might differentiate the participants' responses or to extrapolate such generalizations beyond the participant pool. Further, in applying a social constructionist understanding of race (and other demographic categories), I suggest that understanding a participants' racial categorization is a poor proxy for understanding the experiences of racism that have influenced both their racial categorization and their perspectives on the research questions. And, third, the pool of potentially qualified participants is small enough that revealing demographic information any given particular participant would significantly increase the risk of revealing hir identity to people familiar with Multiracial community organizations. So, based on these considerations, I now present a general profile of the participants, as a group, rather than characterizing them as individuals or demographic categorical subgroups.

As a group, participants met the selection criteria in various ways. In addition to the screening interviews, participants provided information about relevant experiences via the Participant Intake Survey (Appendix D), discussed later. Regarding an anti-racist stance, each of the participants expressed agreement with the definition of racism that I provided, when asked. However, I also note that, when asked on an intake form for their own definition of anti-racism, participants' provided various answers; for example, answers ranged in their emphasis on interpersonal or institutional racism.

Participants were involved in the Multiracial Movement in various ways, often engaging in multiple ways at the same time or over time. For example, fourteen had been involved in Multiracial college student organizations; ten had

founded such organizations or served in leadership roles. Fourteen had served in leadership roles in Multiracial community-based organizations. Ten were academics who had studied Multiraciality in some capacity during their graduate or professional work. Six had taught college courses about Multiraciality. Six worked in college student affairs capacities, in which they provided trainings or programs about race, racism, and Multiraciality. And seven were speakers, artists, or multimedia workers whose work addressed Multiraciality.

Participants' educational work also took on various forms. It is worth noting explicitly that, while a few participants had been students in CBARE programs (such as PISAB), none of the participants had taught in what I consider CBARE programs. Instead, their experiences as anti-racist educators were more broad-ranging. Twelve had taught formal education courses on race or racism, mostly in college settings, though a few had taught high school students. Ten had taught non-credit trainings on race or racism in college settings. Seven had provided trainings in community settings. Notably, three had participated in community-based trainings by the People's Institute for Survival and Beyond (PISAB) at least once, experiences on which they commented during focus groups. In a few cases, participants' educational work was conducted through mass media (e.g., websites, podcasts, films) or other art forms; sometimes as their primary approaches and other times in addition to other approaches, such as formal, face-to-face teaching.

Although, as I have said above, this study does not attempt to address how experiences as members of particular demographic groups shape participants' perspectives, readers may be interested in a general demographic profile of the

participant pool. As a group, the participants ranged in age from early twenties to late fifties; however, most participants were in their twenties or thirties. Approximately sixty percent identified as women, forty percent as men, with a small number identifying as genderqueer. Approximately sixty percent identified as heterosexual or straight; forty percent identified as gay, bisexual, queer, or provided no information. The group was also highly educated, with all twenty-five having earned Bachelors degrees; at least half had also earned either a Masters or Doctorate. The group was mostly non-religious, with approximately half identifying as atheist, agnostic, or providing no affiliation, while another quarter identified as non-practicing members of various Christian denominations; the remainder identified as either Christian or Muslim.

Following the implementation of the "mark one or more" option for racial categories in 2000, the reporting of racial data, particularly regarding people who identify with two or more races, has become more complicated and taken different forms than those to which some readers may be accustomed (Jones & Smith, 2001). For example, when respondants can mark only one category, it's relatively straightforward to report their responses in a one-person-to-one-category fashion. However, when respondants can mark more than one category, the total number of responses will add up to more than the total number of respondents. For example, in a hypothetical sample of one hundred respondents, sixty people might identify as White, thirty as Latin@, twenty-five as Black, sixteen as Asian, and ten as Native American. One alternative would be to report particular racial combinations (e.g., Asian-and-Black, Latin@-and-White) and the number of responses for each.

However, given this study's relatively small participant pool, reporting such combinations in detail might reveal some participants' identities. Consequently, I will generally characterize the participant pool's racial demography, rather than indicating the number of most combinations.

As a group, the participant pool tended to identify with two or more races, with a few notable patterns. Ninety percent of the group identified with two or more races and all participants disclosed at least one. Eighty percent identified as Asian, mostly in combination with other categories. Seventy percent identified as White, though none identified as White alone. Twenty percent identified as Black. Sixteen percent identified as American Indian or Alaska Native. A few participants identified as Latin@, Hispanic, or Arab. Notably, approximately half of the participants identified with one combination in particular, Asian-and-White, making it the most common combination claimed.

I speculate that the racial demography of the pool may have been influenced by several factors. First, the West Coast has relatively large Asian American populations when compared with the rest of the United States (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011). Second, the West Coast population of people who identify as Asian-and-White is relatively large, compared with the frequency of that combination in the overall population of people who identify with two or more races. Third, Asian-and-White people may be overrepresented in both Multiracial organizing and in Multiracial discourses (Mahtani & Moreno, 2001). And, fourth, my own long involvement in Asian American-focused Multiracial organizing doubtlessly influenced the social networks through which I was able to recruit participants.

I aimed to create focus groups that would be relatively homogeneous in a few particular ways, though not with regard to race or ethnicity. For example, I selected for participants with anti-racist ideologies and involvement in Multiracial organizing. Selecting for homogeneity in focus groups has advantages and disadvantages (Chiu & Knight, 1999; Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005; Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999; Morgan, 1997). Selecting participants who are similar in ways that will be salient to the research can help establish comfort and some common terms, which in turn encourages participants to share more freely (Morgan, 1997). I selected participants, in part, for their anti-racist stance so that participants would be able to discuss how to redesign activities without having to dispute widely divergent senses of what constitutes anti-racism, Multiraciality, or the value of anti-racist education or Multiracial organizing. While a more heterogeneous group might have increased the diversity of perspectives, it would also likely have stifled some discussions and participants' comfort (Fern, 2001). Creating a supportive and comfortable focus group space not only encourages participants to share, it can increase their likelihood of building connections that may lead to further intellectual and political work outside the focus groups (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005).

Even though my selection criteria inclined the groups toward homogeneity in some regards, they were not entirely homogeneous. First, the similarities in participants' perspectives should not be overstated. Homogeneity can be broadly construed (Krueger, 1994). Just because participants identified as anti-racist and teach about racism, the heterogeneity of their anti-racist perspectives should not be overlooked. Second, participants were heterogeneous in many other regards,

including their various social group memberships and experiences of racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of oppression. I believe these differences lent to participants' varied perspectives, even within my criteria for inclusion. Further, some differences necessarily remained unknown to me until the participants' began exploring their perspectives (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999). These differences would not necessarily counteract the benefits of homogeneity, as participants' willingness to share may have depended more on their perceptions of differences than the differences themselves (Morgan, 1997).

Focus groups: Number, size, and locations

I conducted a total of five focus groups on the West Coast of the United States. The number of focus groups I could convene was limited, in part, by the relatively small number of people who met my inclusion criteria. Further, my study's exploratory nature and minimal funding shaped the number of possible focus groups. As a researcher with little to no funding, I had to consider my resource limitations, as well as data validity, when planning the number of focus groups for my study (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999; Krueger, 1994; Morgan, 1997). Each additional focus group requires additional labor, time, and money (Morgan, 1997). Initially, I had planned to conduct only three focus groups, given my limited resources. Thankfully, due to efficiencies in scheduling participants, I was able to schedule additional focus groups in two of the cities, for a total of five focus groups. In all, I conducted two focus groups in one city, two in another city, and one focus group in a third city.

Given participants' interests and my selection criteria, I expected that the participants would have a lot to say, so I planned for relatively small focus groups (Morgan, 1997). Kitzinger and Barbour (1999) disputed what they called the prevailing idea that focus groups should be composed of eight to twelve participants. They argued that this is too large for some studies, in which as few as three or five participants would be more appropriate. Smaller groups, they argued, allow participants more time to share, per person, decrease frustrations about being cut-off, and allow moderators to better attend to each participant (Morgan & Scannell, 1998). By allowing more time per participant, smaller groups also allow participants to explore differing opinions, rather than merely identifying shared opinions (Fern, 2001). Anticipating a no-show rate of approximately 20 percent (Morgan, 1997), I attempted to recruit approximately seven participants for each group, intending to yield five actual participants per group. Ultimately, my five focus groups had, respectively, three, four, five, six, and seven participants, for a total of twenty-five people.

Generally, experts recommend conducting at least three focus groups per topic (Kleiber, 2004; Krueger, 1994; Morgan, 1997). Kleiber (2004) argued that, under no circumstances should a single focus group constitute a study. By conducting multiple focus groups, a study garners several benefits.

First, dividing the participant pool into multiple relatively small groups allows for richer and broader data than larger groups, individual interviews, or surveys. Down to a size of approximately four participants, smaller focus groups allow each participant more time to respond, per capita. For exploratory studies,

such as mine, Fern (2001) recommended holding at least four focus groups. Increasing the number of groups while decreasing their size can reduce the likelihood that some participants will go unheard, thus increasing the possibility that a broader diversity of responses may be heard.

Second, a larger number of focus groups increases a researcher's ability to detect patterns across groups and reduces the impact of a given group's idiosyncrasies (Krueger, 1994). Conducting multiple groups allows the researcher to compare data between groups, to check whether the data from a particular group is unique to that group or constitutes a larger trend across groups. Further, using multiple focus group interviews allows researchers to reduce any given group's idiosyncrasies on the overall dataset. One might imagine that, in a single focus group, the group's dynamics might favor some individuals or ideas over others. Or, in other cases, a focus group might fail to produce much useful data, for whatever reason. Conducting multiple focus groups reduces the likelihood that a single group will disproportionately (or exclusively) shape the overall results.

Third, by diversifying the potential data collected, multiple focus groups allow researchers to aim for theoretical saturation. Morgan operationalized theoretical saturation as, "[the researcher's ability to] accurately anticipate what will be said next in a group" (Morgan, 1997, p. 43). After three to five focus groups, Morgan suggested, a researcher might reasonably begin to identify the most common and theoretically significant ideas in the data. Krueger (1994) suggested reviewing the data produced by three groups, to see if they have reached theoretical

saturation; if new ideas continue to arise, then the researcher might conduct additional groups, until saturation is achieved .

For each focus group, I selected a location and facility that allowed participants a quiet, comfortable, accessible, private setting. Drawing on my knowledge of and connections with Multiracial Movement organizations, I was able to organize focus groups in three major metropolitan areas on the West Coast of the United States. Not coincidentally, these three regions have significant presences of Multiracial organizations and relatively larger populations of people who identify with two or more races (TOMR) (Jones & Bullock, 2012; Jones & Smith, 2001). To minimize the costs of the interviews' locations, I held the focus groups in community centers and facilities available as in-kind donations from participants. In choosing sites for focus groups, researchers must often balance their own interests with the interests of partner organizations and of participants, while acknowledging that sites may be limited and no site is entirely neutral (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999; Morgan, 1997).

Pre-focus group data collection:

Surveys, curricula sharing, and curricula analysis

After the participants were recruited, I asked each person to complete three online surveys, to share curricula via a secure online site, and to review those curricula for discussion and evaluation. The first survey was an intake survey (Appendix D) provided online via a secure website. I asked participants several basic questions about their perspectives and experiences regarding both

Multiraciality and anti-racist activism. I also asked participants to provide basic demographic information about themselves.

Prior to the focus groups, I asked participants to share two or three curricular activities with the participant pool. I invited participants to share anti-racist curricula that they felt were examples of particularly good or bad learning activities for Multiracial participants. The curricula solicited could be educational activities that participants felt worked particularly well or poorly with Multiracial students. Such curricula could be material that participants themselves had used or had participated in as students. To preserve participants' confidentiality, I asked participants to email their curricula to me directly. Once received, I anonymized the curricula and posted it to an online storage space, through which participants could view the curricula.

As a co-participant, I also submitted activities for the group's review, selected from various sources (Adams, et al., 2007; Bigelow, Christensen, Karp, Miner, & Peterson, 1994; Burch, 2006; Fleming, 2003b; Hamako, unpublished; Lee, Menkart, & Okazawa-Rey, 1998; Vasquez & Femi, 1993). I also included some curricula that I had adapted, based on similar sources to those named (see Appendices I, J, K, and L). It should be noted that I do not know of any CBARE programs that use the activities I provided, as they are my own creations or versions. However, I adapted these activities for use with Multiracial students, based on curricula used in anti-racist or social justice education programs, construed more broadly than Luft's characterization of anti-racist education.

I intended this curricula sharing among participants to serve several functions. First, sharing and reviewing curricula prior to the focus groups would provide participants with access to a potentially new body of curricula. Second, it might help prepare participants for the focus groups (Morgan & Scannell, 1998). I hoped that, by sharing curricula, participants could develop a shared knowledge-base, to which they would be able to refer during their focus group interviews. And third, this pre-focus group process might increase participants' involvement in the research process, thus decreasing their likelihood of withdrawing or simply not showing up.

After collecting, anonymizing, and sharing participants' curricula, I asked participants to review the curricula and submit their anonymous evaluations via a second online survey (Appendix F). Participants could then view the anonymous comments, prior to attending the focus groups. My intention was that the anonymous evaluative comments about particular activities would help focus discussion, producing further comments about specific activities, rather than only general or abstract comments about curricula or pedagogies. However, this aspect of my research methods fell short of my expectations.

Although some participants later expressed appreciation for the curricula sharing and evaluation phase of the research, several issues ultimately limited the utility of this phase. First, few participants engaged with this phase; few people submitted curricula and few people completed the online curricula evaluation survey. Further, even those who did provide survey feedback generally evaluated only a few curricula, rather than completing a survey for each curriculum or activity.

Second, the level of detail of the curricula submitted varied widely. Although a few curricula were submitted in a form such that another person could teach them, the great majority of the curricula submitted were more impressionistic or referential in their descriptions. In such cases, the curricula could not have been taught, let alone evaluated, by someone unfamiliar with the activities. I attribute this problem, in large part, to my own failure to provide clear expectations for what would constitute a useful submission. Third, an even smaller percentage of the participants informally reported actually reviewing other people's anonymized evaluative comments. Even people willing to evaluate curricula may not have been willing to then review other people's evaluations, when I provided them. While I had hoped to use the curricula sharing and evaluations as a method of gathering curricula-specific data, I found that it provided data of far lower quantity and quality than I had anticipated. Thus, the focus group interview responses, as recorded and transcribed, provided the great majority of the useful data for this study. Based on this experience, I believe that any such future attempt at curricula sharing and evaluation would require a different and more refined method. I do hope to have the opportunity to conduct such studies in the future.

Prior to the focus groups, I also asked participants to complete a third online survey. This third survey comprised the questions that would be asked again in the focus group interviews. I conducted this survey for two reasons. First, it provided all participants the opportunity to review and familiarize themselves with the focus group questions, enabling them to privately gather their thoughts at their leisure, prior to arriving at their focus group. Second, I wanted to collect their individual

responses to the questions, both as an additional source of data and as a potential point of comparison to the data generated in the focus groups. I had imagined that these individual responses might provide insight into differences between what individuals thought and what they were willing to share with the group. However, as with Survey 2, the response rate to Survey 3 was relatively low. Further, my informal analysis of the data from Survey 3 did not seem to indicate enough differences from the focus group data to warrant a comparison for the sake of differentiating the two methods. Nonetheless, I conducted Survey 3 as a good-faith attempt to familiarize the participants with the questions prior to their arrival in the focus groups.

Focus group data collection

The focus group interviews provided the majority of the data. Each focus group was approximately ninety minutes long, with some running as long as two hours, depending on participants' degree of engagement (Kleiber, 2004; Morgan, 1997). For a ninety-minute structured focus group, Morgan (1997) suggested preparing four or five questions, with follow-up questions for each question. In this study, I used the following set of questions and possible follow-up probes (for the full list of probes, see Appendix H):

1. How can we improve current anti-racist learning activities, so that they more effectively help Multiracial participants learn about racism?
2. In what ways is the Multiracial Movement engaging in anti-racist activism?

3. What do you, as anti-racist educators in the Multiracial Movement, think Multiracial participants should learn?
4. In your experience as educators, what problems and possibilities arise when teaching Multiracial participants about racism?
5. How might anti-racist learning activities be improved?
6. What *criteria* might you, as Multiracial anti-racist educators, propose for evaluating anti-racist learning activities for bias against Multiracial people?

At the beginning of each focus group, I provided each participant with a paper copy of the interview questions, on which they could write additional responses and use as a reference during the interview. Then, during the focus group, I asked participants the interview questions questions and facilitated conversation (see Appendix H, Focus Group Interview Protocol).

Facilitating the focus group interviews

To explore anti-racist Multiracial Movement educators' perspectives on anti-racist curricula, I used a moderately structured approach to the focus group. For exploratory research, a less structured approach allows participants to pursue topics that interest them. As Morgan noted, "If the goal is to learn something new from the participants, then it is best to let them speak for themselves" (Morgan, 1997, p. 40). As the facilitator, my role was to allow focus group participants to interact, largely without my overt interventions. By allowing more open discussion, participants may be better able to identify the experiences and perspectives most important to them, producing richer data (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999). I also tried to

be open to unexpected turns in the discussion. During focus group research, the framework for participation may sometimes shift unexpectedly, depending on the group's dynamics (e.g., if participants become upset or frustrated with each other) (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). I tried to strike a balance between openness and helping the group re-focus on my research questions, if they seemed to be getting far off-topic (Fern, 2001). In general, it was my impression that the groups hewed relatively closely to the interview questions and did not require much redirection.

Given the small number of people who would likely meet my selection criteria and my purposive, snowball-sampling procedure, I anticipated that some of the participants would know each other. I did not exclude potential participants who might know other participants. However, I also anticipated that a pool of acquainted participants might raise some challenges. Fern (2001) cautioned that researchers should recruit participants who do not know each other, rather than those who are acquaintances. Morgan explained that acquaintances may "rely on the kind of taken-for-granted assumptions that are exactly what the researcher is trying to investigate" (Morgan, 1997, p. 37). However, focus groups in which participants know each other are not less legitimate; "The real issue is that strangers and acquaintances can generate different group dynamics, which may lead a researcher to different choices, depending on the nature of the research goals" (Morgan, 1997, p. 38). Further, in community-based studies, excluding participants who know each other or the research may do far more harm to the process and data than allowing for some acquaintanceships (Krueger, 1994). With this study, I was not only trying to gather information, I was also trying to build and engage a community of people. I

suggest that, in the case of community-based research, seeking a sample of strangers may be both undesirable and implausible. Instead, as a researcher and facilitator, I sought the group's support in identifying and exploring the "taken-for-granted assumptions" within the group. I watched for coded exchanges between participants who had pre-existing relationships and asked them, when needed, to unpack their coded exchanges.

In addition to increasing in-group references, Krueger (1994) noted that familiarity and pre-existing relationships may also inhibit disclosure. To help make any such relationships explicit, early in each focus group, I asked participants to name their relationships, if any, with one another. Some participants' familiarity with each other may have also imported social dynamics related to their relationships and possibly their organizational hierarchies (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999). For example, I knew from the inception of this project that one of the community organizations from which I was recruiting had had, in the past, a conflicted history with some other Multiracial Movement organizations, even though its current leadership was almost entirely new and had not been involved with the past conflicts. It is possible that some of those conflicts might have carried over, involving some of the new members and the participants. However, because many of the networks and organizations from which I recruited are regional in nature and located in non-overlapping regions, it was generally the case that participants were not present with members of any other known-to-be-conflicting organizations.

To help participants feel comfortable sharing, I opened by helping them identify ground rules for behavior in the focus groups. Ground rules can help participants "feel responsible for generating and sustaining their own discussion" (Morgan, 1997, p. 49). Our ground rules addressed topics such as "confidentiality, the goals of the focus group, intended use of the information, moderator responsibilities, and expectations of participants" (Kleiber, 2004, p. 92). Then, because a discussion about discussion strategies can improve focus groups' productivity, I also asked participants to discuss their own strategies for having productive focus groups, such as asking each other follow-up questions (Fern, 2001). Further, I affirmed participants' responsibility for managing the discussion and emphasized the importance of drawing out various perspectives (Morgan, 1997).

I expected that sensitive moments might arise during focus groups (Kitzinger & Farquhar, 1999). While race is generally considered a "sensitive subject," I expected that the participants would be relatively comfortable discussing race, given their work with Multiraciality and anti-racist education. However, I did also expect that ideological orthodoxy, both about the significance of Multiraciality and about criticizing popular anti-racist curricula might create "sensitive moments." Given broad anti-racist critiques of Multiraciality (Sexton, 2001; Spencer, 1997a), discussing Multiraciality in a favorable way might call into question one's commitment to anti-racist work. Likewise, critiquing anti-racist curricula for its biases against Multiraciality might call into question one's commitment to anti-racist work. Additionally, as I facilitated, I tried to be mindful of how my own

connections to participants and my feelings about their comments might affect my facilitation and the data collected. For example, many of the participants are colleagues or friends of mine, through our community work or our scholarship. Further, some of the participants are relatively high-status elders in our circles. So, while facilitating, I tried to observe the group dynamics and to draw out quieter participants, while periodically reiterating my desire to hear a breadth of different opinions. Because this project focuses on participants' perspectives on anti-racist education, rather than the groups' dynamics themselves, I have reserved most of my comments about group dynamics, except when they seemed to me overtly relevant to the data participants provided.

Recording the interview data

During the focus groups, I gathered data in several ways: nominal group surveys; audio recordings; and field notes written by me during and immediately after each interview. Using multiple approaches helped me check the validity of the data through triangulation and comparison (Morgan & Scannell, 1998).

At the beginning of each focus group, I asked participants to fill out a worksheet that listed the focus group questions. I allowed five to ten minutes for this. Having participants write out their thoughts prior to sharing in the focus group allows them to gather their thoughts without interruption, deters groupthink, and to provides a way for facilitators to gather data about opinions that participants may be hesitant to share with the group (Fern, 2001; Morgan, 1997). Helping participants collect their thoughts, uninterrupted, prior to sharing may help them

access more ideas, even more so than extending the length of the focus group (Fern, 2001).

At the end of each focus group, I collected the worksheets. The worksheets supplemented the data shared orally in the focus groups. The worksheets offered an opportunity to compare what participants thought with what they were willing or able to share in the group (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999).

I also audio-recorded each focus group, so that participants' conversations could later be transcribed and analyzed (Frankland & Bloor, 1999; Kleiber, 2004). I recorded each interview using both a digital audio recorder and an audiocassette tape recorder as a back-up, to ward against potential technical malfunctions (Morgan, 1997). To further secure the data, I created backup copies of each recording (Morgan, 1997). To help with recording quality, I reminded participants about the importance of the recordings and, when possible, to speak one at a time (Krueger, 1994).

In addition to facilitating the focus group interviews, I also periodically took notes about the group process and content on my laptop. Krueger (1998) recommended that the research team comprise at least a focus group facilitator and a note-taker/observer, preferably with the researcher taking notes while someone else facilitates. However, as a lone researcher, I did not have a two-person team. I had contemplated recruiting one of the participants or an outside consultant to moderate, allowing me to take notes. However, I decided that the logistics and costs (e.g., travel, food, accommodations) of hiring an outside consultant would be prohibitive. Also, I decided against recruiting a participant to moderate because I

had a small number of participants and I did not want to sacrifice their input to enable my note-taking. Instead, I tried to balance my role as moderator and note-taker. Consequently, my field notes were brief and more descriptive than analytic or interpretive. These notes supplemented the transcripts, reminding me of my own experiences and reflections during the interviews. Then, immediately after each focus group, I wrote my further reflections about each focus group.

As I gathered and stored data, I took steps to guard participants' confidentiality. I stored all digital data (e.g., survey data, audio recordings, transcripts, notes) on a single, privately owned, password-protected computer or in a password-protected online virtual space. In digital documents' content and filenames, the survey, transcript data and notes, I used participants' pseudonyms rather than their real names. I stored the record of participants' pseudonyms and real names a password-protected computer in a separate secure file. All paper copies of survey, recording, and transcription data were stored in a secure, private location. At the conclusion of the study, after the audio recordings of focus group interviews were transcribed and my committee approved my dissertation, I erased and destroyed the audio recordings. Per the requirements of the University of Massachusetts Amherst, I made preparations to retain the survey data and transcripts of the interviews for at least three years following the conclusion of this project. The University of Massachusetts Amherst's Institutional Review Board reviewed and approved this study's proposed methods.

Data analysis

With the data collection phase completed, I began by preparing and then analyzing the data. I looked for patterns, developed codes, and identified themes. In this section, I discuss my approaches to framing, preparing, and then analyzing the data.

Before beginning to code data, Boyatzis (1998) suggested identifying one's units of analysis, units of coding, and primary criterion. My units of analysis were the curricula and pedagogies discussed by participants. My study is about curricula and pedagogies, rather than, for example, the particular people who were evaluating them. When reporting the data, I focus on the content of and themes in participants' critiques, rather than who was saying what. My units of coding were the surveys, curricula, and focus group transcripts, which gathered participants' critiques and ideas.

I recognize that there are many ways to gather critiques and evaluate the effectiveness of curricula or pedagogies. Facilitators' perspectives are a relatively indirect way of evaluating curricular or pedagogical effectiveness. A more direct way of evaluating effectiveness might be to teach the curricula, observe the problems that arise, interview students, and assess students' learning when exposed to variations of the curricula. Alternately, I could have conducted a close textual read of the curricula, offering my own critiques, and soliciting individual participants close reading critiques. In the future, I hope to have the opportunity to conduct such studies. However, for this dissertation study, I lacked the resources to conduct such studies. I did not have access to a large pool of Multiracial participants

or facilitators who could be run through sets of educational activities in multiple iterations. However, I did have access to experts in the field who could reflect on their past experiences of teaching or participating in such curricula. Additionally, I chose a research method that would allow those participants to meet and collaborate with one another.

My primary criteria for evaluating curricula and pedagogies were the effectiveness or value of those curricula and pedagogies, as perceived by the participants. In this study, I am primarily interested in exploring initial ideas about ways anti-racist curricula and pedagogies may enact monoracism and how those problems can be addressed, so that they more effectively teach about racism and monoracism. Secondarily, I'm also interested in exploring what makes curricula and pedagogies effective or ineffective for teaching Multiracial participants about racism and monoracism. Thus, I have focused on the characteristics that differentiate effective from ineffective curricula and pedagogies, rather than, for example, those that differentiate one focus group from another or one individual participant from another.

The level of specificity with which I asked participants to analyze curricula and pedagogies varied based on the method of gathering data. In the Curricula Evaluation survey, I asked participants to analyze and comment on specific aspects of a given curriculum or activity. In the focus group interviews, I asked them to discuss curricula and pedagogies more generally, without presenting them with particular curricula or asking them to direct their analysis or comments to a particular activity. I used this broader approach in the focus groups for several

reasons. First, I speculated that many participants might not read all the activities before the interviews. Judging by the low response rate to the Curricula Evaluation survey and the more general nature of the interview comments, I believe this speculation was well-founded. Second, I wanted participants to get value from participating in the focus groups and I felt that a broader discussion of principles and experiences might provide more value than a tightly focused discussion of a few activities. However, I am interested in conducting a follow-up study in the future, in which I would ask participants to apply the themes and critiques from the current study to specific curricula or pedagogies from CBARE or related programs. This might better allow me to evaluate particular curricula and pedagogies and to further develop general criteria by which other curricula and pedagogies might be evaluated.

Once the raw data was gathered, I began a process of interpretation, to prepare it for analysis. Text-based responses, such as the survey data and submitted curricula, could be transferred into my qualitative data analysis software program with minimal preparation required. However, audio recordings of the focus groups, which comprise most of the data, required further interpretation into text, before they could be transferred into my data analysis software. To begin interpreting the data, I hired two transcriptionists to transcribe the focus group audio recordings into text. I provided the transcriptionists relatively minimal instruction on how to transcribe the interviews. However, I did tell them that I was most interested in the content of the ideas participants expressed, rather than attending to interpreting the length or frequency of pauses, moments of overlapping speech, nonverbal

intonations, or words such as “um,” “ah,” and “like.” In both cases, I asked the transcriptionists to indicate each speaker’s statements, but did not ask them to try to identify participants by name. Once I received the transcripts, I listened to each audio recording while reviewing the transcripts. As I listened and reviewed, I noted from memory and by recognizing participants’ voices, which participant was speaking at each point in the transcript. Further, based on my interview script, memories, and sense of what participants had said, I re-interpreted the transcriptionists’ work. For example, when the transcriptionist omitted or indicated they could not clearly hear or interpret a participant’s statements, I would re-listen to the recording and attempted to interpret and transcribe what ze had said. At other times, when I disagreed with the transcriptionists’ interpretations of what words had been said, I would revise the transcript to provide what I felt was a more accurate representation. Once the audio recordings were transcribed and all of the data was rendered into text, I imported the data into a qualitative data analysis software program and began to analyze the text data.

In what follows, I elaborate on my processes for analyzing the data. Per Krueger’s suggestion, I used a “situational analysis process,” in which I chose analytical tools only once I’d had “sufficient exposure to the data” (Krueger, 1994, pp. 133, 141). Frankland and Bloor (1999) suggested the following general process for coding and analyzing transcript data. First, read through the text as a whole, to become familiar with the content and to note recurring themes and patterns in the data. Second, re-read the data and begin attaching codes to passages of text. Third, cycle through the text in repeating iterations; as new codes and sub-categories are

developed, they should be applied to the entire dataset, where appropriate. Each piece of transcript may be assigned multiple codes, which Frankland and Bloor refer to as "indexing." For their characterization of this coding process, I quote Frankland and Bloor (1999, p. 147) at length:

> Indexing is therefore essentially inductive in nature, with categories emerging from the analyst's hermeneutic absorption in the text. Recalling the events of the focus group itself, the analyst has a participant's 'pre-understanding' of the transcript and understanding is deepened by submersion in the text. Analytic categories are generated through this understanding and these categories, applied to the text, deepen analytic understanding, which in turn stimulates greater elaboration of the analytic categories, which are in turn applied to the text, and so on. The process is not reductive: the data are retained in richness and context, but comparative analysis is facilitated. The progressive elaboration of index-codes is equivalent to that of chapter-headings and sub-headings. The later addition of new sub-headings to address emergent analytic interests is facilitated because the analyst has no need to re-read all the transcripts: only those text items indexed with the original 'chapter-heading' (for example 'peer pressure') need be re-inspected for possible re-indexing with the new sub-heading.

As I coded the data, I began looking for how often a particular thematic code was mentioned by individuals and within each group, as well as participants' overall focus on the theme (Morgan, 1997).

To assist the data analysis, I used the qualitative data analysis software package, NVivo 9. I uploaded all of the text data (e.g., interview transcripts, curricula, survey responses) into NVivo. Using NVivo's auto-coding function, I was able to sort data by relevance to each research question. This rudimentary auto-coding allowed me to then view and manually code all of the data related to a particular question, one question at a time.

With the data prepared and entered into NVivo, I reviewed the full dataset for the first time. Boyatzis (1998) suggested that researchers should review their

full data set prior to creating subsets from the full dataset or coding the data; this allows researchers to overview and get a feel for the data. In my study, I reviewed all of the data: the responses from the three online surveys; the curricula submitted online; the written worksheets from the focus groups, which repeated the questions posed in the third online survey; and the focus group transcripts.

To begin coding, I developed preliminary codes based on an analysis of a representative sample of my full dataset (Boyatzis, 1998). This involved choosing a representative sample from the full dataset and developing an initial set of codes, which I would later test by applying to the full dataset and evaluating their utility. To create a representative sample, I chose two of the five groups, constituting a 40% sample. In selecting groups, I chose the two groups that had the highest response rates to the surveys. Coincidentally, these two groups were also the largest of the five. This sample allowed me to develop codes using more than one focus group's data, thus reducing the possibility that a single group's idiosyncrasies might disproportionately skew the direction of the developing codes.

With a sample dataset identified, I then began reviewing the sample and developing initial codes. This is sometimes referred to as an "open coding" phase (Lewins & Silver, 2007). For each of the two groups, I reviewed all of their data (i.e., surveys, curricula, worksheets, transcripts) and identified preliminary codes based on patterns I noticed (Boyatzis, 1998). Per Boyatzis' suggestions, I developed a set of codes that differentiated effective characteristics of curricula and pedagogies from ineffective characteristics. After developing these initial codes, I then performed a second pass, applying the initial codes to the entire sample.

To refine the initial codes, I performed axial coding on the sample dataset (Lewins & Silver, 2007). For each tentative code, I attempted to define the code; describe its criteria, qualifications, exclusions, and positive and negative examples; and gave it a name (Boyatzis, 1998; Dey, 1993). When possible, I revised the initial codes to maximize differentiation and minimize overlap between codes, to be easy to apply, and to have minimize amount of excluded or uncoded data (Boyatzis, 1998). Continuing the axial coding, I combined duplicative and similar codes (Boyatzis, 1998). Then, I grouped codes into themes, themes into meta-themes, and meta-themes into theoretical narratives that attempted to answer my research questions (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Boyatzis, 1998). To complete axial coding, I then performed a third pass through the sample, to apply the developing codes to the sample as appropriate.

After developing initial codes based on the sample dataset, I applied those codes to the full dataset. During this second pass through the full dataset, I created new codes as I felt necessary and included them in the overall structure of the codes. After coding the full dataset, I then updated and refined the codes and the coding structure (Krueger, 1998). As with the initial codes for the sample dataset, I then revised the overall structure of the codes and themes. Then, using the revised codes, I performed a third pass through the full dataset, applying the revised codes to the full dataset.

To report the data, I reviewed the data, codes, and themes I had produced while coding the full dataset. Then, following that review, I identified the themes that seemed most relevant and substantial. In the following four chapters, I report

and analyze the participants' answers to the research questions. In the Chapter 5, I present participants' perspectives on what anti-racist education should be teaching Multiracial students. In Chapter 6, I analyze those perspectives and present my own recommendations. Then, in Chapter 7, I present participants' responses regarding what they perceive as working well or not working well for Multiracial students in anti-racist education programs. In Chapter 8, I offer my interpretations of those responses, framed by my own recommendations.

CHAPTER 5

LEARNING GOALS FOR MULTIRACIAL STUDENTS

In this chapter, I present the participants' responses to the research question, "What do you, as anti-racist educators in the Multiracial Movement, think Multiracial participants should learn?" Here, I present the major themes I observed in participants' responses. This study intends to identify possible problems with and improvements to anti-racist education, rather than attempting to use the participants as representatives with which to study some larger population of anti-racist educators who're concerned about Multiraciality or monoracism. Therefore, I have not attempted to enumerate, more than generally, the number or percentage of participants who endorsed particular perspectives. However, where possible, I have attempted to present data in rough approximation to their overall presence in the full dataset. To help organize in participants' answers into themese, I draw on Park's (2001) typology of knowledge.

Park argued that traditional formal education tends to favor particular types of knowledge, typically, factual knowledge about course content. Nonformal education, however, often emphasizes other, less recognized forms of knowledge. To recognize and validate the types of knowledge that nonformal education may help learners create, Park mapped out three different types of knowledge: representational, relational, and reflective knowledge. *Representational knowledge* takes two forms: representational-functional knowledge and representational-interpretive knowledge. *Functional knowledge* regards understandings about how something works or how it may be used. *Interpretive knowledge* is "synthetic and

integrative, rather than analytic and reductive," that is, it refers to the meanings people create and attach to things (Park, 2001, p. 83). *Relational knowledge* "grows out of active communal life and, conversely, it is relational knowledge that makes it possible to create and sustain a community" (Park, 2001, p. 86). *Reflective knowledge* "involves actors themselves critically analysing and evaluating questions of morality and values relating to their life conditions and the proper actions to take… this form of knowledge is also a product of group deliberation... It is social and dialogic" (Park, 2001, p. 86). Park asserted that formal education privileges representational knowledge over relational and reflective types of knowledge. Thus, a person might understand how oppression operates (i.e., functional-representational knowledge) or be able to analyze the functioning of a system and understand it as oppressive (i.e., interpretive-representational knowledge), yet have little or no sense of how this relates to hir values or experiences (i.e., reflective knowledge) or feel connected to anyone with whom ze could take action (i.e., relational knowledge). In what follows, I present the participants' responses, organized primarily by the types of knowledge they address and then secondarily by the major themes within those responses. I largely reserve my own evaluations and commentary on participants' responses for Chapter 6.

Representational knowledge: Learn about racism and monoracism

When asked what anti-racist education should be teaching Multiracial people, participants suggested many learning goals that focused on representational types of knowledge. Participants called for teaching basic concepts about racism, including ideas about privilege, oppression and social constructionism. Participants

also wanted students to learn about racism and monoracism in historical and contemporary political contexts. And, participants wanted curricula that will better help Multiracial students learn about the impacts of racism and monoracism on Multiracial people.

Basic anti-racist education concepts

Participants wanted curricula that will familiarize Multiracial people with basic concepts of racism, privilege and oppression, and how racism socially constructs our ideas and practices of "race." Numerous participants suggested that Multiracial students should be familiarized with the prevailing anti-racist education concepts of privilege and oppression, particularly regarding racism's dynamics of racialized privileging and oppressing. Emphasizing the importance of recognizing and problematizing racial hierarchy, rather than merely teaching about supposed racial differences, Jamila said, "more than just learning about different understandings of race, [Multiracial students should learn] that really the main problems with racial categories is there's hierarchy being assigned to difference." Luke suggested that anti-racist education, "assist multiracial participants to [sic] understanding systems of racial oppression and where multiraciality falls within those systems." Here, Luke is not only invoking the "privilege/oppression" paradigm, he's also calling for anti-racist education to recognize Multiraciality and to situate it in its analysis of racism.

Participants frequently spoke of their desire for Multiracial students to understand social constructionism, how racism socially constructs race – and for

Multiracial students to deconstruct their own received beliefs about race. Rebecca suggested,

> I think that people can learn that race is not biological and they can understand that it's just the grouping that society has. I mean you can live by the grouping and not believe the hype about it, you know? I think you sort of have to live by it, because the groupings aren't going away anytime soon. So if you understand how it works, then you don't have to be controlled by it. I think that's the most important part of that anti-racist activism.

In the same focus group, Alice then focused the conversation about social constructionism on a topic of particular concern in contemporary racial discourses, both in Multiracial communities and the U.S. in general: the racialization of medicine and medical conditions. Alice said,

> I think this medicine question is important to curriculum also, about the – that then when you talk about race, "Does that exist?" But then, "Does that mean something important in terms of medical care?" That is something that would be important for all participants.

In another focus group, Leonard, who teaches in a Native American context, said that he teaches about the social construction of race using a historical approach specific to the concerns of his community and his students:

> [W]henever it's appropriate, I always try to talk about the history of the idea of race and the contemporary construct of race. … I try to anchor it in the political history of Native Americans that have influenced contemporary Native identity. That brings us all to the same table. … And then for me, the crowning thing that I can give people, if I'm gonna impact someone, is just drawing the parallels between the one-drop rule and blood quantum, and how they're the opposite in their design to meet the political and economic needs of the group in power. And I think then once people see that, the relationship between those different definitions of racial groups, then they're in a position to be able to digest and accept the rest of what we've got to talk about.

Other participants also wanted Multiracial students to learn about the complexities of privilege and oppression and how racism socially constructs race, with lessons situated in the histories of various communities.

Historical contexts of racism and Multiraciality

Participants wanted Multiracial people to learn about the histories of racism and colonialism, which they saw as context for understanding contemporary racism. And, further, participants wanted Multiracial people to learn about how Multiraciality and monoracism fit into those histories. Grace emphasized the importance of situating Multiraciality in a larger historical context:

> I think that's such a key piece of understanding Multiracial and People of Color: just the history of the United States, just here – I'm not talking about anywhere else in the world – exactly what was put into legislation, what was made law, what were the exact steps? Because they're very clear, and not a lot of people know and how that affects how so many people are Mixed. I would really emphasize the history ... And I think that would be my most important goal.

Grace also underscored this point in a survey response, writing that Multiracial students should learn, "The history of race and racism in the United States, and how being multiracial has been an integral part of the formation of the U.S." Broadening the context beyond the United States, Alice suggested that Multiracial students should learn about how various racisms have constructed race and imbued it with meaning in a global context. For example, Alice suggested that Multiracial students should learn about the *Loving vs. Virginia* court decision, but that Multiraciality's history extends beyond that moment and beyond the United States. Like Leonard, Carol spoke of the importance of teaching about racism in its historical contexts and

of addressing students' own communities. Speaking about her own Multiracial children, Carol said,

> [W]hat I'm seeing with my daughters and their schoolmates, is that possibly the bigger challenge is to teach, as we just get further and further past the civil rights movement, just that all these things happened to People of Color – that's why things are the way that they are, and that really not that much time has passed. You still have people alive today who remember Jim Crow and Internment and all those things.
>
> Because my daughter and her friends are all Mixed, and they're all over the place, but they just think it's like a cool thing. And it's just their culture and tradition and food – that's what they think it represents – and the way they look. And that's cool, and I'm really happy for them – that's great. But they don't know anything about the history of racial inequality and institutionalized racism – they just really think it's like people's attitudes and beliefs and stuff and preferences – not like "I think Black guys are cute," like that kind of level of thinking.
>
> So to me, that would be – also to teach Mixed-Race people what their participation has been, their history in this. And I'm always telling my kids, "You would have been interned![5] One sixteenth [Japanese heritage]!"

Joshua said that Multiracial students should particularly learn about Multiracial people's presence in the history of the Civil Rights Movement,

> Multiracial people have existed and have been involved in social justice movements. … [Multiracial] people don't feel they can go to these different communities. They say, "Well I'm not really legitimate. I'm not authentic," still. And yet there's still all these examples of [Multiracial] people in the Civil Rights movement – if it wasn't for them ... Maybe they didn't have the options to identify that way publicly, but they made huge impacts. I think we have to be connected to a history.

Arnold followed this thought, saying, that learning about histories of racism is an important step toward anti-racist activism, "to mobilize or address issues or address racism, it's important for people … to have an understanding of history, to know

[5] Referring to the the United States' mass incarceration of Japanese Americans in "internment camps," during and after World War II.

how race and racism has affected them or does affect them and others." And, participants tended to be pleased with curricula that attended to history.

Participants favored activities that situate learners' experiences in a larger historical context. For example, Stacy appreciated the Multiracial Timeline activity (Appendix I), saying, "It allows multiracial participants to see how their own experiences fit in to a larger multiracial history. This important idea is possibly new, since multiracial people often feel isolated and society overwhelmingly thinks of multiraciality as a NEW phenomenon." Similarly, Diana praised the same activity:

> It is a good way to be come acquainted or reacquainted with multiracial history and see where our own lives fit into the story. … Sharing your own timeline allows [you] to see common threads between participants and to recognize a trend for one's developing identity as a multiracial.

Diana's comment illustrates many participants' recognition that lessons about history can help Multiracial students' understand Multiraciality and their own place in contemporary politics.

Contextualize Multiraciality in contemporary politics

Participants wanted Multiracial students to learn about and critique the ways that racist political agendas are attempting to use Multiraciality for their own ends. Aimee wrote that anti-racist education should interrogate the ways that Multiraciality is or has been used to support oppression; it should, she said,

> challenge multiracial participants (as well as our monoracial brothers and sisters) to examine the way in which multiraciality has been used as a tool of oppression of both multiracial individuals as well as other communities (e.g. use of the word 'hapa', blood quantum, hypodescendancy, passing, etc.).

Carin spoke of the need to teach people to challenge the idea that Mixed-Race indicates that the U.S. is "post-racial" or "post-racism":

> [H]ow do you instill this culture of caring in the work and that's really important and also understanding this "post-racial" rhetoric and being able to deconstruct it in the context of a Multiracial community. So, yeah, how do we as a community think about "post-racial," how is our identity sort of used in this community of "post-racial" and what do we do about that? I think getting students to get there is big.

Or, as Carin later wrote, participants should learn that, "being mixed does not make U.S. society 'post-racial.'"

A few participants referenced the U.S. Census as part of the political context for understanding Multiraciality. Leonard spoke about the importance of teaching about the Census and enumeration, referencing it as one of the first things to prompt discussion about race in his very racially Mixed family, "[W]e need to understand that this is a political identity that I need for checking boxes because we need this to attract XYZ for monitoring social justice initiatives or tracking how we vote, you know… ?" However, June questioned the high priority assigned to the Census in Multiracial discourse and activism, saying that there might be other issues of more critical and immediate importance to Mixed people:

> [W]hen I think about like a Multiracial movement, it makes me think about the census movement; the one thing that was really unifying. But it's really good to think about what things surface as a broad thing that Mixed people can like get behind. But at the same time it's not necessarily the most dire needs that most people are facing. It's good to be recognized, and that was an important step in the movement, but it probably wasn't the first thing on the agenda for most Mixed people in their lives of things that are afflicting them with every ten years when they have to check a box. I guess I don't wanna say using Mixed-Race, but the way you talk about it, it's like it's really good at helping people see a larger analysis of power because it's where things start to break down.

However, regardless of their position on particular contemporary issues, participants often suggested that anti-racist education should be helping Multiracial participants connect their experiences to broader political issues.

Racism and monoracism affect Multiracial people

Participants wanted Multiracial people to understand how racism and monoracism target them. Because Multiracial people are affected by both racism and monoracism, Stacy said that Multiracial students should learn, "[B]oth about how traditional racism effects [sic] both you and your family as well as how monoracism or other types of racism effect [sic] specifically Mixed-Race people and families, so you can kind of put yourself in this larger discussion." Likewise, Leonard called for curricula that could, "[get] across the idea that Mixed people can experience racism the same way that any other ethnic group can experience racism. Plus, there might be some unique ways that we experience racism that [are] a little different." Arguing for the importance of understanding monoracism, Seeta said,

> [B]y clarifying it, you can be aware of the inequity and from there you can … attack it or take it apart, deconstruct it and then rebuild it, positively. So if we don't even know that people are racist against us, then we can't start to try to dismantle what is happening and then address it. So, I think that's the first step.

Joshua spoke of the importance of learning about racism and monoracism for Multiracial youth, in particular:

> [Another goal is] to address some of the disparities that actually do exist for Multiracial people and the lack of information out there. So, I did a study of Multiracial youth a few years back and one of the things that was really staggering … a lot of them right now are participating in more drug activity at early ages, middle school, alcohol, smoking earlier, drinking, things like that because of self-esteem. So I think it also can address some of the different disparities around mental illness, unfortunately, and depression that sometimes is happening and the things that are then associated with it: some of the violence in the schools and starting high-risk behaviors around alcohol and drugs in middle school. So I think that's another reason why these are important goals, in what they can accomplish.

Here, I infer that Joshua is suggesting that learning about racism and monoracism could help buffer Multiracial students' self-esteem, helping them recognize that they are not pathological, but that they may be caught up in pathological or toxically racist and monoracist situations.

Several other participants emphasized the need for Multiracial students to learn that monoracism, as a form of oppression, comprises more than merely interpersonal discrimination. In this way, some of the participants alluded to the analysis of oppression as a multi-level phenomenon (Hardiman, et al., 2007). Arnold said that Multiracial students should learn that Multiracial activism is not merely or primarily about individual-level identity exploration, it also addresses issues of institutional-level oppression, such as monoracism in healthcare (Tashiro, 2005):

> [I]t's not all about … what you would criticize as elitist identity exploration … I think there are some really pressing, impactful things … Health issues and how does a doctor recognize you as being susceptible to certain conditions or diseases? Having that language and that recognition. So just making sure that with the learning goal, that those kinds of issues will be addressed or incorporated.

In evaluating curricula, Carin praised the "Design a monoracist institution" activity (Appendix J), citing its emphasis on learning about institutional-level oppression:

> I love this activity. In essence, it asks participants to define the ways in which institutions already are monoracist, but allows for creative license in doing so. Understanding and developing concrete "policies" can help participants to think reflexively about the opposite, which of course, is to minimize oppression for multiracial people. Without doing the concrete activity, I think it's difficult for people to identify anti-racist policies in the abstract.

So, participants outlined several learning goals for representational knowledge that hewed closely to numerous anti-racist educational goals. They called for Multiracial students to learn about privilege and oppression, social constructionism, historical

and contemporary political contexts of oppression, and the importance of recognizing how various forms of oppression affect students themselves, on multiple levels. In the comments above, I have addressed participants' concerns about racism and monoracism. In the following section, I address participants' concerns about how other forms of oppression intersect with racism and monoracism, troubling Multiracial communities, and the importance of learning about those intersecting hierarchies.

Representational knowledge: Hierarchies that trouble Multiracial organizing

While participants strongly advocated that Multiracial people learn about racism and monoracism, they also called for anti-racist education that will help Multiracial students confront and remedy oppressive dynamics that play out in Multiracial organizations and communities. Many participants spoke and wrote about the importance of addressing the diversity and differences among Multiracial people. Among these differences, participants discussed the inclusion or exclusion of people who may be "Mixed heritage" but not "Multiracial;" the ways that White privilege plays out between Multiracials who are part-White and those who are "multiple minority;" and the ways that other aspects of oppression inflect and intersect with racism and monoracism.

Understand terminology and who is/not "Multiracial"

Participants had different answers to a foundational question for discussing diversity within Multiraciality: Who is Multiracial – and who is not? Alice noted a need to clearly define or at least discuss different terms related to Multiraciality:

> [A]bout the idea of Multiracial… it can mean "Mixed, an individual who is Mixed, Multiracial, multicultural," but it could also mean "Monoracials

> together." A lot of people do… when I am doing searches on the internet, it is also kind of categorized, "Oh is this Mixed people or…" So, I think that's a big part to think about in terms of what the movement is and what it looks like.

Even when the individual, not a group, is the unit of analysis, participants had varying perspectives on which individuals should be counted as Multiracial. Some participants suggested criteria that harken to biological or familial ideas about Multiraciality (e.g., (biological) parents who're racialized differently). However, some participants – and sometimes the *same* participants who construed Multiraciality narrowly – called for broadening the boundaries of "Multiracial." Julia, Grace, and Leonard discussed who is and is not included in the term "Multiracial," suggesting that an alternate term, "mixed heritage," might be more inclusive. The term "mixed heritage" may be construed to also include Transracial Adoptees, Monoracial people in interracial relationships, and the Monoracial parents of Mixed or transracially adopted people (Kelley & Root, 2003). Julia is a Monoracial person in an interracial relationship and the parent of a Multiracial person; Grace is a Monoracial Transracial Adoptee; Leonard is Multiracial. All three had been involved in the same Multiracial organization. As the Multiracial-identified person and a former leader in the group, Leonard's voice carried particular status and I found it noteworthy that he advocated for a more inclusive construct, one that encompasses both Julia and Grace's concerns.

> JULIA: Kinda starting at square one is, "What do we mean by Multiracial?" Because when I think about it, I think of it as Mixed-Race, Mixed heritage, Monoracial participant, like Monoracial members of families. And that for me is very personal, because that's how I identify myself. Because I'm Monoracial, I'm in a Mixed family, I have a Mixed-Race daughter. And part of the reason why I was kind of silent at the beginning [of the focus group] was because I was struggling with that identity in this context. Am I an ally? Am I part of this conversation? I don't wanna minimize or gloss over the

> experience, like what Leonard was talking about, but where am I positioned in this conversation? And I'm still struggling with it, even though I've been on the board of [our organization] for a year, I'm still struggling with it because I definitely see myself as an ally, but where am I? Am I part of it?
>
> GRACE: I feel exactly the same as you do.
>
> JULIA: That's why I was so quiet – because I was like, "I don't know." I'm having a dialogue in my head about where am I. So in that sense, criteria needs to be very clear, and who is defined as Multiracial or who is part of this definition or understanding?
>
> LEONARD: We had some really good internal discussion about that when it came time to define mixed heritage for one of the revolving banners on [our resource-clearinghouse website]. And I can't remember verbatim what we got to, but I think we did a good job because it started popping up on other websites who were quoting us. But we include mixed heritage families and that's inclusive of monoracial parents. But if there's a way to be more clear about that so that people like yourself, which are an ever-growing –not growing, but it's like the exact same proportion as always – … [part] of the Mixed-Race or mixed heritage community. Like I mean if we need to do a better job of validating, yeah.

Other participants also discussed the possibility of broader constructs, such as "mixed heritage," which might include Transracial Adoptees, people in interracial sexual relationships, and interracial parent-child relationships, as well as Multiracial people. Seeta also recommended accounting for different types of families,

> [I thought of] adopted children who are possibly or likely Multiracial and they may not know their own history. So how we can include them in the process, so – maybe just being open to blended-type families, step-families or, you know, other types of Mixed families. I think sometimes it is surprising to people and they react a certain way, so if we can kind of make that again a kind of norm that would be great.

In a separate focus group, Stacy also suggested including Transracial Adoptees in mixed heritage discourse and education:

> I think I generally would define Mixed-Race as someone who is biologically more than one race, but when I think of the Mixed-Race community or movement or what we often now call "the Mixed-Race heritage community," I definitely include Transracial Adoptees and their families and I think we

> haven't talked about that at all and I think adoption in general is something that we should be more aware of when working with anti-racism. Whether it's transracial or not, people who are adopted do not have as much information about their heritage and family. So, some of the activities and some of the questions and some of the things they talk about may just be different for them and that we should be aware of them and also inclusive of them in this.

While presenting a broader vision for Multiraciality or "mixed heritage," Stacy also invoked the idea that race is biological. Some Critical Mixed-Race scholars have critiqued Multiracial people's perpetuation of biological notions of race (Spencer, 1999).

A few participants problematized popular ideas of "Multiracial," beyond basic ideas of who the term includes or excludes. CJ suggested that Multiracial students should learn to problematize the term and concept of "multiracial," as well as their own ideas about what it means to be "Mixed;" posing these questions as learning goals, he asked, "How is the term "multiracial itself problematic alone w/o dialogue surrounding it? How do we conceptualize being "mixed"?" Acknowledging the diversity within Multiraciality, Matt problematized the idea of creating a single set of curricular criteria for Multiracials, writing, "I would hesitate to apply the idea of something across the board being good for all multiracial people, only because they may experience it in different ways." However, participants also noted that learning goals often privilege and center some Mixed experiences, while marginalizing others. In an attempt to address some of the hierarchies and oppressive dynamics within Multiracial organizations and communities, participants named several issues they felt should be addressed.

Diversity and hierarchies within Multiraciality

Many participants said they want Multiracial students to learn about the diversity within Multiraciality and the hierarchies that stratify Multiracial people. Aimee wrote, "In understanding mixed race, it is critical to demonstrate to others that not all mixed folks have the same experiences (just as individuals from the same racial background will have vastly differing perspectives and experiences)." Similarly, Colette wrote that Multiracial students should learn about, "Diversity within Multiracial Movement/community. Not a monolithic community with one type of experience, but a diversity of experiences often facing similar challenge of questions, "What are you?" etc." As a related example, Leonard said that some groups of Mixed people, such as Mixed Natives, are often ignored within Multiraciality:

> I think right away introducing the idea that there's not a uniform Mixed-race experience is important, because particularly working with the Native population, the Mixed Native experience, especially community-based Mixed Native experience, is never represented in the articles and newspapers. And so making sure that my perspective includes the community that I'm working with, I think is really important. And then making sure that sort of the unique experiences of low-income people of Mixed heritage are included there as well, is really important.

Arnold suggested that, given the various ways that different racialized groups have related to Multiraciality, effective curricula should acknowledge and address the diversity of Multiracialities and Multiracial experiences,

> [T]he "mix" of the parent groups, that can determine how someone may identify as Multiracial or a member of that group and whether they choose to engage as a Multiracial participant around Multiracial issues. I think each group that's present in the United States has a different history when it comes to Multiraciality and racial mixing. Some have a very long history, but it results in, kind of, a Monoracial identity, but other ones, it's either/or. And then other groups are slowly evolving or have evolved to have an identity,

> but one that is rooted in Multiraciality. So I think those dynamics can have different effects on how people individually may be – the way that they would perceive a learning goal and the way they would interact with that. Again, the goals themselves aren't in question, it's how you teach or tailor those to those groups, because when you talk about Multiraciality then it incorporates – it can incorporate – anything and everything.

One of the differences participants saw dividing Multiracial people is the way that White supremacy privileges Multiracial people who are "part-White," relative to Multiracial people who are "multiple minority."

Challenge (Part-)White supremacy

Participants called for educating Multiracial people about the ways that oppressive racial hierarchies play out within Multiracial groups and communities. Several participants recounted ways that White supremacy plays out in Mixed contexts, befouling Mixed organizing and solidarity. Participants specifically wanted Multiracials to understand how White privilege may play out among Mixed people, especially between those who are part-White and those who are not. William suggested that some Mixed-White participants might have a sense of their experiences of racial oppression, but not of their White privilege, which may alienate other People of Color in their groups:

> [S]omething I've been emphasizing more has been hoping that participants get some type of a balance between their sense of victimization and privilege. [The students who come to my classes] tend to be more in tune to their victimization and want to emphasize that as a way of saying, "I belong to this group of People of Color, and I've had this problem too, and I've had this experience, and my identity is with you." And they seem to be more attuned to that than they are to the privilege, which is often what other people in the room are focusing on.
>
> [Those other people are] somewhat skeptical about the victimization part, and they don't want you to come on with it too strong to say, "Yeah, I marched with Martin Luther King [Jr.], too." … [W]hen you do that, they often

> are put off by that – people who see themselves more as legitimate People of Color. …
>
> [O]ften, I think it's helpful then for the participants themselves to … see themselves clearly and to come out with, "I've had these experiences [gestures with one hand], but I've also had these experiences [gestures with the other hand], and I can see how these have somewhat privileged me or [that] I've had certain benefits that maybe other people have not had." … I find when people can do that, then it kinda relieves everybody in the group from this need to point that out to you, saying, "Because you look like that, you probably had some benefits, too, and I want you to admit that. I *need* you to admit that, before I can kinda relax." So I found that becoming a learning goal for when I do education.

Further articulating a way that pre-existing racial hierarchies may play out among Multiracials, Matt pointed out,

> In the Mixed club, sometimes, we have some mixes more than others and so, sometimes, if we are not conscious of it, people of similar mixes can dominate the conversations and set the agenda. And so, it's just something that we have to be consciously thinking about and I'm sure that may happen in other organizations as well.

Jamila noted that Mixed White participants' internalized dominance might prompt resistance to learning about White Supremacy,

> There are differences – if you have only a room of people who are Mixed White and something else, then they may not come up with the same conclusions about – they might not necessarily jump to the same conclusions about White Supremacy that they would if it was Mixed more with Mixed folks who were White and then something else and then Mixed within different Communities of Color. I think that's something that I've seen a lot of in student discussions … when there are a couple of people who are like, "You know that's not my experience at all," and then to have the group come together and see that there are some common factors and some differences and like what's the bigger picture meaning behind it.

Arnold and I discussed an example of this dynamic, which we both experienced at a Mixed-Race student conference, in which a conflict was complicated by part-White Multiracials' past experiences of being told that they were not People of Color.

> ARNOLD: I remember the issue that came out towards the end of the conference was the acknowledgement of "double minority" experiences … and how that was being addressed in the conference. The way it came out towards the end … it came across very abrupt … if it had been addressed or integrated earlier or in some other fashion, then maybe it was something everyone at the conference could have common dialogue around. …
>
> ERIC: Part of what I remember from that scenario, from this conference that Arnold and I were both at – there was a workshop that I was in and someone else was raising the issue of White privilege within Communities of Color. So, if you have a White parent or White family, it's a different experience than not. And the person facilitating the conversation, kind of, squashed that. And so people were like, "No, we need to talk about this." And so they went to the conference organizers and the conference organizers said, "You know, we don't really have any more space for a meeting or anything like that." So they weren't going to do it. So, in the final meeting, what happened, from what I remember and what I was told afterwards, was that some people said, "We have a problem with this," and there was a final panel and people said, "People aren't talking about White privilege in Mixed communities." And some of the folks who were claiming White heritage were saying, "Well, I am not White. I am Mixed. I am a Person of Color." And [the challengers] were saying, "That's not what we're saying. We're saying that there's White privilege. We are not saying that you are White." It became this thing where one group was saying, "You're saying that I'm White and you're denying my identity," and another group said, "We want to talk about the privilege that you have, by virtue of that." So it broke down that way.

However, Joshua suggested that some politicized Mixed White participants might, out of privilege-guilt, overestimate the value of their White privilege,

> [I[f they are of Color and something White, they also then may get White Supremacy, but then take it to the extreme where it becomes self-deprecating. You get a sense of where – it's all about White privilege. I, kind of, push you to think about, "Do you really then have privilege?" Particularly for those folks who identify as Folks of Color, but then get treated as White – "Are they actually completely privileged?" I mean doesn't that cause some, kind of, internal issues there, that also can also be really difficult? I use an example of my dad, who identified with Folks of Color in high school and got chased home by … the Kids of Color, who would beat him up even though he identified with them, because they said, "Oh, here's this White kid and we beat up all the other White kids, too."

Cheryl called for spaces where Multiracial part-White participants can reflect on their privileges and experiences, without being told how to feel,

> depending on kind of where folks are in their own processes of understanding identity and understanding racism… I think it's really important, if I had a group of Multiracial folks, to unpack and really figure out the intersections of their identities and [have] the space to articulate identities, as a Person of Color, for example. But I also can't do that without acknowledging the fact that I have a White parent and I have White privilege in a lot of cases. So anyway I think being able to talk about those experiences or learn about that and not have someone say, "And this is how you should feel," but at least have space to understand how those things come together.

Such problems, unresolved, manifest in curricula, troubling anti-racist education.

(Part-)White supremacy in curricula

Applying this call for recognizing diversity and hierarchies within Multiraciality, a few participants critiqued curricula for tacitly privileging Mixed-White Multiracials. Some activities implied that Multiraciality is positioned between Whiteness and Non-Whiteness, which marginalizes Multiracials who are positioned between multiple Non-White groups. For example, Jamila criticized the Racialbread Cookie (Appendix K), writing, "This does not provide room for a mixed identity that doesn't necessarily just fall in the middle of whiteness and color." Stacy leveled a similar critique of the RacialBread Cookie, writing, "Multiracial people without white heritage and/or with more than two heritages may not be able see themselves in the activity as well." Participants favored activities that prompt learners to reflect on they ways in which they're privileged.

To address these various manifestations of White supremacy, several participants suggested teaching about how the privileging of Whiteness and of particular Multiracial experiences can play out in all-Multiracial contexts. Luke wrote that it is important to, "[Help] multiracial participants understand how they

may benefit from white privilege and what they can do to help dismantle white supremacy." Similarly, Peter said,

> I do think there kinda needs to be a better balance struck between the fact that so many people are in fact Mixed with White and something else – and especially here in California, Northern California, West Coast, it's a large part, like White/Black, White/Asian – but that isn't the base norm, and there's no reason that it should be. When we speak from those experiences, don't try and pretend that it's not the case, but it isn't necessarily true for everybody who is involved.

In addition to her criticism of the RacialBread Cookie activity, Jamila also wrote, "For mixed white folks, it could open important conversations about how they benefit from white privilege even if they are not phenotypically white looking." Writing about a different activity, Arnold wrote that the Multiracial Power Shuffle (Appendix L) could help Mixed-White Multiracial students understand how they are privileged, "The steps helps multiracial participants reflect how different elements of privilege may shape their experiences, even if they do not particularly identify with groups associated with that privilege." And racial hierarchies were not the only oppressive hierarchies that participants' saw needing redress and improvement in anti-racist education.

Other oppressive dynamics in Multiracial contexts

Participants also called for anti-racist education that would teach Multiracial students about other oppressive dynamics that play out in general and in Multiracial contexts in particular. A few participants highlighted the importance of teaching about classism and class privilege, especially as it plays out in Multiracial spaces. Leonard discussed classism, noting that while Multiracial people who go to college have opportunities to reinvent themselves or discover that people might read them

differently than in their home communities; Multiracial people who are poor and do not go to college may not. Seeta said that religious diversity or differences are often overlooked in Multiracial spaces and discourses. Stacy spoke of the need to account for geographic/regional differences in teaching about Multiraciality and monoracism. Jamila suggested that curricula should also address issues of citizenship status and international experiences when teaching Multiracial students.

To address these various hierarchical dynamics, participants suggested developing curricula that applies intersectional analyses of oppression. Participants wanted Multiracial learners to recognize multiple social group memberships and intersectionality, not just race and racism. Colette wrote that she wants Multiracials to learn,

> [W]e exist in many communities! We have intersectional identities! I want multiracial participants to learn that our identities exist externally and internally and that we exist and can be a part of many communities even broader than our racial, ethnic, cultural communities.

Jason suggested that students should consider privilege and oppression, as it relates to their various social group memberships, not just their racial group memberships. Curricula, he said, should promote "understanding racism and race, but also general concepts of privilege, oppression and how their identities play into that, in relation to their other dimensions of identity also." William suggested that all participants acknowledge their various experiences of privilege; in this case, William expressly named class privilege:

> I think it helps other people in the group to also own up to their own [privilege] – everybody has some mixture of privilege and victimization. I find some people don't wanna come forth with that. Like I worked in a Black community in Boston in Roxbury – it's a very Black community. And there was the people who are coming to work there, the Black psychologists who

> felt the sense of kind of like entitlement to be there, none of them were from the community of course. They were upper-middle class Blacks who had gotten a PhD and had very high education and had their own sense of vulnerability about coming down to Roxbury and working – they were afraid going down there. But the veneer was like, "I'm Black, and that's why I'm in this Black community." I think if anybody in the group can come forth with who they feel that they really are, or see themselves clearly, that it helps other people in the group to do the same.

However, participants noticed that students, including Multiracial students, might resist considering multiple social group memberships or intersectional analyses of oppression.

Participants were wary of allowing competition among various oppressions (i.e., "Oppression Olympics") to disrupt intersectional analyses. Colette said,

> I feel like a lot of that comes as oppression Olympics discussions … definitely I've been in conferences where it's turned into that. And I think one article that we read was the "Three Pillars of White Supremacy and Hetero-patriarchy" [helps with] breaking out of that, "you're more oppressed than me." And even within Multiracial communities, it's like, "The [multiple] minorities have it harder because we don't have White privilege," and that conversation comes up. Then I think including other forms of identity also makes this crazy whirlwind of, "What if you're queer and Multiracial and disabled?" So I think, yeah. Including that's important.

Luke suggested teaching about multiple hierarchies, to help students "understand how various systems of oppression interact to reduce the amount of 'oppression olympics' that might be played when examining various experiences with oppression." By confronting and teaching about the hierarchies that problematize Multiracial organizing and communities, participants sought to promote better relationships among Multiracial organizations' members and between members and other communities. This dovetailed well with participants' relational knowledge learning goals for Multiracial students.

Relational knowledge: Learn to connect with other people

Participants had less to say about learning goals related to relational knowledge. However, they did highlight the relational knowledges, the connections, they wanted Multiracial students to build with three different groups: other Multiracial students; Multiracial communities; and their Monoracial constituent or "heritage" communities.

Connect with other Multiracial students

Participants called on anti-racist education to help Multiracial students develop relational knowledge of their fellow Multiracial students. They wanted Multiracial people to be able to share their experiences with each other, to collectively develop a sense of legitimacy and validity. Carol wrote,

> I don't think my GOALS would be any different for the multiracial participants, but I would like to be able to bring their experiences and perspectives into the dynamic if possible and hope that they can acknowledge that there is something there to discuss.

Like Carol, other participants wanted curricula that would solicit, rather than invalidating Multiracial people's experiences. Carin said, "I think multiracial students always find it valuable to hear from and meet other people who share their racialized experiences, and to understand that they are not alone." Likewise, Stacy invoked the importance of relational knowledge for breaking down isolation and building community: "[I]f everybody is Mixed-Race, the things that are really important are building that sense of community and shared experience, because even still a lot of Mixed-Race people feel really isolated." In Carin and Stacy's comments, I hear echoes of the "consciousness-raising" pedagogies used by activists and educators in the early Civil Rights Movement and the Second-Wave Feminist

Movement (Sarachild, 1974/1978). Stacy went on to say that anti-racist education can help facilitate reflection and connections, even when Multiracial students may have other Multiracial people in their lives; she said,

> I have three siblings, all of us are Mixed. As an adult I realize actually two of my family's closest family friends are also Mixed and I never thought of that… and actually we are all three-quarters White and a quarter something else (laughs) and it's like, "How is it possible that we all had that same experience and never knew or talked about it or realized it?" So I think that's really important.

To further break down pervasive feelings of alienation or isolation, participants also wanted Multiracial students to connect with Multiracial people and communities outside the classroom.

Connect with Multiracial communities

Beyond connecting with other Multiracial students in class, participants suggested that anti-racist education connect Multiracial students with Multiracial communities and organizations. Despite having grown up around other Multiracial people, Stacy said,

> [E]ven a lot of people I know in the Mixed-Race sort of community – including myself when I was a kid – I didn't really think there were other people who are Mixed … or I didn't think of it that way.

So, participants endorsed helping Multiracial students learn about Multiracial activism and communities. Stacy wrote that Mixed participants should learn, "That there are shared experiences among multiracial people. That there IS a community and a movement that they are a part of." Grace advocated, "you need to get networked and let everyone know that there are these other supports and resources out there." Colette echoed the importance of connecting with organizations, saying,

> [R]esource learning is really important … letting folks know that there are organizations like MAVIN, places on campus – on college campuses – that exist, that there's websites, and that there's spaces …. I feel like there's a larger network, and that's a big part of the Multiracial "big M" Movement that there's people, there's folks, there's places, there's spaces to go to.

Some participants noted an additional benefit to connecting Multiracial students with current Multiracial organizations and the history of Multiracial activism: it helps them avoid reinventing the wheel and can provide guidance rooted in past efforts. Given that college courses on Multiraciality are often a gathering point for Multiracial students who go on to organize Multiracial student organizations, curricula that connect students with organizations could boost the effectiveness of subsequent efforts to create student organizations. And, while participants advocated connecting Multiracial members with other Multiracial organizations and communities, they also wanted Multiracial students to connect with other people and other groups.

Connect with Monoracial constituent communities

Participants called for anti-racist education that could help Multiracial students identify with and connect with their Monoracial heritage communities. Several participants who had been involved with an organization serving Multiracial Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (APIs) pointed to their organization's efforts to both make API communities more inclusive of Multiracial APIs and to help Multiracial APIs connect with and feel at home in those communities. Aimee, who worked with another Multiracial organization, wrote that she wanted Multiracial students to learn,

> Multiracial individuals do a disservice to the anti-racist movement by isolating themselves from other communities. … [And] they are in a unique

> position to enrich anti-racist [sic] and to create unique alliances with those dedicated to undoing racism and oppression.

Within Aimee's comment, I read not only an imperative for anti-racist education to connect Multiracial students with Monoracial communities with whom they may be identified, affiliated, or racialized, but also an imperative to address how Multiracial students think of themselves in relation to others. And many participants talked about what they would want Multiracial students to learn about themselves, what Park might refer to as reflective knowledge.

Reflective knowledge: Learn about oneself

In addition to teaching content about oppression and building connections between students, participants wanted anti-racist curricula to develop reflective knowledge. In particular, they wanted students to develop their sense of self and racial identity, their values regarding racism and monoracism, and their abilities to enact those values. These types of reflective knowledge help students understand where and how they fit within the traditional content of representational knowledge and the social connections of relational knowledge.

Learn about one's own racial identity

Many participants said that they want Multiracial students to learn that it is acceptable and desirable to identify with and learn about all of their heritages or racialized group memberships. Stacy wanted Multiracial students to "feel confident claiming their membership in all the groups that make them who they are." Participants called for curricula to help Multiracials student counter messages of illegitimacy, which may come from those communities or from one's own

internalization of those messages. Carol framed the need for developing this reflective knowledge, saying,

> [I]f the person is feeling at all like they are maybe less legitimate than some other Monoracial members of the community, it might be hard for them to go out into those communities and feel as much agency as they might be able to. If you help – I don't know how to do that, beyond just telling them that they are legitimate. … I think a lot of us had to go through that in the early years, just to participate in the Japanese American community in particular, at all. You had to sort of give each other support and say, "We are legitimate, we have a right to be there, this is our community. Our voice is a Japanese American voice.

Alice also invoked the problem of internalized monoracism, manifest as a sense of shame or inferiority, saying she wanted Multiracial students to learn "that there is no shame in identifying with everything that makes up who we are - while also being aware of the privileges and disadvantages of doing so." But, Alice's comment, with its mention of "the privileges and disadvantages" of various choices of racial affiliation, also alluded to an ambivalence among some participants.

Some participants expressed ambivalence about, on one hand, promoting Multiracial identities or multiple racial affiliations while, on another hand, advocating self-determined racial identities. Seeta said she wanted Multiracial people to claim their own racial identities, but she also alluded to family or heritage as a determinant of racial identity:

> I would want [Multiracial students] to be able to verbalize their own identities, which comes back to identity development, but their own family's identity. So, a history of their family. It's not something you can force anyone to do, but I think it's helpful.

Similarly, Diana expressed ambivalence about the tension between endorsing claims of multiple racial affiliations and allowing people to choose their own racial affiliations:

> I feel like I know a lot of people that are Mixed-Race, but they either cling to one or the other or they don't have any interest to know, if they have bad experiences. I feel like if you are those things, you kind of should know where you come from. But like you said, you can't really force that on somebody if they don't have the interest there. But I think it's a beautiful thing to know about your own heritage and others' as well and just, you know, finding positive things in everything.

On her worksheet, Diana reiterated and perhaps clarified her point, with two goals: 1) "Acknowledge all backgrounds/ethnicities you possess whether you personally identify with them or not," and 2) "Encourage others to get better acquainted with their ethnic backgrounds." This ambivalence also manifest in conversations about teaching about racialized "role models" in anti-racist education.

Role models: Tensions between "claiming" and self-identification

Some anti-racist education curricula teach Students of Color about high-status People of Color, using these similarly-racialized role models to counter racist messages. However, such curricula may run afoul of the question, "Who determines a role model's racialization?"

On one hand, some participants' sentiments suggested that a potential role model's racial identity should be determined by biological criteria, familial criteria, or social processes of racialization. For example, now-President Barack Obama might be claimed as a Multiracial role model, based on the genealogy of his recent family or perhaps based on some of his racialization by popular media (Riley, 2012). Seeta suggested that curricula emphasizing positive Multiracial role models (e.g., the work of Kip Fulbeck), such as Barack Obama, could be useful for combating monoracist messages that pathologize Multiraciality. Seeta said,

> [H]aving role models is so important. I know we kind of put them on a pedestal but, like Barack Obama, he's our president and he is a role model for

> people. And I remember Kip [Fulbeck] was saying in his video – introducing his new exhibit – about the Louisiana Justice of the Peace [who refused to officiate interracial marriages]. The Justice of the Peace said, "Well, what would happen to the kids if they grew up?"[6] And [Kip] said, "Well, they could be the president." And I was just like, "That is the perfect way of expressing it's okay to be Mixed and positive." I think if we can introduce that more into mainstream curriculum, then people will say, "Hey, it is okay to be Mixed."

A few other participants were also tempted to use the "claim us if we're famous" strategy when seeking role models for Multiracial students,

However, this "claiming" seems to conflict with participants' sentiment that people, including Multiracial people, should be allowed to "choose" their own racial affiliations and that other people should not be allowed to invalidate or challenge those choices. Thus, Barack Obama's choice to mark only "Black" on the 2010 Census should, by this logic, be respected and not invalidated. Alice followed Seeta's comments about Obama, saying,

> [T]hat also leads to a really important discussion, which is [Barack Obama] doesn't identify as Mixed and why? And what the historical context is for the reasons that he doesn't – and needed to make that choice or he wanted to make that choice. Just opening it up leads to so much knowledge that we haven't been able to express … [C]ertainly for my generation … you chose a side and then I learned a whole lot about it. I was this Black militant woman in school and I learned a whole lot about it and that was important but I missed out on all of this – more things.

Rather than claiming Obama as Multiracial, I read Alice's comment as suggesting anti-racist educators engage Multiracial students in conversations about specific histories of racialization and how they relate to the present racialized context. By doing so, educators might deepen students' understandings of how racialization and racism operate, rather than promoting one racial identity or another.

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[6] For more on the details of this case, see Nottingham (2009). Leong (2010) situated this case in the larger context of judicial erasure of discrimination against Multiracial people.

Some participants suggested teaching about the complexity of racialization, instead of teaching that self-racialization is a right or a desired outcome. Rather than oversimplifying, curricula might validate individuals' complex lived experiences and the realities of broader social forces that enact racialization and racism. William emphasized the importance of teaching about racialization and problematized the value placed on self-identification, noting that a person's agency is not the sole or primary determinant of their racialization. William suggested that a balance of agency should be acknowledged, saying,

> [A]sk people to become clear about how much they have agency, and how much they are part of a society that has very strong social forces. So that you might get somebody in a workshop that says, "I'm just me, and I'm not gonna be categorized anybody and put in any boxes – I'm just me, I'm an individual." And that's I think they're showing their sense of agency. But I think I'm always asking people to look at things in a broader sense too, that … every day people are giving them messages about who they think they are. And some of those might be positive treatment too, by police officers or something. So regardless, there is a reality to what you think – who you think you are – but there's also another reality to how you're being treated by other people.

Carin also expressed curiosity and ambivalence about how racialized identities are assigned. Playing such ideas off against ideas of "performance," Carin mused,

> I'm reading Judith Butler right now, on performances and gender performances and I know that there's [sic] other theorists that've sort of translated this over to race. One of my committee members, who identifies as an anti-racist activist, … he is really pushing me in my writing to stop using "identity" and call it a "racial performance." And I am really struggling because in some ways I feel very liberated, because when I think about the contextual spaces I think, "OK, well, would that be a good learning goal for Multiracial students?" Is that liberating for other people to think of it as a performance? But then I come to this conversation and it's like, "But it IS an identity!" And so I'm really struggling with the back and forth between the sort of fixedness of an identity and sort of the claiming of the individual and sort of the care that needs to go into that and this idea of sort of – in a racialized state/space we are performing. We are performing for – I don't know. (Laughs) Power structures and so, you know, it's like, "I don't know, I

> haven't figured it out yet." I haven't thought further about this but you know "Where do we enter those conversations with Multiracial activism?" and "Should one be privileged than the other?" or should both be put on the table?

While I found these ambivalent comments to be provocative, they comprised a relatively small portion of the larger conversation about reflective knowledge learning goals and racial identity. Participants commented more about the potential benefits of validating self-identification and teaching Multiracial students how to resist racial interrogation and ascription.

Imagined benefits of validating self-identification

Participants imagined that validating self-identification would produce various benefits for Multiracial students. Alice suggested that validating Mixed people's racial identities and experiences may help them feel recognized by other participants and to be more open to reflecting on their own racism,

> [I]t's hard to think about in what ways you are racist … if you also feel like your experience is not validated... [I]f you have that within an anti-racist class, it allows you … to have that kind of reflection, once you know that the participants see you as – you exist in the group and you have this identity that is different than the way other people see themselves, it's just – we need to do it! (Laughs) That's the point! We need to have this kind of education.

Seeta suggested that validating racial self-identification can help people work through their internalized racism, offering a reflection on her own experience,

> I think they will be better socialized as people. I think they won't have as much of a hang up sharing their ethnic heritage. Like I remember growing up, I apparently look more South Asian than my [Latina][7] side. So I just wouldn't tell people I was [Latina]. So I would just kind of introduce myself and say "I'm Pakistani or Indian," and then it would be embarrassing to me because maybe then their housekeepers were [Latina] or their nannies and that was

[7] To help preserve Seeta's privacy and obscure her identity, I have altered her racial affiliation. To remind the reader of this alteration, I maintain the bracket quotes around the substitution, throughout.

> the only connection they had. So it was something I had to get over and I think, over time, I was comfortable with explaining both sides. So I think if I had gotten it earlier on, it may had been easier for me to express that positively and not have any hang-up about both sides of my family, depending on whatever stereotypes there are about each.

Broadening this concern, Aimee suggested that allowing self-identification could reduce internalized monoracism among Multiracial youth, thus reducing negative outcomes,

> I was talking about the 2003 study that was done in Seattle in the public schools. And the study talks about the kids that are getting in more trouble, that are more violent, are getting into drug usage, abuse rather – are Mixed kids. And not that they're more prone to getting involved with drugs or violence more than anyone else, but there's something at play with the communities that are pushing and pulling them. And so if we had a community that was more accepting of the complexity of identity, then perhaps they wouldn't be involved in these difference activities. So foundationally, the ability to self-identify is critical.

To help Multiracial students develop their self-identity and learn to defend it, participants suggested teaching ways of resisting challenges to their racial identities.

Resisting racial interrogation and ascription

Participants wanted Multiracials to learn that they are not obligated to respond when people demand that they racialize themselves, either generally or in particular ways. Numerous participants suggested that Multiracial students should read Maria Root's Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed People (Root, 2003a), which asserts the right to not have to justify one's racial identity to others. And various participants alluded to Root's assertion. Stacy suggested that Mixed people learn that they are not required to tell people their racial identity, give an "acceptable" answer, or educate people about their racial identity; they can refuse to justify themselves. Stacy recommended teaching this to Mixed people at a young age,

"especially as children, lots of children are taught to… obey and answer adults." Cheryl agreed with Stacy, suggesting that students should "[understand] when we are internalizing those things … the damage that comes from that. I think of the times that, as a child, I would answer and people would say "no" and not believe me." In another focus group, Seeta echoed this position:

> [I]t's not your responsibility educate other people who have questions about your identity. … [W]hen you get asked "What are you?" or whatever else you might get asked, if it's an inappropriate situation – you know, just 'cause someone asks, you don't have to tell them. And I think most of us go through kind of cycles about how we address those questions. But, especially young people … they don't know they can say anything different than just giving the answer. And I think that kind of takes away some control of yourself; when you feel like, if someone asks you that question, you just have to answer. And if you feel comfortable answering, that's great and you can tell them a little bit about you know how Multiracial people feel about that or fit into the discussion or whatever, but if you don't feel like it you don't have to. I think that's important to know.

However, participants did not dismiss the value of being able to explain or defend one's racial identity; rather, they wanted Multiracial students to be prepared and to view that as one of several possible, voluntary responses. On a worksheet, Stacy wrote that Multiracial people should learn,

> [T]hey CAN help to educate people about the multiracial experience, but they don't have to. It is OK to react in a way that is consistent with how you feel when asked "what are you?"-type questions. You can answer, ignore, ask for clarification, explain why it's inappropriate for the situation, etc.

Likewise, Seeta said Multiracial people should learn to be comfortable and secure about their racial identities and in responding to the "what are you?" question, so as not to reinforce or fail to challenge stereotypes about Multiracial people:

> [W]e are ambassadors when we go out into the world and people ask us our backgrounds. And if we are not comfortable or secure about it or confident, then that's when stereotypes are reinforced about dysfunctional Multiracial families or whatever the case may be. I think, as people, if we're aware of our

> own backgrounds, that will help kind of overall the cause of understanding about Multiracial families.

And participants called for practical skills for defending the one's own identities and values.

Along with developing a clearer sense of one's own racial identity, participants wanted Multiracial students to learn and practice the skills needed to defend that self-awareness. Matt shared a story about being confronted by a man while tabling for a student organization. The man claimed to be "post-racial," but insisted that Matt disclose his racial identity, asking various versions of "What are you?" for five minutes. Matt resisted by highlighting the contradiction between the man's espoused ideology of post-raciality and his insistent need to know Matt's race, telling him, "Oh it doesn't matter, you don't even care, right? You said so." The man continued to guess at Matt's racial identity. Matt concluded the story by saying, "I just stonewalled him and finally he just got upset and left, but I mean, I think there's a lot of pressure and I never did answer the question, but I think other people might have."

Following Matt's story, Carin suggested that dealing with such situations draws on skills that can be learned – and that curricula should teach Multiracial people those practical skills necessary to resist others' "What are you?" questions and racial ascriptions. Carin said,

> "It's a skill. You know? I think that we sometimes forget that that is a skill you have to call up and we are not taught how to do that. So that if we are to have a learning goal how do we teach a skill around what you did. … the skills to be able to say – to not say. (Laughs) To say "I'm not going to tell you, because this is violence that you are putting on me.""

This might also require preparing Multiracial people to defend themselves against authenticity-baiting and horizontal racism from other *Multiracial* people. Rebecca noted that there still intra-group discrimination by Multiracial people who, while embracing their own racial identity, may still discriminate against Multiracial people who claim other Multiracial identities or invalidate the identity claims of other Multiracial-identified people. In addition to skills for defending one's own racial identity, participants called for anti-racist education that will encourage Multiracial students to *enact* anti-racist values.

Learn to value action

Beyond understanding racism and how it might be challenged, participants wanted learners to develop a personal commitment to anti-racist work. June said that anti-racist education should help *all* people (including Multiracial people) feel they can contribute to larger movements for social justice,

> [A]fter the participants are done, if they feel like … their words or their ability contribute to a larger anti-racist movement is based on their position in the spectrum. … I guess I feel sometimes when you're doing anti-racist stuff, it's like, "Oh, People of Color, yay, you have so much to give in this space." And it's like, "White people, shut up." [Group laughter] But it's not the dynamic we wanna set up, because obviously … there's a lot of work to be done from that position … [A]lso as someone who's Mixed … remember, "Okay, my experience, even though I feel like it's not fitting what we're talking about, it's actually so valuable, and it's maybe crucial to us getting to these future models." And for everyone to feel like that.

Peter wanted Multiracial students to learn, "that they /we have every bit as much responsibility to engage in anti-racist activity and dialogue as the next person; that is to say, we all must play a part in realizing a more racially just society." Other participants also emphasized the importance of teaching Multiracial students to

value anti-racist activism and favored curricula that led toward activism. Joshua said he valued,

> [Curricula] that foster the inclusion of Multiracial people [that're] … action-oriented. I think a lot of people go to like trainings or workshops … "What am I going to do with this?" And so if it's not tied to some form of real action, then I think a lot of folks – their participation in it is less meaningful.

Similarly, Arnold supported "Encouraging multiracial participants to contribute towards anti-racist efforts with measurable results." And Stacy wrote that she wanted Multiracial students to learn, "How to work together against racism. How to work with people of color against racism. How to work with white people against racism." This emphasis on valuing and participating in anti-racist activism also included learning skills related to activism.

Some participants advocated teaching generalizable allyship skills, and noted parallels between Multiraciality and queerness as a possible entry-point for thinking about solidarity. June said,

> [S]ome of the tools might not necessarily seem specific to Mixed-race, but how to help people be accountable to other people, or how to be an ally and also expect that from others are helpful."

Following this thread, June articulated parallels between Multiracial, queer, and transgender experiences, suggesting that teaching about Multiraciality could be a way to lead Multiracial members into considering related social justice issues:

> [W]hat you're talking about makes me think about being queer or trans, because the idea of getting to choose –it makes me think about getting to choose your gender identity or your sexuality and being different from your family. I guess I feel like talking about Mixed stuff is such an entrance into like thinking about so many things, because it talks about how you identify yourself, and also at the exact same moment, what your position is, like which groups, and so it makes you hold onto both of them.

June continued,

> I think that's definitely one learning goal is trying to get Mixed people to be allies to a queer movement, that was something that I really wanted to see happen. Especially with trans identity because I feel there's just so many natural allies.

Participants also saw ways that a multi-issue, intersectional analysis and allyship skills might support other skills.

Some participants advocated that Multiracial people learn skills for political organizing. June said,

> I'm an organizer, so I would want to organize with them. My learning goals would be that they'd become organizers, which means getting the tools they need, learning the history of organizing and also Mixed-Race organizing and having a power analysis and having an understanding of how you can get what you want, or leverage the things that you have. That would be my number one learning goal because even if they don't get everything else, they can at least be equipped with the tools to get there.

June later added, "the one other learning goal would be to realize that they can create the groups that they need - when we need support in a certain aspect, that they can create that themselves." Julia suggested that Multiracial students learn "Policy advocacy and systemic change in institutions to be more inclusive in their anti-racism stances. Learn the tools to be able to do this." Julia and Grace also wanted students to learn how to advocate for better anti-racist curricula in their professional education programs (e.g., social work). Julia said,

> When I say push back, I mean I'm an educator at this institution, and anti-racism is just not on the radar. I mean it's all talk, it's all rhetoric, and I work at the social work school, where you would think you could make the assumption, oh, anti-racism. No! No! (chuckle) You can't assume that people know what's it all about. So I wanna empower my students to be like, "Hey, we need to include this in the curriculum. We need to talk to the dean" – okay, maybe it sounds like a revolution but I'll lead it, I don't care. It's not the dominant discourse. It's not – in a lot of ways it's the peripheral discourse and how do you get that centered? How do you make it like it's part of my students' language, you know?

Grace then followed by suggesting that current anti-racist education does not provide students, of any race, sufficient practical skills for using their knowledge of racism to challenge racism in their own workplaces. This call for practical skills also included skills for teaching other people.

Harkening back to participants' desire for Multiracial students to learn that they can – but are not obligated to – articulate and defend their racial identities, participants also advocated teaching Multiracial people how to teach about racism and monoracism. As Joshua put it,

> [B]e able to speak about Multiracial issues and anti-racism in a way that's supported by the evidence that's actually out there. So I think that's one of the goals, too: that people are able to not only talk about, but write about and communicate about anti-racism from Multiracial perspectives, from the Monoracial perspective, too … because people are always asking these kinds of questions. When we do try to challenge anti-racism someone is going to disagree with us, right? So we have to be able to talk back effectively, I think, and write back effectively about it. And through art too...

Seeta suggested that, by improving Multiracial students' abilities to teach about racism, those students might "complicate [other people's] understanding of race, right? In hopes that … a complicating of racial categories and race as a social construction could lead to people less likely to believe in inherent differences in race." In another focus group, several participants had a conversation about the burdensome need to train Multiracial people how to "teach up," that is, to teach people in higher-status positions about Multiraciality and monoracism:

> CARIN: I think there's a lot of "teaching up" right now, in the Multiracial movement. I don't know, I guess it can be thought of as "grassroots," but certainly with my position as an academic right now, I think it's "teaching up" about Mixed-Race experiences, so… as an activist how do we teach the skills to "teach up" and by teaching up, I mean that there's not, sort of, tenured professors that, sort of, that this is on their radar really, I mean there's junior faculty, but it's not on the mainstream radar.

> STACY: So that's like students teaching…
>
> CARIN: Faculty.
>
> …
>
> CHERYL: I get asked the most asinine questions. I was at, like, a cabinet meeting, and we were talking about the IPEDS [Integrated Post-Secondary Education Data System] and The Department of Education requiring now all institutions have to comply with the Census. … I had well-meaning questions; like people wanting to know why this is so important. … [I]t was certainly teaching up. I was definitely like, "I will not be – I can't be – I will not be angry in this thing." [Group laughter and inaudible cross talk] It was really, like – yeah. Remarkable.
>
> CARIN: I mean, I'm glad you're asking the question… I guess? I mean, it's unbelievable!
>
> STACY: On the other hand, you want to be, like, "You don't need to understand it. It's against the law – get some data people in here and we'll figure it out. You don't need to know why." [Laughs]

Stacy later said that Mixed people are criticized for focusing on monoracism and their own development. However, Stacy said, she feels that learning about such matters is both important in itself and also important to developing capacity for challenging monoracism *in* anti-racist organizations. Stacy advocated,

> [H]elping Mixed people feel confident and claiming memberships of all the groups they identify with and … the flip side of that is that Multiracial people probably will have the responsibility to educate Monoracial populations to be accepting of us when we come to them. As an individual feel confident when we go into that group, but as a movement kind of be aware how we can educate those groups to accept us and then really general … skills for working with People of Color against racism and skills for working with White people against racism … I would hope that's a part of any anti-racist education: how to work with people who are in some ways different from you all for a larger goal. Because it's such a primary thing I think I'm pretty stuck on this idea of Mixed people being accepted in Monoracial groups of color. I think that we mostly still are not and that before we can get anywhere else we have to get there. So I think a lot of my answers are all about that. [Laughs]

Participants called for curricula that could help move their members along various "trajectories" toward anti-racist activism. Several speculated that developing interpersonal connections (i.e. relational knowledge) might encourage the development of students' reflective knowledge of their own values and abilities.

However, numerous participants said they felt particularly challenged when trying to craft or teach anti-racist education for students who might be disinterested in or opposed to anti-racism. Diana put it this way:

> I think it's kind of hard because … in working with the online community, you get some people that're in there out of curiosity, for fun, and you have the people that are activists that're really wanting to … create a movement … I don't know how you would set the same goals for those two types of people… I don't even know if we could even say the Multiracial person is … open to these things – to actually learn what we all here want to learn, because some people are just like, "I am not into that." They don't care. So, I think that would be a challenge, for sure, to try to get these things out of them, cause they might not be interested in them.

Grace suggested that developing students' self-awareness and identity is desirable and necessary, but not sufficient for encouraging them to learn more about racism:

> [A]s a Multiracial individual, you need to be able to self-identify and really be strong and have a foundation of who you are in whatever community you're in. That's like a foundation; that's important for everyone, right? Not every Person of Color is gonna be an anti-racist or work in anti-racism. But I think that that genuine experience and individual identity is super-important to create that base layer [gestures low with hand]. But then the work that needs to be done, like anti-racism work is up here [gestures higher up with hand]. … So as an individual … how are you gonna get to this place, up here [gestures high with hand]? … [A]s a Mixed person, you don't wanna just realize you're Mixed … or I'm a transracial adoptee and go to therapy for the rest of my life and do no work and not advance [group laughter] anti-racism – because you can do that, right? And really overvalue or … make your individual identity more significant than the greater work that needs to be done. So I think it's absolutely essential foundation for it, but then what are the steps in between? Or what are the commonalities, or what are the shared experiences that we can all work toward together to get to this place up here [gestures high with hand]?

CJ commented that this developmental gap, which sometimes goes unbridged, may replicate itself in Multiracial *organizations*' values and development, as well. CJ endorsed interpersonal connections and reflective discussions, but partly viewed them as a means to advancing political activism:

> I think that's so key to this type of anti-racist work and Mixed stuff, it's just – discussion. Getting the stories out there – I think the catharsis is a huge thing and a huge reason these [Multiracial] groups exist on campuses and stuff. And I think that also could be one of the reasons that they're fizzling out is because the students, they come – I mean I've seen it at undergrad… People come, they share their stories, they're like, "I have my identity together," and they take off, "Peace out," and they're done with it because there's nothing really political past that.
>
> There's also been risks. Within the past few years, in [our organization], based upon people who just wanna come and tell stories and of course be a social type thing. Who wants to be political and take this thing further? And when we're asked to do something political on campus or something, even dealing with stuff that's borderline anti-racist, people are like, "Well, we don't wanna get too political, now. We don't want to have <u>these</u> kinds of discussions.

Carol echoed CJ's point, referencing her own research on the subject,

> [I]t seemed to me there was a progression for people doing Mixed-Race work, that they would start off first in their own little community, like addressing the Japanese American community or something like that. And then they would move into a bigger Mixed-Race sort of setting where they'd wanna talk with all different kinds of Mixed people. And then they would eventually wanna go off and do anti-racist work and sort of move towards a non-segregated way of looking at issues. But – a lot of people don't move – they graduate from college, and [chuckle] then they stop doing work on it altogether.

And, although participants had seen the potential of interpersonal story-sharing fizzle at times, some were still hopeful about interpersonal connections' ability to prompt or provoke reflection.

Some participants endorsed the thoughtful facilitation of interpersonal connections among Multiracial students as a way to opening them up to caring

about broader political issues. Arnold suggested that his own experiences working with a Multiracial organization helped him identify as Asian American and to consider anti-racist ideas. He reflected on his own trajectory, saying,

> [C]oming into a Multiracial organization … I hadn't developed a certain consciousness about racism or anti-racism and, for me, coming into a Multiracial organization was a way to connect, then, with others or my respective communities through this initial space. So it didn't just stop at being or identifying as being Multiracial, but then as Asian American or other spaces. So I think if one learning goal might be to be able to use that Multiracial space to then introduce these anti-racist ideas or to move people into other areas because sometimes Multiracial constituents – they don't feel connected with their respective communities, initially.

Like Arnold, Jamila endorsed building interpersonal connections as a tool for cultivating students' values,

> [B]onding with people who have some common experience and… the identity stuff… I do think that's an important way that people get pulled in before they can be activated to more exciting and political things. So, having it either as a trajectory or… there's multiple ways that people can be involved … the bonding and the identity and they're trained to channel their energies toward something political and also learning about resources that are available and work that's already going on.

Or, putting it more succinctly, Jamila hoped that "people can bond, work on identity, and then get political." Suggesting that curricula should shape students' values or identities is not uncontroversial; in a later chapter, I will discuss this further.

Summary

In this chapter, I have presented the participants' answers to my question about what Multiracial students should learn from anti-racist education. Participants suggested that Multiracial students need curricula that can help them learn about the complexities of racism and monoracism. They wanted programs that can connect students with each other, with larger Multiracial communities and

organizations, and with their heritage communities. And, they want anti-racist education that can help Multiracial students reflect on their own values and take action. In the following chapter, I offer my analysis and interpretation of participants' responses, framed by my own recommendations for learning goals for Multiracial students.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION OF LEARNING GOALS FOR MULTIRACIAL STUDENTS

In the previous chapter, I presented the participants' responses to the research question: "What do you, as anti-racist educators in the Multiracial Movement, think Multiracial participants should learn?" In this chapter, I discuss and critique those responses, framed by my own recommendations for future practice and research. The structure of this chapter mirrors the general structure used in the previous chapter, using Park's three knowledges as a primary organizer and then discussing themes within each type of knowledge. In each section, I present one or more of my own recommendations, beginning with a statement of the recommendation. Then, within each recommendation, I present three general components. First, I briefly refer back to relevant data that answers one of the research questions. Second, I analyze and discuss that data in relation to relevant literature. Third, I explain why I made the recommendation, based on my synthesis of the data and literature.

In this chapter, I recommend further developing nascent analyses of monoracism and integrating them with core considerations from Critical Race Theory, including social constructionism, differential racialization, and intersectional praxes. For representational knowledge learning goals, I recommend refocusing anti-racist education from teaching about race or Multiraciality as identities or categories to teaching about racism and monoracism as the multifaceted phenomena that construct them, which should be understood within their historical and contemporary contexts. Further, I recommend that both

students and educators continue exploring monoracism's relationship to racism, as well as monoracism's manifestations on institutional and cultural, not only interpersonal, levels of analysis. I also recommend challenging the use of binary paradigms and narrow "White-skin" paradigms of White supremacy, in favor of more nuanced and intersectional frameworks. Second, discussing relational knowledge goals, I recommend providing trainings to people who already work together in organizations, not only to audiences composed of disparate participants unknown to each other. And third, regarding relational knowledge goals, I recommend using an anti-monoracist analysis to help students and educators contextualize their understandings of various "rights" Multiracial people may claim, such as the "right" to racial self-identification or the "right" to a Multiracial identity. Further, I recommend helping students develop the will and the skills to challenge monoracist interrogations, but to do so in thoughtful ways that do not recapitulate other racist narratives.

It is important to note that I did not begin this research project with an explicit analysis of monoracism, nor did I frame the questions in a way that explained what *I* meant by monoracism. That shift in theoretical frame came after I analyzed and interpreted the data. Thus, while my own idea of Multiraciality is increasingly based on monoracism and that is the frame I use to discuss much of the data, few of the participants used the term "monoracism" or framed their comments within a larger analysis of monoracism. With these considerations in mind, I now analyze and discuss the participants' answers to the research question regarding learning goals.

Representational knowledge: Learn about racism and monoracism

When I asked participants what they wanted Multiracial students to learn from anti-racist education, their answers centered on learning about racism, but also on learning about monoracism. While they critiqued some aspects of anti-racist education, such as its use of a binary privilege/oppression paradigm, they also endorsed some of its key aspects. They called for teaching about the social construction of race, racism's histories and influences on contemporary politics, and how racism relates to Multiracial people's experiences. In this section, I briefly analyze the participants' suggested representational learning goals about racism and monoracism, while recommending possible approaches for implementing or improving on those goals.

Ambivalence about basic anti-racist education concepts

Some participants advocated that students learn the binary "privilege/oppression" framework popular in anti-racist education and Social Justice Education. However, I see this as conflicting with their critique that the privilege/oppression binary, and binaries in general, may be unsuitable for teaching Multiracial students. I believe that, like me, participants are trying to build new approaches using their current tools; sometimes acknowledging (or not) the ways that those tools limit what can be built. As some participants noted, a binary "privileged/oppressed" framework tends to create a number of problems.

While some participants problematized the use of a binary privilege/oppression framework, some (sometimes the same ones) seemed to endorse using and teaching that binary as a "basic concept." This ambivalence may

be because that binary framework already pervades anti-racist education. Whether the binary as a "basic concept" was normalized or whether these participants had alternatives, they both used the binary as a basic concept and problematized it. In Chapter 8, I further discuss problems with using a binary privilege/oppression framework.

Similarly, participants were ambivalent about social constructionism. They endorsed teaching it, yet often had difficulty integrating it in their own ideas and language. Participants called for anti-racist education to teach Multiracial students about social constructionism. Leonard said he teaches about the social construction of race, its histories, and how elites alter racialization based on their shifting political and economic needs. Rebecca said she wanted students to learn that race is socially constructed, not a biological phenomenon, and that they should, "not believe the hype about [race]." At the same time, that will pose a challenge because much of the prevailing discourses about Multiraciality still tacitly depend on biological ideas about race to determine and discuss who *is* Multiracial.

Participants' comments showed further contradictions in their understandings and applications of social constructionism. Some participants emphasized the importance of Multiracial identity (i.e., how one thinks of oneself), rather than on the monoracist processes that differentially racialize various groups. Other participants used fractional language to refer to people's racial group memberships (e.g., "half-Asian" "one-quarter Black"). Such language refers back to ideas about ancestry, implying that race can be positively determined by knowing a

person's (biological) ancestors' races, rather than the racist dynamics of the immediate social context (Spencer, 1999).

Yet, a cursory examination of U.S. legal history shows that the racialization of one's ancestors may have different meanings in different regions and may be entirely overridden by other considerations (Blackburn, 2000; Clarke, 2005; Haney Lopez, 1995; Harris, 1993). For example, states issued contradictory criteria for establishing the amount of Black ancestry necessary to be racialized as Black (Blackburn, 2000). Further, such legal criteria for racialization might be periodically disregarded, in favor of assessing a person's racial performance and community consensus about their racialization (Clarke, 2005). And, while fractional language may or may not draw on assumptions of ancestry and biology, some participants explicitly invoked biological notions of race, as when Stacy defined Mixed-Race as "someone who is biologically more than one race."

These assumptions also manifest in broader discourses about race and Multiraciality. As some participants noted, biological rhetoric about race pervades campaigns to find bone marrow donors for Multiracial people diagnosed with cancer. Such rhetoric reinforces the idea that race has something to do with biology, not social construction (Dalmage, 2002). However, the participants' ambivalence should be unsurprising, given anti-racist education's own ambivalent integration of social constructionism.

Anti-racist education itself shows ambivalence about integrating social constructionist perspectives into its programs. As discussed in Chapter 2, there's ambivalence and conflict about whether race is essential, inherent and fixed or

constructed, contextual, and fluid. Rainier Spencer (1999) has helpfully pointed out that, while racism does socially construct race, it socially constructs race as biological. Even when people profess social constructionism, they may easily slip into invoking biological rhetoric.

Some scholars tacitly or explicitly assume that racial identity is inherent and fixed, thus, assuming there is a “right answer” to the question “What are you?” across all contexts. Hardiman and Jackson (2007) have suggested that some social identities are "born into," while others may change or be acquired during a lifetime. They cite "race and ethnicity" as exemplars of social identities into which a person is “born,” and thus suggest that the two cannot be changed or acquired (Hardiman, et al., 2007, p. 41). However, there is ample evidence to the contrary: processes of racialization *have* re-assigned people from one racial group to another during their lifetimes (Brodkin Sacks, 1999; Haney Lopez, 2003). Racialization is contingent, fluid, and contextual, not fixed or inherent (Hulko, 2009; Omi & Winant, 1994a; Root, 2000). Notably, Hardiman and Jackson acknowledged that transgender activism has "challenged beliefs about the immutability of sex and gender assigned at birth, calling for a more fluid, nonbinary conception of gender and sex" (Hardiman, et al., 2007, p. 42). However, acknowledgement of the fluidity and nonbinary nature of race and ethnicity has yet to take hold in anti-racist educational praxis.

Multiracial students may be somewhat more prepared to acknowledge the fluidity, contextuality, and interrelatedness of their various identities (Collins, 2000b; Khanna & Johnson, 2010; Knaus, 2006; Renn, 2000, 2003). But educators, when confronted with such students and ideas, may be more inclined to attack the

messenger than to consider the messages' relevance to their anti-racist praxes (Root, 2000). However, educators do not need to double-down on theories and pedagogies that focus on race while overlooking the racisms that do the "social constructing" of race; alternatives are available and more are needed.

Recommendation 1. Refocus from teaching about race to teaching about racism.

I recommend that anti-racist education shift from race-focused approaches to racism-focused approaches – what Rainier Spencer (1999) has called an anti-*racialist* anti-racist approach, rather than a *racialist* anti-racist approach. Much of anti-racist education generally relies on strategic essentialisms that reify race, emphasizing the identity, status and experiences of a group, without necessarily excavating the racist processes that give rise to them (Luft, 2004; Shapiro, 2002). For example, they may presume the unproblematic existence of "Blackness," without delving into how racism not only oppresses Black people, it creates Blackness and racializes some people as Black. Spencer has said he is both against racism and against the use of racialist thinking to fight racism (Spencer, 1999). By way of analogy, Spencer argued that "race" is no more biologically real than "witches." Without denying the current reality of racism or the historical (and, I would argue, continuing) reality of the persecution of people called witches, Spencer argued that calling someone "Black" or a "witch"– or persecuting them for supposedly being such – does not make race or supernatural witchcraft real. So, to say that "race" is "socially constructed" and therefore real because people *believe* it is real makes no more sense than to say that supernatural witchcraft is real because

people believe witches are real. While colorblinding conservatism often argues that because race is a fiction, racism is *also* a fiction, Spencer argued for being both anti-racialist and anti-racist; while race is not real, racism is lethally real. To advance this anti-racialist anti-racist approach, Spencer proposed education that "[exposes] race as a biological myth" (Spencer, 1999, p. 21), rather than relying on racialist approaches to challenging racism.

But "racism-focused" strategies will require a significant re-thinking of popular theories and pedagogies. For example, trainers themselves may find it challenging to fully integrate a social constructionist perspective, if that means giving up cherished ideas about oppressed groups' positive "essential" racial qualities (Heyes, 2009).

Rather than relying on ideas of Multiraciality rooted in biology or identity-claims, I suggest that anti-racist education emphasize teaching students the processes through which racism and monoracism construct race and Mixed-Race. Rather than beginning with the presumption that Multiraciality or Monoraciality exist, I suggest focusing on how monoracism functions; its concepts, policies, and actions (Darder & Torres, 1999). Such an approach might de-emphasize and problematize the presumed "essential qualities" of Multiracial or Monoracial people, in favor of exploring how those ideas and statuses are created and maintained. Rather than addressing, "Who is Multiracial?" it might instead address, "What processes make Multiracial and Monoracial meaningful categories?" Already, several Multiracial authors and educators have argued for teaching Multiracial-identified students that "Race is socially constructed" and that ideas of racial purity and

Monoraciality (and thus Multiraciality) are fictitious (Schlaikjer, 2003b; Williams, et al., 1996).

In teaching about Multiraciality, some professors teach about "racial formation," exploring how society uses social customs, law and law enforcement, education, Census enumeration, literature, popular culture and other institutions to create and maintain race as a social reality (Omi, 1998; Schlaikjer, 2003b). However, further research will be needed, so that anti-racist educators can learn about and develop better means to teach about *systems* of monoracist domination, rather than merely the *symptoms* of Monoracial dominance (Leonardo, 2004). The potential benefits may serve as an incentive for further inquiry.

Both teaching about racism-as-system and teaching about monoracism may help defuse some triggers of resistance to learning. As William noted, some part-White Multiracial people are prepared to claim their victimhood, but unwilling to discuss the ways that they benefit from White supremacy. When anti-racist education focuses on "White people," rather than "White supremacy," part-White Multiracial students may feel that their part-Whiteness marks them as part-bad; this might arouse defensiveness out of a desire to preserve one's self-esteem. But Multiracial people may have additional motives for defensiveness.

One motive for such defensiveness may be the monoracist implication that Multiracial people are marginal People of Color. Part-White Multiracial people might feel that discussions of their part-Whiteness or of White supremacy could further threaten their already disputed claims to membership in Communities of Color – or even in Multiracial communities.

As I noted in one focus group, something similar happened during a Multiracial student conference. When some Multiracial students called for space to discuss how White supremacy was playing out during the conference, part-White Multiracial conference leaders attempted to quash the effort. Some leaders suggested that such space or discussion would be divisive, perhaps because it would acknowledge existing divisions. Other leaders took offense and responded by reasserting that they were People of Color, not White people; perhaps suggesting that, because they were not White, they could not be racist, but also likely seeking to affirm their belonging at the conference, one of the few such spaces of its kind.

By better distinguishing race from racism and emphasizing the latter, I suggest that the conference-goers could have avoided the off-topic argument about whether the leaders were People of Color or not. And, as William pointed out, learning about their own partial privileging may have an additional strategic value for part-White Multiracial students: it may allow them to earn credibility with people who suspect them of being purposefully ignorant of such privileges.

At other times, Multiracial people's attempts to secure their belonging can take seemingly inverse forms. As Joshua suggested, some Multiracial students overemphasize their analysis of White supremacy, to the point that they disavow any acknowledgement of monoracism; perhaps in an attempt to assert their ideological or racial credibility. Distinguishing monoracism from racism might allow those students to acknowledge their experiences of monoracism without suggesting that that invalidates their anti-racist analysis or commitment. Instead of positioning

Multiracial experiences of monoracism as disproof or challenge to claims of racism, they can be understood as different, but related, phenomena.

When anti-racist education focuses on symptoms of White dominance (aka "White privilege"), rather than systems of White supremacy, some part-White Multiracial students may infer that anti-racism requires them to choose between loyalty to race and loyalty to family members (DaCosta, 2004). Resistance to seeing White privilege may be complicated by familial-connections to White people, desires to think well of them, and to avoid seeing ways that loved ones enact racism. For example, after hearing a White man lecture about White privilege, I asked the young woman to my left, who I read as Multiracial Asian and White, what she thought of the lecture. She said, "I didn't like it. He doesn't like White people. And my dad's White."

To help students understand that they can align against White supremacy without demonizing family members, I suggest that anti-racist educators focus on White supremacy, not White privilege or White people. Otherwise, familial loyalties may stymy racially essentialist strategies for teaching about racism.

Conceptually differentiating monoracism from racism may help all students develop a more nuanced understanding of oppressive dynamics. When anti-racist educators acknowledge the dynamics and experiences of monoracism, some Multiracial students may feel more open to learning. Selectively denying or invalidating students' experiences isn't a way to inspire a desire to learn. Helping students feel heard (if not agreed with) is.

Recommendation 2. Teach about different racisms, not a monolithic racism.

While better integrating social constructionism in praxis, I also suggest that anti-racist education could benefit from integrating Critical Race Theory's concept of "differential racialization" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). This theory proposes that racism is not, in fact, a singular, monolithic dynamic that is invariant across time or location. Thus, it's more accurate and useful to speak of "racisms" than "racism."

Leonard acknowledged these differences within racism (or between racisms) when he noted that he emphasizes the particular histories of anti-Native racisms when working with Native American communities. Yet, anti-racist education often homogenizes racisms into a relatively monolithic racism (Luft, 2004; Shapiro, 2002). As I'll explore later, this homogenized representation of racism tends to cast anti-Black racism as the only or most important manifestation of racism. When anti-racist educators teach about racism as a monolith – or a thing with a large Black center and thin margins of Yellow, Brown, or Red – they not only obscure important aspects of racism, they may also lose credibility with students who experience (or just know about) other forms of racism (Luft, 2004).

Historical contexts of racism and Multiraciality

Recommendation 3. Teach how racisms have historically created different monoracisms.

Participants wanted anti-racist education to help Multiracial students learn about Multiraciality – and, I would suggest, about the different monoracisms – in the historical contexts of different racisms. For example, Grace wanted Multiracial students to learn about the history of the racist laws and steps through which

racism created race and Multiraciality. Carol wanted her students and her children to learn about histories of racial inequalities and institutionalized racism, which also affected Multiracial people (e.g., the incarceration of Multiracial Japanese Americans as part of the Internment). Alice named the *Loving v. Virginia* case (U.S. Supreme Court (1967), 2003) as a piece of history significant to contemporary Multiraciality, but also suggested reaching farther back into U.S. history. Joshua wanted Mixed people to learn about Mixed people's histories in the civil rights movement. Several authors have also suggested that Multiracial people should learn about Multiracial people in history, society's interpretations of Multiraciality, and the development of Multiraciality as a set of identities and communities (Schlaikjer, 2003b; Wardle, 1996). Such histories might include analyses of policies and practices related to racialization, segregation, immigration, and colonialism, as well as the regional, generational, ethnic and other variations in their impacts during any given period. Arnold saw learning about histories of racism as a step toward mobilizing Multiracial students for anti-racist activism of their own. And participants imagined other benefits, as well.

Teaching about Multiracialities' locations in the historical context of various forms of racism could benefit Multiracial students in several ways. Participants recognized that racism has powerfully influenced the historical context and contemporary realities in which Multiracial people, among others, live. Without understanding how racism shapes how people live and experience race, Multiracial people cannot fully understand their own experiences in a broader context (Williams, et al., 1996). By learning about racism's history, Multiracial people can

better understand its current functioning and impacts, as well as how racism changes over time (Schlaikjer, 2003b). Such learning also provides a context in which Multiracial people can understand the development of Multiracial consciousnesses, identities, and activism (Rosenbaum, 2004a, pp. 84-85). Further, by learning about racism, Multiracial people can play a more active role in redefining race, understanding racialized conflicts, and combating racism (Dalmage, 2003; Glass & Wallace, 1996; Schlaikjer, 2003b). But, relatively few educators have focused on helping Multiracial people learn about the historical significance of racism/White Supremacy, as well as its continuing role in society (Schlaikjer, 2003a; Williams, et al., 1996).

As part of historicizing Multiraciality, some participants called for teaching about historical Multiracial role models; I see this as problematic. For example, Joshua said that students should learn about Multiracial people's contributions to the Civil Rights Movement, but he also noted that those people may not have had the option (or, I would add, the desire) to identify as Multiracial. Efforts to retroactively "claim" historical figures as Multiracial role models risks inappropriately mapping current constructs backward in time.

Instead, I suggest focusing on the historical dynamics of oppression, rather than time-bound identity categories (e.g., Multiracial, Biracial, mulatto, etc.). By doing so, we can avoid arguments about historical appropriation and whether someone was or was not Multiracial, while keeping focus on the social problems that need solving (e.g., racism and monoracism). For example, I suggest there's a meaningful difference between teaching Multiracial students, "Malcolm X was really

Multiracial," and teaching about how the treatment of Malcolm X resembles, but also differs from, contemporary forms of monoracism. However, because the history of monoracism continues to be understudied, anti-racist educators seeking to teach about monoracism in historical context will continue to be at a disadvantage.

Learning about histories of Multiraciality and monoracism could help students better understand the factors that have made Multiraciality more (or less) prominent in various eras, including the present. With a sense of historical distance, students might more easily recognize political interests – that is, the CRT framework of *interest convergence* (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012) – that could have been both more obscure and more unsettling to consider in the moment. For example, Leonard noted that he teaches about histories of anti-Native racism when teaching about race and Multiraciality. By doing so, students might better understand the shifting racialization of Natives in the context of the U.S.'s shifting desires for military alliances or land for settlers. Likewise, Alice suggested teaching about the 1967 Supreme Court case, *Loving v. Virginia.* Interest convergence theorists have suggested that the victories of the Civil Rights Movement (of which the *Loving* case was a part) were aided by U.S. elites, who were interested in appearing racially progressive or egalitarian, as a strategy for wooing Third World allies during the Cold War (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). By considering such interests, Multiracial students might learn substantially different lessons about historical events considered notable for Multiracial people.

Contextualize Multiraciality in contemporary politics

Recommendation 4. Teach about histories and politics of Multiracial activism, including the intra- and inter-movement conflicts.

Participants wanted anti-racist education to teach Multiracial people ways to understand Multiraciality within larger political contexts. For example, Carin suggested that anti-racist education teach Multiracial students how to challenge "post-racial" rhetoric that seeks to use Multiraciality for its own ends. Likewise, Aimee wanted Multiracial students to learn about how racism has used Multiracial people and the concept of Multiraciality to divide and oppression People of Color. However, I might revise Aimee's framing of the issue to suggest that it's monoracism that has created the relevance and divisiveness of Multiraciality, not Multiracial people themselves; without monoracism, Multiraciality would be politically meaningless. By highlighting the various interests that converge on Multiracial discourses and activism, Multiracial students might be better prepared to resist monoracism and racism.

I recommend that anti-racist education teach Multiracial students about the recent histories of Multiracial organizing, in all its various political stripes. This history includes organizing, advocacy, academia, and cultural production (Brown & Douglass, 1996; Douglass, 2003; Fernández, 1993; Schlaikjer, 2003b). Several authors have already produced brief histories of the Multiracial Movement (DaCosta, 2000; Evans, 2004; Williams, 2006; Yuen, 2003). For example, DaCosta (2002) has studied the political landscape from which Multiracial organizations have emerged, rejecting the "biracial baby boom" theory. Instead, she proposed that

Multiracial organizing was enabled by three primary factors: 1) increased pressures to racially describe oneself, 2) "changes in the ideological consensus on the meaning of racial identity," and 3) the "high social location" of some Multiracial activists – and three lesser factors: a) Multiracial people's recently increased connection to both parents, relative to past cohorts, b) an already present infrastructure of organizations, and c) broadening academic interest in Multiraciality, beyond Multiracial activists and scholars (DaCosta, 2002, p. 80). Nakashima (1996, p. 81) articulated three main goals driving recent Multiracial activism:

> 1. The struggle for inclusion and legitimacy in the 'traditional' racial/ethnic communities
>
> 2. The shaping of a shared identity and common agenda among racially mixed people into a new Multiracial community
>
> 3. The struggle to dismantle dominant racial ideology and group boundaries and to create connections across communities into a community of humanity.

Similarly, Rosenbaum's (2004b) work explores Multiracial student activists' motives and the trajectories of their involvement. These and other works – with their explorations of why Multiracial activism has boomed recently, the goals of such activism, and the trajectories of its activists – could aid anti-racist educators as they help Multiracial students better understand the political histories, contexts, and conflicts of Multiracial activism.

Because conflict has been a core part of the Multiracial Movement, I suggest community educators help Multiracial learners learn about and make sense of these conflicts. One key conflict is, of course, the conflict between Multiracial people and the machinations of U.S. racism writ large and small. Another key conflict is between Multiracial-identified People of Color seeking inclusion and solidarity and the

Monoracial-identified People of Color who have sought to deny, marginalize, or exclude Multiracial people and their issues (Schlaikjer, 2003b). Then there are the conflicts internal to the Multiracial Movement, which often replicate conflicts in the broader U.S. society (e.g., the replication of oppressive hierarchies within the Multiracial Movement, along lines of gender, sexuality, racial heritages, ethnicities, class, education, language, ability, and religion). The Multiracial Movement has also had internal ideological and political conflicts (Williams, 2006). In studying the Multiracial Movement, Nakashima (1996) acknowledged that its three main goals often conflict with one another, manifesting as conflicts within the movement. The interest convergence thesis could be useful for interpreting recent conflicts regarding, locating intra-movement conflicts as small-scale battles in much larger wars between political conservatives and traditional Civil Rights organizations.

Numerous academics and activists have called for a Multiracial politic that aligns with civil rights organizations and against various conservative agendas. Philosopher Ronald Sundstrom argued that Multiracial movements should "aggressively reject the Right's efforts to exploit the mixed race movement" (Sundstrom, 2001, p. 305). Around the same time, leaders of the now-defunct Hapa Issues Forum called on Multiracial organizations to confront racism and other forms of oppression and to reject cooptation by conservatives with colorblinding agendas (Leach, 2007; Yuen, 2005). Williams-León, also affiliated with HIF, blasted colorblinding-advocates for overemphasizing race and underemphasizing racism (Williams-León, 2003). Burchill (2006) suggested that Multiracial organizations are uniquely positioned to counter conservatives' attempts to co-opt Multiraciality.

Various student groups and individuals have also called for anti-racist platforms that reject colorblinding (Dalmage, 2002; Olumide, 2002; Welland, 2003). Other authors have called on Multiracial organizations to challenge corporate marketers' narratives of Multiraciality; narratives that present a delusional racial utopia, downplay persistent racial inequality and put a happy, Multiracial face on corporate globalization (DaCosta, 2006; Dalmage, 2002; Leroy, 2008; Olumide, 2002; Santa Ana, 2008; Senna, 1998; Texeira, 2005; Welland, 2003). Teaching about such campaigns might join with teaching about attempts to use Multiraciality to advance nationalist and imperialist agendas, both past and present (Alsultany, 2004; Edles, 2002; Rosa, 2001). Regardless of one's ideology or position relative to Multiracial activism, I also suggest educators and students learn about the various issues and campaigns on which the Multiracial Movement is currently working. Such issues have included health care (Fleming, 2003a; Tashiro, 2003), mental health and identity (Schlaikjer, 2003), campus organizing (Yuen, 2005), the 2010 Federal Census and enumeration (Kelley, et al., 2004; Swirl Inc. & New Demographic, 2005), the prison industrial complex (Atkin, 2001), family dynamics (Atkin, 2001), navigating romantic relationships, and multicultural education (California Child Care Health Program, 2000; Schlaikjer, 2003a).

Racism and monoracism affect Multiracial people

Recommendation 5. Explore various theories of monoracism's relationship to racism.

Participants suggested that Multiracial students learn about how Multiraciality and monoracism relate to racism. But, theories of how the two relate

have not yet been strongly articulated, nor have such theories' advantages and disadvantages been explored. I suggest developing and weighing various ways of conceptualizing monoracism's relationship to racism. What theoretical or political possibilities are opened (or foreclosed) when monoracism is framed as a subset of racism? Or when monoracism is framed as a phenomenon distinct from racism, yet related to it?

If monoracism is conceptualized as one subset of racism, with anti-Multiracial racism assuming a place in the rogues' gallery of other racisms (e.g., anti-Black racism, anti-Asian racism, anti-Native racism, etc.), what are the theoretical, political, and pedagogical implications? Theorizing monoracism as a subset of racism might align with some conservative Multiracial activists' attempts to secure a stand-alone Multiracial racial category, a "Multiracial box." And pedagogically, it might suggest a too-easy fix for problems created by racial caucus pedagogies: Just add a Multiracial caucus group.

Alternately, if monoracism is conceptualized as separate from racism, then how might theorists avoid reifying monoracism into simplistic formulations of "Monoracial: Privileged. Multiracial: Oppressed?" What are monoracism's intersectional relationships with racism and other aspects of oppression? And can we reasonably theorize monoracism as a single coherent phenomenon? If differential racialization theorizes multiple racisms, not a singular racism, then how might scholars theorize multiple monoracisms and their relationships to multiple racisms? While I see political advantages to framing monoracism as separate-but-related-to racism, I also think that the historical specificities of different racisms,

which have created various monoracisms, cannot be ignored. I remain agnostic about how best to frame monoracism, in relation to racism.

Recent feminist disputes over whether cissexism should be framed as a subset of sexism or as a separate-but-related concept might be informative (Serano, 2007). I note a particular similarity between some feminists' accusations that transgender activism is a patriarchal plot (Ekins & King, 1998) and some anti-racists' accusations that Multiraciality is a White supremacist plot (Ball, 2010; Banks, 1997). Likewise, scholars might study bisexual activists' various attempts to position monosexism, in relationship to heterosexism. As in such cases, differentiating racism and monoracism could help clarify the ways they may operate together or independently; for example, showing the ways that a person might be targeted by monoracism, yet still benefit from being racialized as part-White by racism. But, whichever theoretical frame one favors, it will need to be elaborated and used to articulate monoracism's processes and consequences.

Recommendation 6. Research, articulate, and teach how monoracism operates, at multiple levels of analysis.

While the concept of "microaggressions" is currently popular, Multiracial students need to learn about the institutional and cultural dynamics of oppression, not just the interpersonal ones (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997; Sue, et al., 2007). Arnold addressed this by saying that monoracism is more than identity exploration or micro-level interactions; he then cited monoracism in healthcare as an example of institutional monoracism. Similarly, Carin praised the "Design a monoracist institution" activity for asking students to think about institutional-level oppressive

policies and dynamics, rather than about identity or interpersonal dynamics. Institutional racisms and monoracism create the contexts in which Multiracial people experience oppression for their racialized heritages (Dalmage, 2003). Learning to critically analyze oppression and its global and institutional dynamics may help Multiracial people contextualize their experiences, break down a sense of isolation, build a sense of connection to their world, defend their self-esteem, and resist pressures to internalize oppressive beliefs and behaviors about themselves (Kich, 1992). Thus, learning about institutional manifestations of racism and monoracism are crucial early steps toward challenging them (Douglass, 2003).

However, anti-racist researchers will need to better document institutional monoracism's dynamics and impacts, if anti-racist educators are to teach about them. Joshua referenced a study of Oregon juvenile incarceration rates, which showed a disproportionately high rate of Multiracial youth being incarcerated. However, there's little research about such issues; much more research focuses on the psychology of Multiracial identity development. And even studies like the Oregon project focus more on the racialized outcomes (e.g., disproportionate incarceration) than on the laws, policies, or systems that create those outcomes. Without further research and a focus on the systems that create the outcomes, it's all too easy for racialist thinking to ascribe the outcomes to race, rather than racist systems. Nancy Leong's (2010) research stands out as one of the few attempts to document the ways that law, in this case anti-discrimination law, discriminates against Multiracial people. Leong's research examines the laws, precedents, and legal strategies that prevent the legal recognition of monoracism qua monoracism,

as well as dis-incentivize lawyers and their Multiracial clients from pursuing claims of monoracist discrimination. To *teach* about how institutional monoracism functions, we will need more research like Leong's to help us first understand it. And there are other underacknowledged facets of monoracism to be studied and taught.

Recommendation 7. Teach about monoracism without either excusing or demonizing Communities of Color.

Sadly, Communities of Color also target Multiracial people for particular forms of discrimination. For example, Asian American communities have long histories of marginalizing mixed heritage Asian Americans, denying their existence, excluding them from membership, and ignoring their needs in advocacy and educational efforts (Espiritu, 2001). Some Communities of Color and People of Color subject Multiracial people to double-standards, requiring Multiracial people to know more history and be more politically engaged than Monoracial People of Color in exchange for begrudging acceptance (Root, 2002). Further, they may question Multiracial People of Color's authenticity as People of Color or members of a Community of Color and require Multiracial people to "endorse racist stereotypes against their parents, relatives, and friends" (Root, 2002, p. 10). Consequently, Multiracial people may be forced to confront or cope with White Supremacy without the support of Communities of Color in which they claim membership.

I imagine that many people will feel ambivalent about naming the ways in which Communities of Color target their own Multiracialized members. Some Monoracial People of Color or their organizations already deny or justify their discriminatory behavior. Some may resent what they perceive as the airing of dirty

laundry, perceiving claims of discrimination as further evidence of betrayal by a group whose loyalties they already question. Some Multiracial people might also reasonably fear such airing of dirty laundry, both because it might provoke Monoracial People of Color's further discrimination and because it might provide fodder for racists/White Supremacists who want to claim that People of Color are as culpable for racism as White people.

However, having witnessed many Multiracial people's feelings of bitterness and confusion about the discrimination they've faced at the hands of Monoracially-identified People of Color, I believe that Multiracial people should learn about the ways that Monoracially-identified People of Color do commit such acts. I believe that such learning can both validate Multiracial people's experiences and help them differentiate between the discriminatory acts of People of Color and the more powerful, institutional oppression enacted by dominant White society. Sometimes Multiracial people, so hurt by the Communities of Color with whom they did or do identify, become confused about the nature of racism/White Supremacy, believing that solidarity among People of Color, rather than racism/White Supremacy, should be the primary target for their activism (Byrd, 2005). Until Multiracial People of Color acknowledge and heal the injuries they've suffered at the hands of other People of Color, the negative feelings born of those injuries will sour their ability to reconcile and work with Monoracially-identified People of Color. And, as I discuss later, Monoracial People of Color stand to gain, in various ways, by acknowledging monoracism in Communities of Color.

Representational knowledge: Hierarchies that trouble Multiracial organizing

Perhaps drawing on their own experiences of being marginalized in supposedly inclusive spaces, the participants wanted Multiracial students to learn about the oppressions and hierarchies that trouble Multiracial communities and Multiracial organizing. They wanted Multiracial students to be able to critically consider and more clearly articulate how they think about and talk about Multiraciality. Students, they said, should have a clearer and more inclusive idea of who is encompassed by the term, "Multiracial." What is more, some suggested alternatives to the term "Multiracial," seeking more inclusive and less racialized ways of thinking and organizing.

In this section, I discuss a few such arguments and suggest, perhaps controversially, redrawing the boundaries of Multiraciality based on experiences of monoracism, rather than biology, ancestry, or identity; a move toward "Multiracialization," rather than "Multiraciality." Such a move will likely provoke further concerns and conversations about who and what are centered or marginalized in Multiracial discourses and organizing. Participants also wanted Multiracial students to learn about how White supremacy and other forms of oppression manifest in Multiracial spaces, intersecting with monoracism. In this section, I suggest more nuanced ways of conceptualizing and teaching about White supremacy, as well as intersectionality. I'll begin by addressing the participants' calls for clearer language and ideas about Multiraciality.

Understand terminology and who is/not "Multiracial"

Recommendation 8. Shift from language about "Multiracial" toward "Multiracialized."

Participants wanted Multiracial students to learn various terms and ideas for discussing Multiraciality. Some also problematized available terms and wanted students to be able to do the same. Echoing other anti-racist scholars, CJ wanted Multiracial students to consider what they mean by "Multiracial," saying that the term itself should be subject to scrutiny and critique (Omi, 2001). Participants wanted students to learn terms with which they could articulate their identities and experiences, but were wary about who might be marginalized by those terms (Collins, 2000a; Schlaikjer, 2003b). Some worried that terms like "Multiracial" might overemphasize race, either reifying race or leaving out other constituencies with whom Multiracial organizing has sought to align (e.g., Multiethnics, transracial adoptees, and Monoracial people in interracial relationships).

I'll argue that anti-racist educators should use a social constructionist approach to teaching about Multiraciality, wherein the boundaries of Multiraciality are drawn based on experiences of monoracism, not on biology, ancestry, or identity. Further, I will suggest that shifting to the term "Multiracialized" may help linguistically emphasize monoracism as the key determinant of Multiraciality.

Troublingly, when asked to define Multiraciality, some participants periodically defaulted to fallacious biological notions of race, either overtly or implicitly. For example, Stacy suggested that she defined Multiracial as "someone who is biologically more than one race." Such a statement reiterates the myth that

race is biological, displacing recognition that racism creates the meanings and consequences of race. Other participants sometimes defined Multiraciality through reference to a person's ancestry or parentage. Such definitions may seem less reliant on biological myths, yet they still tacitly link race to biology. Invocations of "parents" are generally and implicitly understood to refer to *biological* parents, rather than, say, adoptive parents. For example, a child born to an Asian father and a Black mother, then adopted by two White parents, would not be generally recognized as White, despite having two White parents. Thus, the participants may have held paradoxical views of race, as both biological *and* socially constructed. Spencer (1999) has pointed out the shallowness of many people's understandings of social construction, noting that, while racism *does* socially construct race, it socially constructs it in such a way that people believe that race *is* biological, even as they paradoxically profess that it is only a social construct. Concerned that the terms Multiracial students learn might reinforce racialist thinking, some participants proposed that alternate terms might resolve such problems.

Some participants worried that the terms "Multiracial" and "Mixed-Race" might overemphasize or reify race. Instead, terms such as "Multiethnic" or "Mixed Heritage" were suggested. These concerns and suggestions echo conversations about Multiraciality in broader academic and activist spheres. Academics, including Multiracial scholars, have worried that the term "Multiracial" may add to the reification of race (Ropp, 1997; Spencer, 2004; Williams-León & Nakashima, 2001). Jon Michael Spencer (Spencer, 1997a) opposed governmental recognition of Multiraciality with a hodge-podge of arguments, including the proposition that

recognizing any new racial categories was unwarranted and only furthered racialist thinking. For various and questionable reasons, the concept of "ethnicity" has been popularized as an alternative to "race" (Omi & Winant, 1994b). Some scholars and activists have adopted this approach, calling for the use of "Multiethnic" as term more inclusive and less racialist than "Multiracial" (Alsultany, 2004). Others have advocated the term "Mixed Heritage," which provides an even broader scope, encompassing not only Multiracial and Multiethnic people, but also transracial adoptees and their families, international migrants, and Monoracial people in interracial or inter-faith relationships (Burch, 2006; Dariotis, 2007; Padilla & Kelley, 2005). Further complicating matters, the terms are sometimes used interchangeably, without consideration of their differing meanings and political ramifications.

While I support challenging racialist thinking and I'm concerned with questions about who will and will not be included, I do not favor teaching students to replace "Multiracial" or "Mixed-Race" with "Multiethnic" or "Mixed Heritage." First, I believe such terms may aspire to inclusiveness that Multiracial organizing is neither prepared nor inclined to deliver. Changing one's language from "Biracial" or "Multiracial" to "Multiethnic" or "Mixed Heritage" is literally a nominal change – one that often still relies on or refers back to racial terms (Alsultany, 2004; Root & Kelley, 2003). At best, it might inspire organizations to more inclusive work, but I suggest that the more likely outcome is false advertising and frustrated expectations. As I discuss later in this section, the participants and other scholars have already seen too many examples of ostensibly inclusive communities failing to

deliver on such promises. Better, I think, to name and confront such dynamics directly, rather than by trying to create change from the surface inward.

Second, I believe that some efforts to supplant racial language with "ethnicity" may be, in part, naïve attempts to void racism by ignoring it; others may be conscious attempts to simply hide racism by changing the terms of the argument. Popular discourses about racism already so reify race that making "race" unspeakable would make discussing racism near impossible. Proponents of Affirmative Action policies have argued that, to eliminate racism, one must acknowledge and work with the social realities of race (Herbes-Sommers, 2003). Meanwhile, conservative proponents of colorblind racism have suggested that if only people would stop talking about race, racism would be resolved; relying on the belief that race *causes* racism, rather than being produced *by* racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Brown et al., 2003; Connerly, 2000a; Zamudio, Russell, Rios, & Bridgeman, 2011). Thus, I worry that shifts away from "Multiracial" and other racial language may be less about not reifying race and more about rendering conversations about racism unspeakable and illegible (Dalmage, 2002).

Further, opponents of Multiraciality who suggest that Multiracial recognition perpetuates the reification of race seem to ply an obvious, monoracist double standard: few opponents of Multiracial recognition have been comparably concerned with the ways that established racial categories, such as "Black," similarly reify race. Some argued that formally recognizing new categories (e.g., "Middle Eastern," "Multiracial") would not only further reify race, such categories were unwarranted because the purpose of recognition is to document discrimination and

such groups, critics proposed, do not experience meaningful discrimination (Spencer, 1999). In the case of Middle Eastern or Arab Americans, the tenability of such a claim was obliterated in the surge of anti-Arab and anti-Muslim racism since 2001 (Shaheen, 2008; Singh, 2002) – and had been tenable before only because of the persistent denial and justification of anti-Arab racism (Huntington, 1993; McAlister, 2001; Said, 1981/ 1997; Shaheen, 2003). So, rather than trying to resolve the reification of race by switching to non-racialized terms, I suggest trying language that more overtly centers racialization.

I suggest that, as a term, "Multiracialized" can more effectively draw attention to racism and monoracism's roles in constructing race and Multiraciality/Monoraciality. While a person might identify with people of a particular racial group, the social consensus around hir might read them differently and treat them as a member of another group. The processes of monoracism create the social realities of Multiraciality. As a hypothetical example, conservative pundit Rush Limbaugh might suddenly decide to identify as Black, perhaps arguing that Blackness is based on a racial logic of hypodescent and that he and all people can eventually trace their ancestry back to Africa. However, barring the revelation of any more recent Black ancestry, it's exceedingly unlikely that such a declaration of identity would lead anyone to enact anti-Black racism against him or to even think of him as Black. So, while one can choose to identify with whichever group one wants or to think of oneself as a member, that doesn't mean anyone else will reflect that back in any consequential way. That said, if another hypothetical Limbaugh were to discover and reveal that his biological mother or grandmother was Black

and her Blackness were to be socially validated, then that might be sufficient to change some people's racialization of him. The relevant difference between the two hypotheticals is that, in the former case, social consensus would likely hold that the information revealed is not sufficient to revise his racialization, while in the latter case, it might. Racism shapes social consensuses about race; so, while a claimant cannot wholly determine their racialization, nor can the people around them disregard the standards for racialization set forth by racism in a given context. In the second hypothetical, people might not *want* to accept hypothetical-Limbaugh's Blackness, but they would be hard-pressed to refuse the prevailing racial standard that says that a person known to have a Black (biological) mother cannot be fully White, regardless of their appearance. I propose that how one is treated is more relevant to discussions of racism than how one identifies. But, a person may also influence how they are treated through the revelation of information not immediately legible on their body or in their performance of race.

Thus, I suggest that, for refining language and conversation about monoracism, the more relevant question is "Does this person experience monoracism – and how?" rather than, "Does this person *identify* as Multiracial?" A person (e.g., the first hypothetical Limbaugh) might identify as Multiracial, yet not be intelligible as or treated as such; they would not be targeted by monoracism. Conversely, a person might *not* identify as Multiracial, yet *be* targeted by monoracism in various ways (Elam, 2011). For example, I believe that a woman who is light-skinned, blue-eyed, and racially ambiguous might strongly identify as Black and Monoracial, yet be more likely to be subjected to particular types of

monoracism than a dark-skinned, brown-eyed woman who identifies as Multiracial, but whom everyone else reads as "just Black." Drawing on Rainier Spencer's witch analogy, I propose that the question, "Is this person a witch/Multiracial?" is beside the point; both are social fictions created by oppression. The more relevant question is, "Is this person Multiracialized? That is, is this person *treated* as though ze is Multiracial?"

Teaching the term "Multiracialized" could offer a number of advantages over terms like "Multiracial" or "Mixed Race." Most fundamentally, the term could linguistically re-focus conversations about Multiraciality from identity or ancestry to monoracism's social construction of Multiraciality and Monoraciality. One is not "Multiracial" or "Monoracial" any more than one is a witch; rather, one is *treated as* Multiracial or Monoracial – and that inequitable treatment, not one's identity, should be the focal problem to be addressed. This shift can help articulate the logical boundaries of Multiraciality in a more principled and consistent way: to the extent that a person is targeted by monoracism, ze is Multiracialized; to the extent ze is privileged by monoracism, ze is Monoracialized. By keeping the focus on the processes of oppression, integrating the language and analysis of "Multiracialization" might also lead away from racialist "racial pride" strategies and the perverse incentives they create, in which remaining oppressed guarantees strong group identity and demonstrating one's oppression authenticates one's membership in the group (Heyes, 2009). "Multiracialized" also accounts for the monoracism that targets people who do not identify as Multiracial; it addresses their experiences, not their identities. Similar shifts away from gender essentialist strategies offer

cisgender men opportunities (and motives) to better recognize the ways that patriarchy constrains them; patriarchy provides privileges when they conform to gender norms and punishments when they do not (Bornstein, 1998). But, I do not mean to overstate the potential benefits of changing the terms we use or teach to students.

Like attempts to shift from "Multiracial" to "Mixed Heritage," the project of shifting to "Multiracialized" runs the risk of becoming a cosmetic relabeling, rather than a catalyst for recognizing the various dynamics of monoracism. As I'll discuss further in the next section, the term "Multiracial," with its associated organizing and scholarship, can reasonably be criticized for marginalizing a variety of experiences, while centering a few (e.g., younger, heterosexual, middle-class, biracials who have a White parent and either an Asian parent or Black parent) (Dalmage, 2003; Olumide, 2002). The term "Multiracialized" will require clear articulations of the monoracisms that do the Multiracializing.

So, to succeed where "Multiracial" has been failing, the term "Multiracialized" will need scholars and activists to study and articulate a much broader set of monoracisms. If "Multiracialized" comes to articulate only the monoracisms experienced by those populations currently centered by Multiracial organizing, then the term will be little better than "Multiracial." In that case, narrow definitions of monoracism might mostly serve as a new means of policing the boundaries of Multiraciality and tautologically recentering those populations who're already centered in Multiracial discourse and organizing (DaCosta, 2007; Lipsitz, 2003).

Diversity and hierarchies within Multiraciality

Some participants called for teaching Multiracial students about the diversity within "Multiraciality" or the ways that intersecting forms of oppression create hierarchies within "Multiraciality." In this section, I discuss a number of recommendations, supporting these calls. First, extending the previous section's discussion, I suggest that anti-racist educators and theorists apply Critical Race Theory's "differential racialization" thesis to explore how monoracism is actually an internally diverse *set* of monoracism*s* (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Second, I recommend continuing to develop an analysis of White supremacy that extends beyond the rudimentary "White-skin privilege" discourse. Third, I suggest creating new ways of theorizing and teaching about Multiraciality, so that it's not fallaciously positioned as "between" Whiteness and non-Whiteness. And fourth, I recommend cultivating intersectional methods for studying and teaching about monoracisms.

Recommendation 9. Theorize and teach about different monoracisms, not a monolithic monoracism.

By applying CRT's concept of "differential racialization," anti-racist scholars and educators might better teach about monoracism by recognizing that it takes many different forms (Mahtani & Moreno, 2001). Despite the federal government's attempts to regularize racial categories, regional political exigencies have historically required different racisms, which have in turn created regional differences in racial categories, racial laws, and monoracisms (Brunsma, 2006; Payson, 1996). Studying these regional differences in law, policy, and racial categorization could help illuminate the different reasons and ways that

monoracisms create different Multiracializations. Further, different racisms and differential racialization have created different criteria and methods for policing racial boundaries (Suyemoto, 2009). For example, anti-Black racism (and recent strategies for resisting it) adopted the standard of hypodescent for determining Blackness, which has not been similarly applied to Asian-ness or Native-ness. Thus, the differing experiences of various Multiracialized people should be recognized, studied, and taught (Williams-León, 2003, p. 21).

Challenging (Part-)White supremacy

Recommendation 10. Expand theories and curricula about White supremacy beyond the phenotype/"White-skin" discourse.

While many of the participants called for anti-racist education to teach Multiracial people about the White supremacist dynamics that affect Multiracial communities, the scope of popular theories and pedagogies may currently be insufficient for doing so. I recommend teaching more nuanced understandings of how White supremacy operates, beyond the prevailing "White-skin privilege" discourse. For example, non-phenotypic aspects of Whiteness have, at times, *overridden* the emphasis on "White-skin." Contrary to contemporary narratives, Clarke (2005) documented cases in which courts that were called on to adjudicate the Whiteness of an ostensibly-White person might disregard both genealogy *and* phenotype, in favor of racial "performance" and community consensus. That is, if a person consistently performed Whiteness and was widely regarded by Whites in hir community to be White, then the court was likely to use *that* as the standard for adjudicating Whiteness, *instead of* standards of hypodescent or phenotype.

Otherwise, using hypodescent, the courts might have had to entertain a glut of challenges to White people's Whiteness. And, given that many would not have passed a genealogical challenge, the consequent mass re-racializations could've been hugely disruptive to White society, with White rivals rushing to de-Whiten their enemies and expropriate their property. Yet, such complicated narratives of Whiteness are often omitted or overwritten by the contemporary emphasis on Whiteness as mostly phenotypic phenonmenon.

Much of anti-racist education overemphasizes aspects of White supremacy that rely on the racialization of bodily appearance, while marginalizing or omitting other dynamics that privilege and maintain Whiteness (e.g., intergenerational transfer of racialized wealth) (Kivel, 1998; McIntosh, 1989). Using "*skin*" as a synecdoche for *all* aspects of phenotype erroneously places a singular emphasis on the color or shade of a person's skin, obscuring *other* phenotypic qualities for which bodies are racialized (e.g., hair texture; nose shape or size; eye shape; amount of body hair). This also contributes to the reification of Whiteness by suggesting that it is something that inheres to one's skin or appearance, rather than being ascribed to a body by White supremacist processes. This contributes to the frequently heard complaint by some White students, "But I'm darker than some light-skinned People of Color!" and their sometimes forcibly compelled bodily comparisons of skin color (Ayo, 2005). Further, by substituting the smaller subset of phenotype-based White supremacy for the larger whole, the term "White-skin privilege" obscures dynamics that do not depend on one's appearance.

There are significant, overlooked aspects of White supremacy that do not operate based on an individual's phenotype; one can benefit from White supremacy even if one's *body* is not racialized as White. For example, White supremacy also operates through the racialization and policing of geographic areas. White supremacist "redlining" policies relied on the racialization and differential treatment of geographic areas, rather than the racialization of the bodies in those areas (Brodkin Sacks, 1999; Lipsitz, 1998). Residents in redlined areas would be denied home loans, regardless of the racialization of their bodies, because redlining discriminated based on the racialization of regions, not the phenotype of a given resident (Herbes-Sommers, 2003). It was through this process of collective punishment that redlining incentivized people with White-racialized phenotypes to move to new, racially exclusive suburban enclaves.

White supremacy also operates based on social, familial, and cultural factors, none of which are phenotypic. Some forms of White supremacy operate based on the racialization of one's name or speech patterns. Thus, a hypothetical "Lakisha Washington" suffers discrimination in hiring and housing applications, relative to an "Emily Walsh," without either woman's phenotype ever being known (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004). And, regardless of one's phenotype, being raised by White family members can provide a person with cultural capital and comfort with White people, which White supremacy rewards (Hardiman, et al., 2007). This, in addition to increased access to the financial and material wealth that White supremacy has systematically stolen and invested in Whiteness and White populations (Brodkin Sacks, 1999; Harris, 1993). To use myself as an example, few if any people think that

I "look White," but my familial and geographic connections to Whiteness (e.g., growing up with some White family members and around White people), have socialized me to speak and act in ways that are privileged by White supremacy. Further, I have been privileged with financial capital based on my connection to family members who *are* racialized as White and have financially benefitted from White supremacist policies (Brodkin Sacks, 1999). So, there are many ways that White supremacy may partially privilege people who are racialized as non-White, including some Multiracialized people. I propose that anti-racist education needs to complicate its own understandings of racism, beyond an exclusively phenotype-based White supremacy. If anti-racist educators are to teach about these other aspects of White supremacy, they'll need to cultivate careful analyses and curricula – and to prepare responses to the overriding focus on phenotype-based White supremacy.

I recommend that anti-racist educators help Multiracial students learn about ways White supremacy may play out among Multiracial people, including the less obvious ways, which have little to do with phenotype (e.g., language, culture, cultural capital, comfort with whiteness, inheritance, geography). Multiracial discourses have tended to privilege part-White Multiracialized people, while marginalizing people Multiracialized as "double minority" or "multiple minority" (Chung, 2003; DaCosta, 2007; Hall & Turner, 2001; Mahtani & Moreno, 2001; Williams-León, 2002). The participants also pointed out these problematic dynamics, calling for solutions. For example, Matt noted that some Multiracials tend to dominate organizations' conversations and leadership. Jamila praised one

curricular activity, writing that, "For mixed white folks, it could open important conversations about how they benefit from white privilege even if they are not phenotypically white looking." Arnold praised another of the proposed activities, saying that it could help part-White Multiracial students, "reflect [on] how different elements of privilege may shape their experiences, even if they do not particularly identify with groups associated with that privilege." As I'll discuss in the next chapter, anti-racist educators will need to find ways to anticipate and address Multiracial students' resistances to learning about White supremacy, while also refining their own understandings of "resistance." They will also need to reconceptualize Multiraciality's location, relative to Whiteness and non-Whiteness.

<u>(Part-)White supremacy in curricula</u>

Recommendation 11. Create new theories and curricula that do not presume that all Multiracials are "between" Whiteness and non-Whiteness.

I suggest that anti-racist educators will need to develop better ways to challenge the Black (or of Color)/White binary, in theory and in pedagogy. Otherwise, anti-racist education may mistakenly teach that all Multiracial people exist in an intermediate space between Whiteness and "of Color-ness," and therefore between privileged and oppressed statuses. During the early stages of the study, I had contributed an educational activity I call the "Racialbread Cookie" to the pool of curricula to be reviewed by participants. I had initially adapted the activity from one designed to teach about the complexities of gender and cissexism, called the Genderbread Cookie" (Sangrey, n.d.). The Racialbread Cookie model parsed out racialization into different components (e.g., racial identity, phenotype, racial

performance). Each component was visually represented by a continuum that ran left to right across the cookie's body. Each continuum ran at a different latitude (e.g., head, shoulders, waist, knees) and was defined by two poles: White on the left and People of Color on the right. Students could then consider ways that they themselves might be consistently Monoracialized or, more likely, Multiracialized; the former indicated by responses that were either all left/White or all right/People of Color, the latter indicated by a mix of responses, left, right, and in the middle.

However, two participants critiqued this model for relying on a bipolar racial paradigm. In a written response, Jamila said, "This does not provide room for a mixed identity that doesn't necessarily just fall in the middle of whiteness and color." And Stacy wrote, "Multiracial people without white heritage and/or with more than two heritages may not be able see themselves in the activity as well." Upon reflection, I agree with Jamila and Stacy's criticisms.

The model I proposed tacitly privileges part-White Multiracial experiences. For example, in this model, a person Multiracialized as Black and Asian might give answers that were entirely on the right side of the cookie, the "People of Color" pole – but this would not at all convey their Multiracialization. Instead, the model would falsely suggest that they are uniformly Monoracialized, perhaps similar to a Monoracialized Asian or Monoracialized Black person. Multiracial discourses have tended to privilege the experiences of Multiracialized Black-White and Asian-White people, while marginalizing others, particularly those with no claims to Whiteness (Chung, 2003; Espiritu, 2001; Mengel, 2001; Spickard, 2001; Wong, 2004). Such dynamics marginalize those Multiracialized people who are not part-White, while

also suggesting that Multiracialized people occupy a location somewhere between Whiteness and non-Whiteness.

As an alternative to reducing all non-White experiences to a single pole or location, I suggest trying to incorporate multi-polar understandings of racialization into anti-racist educational praxes. In the case of the Racialbread Cookie activity, this might significantly complicate a two-dimensional representation. But, a multi-polar representation of race might be possible using a three-dimensional cookie-body. Instead of a set of transverse lines representing continua, each component could be represented as its own transverse plane; a field not defined by only two poles. Such alternative models might also help anti-racist educators teach about racisms' and monoracisms' complex interactions and intersections with other aspects of oppression.

Other oppressive dynamics in Multiracial contexts

Recommendation 12. Research intersectional methods for studying and teaching about monoracism.

I suggest developing and teaching a multi-issue, intersectional understanding of monoracism and its mutual constitution with other aspects of oppression. Such an intersectional analysis should account for monoracisms' differential impacts, based on different social positions in various intersecting forms of oppression. Participants called for recognizing people's intersectional or multiple group memberships. White supremacy, compounded by some rejection by Communities of Color, is only one part of Multiracial people's experiences and Multiraciality is only one aspect of Multiracial people's social location (Schlaikjer, 2003b). Because

Multiracial people have multiple identities and may be oppressed in multiple ways, I suggest educators prepare Multiracial learners to challenge all aspects of oppression, not just racism (Sundstrom, 2001). Teacher and scholar Teresa Williams-León suggested that educators should help Multiracial learners answer the question, "How do we as mixed race people contribute to... the dismantling of systems of social domination such as racism, sexism, heterosexism, class elitism?" (Yuen, 2003, p. 54).

Some propose that, because Multiracial people are also affected by classism, sexism, heterosexism, and cissexism, that the Multiracial Movement must also confront these oppressions (Dariotis, 2003a; Sundstrom, 2001; Yuen, 2005). Multiracial oppression in some ways resembles the oppression of bisexuals, pansexuals, and transgender people (Olumide, 2002; Williams, 1996; Williams-León, 2001). Bisexual activist Lani Kaahumanu (Kaahumanu & Hutchins, 1991) said, "Like multiculturalism, mixed race heritage and bi-racial relationships, both the bisexual and transgender movements expose and politicize the middle ground" (quoted in Williams-León, 2001, p. 150). The Multiracial Movement might learn from – and contribute to – other movements of similarly oppressed people (e.g., learning how to better organize groups of people who do not center on particular geographic or residential locales).

Various forms of oppression (e.g., sexism, classism, heterosexism, nationalism) shape the construction of Multiraciality and affect the Multiracial population (Omi, 2001); therefore, they should be fundamental concerns for anti-racist educators and Multiracial organizations. How, then, can Multiracial activists

and academics bring these issues to the center of a critical Multiracial Movement – and how can a critical Multiracial Movement help its members learn about and take action on these issues? Williams et al. (1996, p. 362) suggested that learners "recognize the diversity within groups," both within the Multiracial population and among supposedly Monoracial communities.

A number of Multiracial educators have already been helping Multiracial students learn about how various aspects of oppression interact and harm Multiracial people. In his college course on Multiraciality, Steven Ropp helped students learn about a diversity of Multiracial populations, such as "Creoles, mulattos, mestizos, Black-Indians, Eurasians, Afroasians, Amerasians, Black-Chinese, etc." (Schlaikjer, 2003b). Vivian Chin's class on Multiraciality helped students learn about "the intersections of race, class, gender, and sexuality" (Schlaikjer, 2003b). Similarly, one of Teresa Williams-León's classes has addressed "intersections with class, culture, language, sexuality, gender, and nation" (Schlaikjer, 2003b). And Wei Ming Dariotis's class on Asian Americans of mixed-heritage has focused on "Hapas in Hawai'i, Double Minorities, Transracial Adoptees, Gender Issues and Mixed Heritage, Queer Hapas, Mixed Heritage Organizations, and Hapa Culture" (Schlaikjer, 2003b).

Relational knowledge: Learn to connect with other people

In addition to learning how Multiraciality functions in society and creating meanings about Multiraciality, I suggest Multiracial organizations' members learn how to relate to each other, to their families, and to various Communities of Color. Park (2001) characterized this kind of learning as building relational knowledge. By

helping Multiracial learners build relational knowledge, community educators can help them connect with people who may support them in their daily lives and in their collective struggles. Chung (2003) noted that her interviewees longed for more connection with people "like [themselves]," both in mass media and in their personal lives. By providing opportunities for Multiracial people to develop relationships with other Multiracial peers, community educators can help them build a positive identity and self-esteem 128. Glass and Wallace (1996, pp. 356-7) argued that organizers for the Multiracial Movement should structure members' learning around "small-group critical dialogue linked to transformative action." Further, to help Multiracial people take collective action, community educators need to help them dialogue, work through conflicts, and establish plans for action (Welland, 2003). Espiritu (2001, p. 33) said, "Community-building – within and across groups – is critical in our ongoing efforts to destabilize the dominating hierarchies."

As Multiracial organizations strengthen themselves, Rosenbaum (2004a, pp. 84-85) argued that their members should also learn how to relate to other Multiracial groups and other Groups of Color, sharing "resources, ideas, and strategies with each other... [for] long-term cooperation and communication." Strong community bonds are vital to social movements that challenge oppression. So, I suggest community educators emphasize building Multiracial people's relational knowledge, their connections to their families, to Communities of Color, and to other Multiracial people.

Connect with Multiracial communities

Recommendation 13. Offer anti-racist education programs for intact Multiracial organizations' members.

While participants called for anti-racist education to teach Multiracial students *about* Multiracial organizations and connect them *with* those organizations, I see a role for anti-racist education *within* such organizations. Much of anti-racist education, or what passes for it, is provided to audiences in which students have no pre-existing connections with one another. Programs such as PISAB and Crossroads are rare exceptions, in that they sometimes work with intact work groups from nonprofits, community organizations, or businesses. Anti-racist education can help students connect with one another in meaningful ways, as well as teach them new concepts. By working with intact Multiracial organizations, anti-racist education might help organizations' members better connect with one another and better integrate what they learn into their organizations' work.

A few Multiracial anti-racist educators have already tried such programs with their organizations. Jen Chau and other leaders of Swirl, Inc. created a "Multiracial leaders boot camp" for organizational chapter leaders, to teach both leadership skills and an analysis of Multiracial people's experiences (Chau, 2010, personal communication). During my involvement with the Stanford University chapter of Hapa Issues Forum, I co-taught a credit-bearing course on Multiraciality, attended by organization members and other interested students. Not only did students develop their understandings of themselves and Multiraciality, several of my students went on to co-teach a similar course the following year. Their students

then co-created a course the following year, in a pattern that repeated for six iterations; the course became a key part of the organization's work. Claire Fraczek (2010) has studied a similar phenomenon in a series of courses created by Multiracial students at the University of Washington. Educational programs, particularly college courses, by and for Multiracial students have had a synergistic relationship with Multiracial student organizing (Schlaikjer, 2003a). Multiracial student organizations have lobbied for the creation of courses – and such courses have helped students find one another, inspiring them to create Multiracial organizations. So, I suggest that anti-racist educators make particular efforts to train intact Multiracial organizations' members, not just all-call audiences.

Connect with Monoracial constituent communities

Recommendation 14. Teach monoracial communities/organizations about monoracism.

Many Multiracial people want to form better relationships with the Communities of Color with whom they share heritages or racialization. Contrary to frequent accusations, participants articulated that a Multiracial identity should not be used as a way to separate oneself from other communities or to hide from anti-racist work. Instead, they argued that connecting with Multiracial people, organizations and a Multiracial identity could, for those who're disaffiliated, be a way to develop anti-racist analysis and activism. Aimee called on Multiracial people to connect with their Communities of Color, rather than isolating themselves in strictly Multiracial spaces. She felt that Multiracial people's involvement could enrich anti-racist activism and help create new alliances. Other participants

suggested that developing a Multiracial identity might *increase* affiliation with Communities of Color, not decrease it as commonly feared. Arnold proposed that being involved in Multiracial communities and Multiracial education is not necessarily a path away from Communities of Color or anti-racism. For some students, identifying as Mixed or being involved in Mixed organizations is part of their path *toward* further involvement with Communities of Color, strengthening their participation skills and their sense of belonging (Rosenbaum, 2004a). Other Multiracial scholars have echoed these points, suggesting that Multiracial people *do* want to be better connected with their racialized communities (Chung, 2003; Douglass, 2003) and want educators to support such connections (Collins, 2000a; Dalmage, 2002; Rosenbaum, 2004a; Schlaikjer, 2003a). Participants wanted anti-racist education to help Multiracial students connect with their (ostensibly) Monoracial constituent Communities of Color. But, the work of connecting should not fall only to Multiracial students.

The Monoracial constituent communities, into which Multiracial people are trying to enter, also need to pull their weight; confronting their own monoracism and their reactionary responses to their own internalized White supremacy. Because of persistent monoracism in Monoracialized communities, both White and of Color, I suggest that anti-racist educators will need to provide anti-monoracist education to Monoracial organizations, preparing them to better include Multiracial members. For example, during the late 1990s and early 2000s, Hapa Issues Forum provided trainings to Japanese American (JA) organizations' leaders, teaching about Multiraciality and monoracism (though we did not call it that). The trainings

addressed Japanese American communities' historical and persistent discrimination against Multiracial JAs, as well as how they might better include Multiracial JAs. While the trainings' effects have not been formally studied, even their existence is noteworthy. By providing such trainings, anti-(mono)racist educators might also help Communities of Color develop their ability to provide trainings of their own to their members. A "train-the-trainers" approach might be useful; that way, Monoracial members of Communities of Color can teach other Monoracial members about monoracism, rather than leaving that work to Multiracial people. By taking responsibility for reducing their own monoracism, Monoracial Communities of Color will be better prepared to include and retain Multiracial people who seek community.

Reflective knowledge: Learn about oneself

I suggest that community educators help Multiracial learners reflect on a few key questions: "Who am I?" "What are my values and priorities?" "Who am I for – and who is for me?" We might think of the first as a question about identity, the second about ideology, and the third about solidarity. Multiracial people might learn how racism and resistance operate, what they mean to them, and how to relate to the people and institutions around them. Yet, without reflective knowledge, they may still lack personal motivation and direction; a sense of what is personally important to them. Williams suggested that educators help Multiracial people learn about Multiraciality as it relates to their own lives, rather than in a "reductionistic and anthropologically distanced" way (Williams, et al., 1996, p. 362). Learning about Multiraciality and monoracism can help Multiracial people legitimize their sense of

self and validate their own experiences as real (Williams, et al., 1996). To find this direction and sense of personal values, Multiracial people need to develop what Park (2001) called reflective knowledge; knowledge of themselves and their values.

It's not enough for community educators to help Multiracial people learn about racism; I suggest helping them learn how racism and monoracism have personally impacted them. Educators should help students not only learn how society operates, but also help them reflect on what they have believed and how they came to those beliefs and values. Williams et al. (1996, p. 363) argued that educators should use class time to help students "to process their feelings, their perceived realities, and their current judgments." Indeed, until students can reflect on their own beliefs, critically, they may not be able to entertain ideas that contradict their beliefs. For example, a student who believes that the United States is a fair, colorblind society may resist learning about the United States' long history of racism and oppression leading up to the present day, which contradicts hir beliefs. I feel that Teresa Williams-León's vision for Multiraciality and the Multiracial Movement, quoted in Yuen (2003, pp. 54-55), bears repeating,

> There will be this evolution, inevitably, and it won't be so much who am I, and do these communities accept me, or what is my place in my various parent communities, but how do I, as a Multiracial person, as a mixed person, contribute to social justice, how do we make this world a more just place for everybody?

Although I do not believe such change is *inevitable*, I do believe that all people have a moral obligation to transform society so that it liberates and nurtures all people rather than oppressing most. So, I suggest community educators help Multiracial students reflect on what *they* feel they should do to end oppression and improve

society (Sundstrom, 2008). But, recently, much of the Multiracial discourse about oppression has instead focused on individuals' supposed rights to either racial self-identification or a Multiracial identity.

Learn about one's own racial identity

Participants variously endorsed two seemingly contradictory learning goals: 1) learn that you have the right to racially self-identify and 2) learn to embrace a Multiracial identity. I believe that, by accounting for monoracism, we can better understand the motives and meanings of these two prevalent and contradictory goals of racial self-identification and Multiracial identification.

If we account for monoracism, then we might better understand "I have a right to racially self-identify" as a response to having one's racial authenticity disputed or denied, rather than a naive denial of the social dynamics of racialization. And, if we account for monoracism, we might also better understand Multiracial ethnic nationalism as an attempt to create some valid space in which to exist and from which to connect with other People of Color, using the prevailing logic and strategies of ethnic nationalism, rather than as a wholesale denial of connection to other People of Color.

As I explore these ideas, I also recommend that anti-racist education help Multiracial students understand how monoracism affects them, rather than emphasizing the development of particular racialized identities. I have put it more simply to colleagues: I don't care whether people identify as Multiracial or not; I care about people learning to challenge racism and monoracism.

Recommendation 15. Account for monoracism when interpreting claims of "rights" to racial self-identification.

At times, some participants and other Multiracial activists have advocated for a "right" to racial self-identification (Chau, 2005; Root, 2000). As I'll discuss below, critics have responded with a variety of objections, ranging from the principled to the overtly personal. By accounting for monoracism, we may come to different, less hostile conclusions about the supposed right to racial self-identification.

Claims to the right to racial self-identification have been critiqued in various ways. Some critics have applied theories of racialization to dispute the viability of an entirely self-determined racial identity. As previously noted by some participants and also by me, racisms create racial categories and ascribe racial identities to people. A person's racial identity is never a fully free "choice;" the available, validated options are constrained by social forces – and when a choice is available, it never lacks a political valence, whether intended or not (Kich, 1992). On this point, Collins quoted Kitzinger, who said, "Identities are not the freely created products of introspection, or the unproblematic reflections of the private sanctum of the 'inner self,' but are conceived within certain ideological frameworks constructed by the dominant order to maintain its own interests" (Collins, 2000a, p. 123). So, while how a person thinks of hirself is not irrelevant, it's not generally a primary determinant of hir racialization. It is unrealistic and naïve to teach people that society will readily accept one's self-declared racial identity; not all identity claims are equally defensible. The differential racialization of various groups further complicates matters, creating different standards by which racial boundaries are

policed (Suyemoto, 2009). And, of course, some critics have resorted to more rank monoracist interpretations, suggesting that Multiracialized people merely want that "right" so that they can distance themselves from Blackness (Ball, 2010; Banks, 1997; Spencer, 1997a).

However, through an accounting for monoracism, we might reimagine this claim of a right to self-identify. As part of monoracism, Multiracialized people have their identities and experiences repeatedly questioned and then disbelieved (Williams, 1996). Multiracial people's existence challenges the dominant racial order's myth that racial groups are natural, distinct, and non-overlapping. Thus, when encountering a racially ambiguous person, many people may feel uncomfortable and then confront the person with questions of "What are you?" in an attempt to reconcile complicated reality with their racially simplistic beliefs. And, while White supremacy enacts patterns of disbelieving, silencing, and distorting of Monoracial People of Color's experiences, I suggest that a Monoracialized Person of Color is less likely than a Multiracialized one to repeatedly experience people asking "What are you?" and then disbelieving or disputing whatever answer is given. For example, after responding honestly to people's "What are you?" questioning, I have been told that I shouldn't lie about being Mexican, Native, or whatever the speaker believed me to be; I should proud of who I "really" am and not try to conceal it. Conversely, sometimes in-group members will reject a person's identity claims; as Carol pointed out, Japanese American communities have historically rejected Multiracial Japanese Americans' claims of belonging. So, I suggest that some people may just want to assert a strong claim against the racial interrogations and

ascriptions to which they are subjected. Far from meaning, "I have a right to dis-identify with your group," espousing self-identification may be a way to say, "I have a right to be believed when I tell you who I am, what groups I belong to, and what my experiences are."

Claiming a "right" to self-identification, then, may be a crudely articulated attempt to assert that Multiracialized people can and should be able to resist people's attempts to interrogate them, then tell them who they "really" are or what their experiences "really" are. Many participants endorsed Multiracial students' "right" to resist racial interrogation and ascription, citing the "Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed People" (Root, 2003a). Given the overwhelming prevalence of interpersonal racial interrogations and the sense of alienation it can evoke, it can be empowering for Multiracial people to experience themselves as able to skillfully resist strangers' demands that they fit into a preconceived racial system and to dispute other people's sense of entitlement to disbelieve or "correct" Multiracial people about their identities (Collins, 2000a). However, I suggest that advocates tread thoughtfully, as not all means of resisting are equally valid or politic.

Recommendation 16. Teach ways to resist racial interrogation and ascription that do not reinforce other aspects of racism.

In teaching Multiracial-identified students how to respond to and resist racial interrogation, it's important that educators do not inadvertently reinforce pervasive racist narratives. As participants pointed out, Multiracial people are often confronted with racial interrogation, most often the "What are you?" line of questioning (Knaus, 2006; Williams, 1996). Participants and other Multiracial

people have posed various snappy or strategic responses to such questions. However, some such responses may tacitly draw on dominant discourses about race, inadvertently reinforcing racist notions. To illustrate this problem, I'll draw a parallel between possible responses to the "What are you?" question and responses to a question often posed to Asian Americans: "Where are you from?"

Manu Vimalassery (2013, February) has suggested that Asian American Studies and its related activism could benefit from examining itself through Native American Studies, particularly through an anti-imperialist lens. Using Native American Studies' analyses of imperialist "settler" discourses, Vimalassery has drawn attention to the problematic ways that Asian Americans may reinforce imperialist assumptions when responding to the racial interrogative, "Where are you from?" The "Where are you from?" question is generally taken to be an indication that Asian Americans are not "from" the United States. This question draws on and reinforces a racist and imperialist narrative, which purports that White people are "from" the United States, indigenous, while Asians are eternally "foreign" and not "from" the United States. Responding to such interrogation and implied suggestion of Asian foreignness, some Asian Americans assert their own indigeneity, challenging the question and arguing that they are "from," for example, Seattle or Los Angeles, not Japan or Korea or any other nation.

However, as Vimalassery has pointed out, Native American Studies challenges the tacit, racist narrative of White indigeneity; such a narrative erases White imperialism and the continuing occupation of the Americas. With the "Where are you from?" question, White people not only reinforce Asian "foreignness" and

unassimilability, they also tacitly reinforce White indigeneity and obscure White imperialism. Whites are not "from" the United States either; they are merely long-term occupiers. So, when Asian Americans indignantly respond to the "Where are you from?" question by asserting that they *too* are "from" the United States, they reinforce the myth of White indigeneity by accepting it as valid and arguing that Asians should be included in that nationalist idea of indigeneity. By asserting Asian indigeneity, Asian Americans are taking on the United States' colonial project of asserting that non-Natives have a right to claim the land as their own, as a place from which they are "from."

So, Vimalassery has suggested, rather than participating in that imperialist narrative, Asian Americans should resist the "What are you question?" by challenging the assumption of White indigeneity. Rather than asserting, "I'm from the United States, too," Asians in the United States might recognize their own settler status and then challenge White indigeneity by saying, "My people are from Asia; where are *your* people 'really' from?" In this way, an Asian respondent might challenge the idea that White people are "from" the United States, pointing out the history of White colonialism and occupation. And I suggest that Multiracial educators and advocates might take a page from Vimalassery's critique of responses to the "Where are you from?" question, as we teach Multiracial people how to resist racial interrogation and ascription.

While the "Where are you from?" question relies on implicit narratives of White indigeneity, I suggest that the "What are you?" question relies on narratives of the "obviousness" of race. The "What are you?" question is not asked of all people;

instead, it is asked of those people whose place in the United States' racial order is not readily legible. Part of the United States' racial mythology is the idea that a person's race is distinct and readily obvious. When a person encounters someone whose racial performance or appearance does not readily conform to accepted racial categories, that person may experience psychological discomfort. The inquisitor's discomfort may stem in part from not being able to place the particular ambiguous individual in the racial order – but beneath that, they may also be discomforted by an apparent disproof of their belief that race is clear and obvious. The inquisitor may then attempt to resolve their discomfort and affirm the racial order by asking, "What are you?" By this, the inquisitor means, "What is your race?" and, perhaps, "Why aren't you conforming to my expectations about race?" Multiracial people frequently cite the "What are you?" question as a common experience – and one to which they try to develop resistant responses, responses that challenge the implicit message that they do not "fit" the racial system. Scholars of Multiraciality have devoted significant attention to the "What are you?" question (Alsultany, 2004; Payson, 1996; Root, 2003a; Williams, 1996). In these ways, the "What are you?" question bears some similarity to the "Where are you from?" question posed to Asian Americans. But those are not the only similarities.

As with problematic Asian American responses to the "Where are you from?" question, Multiracial responses to the "What are you?" question may also unwittingly reinforce racist narratives. Some Multiracial people respond to the question with indignation. Sensing that the inquisitor may be seeking affirmation of the racial order and a "clarification" of the Multiracial or racially ambiguous

person's racial status, some people may evade the intent of the question (e.g., "I'm a student," "I'm a woman"). Some resistant responses attempt to subvert the implicit "othering" by claiming common nationality (e.g., "I'm an American,") or common humanity with the inquisitor (e.g., "I'm a human being.") or shaming the inquisitor (e.g., "You can't tell?"). However, there are numerous problems with such responses.

Responses that claim common nationality reinforce the idea that national citizenship should supersede racial belonging, relying on the othering of people who are *not* United States citizens. Responses that claim common humanity harken to colorblinding rhetoric that suggests that racism, or at least race, should be ignored. And responses that shame the inquisitor point to the foundational problem with such attempts at resistance: none of these responses challenge the underlying racist narrative about the "obviousness" of race. By shaming the inquisitor, a respondent reinforces the myth that race *is* obvious, implicitly suggesting that the inquisitor is too stupid or ill-informed to perceive the obvious. But, race is *not* clear or obvious; race is ambiguous, fluid, and contextual. So, alternative responses are needed.

I suggest that, in the same way that Asian Americans might disrupt underlying racist narratives by challenging ideas of White indigeneity (e.g., saying "I'm not from here – and neither are you"), Multiracial people might disrupt the racist narratives of racial distinctness and obviousness by accepting that race is not obvious and turning the "What are you?" question back on the inquisitor. Of course, as White people sometimes respond to the "Where are you from?" question by saying, "Oh, I'm from here, of course," Monoracialized people may respond to the reflection of the "What are *you*?" question by offering an implicitly racialized

response, such as "Oh, I'm American," or a more overtly racialized response, such as "I'm White, obviously." But it's precisely such tacit assertions of White indigeneity and White obviousness that should be challenged. Rather than suggesting that *no one* should be asked, "Where are you from?" or "What are you?" I am suggesting that *everyone* should be called on to answer those questions and should have their answers examined. In the same way that White people should be disabused of the myth that they are "from" the United States, all people should be disabused of the myth that race and their own racial identities are obvious. However, this is easier said than done.

Educators will have to overcome various challenges to teaching students how to resist racial interrogation without reinforcing other racist narratives. Some challenges will be posed by inquisitors, others by students, and still others by educators themselves.

First, while it may be difficult to resist racial interrogation by playing within the rules of such racist logics, it will be even *more* difficult to challenge racist logic outright. It's one thing to say, "I'm American," and then try to leave it at that; it's quite another to try to challenge the inquisitor's deeply and semi-consciously held ideas about race. The "What are you?" question and other forms of racial interrogation are not merely a request for information, they are also expressions of dominance, a means of tacitly asserting, "I am superior to you, because I fit in and you do not." Thus, a respondent attempting to resist may quickly find hirself confronted by the larger narrative behind the smaller question. The Asian American who tells a White inquisitor, "You're not from here either," might find their

challenge dismissed as nonsensical, stupid, or hostile and met with the inquisitor's simple reassertion, "No, I *am* from here." Likewise, a Multiracial respondent who challenges the "obviousness" of an inquisitor's race might be dismissed.

Second, before educators can teach students to confront inquisitors' racism, they will need to teach students to confront their own racism. Racist narratives are pervasive and broadly held. Students, as well as their hypothetical inquisitors, will likely believe that some people are racially ambiguous and most people are not, rather than being able to readily accept that race is contingent, fluid, and situational, not obvious.

And third, for educators to teach students how to resist racism with integrity, we must develop our own understandings and approaches. While educators can learn as they teach, it is harder to teach what one does not know oneself. Despite these hurdles and pitfalls, I affirm the desire to resist racial interrogation and suggest that anti-racist educators should help students, Multiracial or not, learn how to resist with integrity.

Recommendation 17. Account for monoracism when interpreting advocacy for Multiracial identification.

Rather than claiming a right to racial self-identification (or sometimes in addition to it), some people advocate a Multiracial identity; sometimes voluntary, sometimes compulsory (Byrd, 2007; Williams-León, 2002). Some participants endorsed claiming a Multiracial identity and/or claiming multiple racialized group memberships. For example, Stacy said she wanted Multiracial people to "feel confident claiming their membership in all the groups that make them who they

are." Some participants tacitly presumed they know who is Multiracial – and thus who should be encouraged to consider a Multiracial identity. Alice suggested that some people might reject a Multiracial identity out of a sense of shame; she proposed teaching, "There is no shame in identifying with everything that makes up who we are." Similarly, Diana said she knows a lot of people who "are" Mixed-Race, but claim a Monoracial identity because of "bad experiences." While she felt they could not be forced to identify as Mixed-Race, Diana said she felt multiple identifications was a beautiful thing, to be encouraged.

Proponents of a Multiracial identity or Multiracial pride have sought out positive role models, including celebrities, to popularize and lend validity to Multiracial identities (Alsultany, 2004). Several educators have suggested that Multiracial people should seek out and learn about Multiracial role models via multicultural education (Chung, 2003; Collins, 2000a; Wardle, 1996). In her interviews with Multiracial Asian-Latinos, Chung (2003) found that many interviewees wished that they had been exposed to more people, both in person and in the media, whom they could recognize as racially "like me." Among contemporary Multiracial role models, Multiracial people might learn about the recent history of Multiracial activism in the United States (Atkin, 2001; Douglass, 2003; Evans, 2004; Rosenbaum, 2004a; Yuen, 2003). However, celebrities are more likely to be recognized and held up as role models (Alsultany, 2004). Attempts to name or claim positive role models as Multiracial might be interpreted as attempts to promote or enforce Multiracial identity or Multiracial pride.

As noted in Chapter 3, critics have opposed Multiracial identification for various reasons. Some oppose the further proliferation of racial categories, which reinforce racialist thinking and racialist "pride" (Spencer, 1999). Others suggest that Multiraciality is an attempt to dilute or undermine Black power (Ball, 2010; Banks, 1997). Attempts to claim Multiracial historical role-models have sometimes been decried as trying to "take away" Black role models (Ioanide, 2010; Pitcher, 2010; Riley, 2012). Such claiming may also risk inappropriately reading current identities backward in history, without regard for past categories or how historical figures may have been racialized or thought of themselves (Spickard, 2010). Some people, wrapped up in internecine struggles over various Multiracial identity projects, may argue that a person should choose a Multiracial identity, but have simply chosen the "wrong" one (Byrd, 2007; Root, 2002).

But, by accounting for monoracism, we might reinterpret the meanings of advocating for Multiracial identity. In the U.S.'s highly racialized system, a group without a distinct racial identity is a group without respect or recognition; a person without a distinct racial identity may be unintelligible or even almost a non-person (DaCosta, 2002). In response, identity politics and racial "pride" have become widely accepted strategies. Identity politics promoted the idea that the racial identity one claimed was indicative of one's political ideology, loyalties, and even psychological health (DaCosta, 2002). Drawing on strategic essentialism and an inversion of dominant values, "pride" movements became a way for some marginalized groups to resist systematic oppression and the "shame" of social stigma.

But monoracism limits Multiracial people's access to some options for resisting "shame." Multiracialized people may be shamed for being Multiracialized, regardless of the identity they claim. Communities of Color have rejected or marginalized some members for being insufficiently racialized, failing to live up to essentialized standards for membership, and lacking a pure racial "essence" (DaCosta, 2002). Monoracist taunting can be used to police *all* members of a racial group, not just Multiracialized members; similar to the ways that men may taunt other men to reinforce conformity with patriarchal performances of masculinity. People who do not acknowledge their Multiracialization may be accused of trying to "game the system," taking space or resources from "full" members (Schmidt, 2010). Yet, acknowledging one's Multiracialization can also draw negative accusations (e.g., of being "too good" for the group; being ashamed of one's race; trying to escape Blackness). So, monoracism constrains Multiracialized people's access to the resistant racial "pride" offered by membership in Monoracial Communities of Color.

Consequently, some Multiracial people have adopted the prevailing "pride" strategy as a means to combat erasure and shaming. With other racial categories and spaces unavailable or available only under limited conditions, creating a Multiracial identity and category in which one might have "pride" was a logical extension of the prevailing identity politics and racial nationalisms (DaCosta, 2002; Dalmage, 2002). After enduring many negative stereotypes, some Multiracial people may take refuge in believing some of the newer, more positive myths about Multiracial people (Hamako, 2008; Wallace, 2001). Multiracial activists sought to establish a distinct racial identity as a way to gain respect and refuse pathologizing

(Welland, 2003). Longstanding monoracist shaming and marginalization may make "pride" politics all the more appealing to some Multiracial people.

In this vein, some Multiracial scholars and activists began to propose their own Multiracial identity development models (Collins, 2000a; Kich, 1992; Poston, 1990). Like other racial nationalist models developed to resist pathologizing, these models inverted the values of the models to which they were responding. Where Multiracial identity was cast as pathological in prior People of Color identity models, Multiracial theorists proposed that a Multiracial identity was a desirable and healthy outcome. Like other "pride" movements, Multiracial "pride" falls prey to racialist thinking and its own forms of boundary policing (Spencer, 1997b). But, I suggest that, like other "pride" movements, Multiracial "pride" and the promotion of a Multiracial identity is the extension of a common (if flawed) strategy for resisting pervasive oppression and stigma – and should be understood in that context (DaCosta, 2002).

Recommendation 18. Rather than emphasizing racial identity development, help students learn how monoracism affects them.

As an alternative to advocating Multiracial pride or espousing an untenable "right" to racial self-identification, anti-racist education might better serve Multiracial students by helping them understand how monoracism affects their lives. If, as I propose, monoracism is a focal problem for Multiracialized students, then education should focus on understanding and addressing that problem, rather than on individuals' racial identities. An understanding of monoracism may be more practically useful than an understanding of one's racial identity, regardless of what

that identity may be. Multiracial identity alone does not challenge more than a sliver of the full dynamics of monoracism. An anti-monoracist analysis might also help anti-racist educators revise their approach to identity politics; moving from prescribing some identities and pathologizing others to addressing the circumstances that delimit available identity options and influence people's identity choices (Renn, 2000, 2003; Wijeyesinghe, 2001). I believe there's a significant difference between wholly endorsing racial self-identification and teaching students to assert their identity and experiences in the face of inquisitors and educators who think they know better.

While I do not recommend enshrining racial self-identification as the sole determinant of one's experience or identity, I do suggest that both anti-racist educators and their students could benefit from acknowledging monoracism and not *in*validating students when they identify as Multiracial. First and perhaps most practically, by not disallowing Multiracial identification, anti-racist educators may be able to better reach Multiracial identified students, reducing unnecessary conflict and resistance in trainings. When students feel their own experiences are invalidated or pathologized, they are unlikely to be receptive to other parts of the curriculum, even if the other parts are not monoracist. As Alice put it, "[I]t's hard to think about [the] ways you are racist … if you also feel like your experience is not validated... [I]f you have that within an anti-racist class, it allows you … to have that kind of reflection, once you know that the participants see you." Second, by not disallowing Multiracial identification, anti-racist educators could help Multiracial-identifying students acknowledge some of their internalized racism and internalized

monoracism. For example, Seeta explained that, had Multiracial identity been more available to her as a child, she might have felt better able to acknowledge the more stigmatized of her two heritages, rather than taking on a Monoracial Asian identity.

Third, by not disallowing Multiracial identification, anti-racist educators could use Multiraciality as an entry-point through which Multiracial students could access anti-racist activism. Some participants suggested that allowing Multiracial identification and solidarity could be an entry-point through which Multiracial students could access anti-racist activism – and not, as some critics suggest, a delusional attempt to escape anti-racist solidarity. And fourth, as June suggested, by learning to value their own Multiracial identities and experiences, Multiracial students may be able to develop and contribute new analyses to anti-racist activism (Nakashima, 2005). I agree with June that helping students explore monoracism can also be an entry point for understanding other forms of oppression. Whether we conceive of those other forms as merely similar in form or actually intersecting, anti-racist educators could constructively use students' interest in the resemblance of monoracism and, say, cissexism.

So, rather than promoting a potentially untenable "right" to self-identify, it might be more useful to help students assert a "right" to resist monoracism. By focusing students' learning on understanding the dynamics of monoracism, anti-racist education might help them not only understand how monoracism works, it might help them understand their personal stake in challenging it. Thus, anti-racist education might help Multiracial students and their organizations commit to anti-

racist activism as part of a larger struggle for social justice (Glass & Wallace, 1996; Sundstrom, 2008; Welland, 2003).

Learn to value action

Recommendation 19. Teach practical skills for challenging racism and monoracism.

I suggest that, to prepare Multiracial students to challenge racism and monoracism, anti-racist educators will need to help them learn a variety of skills. Participants called on anti-racist educators to teach practical skills for activism. In keeping with PISAB's idea that training should be situated within organizing, June and Julia both argued that Multiracial students need to learn skills for political organizing. June suggested teaching Multiracial students how to conduct power analyses, in particular, and other political organizing skills. Julia wanted Multiracial students to learn how to effectively advocate for policy change. Other Multiracial educators and activists have also called on anti-racist education to teach practical skills for nonviolent activism (Glass & Wallace, 1996). As I discuss later, I suggest that Critical Pedagogy (e.g., Freirean popular education) could help Multiracial students develop skills for critical thinking, problem analysis, planning and conducting collective actions, and evaluating their efforts (Ferreira & Ferreira, 1997).

But, a few participants cautioned that some early efforts by Multiracial people may need to be directed toward anti-racist educators themselves. Following Julia's suggestion about policy advocacy skills, Julia and Grace discussed students' need to learn skills for advocating for better anti-racist curricula. Other participants

also called for teaching Multiracial people the skills they'd need to understand monoracism and also to articulate, defend, and teach an anti-monoracist analysis. Joshua wanted Multiracial students to be able to "speak about Multiracial issues and anti-racism in a way that's supported by the evidence that's actually out there." Carin, Stacy, and Cheryl discussed their own experiences with educators who were either ill-prepared or actively monoracist. They wanted, both for themselves and for other Multiracial students, the skills needed to "teach up" to their monoracist educators. In the next chapter, I further explore participants' perspectives on educators' monoracism.

Recommendation 20. Critically consider the idea and practice of teaching "transferable allyship skills."

I also suggest that anti-racist educators critically evaluate the idea of "transferable allyship skills," as it may be useful, but also carries with it some problems. June suggested, as have I, that Multiracial people could benefit from learning about the oppression and resistance of queer and transgender people. As June put it, learning about monoracism could be an "entrance" into learning about many other aspects of oppression. Along with that, June suggested that there might be "allyship" skills that could be generalized from one dynamic to another; learning to be a better ally to transgender people might also produce insights about how to be a better ally to Multiracial people and vice versa. While I share this sense of possibility, I'm also concerned that analogies might be stretched to the point of being spurious, distorting important differences (Luft, 2010). For example, learning about transgender oppression should encompass the ways its operations are both

similar to and different from monoracism. Any resemblances between oppressions should be examined, to help differentiate actual intersections from coincidental rhymes. Where two oppressions are similar in form and function, then "allyship skills" may be transferrable – but this should not be assumed without evidence. And, even when such skills are appropriate, anti-racist educators should not assume that all students will be equally disposed to learn or use them.

Summary

Throughout this chapter, I have attempted to tease out particular threads from the participants' contributions about anti-racist educational learning goals for Multiracial students. As I have done so, I have tried to examine and reweave some of these ideas, integrating material from other schools of thought; sometimes to reinforce or extend participants' ideas, sometimes to provide contrary angles that help create new directions or interpretations of the ideas. Through critical examination, I have tried to honor the participants' contributions, even when I have not agreed with them. I hope this study will encourage further conversations with anti-racist educators and Multiracial activists as we work to redirect and improve anti-racist educational programs' goals for teaching Multiracial students and for teaching about monoracism. However, to accomplish these goals, both for learning and for organizing, Multiracial organizers and educators will need to confront and resolve a variety of problems with anti-racist education. In the next chapter, I present the participants' ideas aspects of anti-racist education that either help or hinder Multiracial students' learning, as well as participants' suggestions for improvement.

CHAPTER 7

ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION: WHAT IS WORKING AND NOT WORKING FOR MULTIRACIAL STUDENTS

In this chapter, I present the participants' answers to the second and third research questions. Although I had asked separate questions regarding aspects of anti-racist education that help Multiracial students' learning, that hinder it, and possible improvements, the participants' responses often addressed several questions at the same time. For example, in critiquing problematic aspects of anti-racist education, participants might also imply potential improvements. So, rather than presenting their answers in three sections that would inevitably overlap and refer back to each other, I have chosen to present their answers based on two meta-themes I perceived in the data: the first, monoracism built into anti-racist education's theories, curricula, and pedagogies; the second, individual educators' own monoracism.

Much of the data addressed theories, curricula, or pedagogies of anti-racist education. In such cases, even anti-racist educators who are attentive to their own internalized monoracist attitudes or behaviors might find themselves enacting behaviors that perpetuate monoracism. In the first half of this chapter, I present participants' critiques and suggestions regarding these more curricula-related problems. However, some of the data explicitly named educators' problematic attitudes and behaviors, which might manifest even if improved curricula were available. The second half of the chapter addresses participants' comments and suggestions about these problems. As with Chapters 5 and 6, I present participants'

responses in this chapter, reserving my own interpretations and recommendations for Chapter 8.

Monoracism in anti-racist educational theories, curricula, and pedagogies

Sometimes, the monoracism in anti-racist education manifests in ways that seem unintentional or passive, rather than actively hostile; it may be built into the curricula. It may manifest as the omission of Multiraciality, with Monoraciality being assumed. Curricula and educators may present binary frameworks for understanding concepts such as privilege and oppression or racial categories, rather than acknowledging the complexities of the process through which privilege and oppression are doled out. Participants offered their critiques of such monoracism in anti-racist education's theories, curricula, and pedagogies, as well as suggesting possible solutions. In what follows, I present participants' discussions of what I characterize as problems and suggestions for improvement.

Problem: Exclusion of Multiraciality

On one of the most basic levels, participants cited the omission or exclusion of Multiraciality as a manifestation of monoracism in anti-racist curricula. Carol said,

> [T]hinking about it from the point of view of teaching an Asian American studies class, like if I was teaching intro, what I would do to make sure that Mixed-Race people felt included and felt like they had a voice – which back when I took those classes, it wasn't that way at all. There was no space to be Mixed – it was always the assumption that every family that you're talking about was a Monoracial family. That when the Chinese men immigrated here, and they had no marriage partners, there was never the possibility that they could've married someone not Chinese or that it had to be a heterosexual relationship. I mean there's all those assumptions – just never ever got questioned. And so anything having to do with those kinds of inclusions and language, I think, would help Mixed-Race people feel more participants and have a voice that's not always like, "Well, sorry, but once again you've made a mistake." Because it gets kind of old to be the one that keeps having to point out that mistake, and everyone rolls their eyes.

Like Carol, numerous other participants said that considerations of Multiraciality or monoracism are often entirely absent from anti-racism education. Participants who expose curricular omissions or biases may be cast as mistaken, misguided, or even hostile by facilitators or other participants. In addition to such broad exclusions from curricula, participants also named ways that such monoracist assumptions might show up in particular activities. One notable way was in the language and terms used in curricula – and the meanings and assumptions that that language conveys. For example, Colette said that the language used in privilege walk instructions sometimes tacitly ignores the complexity of Multiracial learners' experiences:

> I think language is a really important piece to activities or facilitation. So like I've done a lot of step-in/step-out activities, and often it'll say, "Does your race blah, blah, blah," like to prompt questions. And I'm like, "Wait, which racial identity do I want to choose?" So sometimes … I'll choose one and then choose another for different ones. So the language has a really important part.

Here, Colette noted that instructions that might seem simple for a Monoracially identified participant, such as identifying general experiences of a racialized group, become more complicated for participants who might claim membership in more than one racialized group, each of which might experience racism differently.

Suggestions: Include Multiraciality and monoracism

At the most basic level, participants wanted anti-racist education to acknowledge Multiraciality and monoracism, rather than omitting or denying them. Alice wrote, "[I]nclude us! At this point very few anti-racist education programs do - as evidenced by much of these activities, which had to be adapted from other sources." Carol wrote, "To begin with, there needs to BE an acknowledgement that

[Multiraciality] exists and that it is an experience that is included in the discussion. The language needs to be inclusive." At the end of a focus group, Jamila expressed appreciation for the opportunity to focus specifically on Multiraciality, saying that Multiraciality is often treated as a low-priority:

> I was really excited about this topic in general, because, in most anti-racist or social justice settings, it always feels like Multiraciality is a subset-of-a-subset-of-a-subset and it always feels like there are so many big issues to deal with […] It's great to be in a circle where people can just openly talk about it and it is important and, like, really reinforcing that.

Likewise, Arnold felt heartened by seeing Multiraciality being addressed by this study and by some of the curricula participants' submitted:

> [R]eading some of the activities, which have Multiracial participants in mind or incorporated Multiracial people … I was pleased to see these different kinds of activities that could be applied in today's organizing or advocacy or so on, that hadn't existed just a few years ago. So, for me, it was very heartening to see that there was this kind of curriculum being developed and that there is this discussion that is taking place, so that the discussion can be advanced … instead of it just being "What does the Multiracial Movement do? What is it about?"

But, curricula should not stop at teaching about Multiraciality. Numerous participants also advocated teaching about monoracism, including praising curricula that named and debunked monoracist stereotypes and curricula that interrogated institutional monoracism.

Beyond mere inclusion, some participants suggested reframing anti-racist education to center Multiraciality and monoracism. Julia cautioned that centering Multiraciality requires much more than the typical token efforts at inclusion:

> There's a difference between integrating and tokenizing – just questions or content that has to do with Multiracial participants or histories or experiences. … That is like the first thing I would think of: Is it being centered or is it being on the periphery? And if it is being centered, then what's the

> purpose? Is it going to teach the Multiracial participants in the class? … I mean, is it going to get to the goal that you want?

Julia's concerns about reaching Monoracial students while centering Multiraciality in curricula were echoed by other participants. Stacy liked the possibility of having activities that focus specifically on Mixed experiences. But, in conversation with Cheryl and Carin, Stacy also worried about Monoracial-identified students' willingness and ability to engage with curricula that centers Multiraciality:

> STACY: I like the idea of centralizing Mixed-Race, the Mixed-Race experience. I also don't know what that would look like exactly, but one thing I thought … when looking through the activities that we had ahead of time, was a lot of them were designed specifically for Mixed-Race people, and so I was trying to imagine how those activities would work in a group that also included Monoracial people and mostly I wasn't sure. I wonder if maybe some of them are best used in just Mixed groups, *Mixed-Race* groups, groups of Mixed-Race *people*. [Laughs] But – and that can be a useful thing – but I think we also want to work with Monoracial people. So, you know, how could we make those activities or other activities work for everybody? I'm not sure how, in some of them. Some of them, I think, are more open, but in others, I could imagine Monoracial people disengaging or, you know, feeling excluded or being uncomfortable in a way Mixed-Race people do in these more traditional activities that we've talked about, and that wouldn't really help. So maybe these activities are useful in groups of Mixed-Race people and then we need to come up with something else for how to learn together. I guess what you're looking for is, "What would that be?" [Laughter]
>
> …
>
> CARIN: When I said, "Centralizing Mixed-Race," I don't mean it's sort of at the expense – but I think we already operate in a racialized binary, so that is the norm. … I think when you centralize Mixed-Race, it forces you to question that system, from the get-go.
>
> …
>
> CHERYL: I'm wondering what happens when folks come to a racialized space, where you're used to operating from the racial binary. What really interesting and good things can come out of centering Mixed-Race and then what things can be so jarring that … I don't know, but what's the balance?

Other participants suggested that curricula that center Multiraciality could benefit all students. Understanding monoracism might help illuminate under-acknowledged aspects of racism. June suggested, "Having more spaces that center mixed identity, and seeing mixed race as an area of study that can help everyone sharpen their racial analysis (as opposed to a fringe topic)." Likewise, while writing about the Racialbread Cookie activity (Appendix K), Charles suggested that centering Mixed-Race experiences could benefit not only Multiracial students, but also Monoracial students, particularly by reducing their monoracism:

> I think that this activity starts with the incredible idea of facilitating a group of all multi-racial folks. While this is really important, my experience is that multi-racial folks (and especially the multi-racial folks who may get the most out of any activity like this) often find themselves isolated trying to walk between different worlds (POC[8] v. White, one POC community vs. another POC community), but that's where we exist. I think it's useful to have activities that are targeted at "mainstream" (or not-all-multi-racial-people) that centers multi-racial experiences. Also, this would help monoracial folks have an opportunity to work on their shit so they aren't perpetuating stereotypes onto multiracial folks.

This suggestion that centering Multiraciality and monoracism could improve anti-racist theory and education has also been explored by Multiracial scholars (Nakashima, 2005). But, as Charles' concluding point articulated, participants also saw problems beyond anti-racist education's theories, curricula, and pedagogies. However, centering Multiraciality or monoracism would likely require addressing frameworks that are currently central to many anti-racist education programs and curricula. In particular, participants problematized the use of binary paradigms of race and of privilege/oppression, the use of prescriptive racial identity development models, and identity-based "safe space" pedagogies.

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[8] POC: People of Color.

Problem: Binary frameworks

Participants often critiqued frameworks that oversimplify or mask the complexities of Multiracial realities. In particular, participants critiqued frameworks that propose binary and oppositional categories; for example, models that propose that an individual or group is either privileged or oppressed, either a Person of Color or White, or even more simply either Black or White. Participants suggested that such frameworks are insufficient for addressing Multiraciality and monoracism; yet, it is often Multiraciality that is deemed "too complicated" for such models. Aimee wrote,

> [T]here have been many a time that I've been in anti-racist trainings where multiracial components of the conversation are swept aside for being complicated or where the facilitator has felt that it was too complicated. This, in and of itself, is deeply deleterious to your multiracial participants. Race is messy and a good facilitator will embrace this - don't step on individuals identity for sake of simplicity.

As a more specific example, Charles praised one of the privilege walk activities for introducing the concepts of privilege and oppression, but criticized it for failing to address "the complexities of racial privilege/oppression as a multiracial person." He particularly named the failure to account for Multiracial people who may be partially racialized as White and therefore occupy an unstated space "in between" the binary categories of privilege and oppression. Writing about the Racialbread Cookie (Appendix K), Jamila said, "Binaries and gradients tend to be a give away that it won't work for many mixed folks." Jamila's critique pointed out that a "gradient" model, while not strictly binary, may still reinscribe the importance of the two poles that define either end of the model.

Some participants questioned anti-racism curricula and pedagogies' priorities, suggesting that oversimplifications cater to the most privileged and most resistant students. June commented that many anti-racism curricula are designed to manage White people's racism, sometimes catering to White students and overlooking the learning needs of People of Color:

> I guess I feel like a lot of the anti-racist stuff that I've been exposed to –maybe the more traditional ways of thinking about it, I feel like they were constructed in a way to keep some of the White racism from flaring up. I feel like a lot of it was preventive teaching so the pushback that [is] happening constantly would be lessened. The way that they talk about "Privilege plus power;" those kinds of explanations. So, I guess I would want people to feel empowered to experiment with different models, but then I wouldn't want it to just be a heyday for […] racism to flare up and make really messed up (chuckle) models at same time.

Cheryl expressed similar concerns, asking of curricula in general,

> [C]an everyone in this space learn something positive for them? Or learn something that moves them in some way? … We talked about the power walk earlier, but a lot of time what ends up happening is White people are like, "Woah, I had no idea!" People of Color are like, "Great, I just… reinforced everything I already felt." So, I think that's an example of something that doesn't in my mind meet the goals of anti-racist training. … I was really having a hard time thinking about that explicitly for Multiracial people… Like, would Mixed folks learn something from it?

However, some participants also expressed concern that binary framings of privilege and of racial categories may alienate Multiracials (and other people) who claim some White heritage or familial connection to Whiteness. A few participants cautioned that Multiracial participants, particularly those who have White family or White-identifications, may be resistant if the curriculum is perceived as being anti-White-*people*, instead of anti-White-*supremacy*. Joshua said,

> [I]f we are talking about anti-racism, a lot of people sometimes might […] confuse White Supremacy with White people. […] [M]aking that kind of claim, then, would really kind of tick off a lot of Multiracial participants and should

> make other folks upset too, because […] White Supremacy is not about White people as individuals. It's about structural issues and things like that.

Other participants also spoke about the need to teach about racism in a way that focuses on systems of privilege and power, rather than on just the beneficiaries of those systems.

In one focus group, participants had a lengthy exchange about differences between focusing on White supremacy, as a system, and focusing on White people. Alice opened, saying that as a "half-White" person, she feels uncomfortable with curricula that "go on and on and on about how bad White people are, you know?" and suggested that "racism exists [and] all people are racist and that certainly there are atrocities committed by White folks, but that they are committed by others, too." Rebecca then characterized this as "White bashing," and Alice and Diana both agreed with that characterization. Diana then said,

> I feel like sometime when we hear the word racism you assume it's minorities only and then me, also being half-White as well, I sometimes hear from other people or other Multiracials or people that are anti-racist activists, they are like, "Well, I don't understand how you can say that. White people are so privileged." Like there is nobody that is ever racist against them. [Laughs] I'm like, "Okay…" It does happen. But, you know, maybe it's called something else in other people's eyes or they don't acknowledge it as that – but it is a race thing. You know? So…

Like Diana, participants in other focus groups also noted that anti-racist education can lose credibility with Multiracial students if it disallows their experiences (or even the possibility) of racial discrimination by Monoracial People of Color against *other* People of Color, including Multiracial People of Color.

Rebecca responded to Diana's comment by noting that there are different definitions of racism. Diana's example suggested that People of Color *could* be racist

toward White, but Rebecca noted that some definitions of racism expressly exclude that possibility by requiring a group to have institutional and cultural power for their racial discrimination to qualify as "racism." Rebecca then suggested that anti-racist educators should more clearly articulate the definition of racism that they are using and be prepared to discuss that with students who may lack a larger power analysis and who subscribe to the belief that racism is simply racial prejudice or discrimination. Rebecca then reframed her original "White bashing" comment saying that clarifying one's definition of racism could help students realize that, "it is not White-bashing, but it's just whoever-is-in-power-in-that-particular-country-bashing." Diana followed by saying that even that framing could provoke unproductive guilt among White students, giving them a "complex." To this, Rebecca responded by citing White racial identity development theory, saying that White students could benefit from both understanding such theories and being exposed to examples of White anti-racist activists; Seeta seconded Rebecca's suggestion. Rebecca then went on to suggest that both White students and part-White Multiracial students could benefit from anti-racist education that helps them recognize that White people can be active participants in anti-racist activism – and that anti-racist activism does not purport that all White people are condemned to be actively racist.

Suggestions: Use intersectional models, not binary models

Several participants suggested using intersectional analyses or models as alternatives to the prevalent binary models. Jamila recounted a story that illustrated how teaching with an intersectional analysis, rather than an oversimplified, single-

issue analysis, might help learners overcome their own resistance to learning about racism:

> My dad is part of a Veterans club… and there was a statement made to one of the African American generals from a White general who was saying something like, "You should be really grateful for slavery, because that is the reason you are here today and you have such a prosperous life and stuff." So, my dad asked me to facilitate a dialogue between some of the people from his club at dinner, which was really scary, because they are much older veteran type folks – people you have to be really respectful to and stuff. So, one of the ways I really tried to avoid binaries in the discussion was to talk about multiple ways that people are oppressed or are oppressors and to talk about ways that I have privilege in society. That maybe I am a woman, but maybe I'm a relatively light-skinned woman and so what does that mean? Or I identify as straight, so what does that mean for me, in considering my LGBT friends and the different experiences that we have? And so, I think, for them, it was really helpful for me to talk about gender and sexuality and race at the same time, to show that even though I'm talking about systems and White supremacy, there are other systems that I belong to – and all of us belong to – where it's fluid and it can change over the course of your lifetime. Sometimes it's really helpful to have a dialogue that's just focused on race, but sometimes that can get people a little too much into it. So I think that's where going back to social justice and the broader concepts are important, too.

Similarly, Carol suggested using an intersectional or multi-issue analysis when teaching about social justice. Failing to do so, she said, can disable learners' abilities to understand the complexities of racism:

> I noticed … [my parents] could be super-open-minded about racial issues, but they're so closed down, shut down about sexuality issues. And it really affects their ability to talk about the racial stuff too, even if they think that they've worked on it for so long. So I know you just kind of shift your approach when you're with them or find language or try to find opportunities to draw parallels. You know they get uncomfortable, but push them on it.
>
> I've been so surprised at how many interracial couples are resistant to … gay and lesbian marriages … it's obviously very similar to that issue. They're so resistant to it, and it bums you out because they've done hard work in their lives – some of these couples have been married a long time. …
>
> So I guess that's actually another way that being Mixed can be used as a strategy to work on anti-racist stuff too. You've got these great parallels from your experience and your family's experience that can be used in all these

> different areas to show how things that people thought were so true and so essential really aren't. But I don't know how to bring that out in them in a setting like this that you're talking about.

Other participants also called for curricula that would connect lessons about Multiraciality and monoracism with other social justice issues. Charles liked that the Racialbread Cookie activity (Appendix K) provided specific questions about Multiraciality, which highlight differences among Multiracial people, but wrote that its multi-issue analysis still fell short of an acceptable framing of intersectionality:

> The questions are specific to multi-racial[9] folks in a way that expands our ability to think about what it means to be mixed/multi-racial (i.e., it's not just about trying to put physical features as the sole markers of race, like saying my eyes are Asian, my phenotype is mixed, my hair is Irish, etc..)
> … being multi-racial isn't a singular phenomenon. By which I mean, race intersects with class, gender, sexual orientation and ability in such a way that the way people (or me anyways) experience our multiracial-ness is connected to the way our other identity markers are read.
>
> It seemed like the Intersection activity was sort of the same template as this activity, but with lots of different identities to talk about complicated relationships to privilege. "Intersection" also lacks something in the sense that it is more of a "Sum of the oppressive or privileged parts," rather than the way that race is gendered and gender is racialized and class is racialized/gendered/class-ified, etc., etc.

Some participants considered how to better integrate these multiple issues into a cohesive, intersectional approach. Joshua spoke about using a "Critical Mixed-Race approach" to center Multiraciality and to connect various other issues and address complexities without beginning by oversimplifying:

> I think actually this whole idea on the Critical Mixed-Race approach is really about linking different social issues and things together, so that they can

[9] When presenting participants' written comments, I have opted to retain their own uses of terms and spellings. For example, while I use the term "Multiracial," Charles has said "multi-racial," here. Because the participants have their own reasons for using different terms and spellings, I have chosen to honor their uses, rather than substituting my own preferred terms or spellings.

> actually be addressed at the same time. We don't have to do them one at a time or … teaching starting with the general broad strokes and then we get to the complexity later. Too many people in the United States are doing that and – even anti-racist educators – "We'll get to that later." – rather than trying to confront and deal with these different things that are going on at the same time.

In addition to theories of intersectionality, some participants invoked the importance of context and the fluidity of identity and positionality.

Problem: Monoracism and racial identity development models

Sometimes monoracist problems in curricula are rooted in problematic theories or models. In participants' responses, I felt resonances with my own experience with the "Ladder of Empowerment" at the Community Strategic Training Initiative, which I shared in Chapter 1. Participants in this study specifically criticized the use of identity development models that omit Multiracial identity. Cheryl related an experience in which a trainer, who she and her organization had hired, omitted Multiraciality while teaching about identity and identity development:

> We paid this woman a lot… to come and talk with this whole group at this conference. It was undergraduate students and she dutifully walked in and she just said she was going to talk about identity. So I was like, "Great." Seriously, she walked through [Derald Wing] Sue and [David] Sue and [William] Cross and that's all she talked about. And this one student who is Mixed Pacific Islander and who also identifies as queer raised his hand and said, "You know, are there other theories?"
> ...
> And she didn't do a very good job. I actually think she last studied theory in like 1985. So, I ended up touching base with this student afterward. … [I]t was set up as an anti-racist space because it was a conference about race and gender. But… I realized we hadn't vetted this person closely enough and… this student felt marginalized and so… I don't know that I had explicit learning goals for Multiracial folks coming into that space, but it definitely reminded me that I need to. … I don't know if I forgot how to empathize with the group, because I've found myself in those spaces before and when the student said that, I thought ,"Oh yeah, this is bad. Really bad." … And what I

> really appreciate was that the student named the question in the space and he realized that the speaker didn't do a very good job of answering. So I think that he knew there is definitely more here. I thought that he helped to create a very brave space, for one, probably where he didn't feel incredibly safe.

But, while such interventions may improve the training, they also place undue burden on particular students. Luke said that identity models often omit Multiraciality and he feels required to educate others about it. He advocated teaching identity development models with a critical eye, rather than uncritically endorsing them:

> When talking about Monoracial identity models, I think going into it asking people to look at how it *doesn't* work for them – then it would work. But I've been in the class too many times where this has been given to us and it's like, "This is it." And then just feeling like, "I am not in there." … And then I have to educate people about why I don't fit this model. … [A]nd that doesn't work well for me, as a Multiracial person, 'cause it sort of feels tokenizing, I think … Not on purpose, but I think if I – if we had gone in it from that onset saying "Let's look at this, let's see how it might not work for people," then I think it would work well for me to sort of see, rather than feeling excluded and then having to voice that.

Even without better models, approaching monoracist curricular material with a critical eye may be one step toward teaching about monoracism and improving curricula. To explore and develop better models, participants gave various suggestions.

Suggestions: Account for contextuality, fluidity, and social construction

Rather than building anti-racist curricula on binary frameworks or racial identity development models that are prescriptive and linear, participants suggested teaching about the contextual and fluid aspects of identity, affiliation, and racism. Jamila challenged the use of binary frameworks:

> Talking about the binaries … the Multiracial Movement really focuses on the word "and." So it's a lot more inclusion. So I think really checking activities to

> make sure that you're not asking students to identify with one group or another group. Or activities where you are promoting identity as one thing or another thing. So, even with talking about theories and people who are oppressed and people who are oppressors – and just really staying away from that and working more with theories that understand fluidity.

Similar to Jamila's mention of fluidity, Cheryl suggested using newer theories that acknowledge the contextual and nonlinear nature of racial identity, rather than trying to excuse old theories that do not:

> I think when everyone says, "This isn't really linear, it just looks linear, it just *looks* linear…" But, you know, I think some of the *new* models that actually *aren't* linear [and] don't privilege the idea that we also have to integrate all sorts of your identities to be whole or whatever … [They] acknowledge that identity is contextual, that we are going to find different ways, that my way is not better than another person's way.

To aid in teaching about these complexities, many participants suggested that curricula teach about the "social construction of race," rather than allowing students to believe that racial categories are natural, stable over time, or universal regardless of context. CJ wrote, "I believe 'race' as a concept has to first be critically examined before you can dissect what it means to be 'multiracial.'"

When suggesting teaching about social constructionism, several participants were particularly concerned about how to refute popular discourses about Mixed-Race and health that reinforce racist ideas about race being biologically determined. In one focus group, participants struggled with how to understand and teach about social constructionism in the face of such discourses:

> CAROL: Well, when I would teach a Mixed-Race class … we always started with challenging their concept of race and giving a lot of information to support that challenge. And then talk … generally about the history of racial categories and how they came about … and then moved on to looking at groups and historical experiences. And that was necessary because people need to start with that sort of imbalance. They need to have their notion sort of questioned.

> But then you always get to the point where … someone will come in and talk about the bone marrow or whatever. And then you're right back to scientific definitions. And I never understand the science well enough to explain why that bone marrow thing [group laughter] is the way it is. I've tried and tried – so many people have tried to explain it to me, and I still don't quite get it.
>
> CJ: Regional ancestry. That's my quick one.
>
> CAROL: But the way that the organization goes after it doesn't do that. They will say, "Anybody who's part-White and part-Asian, get yourself checked because you have a better chance of matching with this person." That doesn't make sense, right?
>
> CJ: Well, it does when you look at regional ancestry. But the way that they shop it – they can't explain it to people like that. They have to explain it in racial terms for people to get it.
>
> CAROL: But it undoes a lot of good work –
>
> CJ: Yeah it does.

And participants considered various other ways that students' preconceived notions might influence the effectiveness of anti-racist curricula.

Notably, a few participants advocated framing content in ways that downplay naming racism. In one focus group, participants had the following exchange about the strategic value of framing education as specifically anti-*racist,* relative to other possible frames. I read a few participants as uncomfortable with explicitly anti-racist ideology or goals, based on their characterization of anti-racism as "aggressive" or violent. However, other participants seemed more comfortable with anti-racism, but saw reframing curricula as a way to reach wider audiences:

> LUKE: I think, in high school, I would have not gotten involved in something that was "anti-racist." So I think that the language that we use is important, to try to maintain inclusivity –
>
> ALICE: Yeah.

> LUKE: for everyone's benefit, especially Mixed-Race people.
>
> REBECCA: Mm-hmm.
>
> DIANA: It just sounds like it's less aggressive or –
>
> ALICE: Yeah.
>
> DIANA: Not as – like you are trying to shove it down their throat, in a way. Like, even if their intentions are not to do that, I think using that word—you just bring up the past – I guess – things in history that have been very militant, or very – a lot of fighting going on. And if you are wanting to do something positive, I think, I guess, like changing the name or the topic to make it more, like, inclusive. Yeah, like you said.
>
> SEETA: And I think that is why I don't use the word "anti-racism," because I feel like, "If there is anti-racism, it means someone is being racist!"
>
> ALICE: Yeah.
>
> SEETA: And those people aren't going to participate in your group! So let's – how about "cultural understanding?" You know? Because then everyone will come in and they may see that they are kind of racist or that they are, kind of, more progressive and then we can all be together and uniformly, you know, create a better society. But if you make it "anti-racism," then you are putting people on the other side and that – you will lose those people.

Immediately following this exchange, the participants clarified that, regardless of how it might be framed, anti-racism should not be confused or conflated with "colorblinding" or "post-racial" ideology. Instead, they suggested that anti-racist education should oppose the prevailing narrative of an impending "post-racial society."

Reminiscent of those two exchanges, Joshua suggested that anti-racist curricula should not stop at addressing White privilege. Instead, he said, it should also emphasize cultural recognition or renewal and intracultural diversity:

> [I]t just speaks to probably bigger issues I have with the whole White privilege movement. I think it's useful, but only to a point. 'Cause I think the objectives can't just stop at talking about privilege. Then it's about guilt and

> then people just go around talking about it. And all they're doing is talking about it – [rather] than actually doing something to change it, which goes back to some of these questions you have here about models and theories.
>
> I think an anti-racist thing can't just deconstruct race though, without reminding us that difference is okay. And, for myself, I think that means replacing it with cultural-focused-type identities and just recognizing that there's a multiplicity of those, but – culture, in its broadest sense, just meaning the things that we do and whatever we do means we're a part of it. …
>
> [W]e need theories and models that, while they deconstruct race, they have to put something back in it's place – which is these cultural things – and that say culture isn't static, Right? So whether you're Multiracial, Chinese and White or you're Chinese and not Mixed … both experiences still are Chinese, right? I think too many people have this idea – they walk away from things that – you lose certain parts of things. If you don't, there's like a checklist and that's for everybody, whether you are Mixed or not. So, you know, we have to have activities I think that, sort of, argue against these kind of checklists-type things, not just around race but identity and policy in general. You know? I think that's real important.

Later, Joshua also suggested that curricula should be framed as not merely *anti*-racist, but also *pro*-social justice:

> To me, ultimately, anti-racism has to be about social justice. … [S]omeone told me once, their definition of nonviolence wasn't simply just the absence of violence itself – right? – it's actually the active engagement or working for justice or human rights. And so I think it also has to have this idea, "Why are we doing this in the first place?" "Why anti-racism – what is it's goal?" and, "How is that important to Multiracial people?" It's building a more socially just society where differences aren't just *tolerated*, but they are actually *understood* in a really intelligent way.

Within these imagined multi-issue or intersectional "social justice" frameworks, some participants imagined using Multiraciality and anti-monoracism as a lens for furthering learning about racism and other social justice issues.

Problem: "Safe space" pedagogies

In the data, one type of activity or pedagogy emerged as particularly problematic: forced-choice activities intended to create "safe spaces" based on

students' racial identities. Participants were particularly concerned with racial caucus group activities, as a subset of forced-choice activities, speaking about them frequently and at length.

Participants criticized caucus group pedagogy for forcing Multiracial participants to make false choices about their racial identity, which often reinforces other participants' monoracist interpretations. Critiquing one caucus activity, Stacy wrote,

> The goal is to talk openly in a caucus group to get some ideas out and then share them with the other group. The act of separating into two groups immediately excludes multiracial participants. … Multiracial participants who are part white may be put off by the first instruction to choose whether they identify more with being white or being a person of color. This may make them get defensive or disengage in the activity. Splitting the group in this way reinforces the acceptability of monoracism. It may invite monoracial facilitators and/or participants to assign race to the multiracial participant based on the way they look. They may not be accepted in the group they choose or are pushed into. When reporting back to the larger group, multiracial experiences may be discounted, further reinforcing monoracism.

Participants in another focus group had an exchange that highlighted similar concerns about identity-based caucusing:

> ALICE: I think anytime you categorize people into categories based on background – which shouldn't happen, but still does – it doesn't work. So I had participated in activity and they said, "Okay Whites in one corner, Blacks in one corner, Asians in one corner, and somebody – whatever – in one corner." … And it's like, "Okay what do I do?" (Laughs) They wanted a split. And it just didn't work.
>
> SEETA: And then if you are Mixed what do you do? Like step in both corners? (pause) Oh, I wanted to compare to gender. So when people say, "Okay, all the girls on one side and all the boys on the other." Well, okay, what about the people who don't identify as either? … I just don't think any of those types of assignments work.

In another focus group, Arnold said,

> [A]ny activity that people have to choose between groups [doesn't work well] – especially when maybe it's not always clear where the Multiracial participant would fit in – or not being allowed to occupy or straddle or acknowledge their spaces. And even if Multiraciality is perhaps a group, that still, kind of, segments them off without acknowledging their multiplicity, I guess. So those kinds of activities, I think, could perhaps alienate or not be as effective in making a Multiracial participant comfortable or feeling included in the groups they may identify with.

Many participants recounted stories in which caucus groups were counterproductive or traumatic for them. William said that, returning to the U.S. after years living abroad, he was surprised to find that caucus-type activities, which he had first experienced in the 1980s, were still being used, despite their problems.

> I think for me it goes back to what was probably called multicultural education. […] This goes back to the '80s, but I still see this – so I was kinda shocked when I came back to the U.S. a few years ago and found that what seemed to be anti-racist education was repeating some of […] what I thought were the same errors that were done back then.
> What always offended me, or made me feel very uncomfortable, even though I identified myself as Japanese American and Asian American, was the way that the language and the curriculum and the exercises always categorized and dichotomized and put people into these very firm categories which you then had to kinda say, "Well, I'll go here," without feeling fully like – and then when you got there, feeling like I don't really feel comfortable fully here because of the language, which was the language has never seemed to change, which always betrays the feeling of the people doing it that people can be categorized and people can be limited in ways that – but if you challenge that, it's "Oh, of course you can Multiracial."

Stacy recounted a story in which facilitators criticized her choice and response to their criticisms:

> I had a bad caucus experience too, so I reacted really strongly to those. … I think generally, things that force Multiracial people to choose are just not going to work for us. You know? You're going to get upset, you are going to disengage, you are not going to participate, you are not going to learn anything. You know, just right off the bat, if the first assignment is, "choose," it doesn't work.
>
> I mean, in my caucus experience there wasn't a Multiracial group. There was Women of Color, White women, White men and Men of Color and there were

> only two of us who stood on the side. We couldn't go to any of those groups and we were really upset about it and our facilitator … he was a Person of Color, and he argued, sort of, argued with us tried to force us to choose one. He is using this language about, "Well, which do you identify with more," and then, throughout, we refused and then we made our own group and one other person joined us for a while and then he decided "Actually, the Men of Color group works better for me," and that was fine, but– so there was pretty much two of us and we were able to relate with each other really well, but, throughout the whole rest of the activity, we were continually attacked. … There were students and faculty members all participating as equals, as much as they can, (laughs) with professors and deans.
>
> We were attacked by lots of both People of Color and White people and students and faculty members, but … the people who felt most strongly that we needed to choose – and not only that we should choose, but that they knew which one we needed to choose – were African American professors and they were really angry and awful. (Laughs) We have different backgrounds, but we both often are perceived as White and I think they pretty much told us, "You guys are White, why are you not in the White group?" In a very violent way (laughs), so, I don't know, I just can't believe people still do that activity. I just can't believe that.

Aimee discussed a similarly negative experience,

> AIMEE: Recently I was part of a racial justice leadership institute, and it was through the law school. It was caucusing, and there was a White group and People of Color group, and I was told – because there actually are about ten of us that were Mixed in the entire group– and we're all looking at each other, kind of confused. And we were told, "You go to the People of Color group." So in one aspect, it didn't allow for that self-identification or the complexity of what we defined as our identity. And at the same time, it eased the apprehension of like, "Oh God, now I gotta decide which group I have to go to." So, I mean, that entire conundrum was really frustrating.
>
> So, I think adapting exercises so that you are safely able to self-identify, which again is a process, because the other folks in the room, you never know what level they're on – if they're going to look at you and say, "What are you doing here?" You know, that kind of thing. So it's always difficult, but I think part of it is dialoging about that also, so having a safe space to dialogue about that during whatever exercise you're doing is really critical.
>
> JULIA: In that specific situation, what could a facilitator say to start that dialogue? If you're about to go into caucus groups, and the facilitator is really intentional about not wanting to categorize people, what could one say that is not presumptuous, you know what I mean, like doesn't hold up the process? If I were to do this in my classroom, I would wanna know what

> would I say that would be effective and open, but then we're gonna get in caucus groups in ten minutes (Laughter) – I don't know.
>
> AIMEE: I think it's really hard – at least in my experience, I know it's a very difficult balance. I think part of it, too, is accepting, especially as Mixed folks, that race is messy, and we are – all of us, even if you're not Mixed – you're gonna feel some level of discomfort. But I think intentionally saying, "However you identify, you know, we want to be open to however that happens." And there might be some pre-exit evaluations or collection of data before the activity which kind of eases us into it, or even just an explanation of, "We're gonna be caucusing in a day or two days" or whatever. I don't know, I try to avoid caucusing altogether (Laughter).

A few participants specifically critiqued currently popular InterGroup Dialogue (IGD) models for excluding Multiraciality. Luke named the University of Michigan Multiversity Intergroup Dialogue Program for replicating caucus groups' problematic pedagogies in their trainer-trainings.

> There's this Inter-Group Dialogue curriculum – yeah, it's the big thing across the nation, in a lot of Higher Ed – colleges and universities, like people are trying to do. I don't know if it considers itself "anti-racist," but I think that's usually problematic, because it doesn't include Multiracial people, usually. … So I went to an institute at University of Michigan, which is supposed to be training people on how to do these dialogues at your institution. I have never felt so excluded –with my Multiracial status – at that institute, by the people that have created this framework – or supposedly one of the initiators. And it just felt so like, "Oh my gosh, I am not included in any of these activities that you are doing." … In terms of the groupings and then they would sort of say, "Oh well, if you are Multiracial you can maybe come over here … we might try to create something." … It was always an afterthought, rather than being explicitly included in the activity from the outset.

Several participants recounted stories that demonstrated the pervasive application of caucus group pedagogy outside training settings, including at professional conferences and in trainings-for-trainers. Jamila noted that scheduling caucus groups simultaneously creates a false forced-choice situation, saying, "[A]t conferences where there's race or ethnic caucuses… they are all held at the same time, so you can't go to more than one or you can't go to the potentially-however-

many you want to go to. " Seeta noted similar experiences at a Higher Education conference, which prompted further conversation in her focus group:

> SEETA: [T]o the higher ed conference thing – I was at one and – I won't say the name – and they had … caucuses … and they were all at the same time, at 8 am. So there was the South Asian group and then the [Pacific Islander] group, which I really wanted to go to – both! And then they decided to make a Mixed-Race group, to make it inclusive. [Background laughter] So now I have three meetings. I had to go – I started at the Mixed-Race group and I was like, "Okaaaay," and … then I hop to the next one and then I hop to the next one. And it was just – not very productive. I thought, if they had staggered it at different times, that would have been better, but then how do you include everyone's mix? You know?
>
> ALICE: Right.
>
> SEETA: Someone is going to be left out or they are going to have to choose.
>
> LUKE: Yeah you are still being forced to choose.
>
> SEETA: You still have to choose a racial group.
>
> ALICE: You so have to choose.
>
> SEETA: Exactly! Then you have to choose! So then you are locked out and it's – I don't know – It just wasn't effective, overall. (Laughs)
>
> REBECCA: Yeah. How would one overcome that, though? I mean if you have a caucus like that–
>
> SEETA: Yeah, 'cause they did make a Multiracial group.
>
> REBECCA: But I mean, even then it's like, you could go to the Multiracial group and have nothing in common with them. Anyone in the group.
>
> SEETA: Right. It's true.
>
> REBECCA: And then you are like "Why did I come to this group?"

Participants noted that omitting Multiracial people from caucus activities was not acceptable, but struggled with how best to revise such activities to include Multiraciality. Matt said,

> [W]hen you don't have the Mixed group and there's that silence, whether it's silence about having a group or silence about those experiences, it leaves a question, "Is the silence because those experiences aren't valued? Or because the person doing the facilitation or the group of people doing the facilitation don't even know?" And I think, however you take it, it is still a bad experience. But I think even the same group of people could walk away with a different interpretation of that, so it's problematic in many, many ways.

Arnold suggested that it's insufficient to simply add a Multiracial caucus when Multiracial people call for one,

> I saw some problematic aspects in the caucus group piece, just because of the way it was structured and the way it dealt with Multiracial people. It was really about White people or People of Color... I remember the line, "If there are Multiracial people, they can form their own group or choose one of the two groups." So it seems that activity had a very certain focus and I think Multiracial people were not really a part of that. There was an attempt to accommodate them, but maybe not willing to address the experiences. … The way that it incorporated – or didn't incorporate – Multiracial people was problematic.

Based on such experiences and critiques of caucus group activities, participants generally advocated against using forced-choice activities.

To help teach educators why forced-choice activities are problematic, Jamila suggested using a purposely problematic forced-choice activity with Monoracial learners. She said:

> We had an activity directed … mostly at a broader audience, so it wasn't really for Multiracial people. … [P]eople put together a list of the top five ways they identify themselves and then you make people throw away one identity and you have to choose which one you are going to throw away, one at a time. So then deciding between the top three becomes – you can see it's very visibly challenging for a lot of people. And we just used that as a way of illustrating that, in the same way you wouldn't just decide, out of all the ways you identify in your life, you wouldn't just pick only one. But, really making people go through the process of, like, "What would it be like if I had to decide?" and I did not just think about it like, "I decide one thing for my gender, for my race, whatever." So I think it can work. [But] I don't think it should be like, "Now that you've done this, you really understand the plight of whatever group."

Of all the critiques and suggestions, Jamila's comment stood out to me as a unique and concrete intervention for teaching about how monoracism occurs in both training environments and in society at large.

Suggestions: Alternatives to identity-based "safe spaces"

Participants suggested a variety of modifications and alternatives to "safe space" pedagogies and identity-based caucus groups. Among them, they suggested including a Multiracial category or group; altering the format to allow for multiple racializations; and caucusing based on experience or ideology, rather than racial identity.

A Multiracial caucus or category

A few participants suggested that caucus groups should include a Multiracial caucus with a Multiracial facilitator to increase safety or engagement for Multiracial learners. This solution implements something akin to the "Multiracial box" format that a minority of Multiracial activists had advocated for the 2000 U.S. Census. As a general endorsement of Multiracial spaces, Carin said, "I think Mixed-Race spaces in the last decade or two have been unique in some ways because it is a space that for the first time Multiracial people who identified that way feel safe, safer around racial identity at least." Luke wrote:

> Creating spaces for multiracial participants to discuss the concept of racism within a safe space of other multiracial participants is important for reflection and honest interactions. This space coupled with hearing the experiences of monoracial groups (people of color and white people) could also be helpful in relating to others' experiences with racism and how their experiences could be more similar to either of the other groups at different times or situations

Charles liked one caucus group variant that included a Multiracial caucus, writing that,

> Multiracial folks can get a space free from white people (if they identify as a person of color). I have appreciated caucusing when there are things happening that I want to call out/feel messed up/etc., but I want to check-in with other folks who are also impacted by it (so if was a racist thing, checking in with other POCs, if its a monoracist thing, having space to figure out what's going on with other multiracial folks, etc.) If there is a caucus for multiracial people, then we can work on our stuff. And hang out/build community!! Sometimes its isolating in big conferences and hard to find other POCs/mix-ies, so caucusing at least can get us all in the same room to meet and support each other.

Cheryl noted that she too has had some positive experiences in caucus groups, when a Multiracial caucus was provided,

> I have personally so I think some of those had really positive experiences as a member of Multiracial caucuses, I do understand that can be problematic for other folks or for some folks but I can see that or have experienced that what came up for me.

However, participants also weighed the value of supposedly "safe spaces" against various costs. Some participants were ambivalent about whether adding a Multiracial caucus could resolve the problems with caucus group activities. Charles wrote, "[C]aucuses are so tricky. In a basic sense, caucusing gives multiracial folks a space to work against racism, but it often reinforces monoracism and thus can still work against multiracial folks." Here, I speculate that Charles meant that a Multiracial caucus may provoke other participants' monoracist beliefs that Multiracial people disidentify with and devalue their membership in various Monoracially-identified groups.

Altering the caucus groups to include a Multiracial caucus does not address the false forced-choice aspect of the activity. Arnold noted that a Multiracial caucus can still create problems for Multiracial learners:

> [A]ny activity that people have to choose between groups – especially when maybe it's not always clear where the Multiracial participant would fit in – or not being allowed to occupy or straddle or acknowledge their spaces [doesn't work]. And even if Multiraciality is perhaps a group, that still, kind of, segments them off without acknowledging their multiplicity, I guess. So those kinds of activities, I think, could perhaps alienate or not be as effective in making a Multiracial participant comfortable or feeling included in the groups they may identify with.

Similarly, June wrote,

> Caucusing is a useful tool, but there is still no perfect solution for how to include mixed-race people, since different people will have different relationships to their identity. I think having a people of color space that is explicitly devoted to talking about mixed race issues would be wonderful. Then people would not have to choose groups (especially choosing between being 'mixed' or a 'person of color'). This can create more divides, because you may be siphoning off only people who are mixed with white heritage, and do not feel comfortable choosing between white and POC caucuses.

To address these problems, some participants eschewed adding a Multiracial category, favoring suggesting other alternatives.

Options for multiple racializations

Instead of forcing participants to Monoracially re-racialize Multiracial people or to send them to a stand-alone Multiracial caucus group, some participants offered a variety of modifications that would allow Multiracial people to enact their affiliations with multiple groups. Some participants suggested allowing learners to "float," attending multiple caucus groups. In a Seattle focus group, Charles raised the possibility of "floating" between caucus groups, invoking language and a format similar to the "Mark One Or More" format adopted for the 2000 Census, "as a person

of many different identities, you could actually go to all the caucuses that apply and still be able to be in a space with folks that you identify with. I don't know – that's one way." In another focus group, Arnold made a similar suggestion, writing, "Allow participants in groups to move between groups or shuffle the groups."

A few participants proposed schedule-based solutions. To facilitate attending more than one caucus group, June and others also suggested having each caucus meet multiple times – and including discussion prompts about Multiraciality, to be addressed during one of the rounds. June wrote,

> I think the caucuses could be run as is, but as opposed to dividing caucuses into more groups, I think a better solution to have the caucuses meet multiple times. Then you could have another time established for the people of color caucus where you explicitly talk about multi-racial identity. This could also give the white caucus more time to work out their stuff.

A few participants suggested another way to eliminate the forced-choice aspect of caucus groups: don't schedule the groups at conflicting times. Charles said,

> [S]ometimes I do feel a lot of value in caucusing, especially when I'm at really big events, and I feel invisible in whatever that identity is. One thing that I've seen helpful is if you have like an all-day event that has workshops, is to space out different caucuses, instead of like a People of Color caucus, a White caucus, and a queer caucus all at the same time.

Charles later elaborated on this idea, writing,

> … So, for example, at 8am they have the Asian caucus, at 9am the black caucus, at 10am the multiracial caucus, 11am the queer caucus, etc. etc. so folks can attend all that apply to them. Also, maybe we could **end racism** and then we would need to caucus so much? :-)

However, participants in one focus group noted that asynchronous scheduling still wouldn't entirely resolve the authenticity challenges and border patrolling that caucus groups often stimulate.

A few participants noted that changing the format of caucus group activities does not address the racism and monoracism that may manifest in a group, regardless of when it's scheduled. Seeta and Rebecca shared brief stories with caucus groups, saying:

> SEETA: I won't say what group was saying it, but – one group was talking about the other group … and I happened to be in the other group. [Laughs nervously] I don't know if it was my group. I don't know. I blocked it out, but they were talking about the other group and how they work – and I sort of felt like a spy and like I heard more than I should have about that, but then I thought "Am I compromising their safe space?" If they feel like they can talk as a group about however it is and they are all on the same page and they feel a certain way, what am I doing coming in here and like hampering that safe space for them as being an outsider?
>
> …
>
> REBECCA: Sure. I have been in situations like that, but I think it was like high school where – all my life I was just treated as African American, so I just kind of went with that anyway. So I would have just gone to an African American group like, I wouldn't have – but if I – and technically there was not a lot of South Asians anyway – so if there was a South Asian group I would also, not only like – if I decided I wanted to go to the South Asian group, I would also wonder "Well, how I would be received if I walked in there?" 'cause they are going to be like, "Our South Asian…" and it's going to be like, "Wait a minute, no, you're in the wrong room. You're down the hall," kind of thing – and that's a whole 'nother thing to face and view, for some people.
>
> SEETA: And see, that is why I don't think people identify as both, because it's easier to just choose one. And so, if we're self-actualized Mixed people, who can carry both identities, it's harder to juggle. Whereas other people would be quite happy just choosing one and that would be their identity that they act out.

Acknowledging some of these challenges, participants also suggested ways to more substantially alter caucus group activities.

<u>Caucuses based on experience or ideology, not identity</u>

A few participants suggested modifying caucus group activities in ways that departed from the assumption that declared identity is a reasonable proxy for

particular racialized experiences or for a particular ideology about race or racism. These suggestions challenged the prevailing assumption that, by creating somewhat racially homogenous caucus groups, one can create "safer spaces" for discussing race or racism.

Some participants noted that claiming a similar racial identity does not guarantee that a group of people will have had shared experiences of racism; nor does having had shared experiences guarantee that people will claim the same racial identities. Charles extended this reasoning beyond caucus group activities, writing about a privilege walk-type activity. He said that focusing on identity rather than experiences can prove confounding to Multiracial people, who may not be able to clearly attribute their experiences to being racialized in one way or another. Such had also been the case for Raul who, while he knew he belonged to multiple racial groups, could not clearly discern which experiences of racism could be attributed to which of his racial group memberships. So, participants suggested that caucus groups and other forced-choice activities could be modified to distinguish people based on particular experiences of racism.

Alternately, participants also suggested that caucus groups gather based on participants' own degree of racism, their proficiency with talking about racism, or the type of ideological "work" they wanted to do. June suggested that Mixed people (and perhaps others) could be instructed to choose one or more caucus groups based on "Where you wanna do that work," rather than based on identity,

> For caucusing, I've also had people, as opposed to saying which one you identify with … They're like, "Go to the caucus where you wanna do that work." So if you're wanting to work on your privilege, like if I wanna work on my privilege of having a White mom, don't do that in the People of Color

> caucus. But I've never been to a White caucus – I kinda wanna go now…. But it's also scary because then it's like, "Oh, so you're just White." It's more like I want a place to be able to think about my privilege that isn't taking away from the valuable other time that people need to think about their not having White privilege.

From June's comments, I infer that various alternatives for caucus group formats could raise provocative and productive conversations, but will also require further consideration of their own costs and shortcomings.

Monoracism in educators' attitudes and behaviors

While some of the problems participants' identified might be unintentional or passive, others were decidedly not. Some of the ways that monoracism manifests in anti-racist education are much more active, intentional, and at times overtly and unabashedly hostile. Trainers and curricula sometimes actively invalidate and pathologize Multiraciality and Multiracial students' experiences. When students resist or question such treatment, trainers may retrench into their positions, rather than giving thoughtful consideration to students' perspectives. Alternately, some trainers may espouse positive-sounding, but equally false and pernicious, monoracist stereotypes. Participants suggested various ways of addressing these more overtly monoracist prejudices and actions.

Problem: Invalidation of Multiraciality

Many participants identified ways that anti-racist educators and curricula may invalidate Multiraciality. Often, such invalidations took place when Multiracial students' called for space to be made for their experiences. Stacy suggested this question as a criterion for evaluating curricula: "Are multiracial people forced into an identity or group by the facilitator or other participants based on the way they

look (or some other factors)?" Numerous participants voiced opposition to trainers' attempts to racialize students or to assign students to caucus groups based on trainers' interpretations. Rebecca said that forced assignment based on appearance doesn't work:

> [F]ocusing on phenotype; that doesn't work. … Like, let's say someone was a facilitator and they come in and they go, "Okay, I need to split you up in groups. Honey, you go in such-and-such group." … You know, that would be really bad. Really bad. … I definitely think it needs to be discussed … – I mean, the same way you talk about gender … even though we have all been socialized to know, "Okay, this is what a female looks like. This is what a male looks like," you still have to keep in the back of your head, "Well, it might not always work that way. What am I going to do when I encounter someone that doesn't fit what I've—" you know? "Am I prepared for that?"

Grace recounted a negative experience with caucusing, in which a facilitator threatened to assign students to racial caucus groups, if they did not identify quickly and Monoracially:

> [T]he last undoing institutional racism training I went to, the facilitator just went around and said, "You pick in two seconds or I'm gonna pick for you and see how that feels." So we went around the entire room, and people were pissed, right? They were totally pissed because they're like, "I'm all these different things," and they wanted to be able to identify. But she said, "One, and that's it, or I pick for you." So, that entire experience was really powerful in that how much internal discomfort there is with that and what we can do with that and what needs to change based on that experience in and of itself.

Hostile reactions by trainers, such as the one Grace described, were not uncommon to participants.

Suggestions: Validate multiple identifications, Multiracial identification, and/or self-identification

Numerous participants said that they want students to learn that it is acceptable and desirable to identify with and learn about all of their heritages or racial group memberships. For example, Alice said participants should learn, "that

there is no shame in identifying with everything that makes up who we are - while also being aware of the privileges and disadvantages of doing so." However, some participants expressed ambivalence promoting Multiracial identities, which they felt might conflict with allowing students to self-declare their racial identities. Diana said,

> I feel like I know a lot of people that are Mixed-Race, but they either cling to one or the other or they don't have any interest to know, if they have bad experiences. I feel like if you are those things, you kind of should know where you come from. But like you said, you can't really force that on somebody if they don't have the interest there. But I think it's a beautiful thing to know about your own heritage and others' as well and just, you know, finding positive things in everything.

With that statement, Diana articulated another common, yet contradictory, suggestion: design curricula that values racial self-identification.

To remedy curricula and facilitation that explicitly racialize students in particular and monoracist ways, many participants suggested that curricula should allow and encourage Multiracial people to self-determine and declare their racial identities, whatever those might be. For some participants, part of creating a "safe" space is allowing racial self-identification or at least allowing for a "Mixed" identity. CJ said,

> I think, number one, just being – creating a climate where students or participants can identify as being more than one race, or more than one ethnicity, or whatever. Because sometimes if you're talking about racism, and there are these ideas of distinct racial categories, people feel that they didn't even speak up because they might feel silenced by those Monoracial categories.

Arnold also suggested that allowing Multiracial identification is part of creating a safe space:

> [M]aybe this is part of the creating a safe space, but – allowing Multiracial participants to articulate who they are or to share some aspect about themselves which is not readable just by their phenotype or so on, because I think that that's an ongoing issue about, "Who are you? Why are you here?" So, to do so – to let people, in a safe way and in a very respectful way, in a way that's comfortable for them, to convey why are they here; their interests. But maybe you do so in a way that captured that for everyone involved. So, again, you don't just have one group where you just assume everyone is such-and-such and the other group has to explain why you're there.

As a criterion, Matt suggested, "The activity will allow students to self-identify and then we could have a test for that, where you explain the activity and if students have that space to identify, however they want, then it's met."

Participants advocated a variety of sometimes conflicting alternatives to curricula that unilaterally racialize students as Monoracial: teaching students to embrace all of their possible racialized group memberships; teaching students to identify as Multiracial; or teaching students to prioritize self-identification, regardless of the particular identity or identities. As noted in Chapter 5, several participants not only called for curricula that would teach Multiracial students that they can self-identify, they called for teaching them the skills needed to defend such assertions. Participants also suggested broader interventions to avoid monoracist racialization in anti-racist education.

Problem: Treating anti-monoracist critiques as "resistance"

Many participants criticized anti-racist educators and their frameworks for rigidity and for invalidating participants who question or critique curricula's monoracist shortcomings. When Stacy suggested that facilitators should learn about Multiraciality before teaching about it, Cheryl noted that the problem may be deeper than a simple lack of awareness:

> STACY: I think the first thing is the facilitator needs to have some sort of understanding of the Multiracial experience, you know, because if somebody who is Monoracial and works in Monoracial communities in anti-racism, then they probably are not aware of what it means and what it feels like and what the needs are of Multiracial people.
>
> CHERYL: Or/and I think sometimes they *are* aware and they don't think very highly of it.

Elsewhere, Stacy herself had noted that facilitators should not, but often do, silence students' potentially valid critiques of curricula or pedagogy:

> I guess this goes more to the facilitator, but when Multiracial people bring up their concerns – if the activity doesn't include them, if Multiracial people are there and they bring something up – is that seriously considered in the conversation or … do they try to silence that person or say something against that person? "Well, actually your concern doesn't matter; because," or – You know, that's definitely a facilitator thing.

Participants lamented that, often, challenges are treated as hostility, resistance, or proof that the participant isn't "there yet" or doesn't yet "get it." June encapsulated some of the problem, saying,

> I've also seen when it's like "This doesn't really work for me," the response is, "Oh, you don't get anti-racism," or, "You must still be really racist," or, "You must have internalized racism," or using something from the model to explain why you don't get the model. I'm trying to say that I *understand* what you're trying to explain, but it doesn't *work* for me. And it's not being able to have it be flexible. … I guess I'm also talking about my experience with the organization, The People's Institute, in Seattle. My guess is because White people are like, "Blaaaah!" They were like, "No, I can't change it. This is how it is; just get it!" So, I guess that's where it's from, but it doesn't really work … And I don't think it's coming from my racism.

Here, June suggested that trainers may dismiss anti-monoracist critiques of curricula because they conflate such critiques with racist resistance to accepting or considering anti-racism, in general. While some such anti-monoracist critiques may be deployed in the service of invalidating anti-racism writ large, June's comments note that there may be alternate, more valid motives. Yet, despite these possible

motives, participants suggested alternative pedagogies that might create less prescriptive, more open spaces for students to make sense of their own experiences.

Suggestions: Use learner-centered pedagogies

Participants called on anti-racist education to increase the use of pedagogies that value and explore students' experiences. Participants wanted anti-racist education to provide more space for learners to divulge, process, and value their own experiences. More learner-centered frameworks, they said, would better allow Multiracial participants to bring forth their experiences and analyze them. As it is, the current content-centered frameworks are often ill-fitting for Multiracial (and other) experiences. Julia wrote, "be open and flexible within anti-racist education… be intentional about providing opportunities for people to discuss their unique experiences with race and racism, and validate different experiences and perspectives." As a criterion, Aimee suggested asking, "Are multiracial participants (and all others) made to feel like their experiences enrich the conversation and are necessary for a meaningful conversation?" Participants wanted curricula that will not invalidate Multiracial people's experiences. Instead, they want Multiracial people to be able to share their experiences with each other, to develop a sense of legitimacy and validity. Participants suggested that valuing learners' experiences can be part of being accountable to learners and constituents. As Grace put it, educators often "teach down" to their students, rather than valuing participants' perspectives and experiences; instead, she suggested that you should,

> be absolutely accountable to whatever group of people or population or humanity that you're serving. I think that's part of where a lot of people teach down, like, "This is what anti-racism work is," or "This is what you need to know." But a lot of times… when I work with foster children who are a little

> older and verbal and can speak, I'm like, "I wanna know what *your* experiences [are] and what *you* need." Like, I'm saying, "I'm the social worker and I'm gonna come in and do this and this and that, because this is the best thing for you." But *really* being accountable to that child that I'm serving is hard, from the larger systems perspective. But that's who we really need to be accountable to, right? Whoever we're trying to serve.

Paul said that, in Japanese American communities, many current leaders are not from the "traditional base;" instead, they are Multiracial or *Shin-Nisei.*[10] Therefore, he suggested, curricula should focus more on actual participants' experiences, rather than the imagined members of the communities; current popular materials do not actually fit the people in the trainings.

To help students express their experiences, several participants suggested using arts-based curricula. Leonard suggested that Mixed people should find a variety of ways to validate and affirm their identity, including art – and that the Federal government's Census should not be the only means people seek to validate their Mixed identities:

> More and more now when I talk about racial identity and Multiracial identity with youth, I talk about what lessons or what tools do you have to express your pride in your heritage and your culture. And the Census and checkbox may or may not be a tool, but do you really wanna look to the federal government to affirm your sense of identity? And if that's one of the places that you're looking, let's sort of broaden our sense of what tools we can use to affirm our identity.

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[10] The Japanese American term *Nisei* denotes a second-generation Japanese American, those born to the *Issei* immigrant generation. Due to the United States' anti-Japanese immigration laws from the late 1800s until 1965, the term Nisei has applied to the second generation that was generally born in the 1900s-1930s. However, after the changes in U.S. anti-Asian immigration laws in 1965, a new cohort of "first generation" Japanese immigrants came to the United States. The "Shin" prefix denotes immigration after this change. Thus, currently, Shin-Nisei are generally younger than the pre-1965 Nisei; the latter are generally more than eighty years old. Yet, prevailing Japanese American community discourses have tended to privilege the pre-1965 immigration experience, marginalizing *Shin-Issei* and Shin-Nisei experiences. For more on the Shin-Nisei, see Reder (2011).

Other participants also referenced the educational potential of arts-based curricula, particularly the use of performance and multimedia art that portray Multiracial people's experiences, as a means of breaking down isolation.

A few participants invoked feminist theories and pedagogies, advocating that curricula should help students frame their "personal" experiences in a broader political context. Paul said,

> [T]he other learning goal I would have is … that saying from feminism, personal is political. I think I'm always encouraging people to think that the personal that you just see as personal is very limited in how much meaning that has to other people. And there's a self-centered, self-indulgence about talking about your own personal story and identity, unless you connect it to broader social issues or forces, and that's when the personal becomes political. So I think I'm always trying to encourage people to not dwell in this kind of personal as personal, but to see their unique story as how it's been influenced by other stories of other people, and bigger stories. And so – trying to see the personal as political.

However, a few other participants cautioned that while the "personal" may be "political," anti-racist education should not teach Multiracial people (or anyone) that *every* personal experience is therefore necessarily representative of a larger political context. Grace wrote,

> Having forums where people ONLY tell about their experiences with racism [doesn't work]. It's absolutely valid, but there can be times when each individual has such a vast wealth of experiences with racism and prejudice, personal stories can become the focus of what needs to be a larger and more productive discussion.

Likewise, CJ recounted experiences with Multiracial student groups in which the emphasis on sharing personal stories displaced opportunities for anything else, including critical analysis of those experiences or political organizing.

Perhaps seeking to balance these concerns, a few participants invoked Paolo Freire's (1970/ 2003) critiques of "banking pedagogy" and favored particular learner-centered approaches. Joshua said,

> [T]he other way to improve it is by not relying on… that banking theory model in education, where kids are supposed to be like piggy banks and we just deposit information into them and they absorb it. I think a lot of people who do anti-racism work … we do the same thing. We tell people, "This is how it's defined. This is who is doing it. This is how they are doing it. And this is what we need to do about it."

In the same conversation, Jamila also alluded to Freirean pedagogies, suggesting,

> I think … using an inquiry-based style is really helpful, too, because that's also like honoring the knowledge that's already in the room and getting peoples' experiences to come to a conclusion, instead of an educator imposing their conclusions on the group.

These suggestions might help create space for Multiraciality and an anti-monoracist analysis in anti-racist classrooms. However, some participants were wary of educators who, rather than making space for students' experiences, might espouse positive, but still equally false, stereotypes about Multiracial students.

Problem: Positive-sounding monoracism

In addition to critiquing overtly hostile monoracism, participants were critical of facilitators and models that traffic in uncritically positive stereotypes of Multiracials. Leonard criticized both facilitators who "minimize the Mixed-Race experience" and those who "champion it." Both, he said, are "ways of glossing over it." Participants called for challenging prevalent "model minority" stereotypes that Multiracial people are "saviors" or "bridge builders." Cheryl criticized facilitators who subscribe to messianic stereotypes about Multiraciality,

> I think another thing that does not work well – and this is more of a facilitation method – are the assumptions… that "Mixed folks are bridge-

> builders or we got it all figured out." I have experienced that from well-meaning facilitators trying to help me feel included but… it didn't work.

Similarly, Alice said,

> [T]here are those who have the whole hybrid vigor thing, like "You are our savior!" thing. That doesn't work either. So figuring out how to just include us as just a participant in this, that our voice is important… not any *more* important than anyone else's, but that it is a voice with an identity; saying that's *as* important as everybody else's.

Whether speaking about positive-sounding stereotypes or more overtly hostile monoracism from educators, participants generally suggested addressing educators' monoracist attitudes and behaviors.

Suggestions: Address educators' monoracism

Some of anti-racist education's monoracism can be attributed to a lack of adequate theories, pedagogies, and curricula. But, not all of the monoracism can be written off as the result of ill-fitting curricula in the hands of otherwise well-meaning educators. Educators' own monoracist prejudices and discriminatory practices are also implicated.

Some participants suggested that increasing the number of Multiracial trainers and facilitators would reduce monoracism in anti-racism educational spaces. Jamila said, "[I]t's important to have educators that can relate to participants and all of that stuff. So I think by having Multiracial anti-racism educators, I think that's a really important step too." Similarly, Seeta suggested, "We also need more educators who are diverse themselves, because they bring forth these perspectives, honest reflections, and examples that are powerful tools for learning for people of any racial background." Later, Seeta also shared:

> We do a parent teaching curriculum and that's very helpful, because the parents who come are Monoracial and they have a Mixed child and they have to deal with that. And I have to say, coming in, a lot of parents have no clue about how their Mixed child feels and so they give them ideas like, "Oh don't worry, you're a scoop of vanilla and you're a scoop of chocolate," [someone laughs] and that's how they help them understand it. … They have the best intentions. You can explain it to someone, but unless you live it, it's really hard to really make them understand. But I think by the end of the workshop, then they are more aware what impacts there are on the Multiracial child. … That is a brain trip for a parent to be like, "I am not like my child. My child doesn't identify with me, but they came from me." So, the education has to come from other people who have gone through it.

However, increasing the presence of Multiracial educators seemed secondary to a more urgent goal: addressing interpersonal monoracism prevalent in the current population of anti-racism educators.

Many participants said that educators, regardless of their racial identity, should receive more training about Multiraciality and monoracism. Aimee wrote,

> [A]nti-racist facilitators [should] educate themselves on the history of multiraciality (and the [Multiracial Movement]) in the United States (if American ethnic focused; and, globally, if internationally focused) and actively include this historic component in the appropriate foundational aspects of their activities.

Joshua suggested that Multiracial content be included in teacher-training programs and certification standards:

> [I have] this student who is a doctoral candidate in Education. She worked with all these kindergarten teachers who had no awareness of how they were teaching and working with Mixed kids. … I would say that these diversity segments that people do for credentialing don't include anything on Mixed-Race people or it's very minute and even the section on diversity itself is very small. So, I think, to really improve it, we need to make sure that Multiracial people are not an afterthought in the training or whatever process… I think [teachers] need to be required to have some training in diversity work and anti-racism work and that has to include best practices for working with Multiracial people.

And, beyond formal educational settings, participants also advocated teaching about Multiraciality and monoracism in community settings. Carol suggested that education about Multiraciality should be provided to Communities of Color and their organizations, particularly because of demographic shifts in some communities:

> I've been in focus groups where we're talking about the Japanese American community, how can we make it more adaptive to the newer generation… So I don't know if that's something that anybody wants to put any resources towards. But this huge baby boom of Mixed-Race kids – they're going to change things one way or the other, so it would be great if we were giving them and all the rest of the kids tools to do some of that.

Arnold suggested teaching people *how* to provide trainings about monoracism to Communities of Color:

> I would take the education aspect into less institutionalized spaces as well; trainings with non-profits or community organizations. I know, with [Hapa Issues Forum], that was what we had focused on in the end… how do you train or advise community leaders or non-profits? You, who work with these populations – especially ethnic and racial populations – how to work with their Multiracial members or constituents. Because they themselves may not have that background or their members aren't coming up, you know, within their leadership.

For both educators and their students, participants suggested creating curricula that challenge monoracist stereotypes and narratives. June said that monoracist discourses about Multiracial people should be flipped and deconstructed:

> [I]t's also how we've positioned where the problem is. … I remember there's this one lady was in her 60s who was Mixed and she was so awesome because she's like, "Mixed people aren't confused about who they are – other people are confused about who we are." It's not necessarily *our* problem – so *that*, I think, is the leap to … why we should do anti-racist work in broader communities.

Leonard followed June's point, calling for education that counters monoracist deficit thinking about Multiracials:

> That's really, really an important point: to move away from the deficit model and say it's not us … it's the way that our communities and our families sometimes, and our government responds to us that is really where the deficit lies.
>
> It just feels like we have very rudimentary mechanisms for understanding people's identity, and we've never moved beyond that. And I think that one of the things that the Mixed-Race community is shouting to just the general population is, "Hey, let's up the bar a little bit in terms of the vocabulary and tools that we use to be able to understand and relate to each other." And I guess empowering people to then take the next step, or be able to give pushback or experiment with different ways of thinking about race.

And, notably, of all the problems that participants identified in both anti-racist education's curricula and interpersonal interactions with trainers, many if not most were also named in their discussions of forced-choice or "caucus group" pedagogies.

Summary

In this chapter, I have presented participants' responses to my research questions about problems and possible improvements to anti-racist education. Participants identified ways that monoracism, whether unintentional or overt, curricular or interpersonal, may be impeding anti-racist education's effectiveness with Multiracial students. Among these problems, participants named the exclusion and invalidation of Multiraciality, as well as the use of binary conceptual frameworks, prescriptive racial identity development models, and identity-based "safe space" pedagogies. In response, participants suggested including or even centering Multiraciality and anti-monoracism in curricula, accounting for intersectionality and contextuality, and various alternatives to current "safe space" approaches. Participants also problematized educators' pathologizing of

Multiraciality and of student "resistance," as well as some educators' reactionary attempts to account for Multiraciality by trafficking in positive-sounding monoracist stereotypes. Instead, participants suggested that anti-racist education validate either Multiracial identity or racial self-identification or possibly both. They also recommended using more learner-centered pedagogies and directly addressing educators' own monoracism attitudes and behaviors. In the next chapter, I offer my own commentaries on participants' responses to questions about aspects of contemporary anti-racist education that may be working or not working for Multiracial students.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION OF ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION: WHAT IS WORKING AND NOT WORKING FOR MULTIRACIAL STUDENTS

In this chapter, I discuss some of the participants' responses to the research questions about the aspects of anti-racist education that are and are not working for Multiracial students. Participants' answers focused primarily on what is *not* working for Multiracial students, rather than on what is working, evaluation criteria, or suggestions for improvement; so, my comments and suggestions follow where their answers have led.

To structure this discussion, I offer thirteen recommendations for anti-racist educators' practice and for further research. In the first section, I explore recommendations for addressing the monoracism that manifests in anti-racist educational theories, curricula, and pedagogies. I refer to this as "institutional monoracism" or "curricular monoracism," as the problems inhere primarily to aspects of the curricula, rather than to a teacher's individual attitudes or behaviors. Using such curricula, even the most well-meaning educators might create problems for Multiracial students. These recommendations address ways to directly incorporate anti-monoracist approaches into curricula and ways to develop more generally inclusive alternatives to problematic aspects of anti-racist education.

Then, in the second section, I discuss participants' comments about anti-racist educators individual-level monoracism, as well as offering recommendations for addressing monoracist attitudes and classroom behaviors. I conclude the

chapter with a few final thoughts about possible future directions for research and practice, based on this study.

Monoracism in anti-racist educational theories, curricula, and pedagogies

In this first of two sections, I discuss some of the participants' comments about aspects of anti-racist education that are not working for Multiracial students, including its theories, curricular activities, and pedagogies. I begin by discussing the need to directly incorporate Multiraciality and anti-monoracist approaches into anti-racist education. I recommend articulating the benefits of such integration, as well as assessing curricula for monoracism and developing alternative, anti-monoracist praxes.

Then, I discuss more generally inclusive alternative approaches for anti-racist education. These alternatives, though they are not explicitly about monoracism, would likely benefit Multiracial students, as well as other students. Among these recommendations, I discuss alternatives to anti-racist education's binary "privileged/oppressed" framework, such as theories and pedagogies of intersectionality and non-linear racial identity development. I also discuss "safe space" pedagogies, critiquing current and potential pitfalls, as well as suggesting possible revisions. Finally, before moving on to discussing educators' personal monoracism, I suggest experimenting with more learner-centered pedagogies.

Incorporate Multiraciality and anti-monoracism in anti-racist educational curricula

The participants and a few other scholars have called attention to ways that anti-racist education is not working for Multiracial students. Some participants

suggested making the case to anti-racist educators about the need to examine curricular monoracism and to try alternative approaches. And, outside anti-racist education, a few education scholars have called for addressing monoracism in their own educational movements. For example, Multicultural Education scholar James Banks said, “The biracial and multiracial student population is increasing, creating a greater need for educators to help students realize that interracial relationships and biracial children from these unions have a long history in the United States” (Banks, 2005, p. 100). While Banks’ statement evokes problematic narratives about a “biracial baby boom” and a mapping of current concepts backward into history, both of which I have already critiqued, his statement is notable as one of the few and most prominent acknowledgements of the ways that social justice-oriented education movements may still be failing to adequately address Multiracial students, among others. More often, such calls have come from upstart educators more actively involved with Multiracial scholarship and organizing (Fraczek, 2010; Nakashima, 2005; Williams, et al., 1996). As one anti-racist scholar-educator put it, "Educators need a new framework for thinking about and understanding how the experiences of multiracial people are fundamentally unique from and yet still somehow similar to the experiences of monoracial people of color" (Knaus, 2006, p. 10). So, I now turn to discussing the needs for advocating for further research and practical experimentation, assessing curricular monoracism, and exploring new approaches for integrating anti-monoracism into anti-racist education.

Recommendation 1. Articulate the benefits of teaching about monoracism.

Before any assessments or improvements can be attempted, I suggest that anti-monoracist activists and scholars will need to better articulate the potential benefits of rectifying curricular monoracism. As I discuss later in this chapter, some educators' own personal monoracism will be an obstacle to overcome. But, given limited time and energies, even relatively receptive educators will need to be presented with rationales for modifying their curricula to better educate about monoracism. As this dissertation is an initial, exploratory study, marshaling a comprehensive, empirically supported case for benefits is beyond my means and scope. However, participants suggested a few reasons, which might be explored in future research.

Reducing curricular monoracism would likely improve Multiracial students' learning; this should obviously be regarded as a benefit unto itself, as student learning is a core goal of anti-racist education. I would add, however, that reducing curricular monoracism might also increase anti-racist educators' credibility with students, both Multiracial and Monoracial. I myself have witnessed Monoracial-identified students question anti-racist educators about where Multiraciality fits into their lessons and analyses, sometimes pointing out omissions or contradictions.

Regardless of students' possible motives, when anti-racist education fails to account for experiences that are increasingly on students' minds, students may rightly wonder about its validity and what else it might be missing. Charles suggested that teaching Monoracialized students about monoracism might provide indirect benefits for Multiracial students; it could help Monoracialized students

"work on their shit so they aren't perpetuating stereotypes onto multiracial folks." And, teaching about monoracism might also benefit Monoracial students more directly.

Like other forms of oppression, I suggest that monoracism is something that affects everyone in some way. So, addressing monoracism in curricula could help all students better reflect on aspects of their racialized experiences and statuses. For example, a sharper analysis of monoracism could help Monoracialized students understand their own experiences of the authenticity testing and boundary policing used by many communities and organizations. June proposed that teaching about Multiraciality could "help everyone sharpen their racial analysis," and broaden their "larger analysis of power." Other scholars have also made this point, arguing that integrating Multiraciality and an anti-monoracist analysis into anti-racist education could help students better learn not only about racism, but also about other forms of oppression (Nakashima, 2005; Williams-León, 2001). To persuade anti-racist educators to integrate Multiraciality and anti-monoracism into their praxes, concerned scholars and activists will need to continue to develop and support the case for doing so. A necessary part of making that case will be assessing the current state of curricular monoracism.

Recommendation 2. Assess monoracism in anti-racist educational theories, curricula, and pedagogies.

As an early step toward addressing curricular monoracism, I recommend developing tools for assessing it. To my knowledge, such tools remain few and underdeveloped. Writing almost two decades ago, Wardle (1996, 1998, 2000)

presented criteria for evaluating Multicultural Education for bias against Multiraciality. His work took a decidedly Neo-Conservative approach, advocating an individualistic analysis and, simultaneously, a somewhat messianic, racialist perspective on the meaning of Multiraciality. Consequently, teachers and trainers, however sympathetic or curious they might be, have had little guidance on how to understand monoracism, let alone how to incorporate a theory of monoracism into their curricula (Chiong, 1995; Elam, 2011; Knaus, 2006; Morrison & Bordere, 2001). With so few tools for analyzing monoracism in curriculum, further means of assessment are necessary.

Through my research, I hope to contribute to larger efforts to conceptualize monoracism and identify it in curricula. Participants offered various criticisms that identified monoracism in curricula. Some curricula exclude Multiraciality entirely, as when Carol noted that Multiracial Asian Americans were entirely absent from the Asian American Studies courses she had taken in college. Some curricula presume that Monoraciality is universal or the presumed default status, as when Colette pointed out that some activities are written with only Monoracial students in mind (e.g., instructions that presume a student identifies with only one racial group). And, throughout, participants noted that anti-racist education had little to say about discrimination against Multiracial students, let alone an analysis of monoracism.

Because so little scholarship addresses monoracism, let alone monoracism in anti-racist education, I have found it necessary to extrapolate from extant critiques of monoracism in related educational projects (e.g., Social Justice Education, Multicultural Education, Ethnic Studies) (Adams, 2010; Bell, 2007). While there are

important differences between anti-racist education and projects such as Social Justice Education, Multicultural Education, or Ethnic Studies, I suggest that anti-racist educators can learn from critiques of the monoracism of these related projects. Critics of monoracism have pointed out the frequent marginalization of Multiraciality and monoracism in anti-bias curricula, Ethnic Studies, and Multicultural Education (Espiritu, 2001; Glass & Wallace, 1996; Knaus, 2006; Wardle, 2001). In one of the few qualitative studies of Multiracial students' experiences with racism and monoracism in American education, one interviewee, Cindy (quoted in Knaus (2006, pp. 320), commented on the curricular marginalization of Multiraciality,

> It's just disturbing [that we don't have any mixed classes]. I'm not saying we should have a major in it, but at least a class. A class that talks about it because there is so much ignorance about why people classify themselves as multiracial.

At other times, curricula may address Multiraciality, but in negative ways or without attention to the discussion's implications for Multiracial students. For example, activities that encourage debate about the validity or morality of interracial dating and marriage may alienate Multiracial students. Nakashima (2005, p. 114) suggested,

> [A]sk yourself and your students what the discussion itself communicates to Asian Americans of mixed race? How must it feel to have one's own family become the site of academic theorizing and public contestation? Where does all of this leave the mixed race person in terms of his or her own dating and marriage options?

Discussing Multiraciality, then, does not always constitute addressing monoracism.

In particular, I caution against what I call the "Children starving in China" approach: the token use of a group to make a point that does not actually address

that group's problems. Like many people who grew up in the 1970s, my parents would encourage me to eat all the food presented to me, saying, "There are children starving in China, you know." The message implied that one should eat and appreciate what one had, because other people had-not. But, as many children discovered, upon suggesting, "Why don't we send the food to them, then?" the statement of concern was a façade; starving children were not the actual object of concern.

Such disingenuous arguments are sometimes presented in education, as well. Emi Koyama (2003a) has criticized Feminist Studies educators for often presenting Intersex people's existence as a means to demonstrate the social constructed nature of gender or to deconstruct the binary gender framework, without ever addressing the oppression of Intersex people. After surveying many Feminist Studies educators' curricula, Koyama (2003a, p. 1) found,

> [J]ust about every time the subject of intersexuality is brought up, it appeared, it is used solely to make a point or two about the social construction theory, and not to address any actual concerns or issues faced by people born with intersex conditions. Intersex people are reduced to their peculiar organs, then are further diminished into a pure theoretical devise [sic], the exhibit A in the case against essentialism and for social constructionism. In other words, people's bodies were being used to support abstract theories, rather than social theories being used to support the people.

Like the children starving in China, Intersex people have been used to make a point, without benefitting from such use.

I suggest that anti-racist education and related disciplines, such as Ethnic Studies, have similarly used Multiracial people to make points, without attending to monoracism. For example, some efforts to demonstrate the socially constructed

nature of race use examples of Multiracial people to confound students' belief in clear racial boundaries (Khanna & Harris, 2009). However, such activities do not address monoracism. So, Multiracial people may be presented as an object lesson in social constructionism; objectified without concern for their subjective experiences of the system being deconstructed. I heard echoes of this critique when Stacy suggested that educators should create curricula with Multiracial people in mind, as students, rather than as mere objects for Monoracial students to discuss. While I have not attempted to adapt Koyama's study of Feminist Studies curricula with anti-racist curricula or Ethnic Studies curricula, my belief that a similar monoracist dynamic exists inclines me to pursue such research in the future; I encourage others to do so as well. Developing assessment criteria to evaluate monoracism in anti-racist curricula will be an important step in improving anti-racist education and its related subfields of education.

Recommendation 3. Explore and adapt curricular inclusion models for including monoracism in anti-racist education.

With a better understanding of monoracism and better tools for assessing curricular monoracism, we might better integrate an anti-monoracist analysis and content into anti-racist curricula. Participants called for anti-racist education to include Multiraciality and what I'm calling anti-monoracist praxes (similar to what Fraczek (2010) calls a Critical Mixed Race Praxis). To counter the omission and marginalization of Multiraciality, a few participants occasionally raised the possibility of creating anti-racist curricula that "centers" Multiraciality.

But, the focus group interviews did not yield many concrete suggestions for operationalizing those recommendations. Participants' comments focused more on what is not working than how it might be improved. So, I suggest that further research into anti-racist education that "centers" Multiraciality could be fruitful.

Multiracial Movement activists have led the way in producing some of the few anti-racist curricula that address Multiraciality or monoracism. In the late 1990s, Hapa Issues Forum (HIF) provided anti-monoracism trainings to the leaders of California Bay Area Asian American organizations. In 2002, while working with the Hapa Issues Forum, I created a three-session curriculum that community educators taught at the 2002 HIF National Conference. One session included a modified "privilege walk," to address hierarchies within the Multiracial Movement (Hamako, 2002).

The California Child Care Health Program, in association with the Multiracial organization I-Pride (later iPride), produced a guide to help community college professors train early childhood educators to better serve Multiracial children in day-care programs (California Child Care Health Program, 2000).[11] Later, iPride produced a short educational film and an accompanying curriculum guide for young people (Burch, 2006). At University of California Davis, Samara Azam served as one of the first and only people to hold a college-level Multicultural Affairs position focused specifically on Multiraciality. In her role, Azam created a number of short anti-racist educational curricula, addressing monoracism's effects on Multiracial students (Samara Azam, personal communication, 2007). Loving Day, a social and

[11] For purposes of full disclosure: I served as a consulting editor for an early version of the curriculum.

educational nonprofit organization, created a guide for hosting celebrations of the 1967 Supreme Court decision, *Loving v. Virginia,* which invalidated anti-miscegenation laws (Loving Day & Tanabe, 2009). The guide includes a basic curriculum for teaching celebrants about the case, the Loving Day movement, and discrimination against Multiracial people. And a number of college students and professors have created courses and activities to help teach about Multiraciality and monoracism (Fraczek, 2010; Glass & Wallace, 1996; Khanna & Harris, 2009; Schlaikjer, 2003a, 2003b). Studying the content and effects of such curricula could provide valuable insight into how other anti-racist education programs might integrate Multiraciality and an anti-monoracist analysis.

Addressing anti-racist education's monoracism will require something other than add-on units or a "Heroes and Holidays" approach (Lee, et al., 1998; Nakashima, 2005). Instead, I suggest that anti-racist educators and scholars will need to develop ways to disrupt monoracism that pervades curricula. As Kevin Kumashiro put it, the goal is to "disrupt the knowledge that is already there [because] … the goal is not final knowledge (and satisfaction), but disruption, dissatisfaction, and the desire for more change" (Kumashiro, 2000, p. 34). So, I suggest approaching current curricula as not merely lacking enough positive qualities, but as also containing problematic content and aspects.

General models for inclusive curricula might provide some guidance for integrating anti-monoracism into anti-racist education. Nieto (1998) proposed a model categorizing various stages of support for Multicultural Education. A school or curriculum's stance might range from stances of "Monocultural," to "Tolerance,"

“Acceptance,” “Respect,” or, ultimately, “Affirmation, Solidarity, and Critique.” Nieto’s model and suggestions for moving a school or curriculum toward an affirming and critical solidarity could help inform anti-monoracist activists work with anti-racist education.

Queer education might also suggest useful approaches. As one queer educator-scholar suggested, “I would move toward queering teacher education rather than merely injecting queer issues into teacher education courses" (Ressler, 2001, p. 191). So, scholars might also ask what how they might Multiracialize anti-racist education, rather than simply adding in Multiracial content.

A few Multiracial scholars have also suggested ways to include Multiraciality or an anti-monoracist analysis into anti-racist education. Andrew Jolivette (2010) proposed a Critical Mixed Race pedagogy, which he characterized by its focus on four areas: 1) social justice on a global scale, 2) self-determination, 3) cross-ethnic and transnational solidarity, and 4) radical love. And Claire Fraczek (2010) has been one of the first and currently only scholars to conduct fieldwork studying what she has called Critical Mixed Race praxis. I propose that both of these scholars’ work warrants further study and application to anti-racist education. Such “Critical Mixed Race” theories and pedagogies could better help students understand how historical systems of domination connect cultures and groups to one another (Elam, 2011) and how systems of privileging and othering function (Kumashiro, 2000). And, while the participants called for better integration of Multiraciality into anti-racist education, they also called for more general changes, which could indirectly benefit Multiracial students.

Develop more generally inclusive alternatives to binary, status-oriented theories and pedagogies

While some of the participants' suggestions directly addressed including Multiraciality and anti-monoracist analysis, other suggestions addressed structural aspects of anti-racist education that, if improved, could benefit Multiracial students. Based on participants' critiques of anti-racist education's single-issue, binary "privileged/oppressed" framework, I'll discuss some of the problems created by that framework and then recommend a number of alternatives. In particular, I'll discuss possible applications of intersectionality theory and non-linear racial identity models. I'll also discuss alternatives to the popular race-based caucus group pedagogies that attempt to create "safe spaces." And, finally, I'll suggest possible learner-centered pedagogies, as alternatives to the more doctrinaire approaches used in some anti-racist educational programs.

Recommendation 4. Seek and implement less binary frameworks.

Many participants argued that anti-racist education's binary frameworks for conceptualizing racism and privilege/oppression are too simplistic to adequately address Multiraciality or monoracism. The privilege/oppression framework is too simplistic to account for Multiraciality; it ignores monoracism and obscures "multiple minority" Multiracials.

If we frame monoracism as a part of racism, subsumed within it, then the "privilege/oppression" quickly fails to account for an intermediate status like Multiraciality. If, for example, Whites are privileged and People of Color are oppressed, then how might such a model account for people who are racialized as

both White and of Color? If one imagines (perhaps using a logic of racial hypodescent) that a Multiracial person who is racialized as part-White is still *not* White, then how can such a binary model account for the privileging of part-Whiteness? And, if a Multiracial person is imagined to be neither White nor a Person of Color, then where does such a binary model locate Multiracial people? As Jamila pointed out, even if the binaries are reconceptualized as two poles on a continuum, such a framework still reinforces the importance of the poles that define the continuum. And, as previously mentioned in my discussion of the Racialbread Cookie exercise, a continuum between White and of Color might locate a "multiple minority" Multiracial person as a Person of Color and therefore oppressed, yet still render that person's experiences of monoracism illegible. It's worth considering the priorities driving the curricular and theoretical decisions – if the models are too simple for some students, but not for others, then who are they intended to serve?

When anti-racist education focuses on teaching the most privileged or most resistant students, using an oversimplified model, students with more complex experiences may be marginalized. June observed this tendency and contemplated it, saying,

> I feel like a lot of the anti-racist stuff that I've been exposed to … were constructed in a way to keep some of the White racism from flaring up. I feel like a lot of it was preventive teaching so the pushback that [is] happening constantly would be lessened.

Or, as she later put it, anti-racist educators may worry a more complicated framework might "confuse the White people." Whether this is a well-founded concern or not, it speaks to which students' learning will be prioritized in the classroom. Several critics have argued that anti-racist education and related

projects are preoccupied with helping "privileged" students learn about their privilege, at the expense of "oppressed" students (Blackwell, 2010; Leonardo, 2010). In such cases, the "oppressed" students are assumed to already possess special knowledge of oppression; thus, their learning is deprioritized and they are used as experts, witnesses, confessors, or mentors for the "privileged" students (Blackwell, 2010). So, attempts to teach a simple or "uncomplicated" version of racism may not only leave out Multiracial students, it may also reinforce the privileging of White students over all other students. This oversimplified "privileged/oppressed" framework may obscure the processes through which those statuses are created and maintained.

The binary privilege/oppression framework tends to reify processes of racial oppression, simplifying them into categories or identities (e.g., "the privileged" and "the oppressed"). In teaching about privilege and oppression, anti-racist education often emphasizes the outcomes of the processes (e.g. "privilege"), rather than the systems through which those symptoms are created (e.g., the processes of "privileging"). For example, Peggy McIntosh's (1989) "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack" article has become a mainstay in many anti-racist and multicultural education programs. In it, she presents a long list of White privileges she receives, conceptualizing them as invisible objects that she had acknowledged over time. Such lists have been elaborated on and used as a model for myriad other privileges (e.g., male privilege, heterosexual privilege, cisgender privilege). They have also been incorporated into interactive activities, such as "privilege walks."

However, as Leonardo (2004) has argued, such lists do little to illuminate *how* those privileges are created – or how they might be disrupted. By focusing on symptoms (e.g., "privilege"), rather than systems, students are able to "feel bad" about their state of dominance without critiquing or opposing the systems of domination that uphold that dominance (Leonardo, 2004). For example, White students might recognize or feel badly about the educational benefits that are marked as White privileges, but still oppose any policies that might challenge the provision of those benefits (e.g., affirmative action; vouchers; charter schools). Further, by reifying a system of domination (e.g., White supremacy) into a status of dominance (e.g., Whiteness) or even a conceptual artifact of that dominance (e.g., White privilege), the "privilege" discourse obscures the ways that White supremacy operates differently in different contexts, at different social locations, and in different historical periods. Simplifying the operations of complex systems into two statuses obscures the reality that virtually *all* students experience simultaneous and interrelated privileging and oppressing based on multiple social group memberships, not merely whichever single social group membership is salient in the curriculum at the moment. For these reasons, even if monoracism were to be conceptualized as separate from racism, I am wary of further propagating a "privileged/oppressed" framework that might propose "Monoraciality is privileged; Multiraciality is oppressed."

Rather than teaching about "privilege" as a status or as a collection of metaphorical objects that can be carried in a metaphorical knapsack, I recommend developing ways to directly teach about systems of oppression. The "Design a

Monoracist Institution" activity I submitted to participants received favorable comments from several people. Adapted from an activity about institutional sexism (Goodman & Schapiro, 1997), the activity asks students to generate institutional policies and procedures that might, overtly or covertly, privilege Monoraciality and oppress Multiraciality. Thus, the activity asks participants to consider discriminatory processes, rather than focusing only on their outcomes or the categories they might create. While a rudimentary understanding might lead to crudely discriminatory policies that rely on pre-existing categories (e.g., "Our monoracist institution pays Multiracial people less than Monoracial people,"), the activity invites consideration of the more covert ways that discrimination may operate without seeming overtly racialized (or in this case, Monoracialized) (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). But, as previously noted, there are currently few studies of how institutional monoracism operates (Leong, 2010). To better teach about monoracism, as a system, anti-racist educators will need scholars and activists to further conceptualize and document institutional monoracism. Such documentation will likely also reveal the ways that monoracisms operate differently across contexts and at different social locations.

Recommendation 5. Explore and develop intersectional pedagogies.

Exploring intersectional theories and methods might yield useful innovations for anti-racist praxes. Binary racial frameworks tend to narrow the possibility for intersectional analyses; as one education scholar put it, "If educators cannot conceive of race in its entirety, then we surely cannot allow for race *and* gender *and* class in our scholarship or teaching" (Knaus, 2006, p. 103). As noted in Chapter 7,

numerous participants called for addressing multiple aspects of oppression. And several participants suggested exploring teaching about intersectional theories or teaching with intersectional pedagogies. Jamila spoke at length about how using an intersectional approach had helped her teach her father's peers about racism, despite their resistance, because her nuanced and multi-issue approach helped them relate to her lessons. However, while intersectionality has become a more popular concept, advocated by scholars in various disciplines (Adams, 2010; Collins, 1990; Heyes, 2009), relatively few intersectional *pedagogies* have been described, tested, or popularized. Here, I expressly exclude multi-issue curricula that present one "ism" at a time. Juxtaposing multiple aspects of oppression should not be confused with an intersectional analysis that explores the ways that each aspect mutually constitutes the others. To help develop intersectional pedagogies for anti-racist education, I recommend extrapolating from the intersectional research methodologies discussed in Chapter 2. By doing so, anti-racist educators might also better identify and understand the ways that some current pedagogies are already enacting threads of intersectional theories.

Recommendation 6. Explore and develop pedagogies based on non-linear identity models.

Some anti-racist education programs draw on linear, prescriptive theories of racial identity and ideology development that have been extended far beyond their intended parameters. For example, Cross's (Cross, 1995) theory of Black identity development has informed popular anti-racist education models, such as ChangeWork's "Ladder of Empowerment" (Western States Center, 2003). Some anti-

racist education scholars have suggested using such social identity development models to pre-assess students, to improve curricula design and to tailor learning goals for individual students (Bell & Griffin, 2007). However, the monoracism of such racial identity development models, when integrated into anti-racist education, can create problems for Multiracial students. In this section, I discuss a few such problems, then recommend exploring how non-linear and non-prescriptive theories of racial identity might be integrated into anti-racist education.

Popular linear identity development models may omit or distort Multiracial people's existence. For example, Cheryl noted that her organization had hired an anti-racist trainer who used and presented theories of racial identity that omitted Multiracial people and, when questioned about it, was unaware of any theories that addressed Multiraciality. Although William Cross articulated the parameters for his theory of Black racial identity development, it has been popularized and adapted beyond its original scope. In their urgent push to produce comparable models for various other groups (e.g., Asians, Latin@s, women, gays, lesbians), some scholars have produced models that assume that the trajectory of those identities develop along the same lines as Black racial identity. Other theorists of racial identity or racial ideology development, when not misusing Cross's model, have still proposed theories and models that rely on binary conceptions of race, with little accounting for the problematic nature of such binaries, which I have discussed above (Hardiman, 2001; Hardiman, et al., 2007; Helms, 1995). But some authors have critiqued developmental theories that marginalize Multiraciality and other "interstitial" identities, suggesting that they are overly simplistic, acontextual and

ahistorical, and inappropriate for Multiracial students (and perhaps *all* students) (Collins, 2000b; Gillem, Cohn, & Throne, 2001; Scholl, 2001; Schwartz, 1998b).

Not designed with Multiracial students in mind, such theories and models tend to distort and pathologize Multiracial experiences (Scholl, 2001). If educators use monoracist assessment tools to gauge students, then they may view and approach those students in monoracist ways. Monoracist identity development theories might suggest to educators that Multiracial-identified participants are confused, resistant, or full of internalized racism (Spencer, 1997b). More doctrinaire anti-racist educational programs are likely to interpret participants' critiques of the program as resistance to the program's "truths," which educators might then use as a tautological affirmation of the program's assertions (Shapiro, 2002). For example, when June had raised critiques during a PISAB training, the trainers suggested that she did not understand, was resisting out of racism, or perhaps both. And, when not overtly pathologizing Multiracial students, such models may cast Multiraciality as sign of deficiency or an inferior stage of identity. Multiracial students who challenge curricula may be cast as "not there yet." Leonard addressed this in his call to challenge monoracist "deficit thinking" about Multiracial students. Educators might approach Multiracial students quite differently, if they were not working from theories or assessment tools that indicate that Multiracial students are deficient or resistant.

I recommend resisting the temptation to simply create new anti-racist educational models or tools based on derivative Multiracial identity development models. In response to monoracist racial identity development models, some

theorists have created models that attempt to account for Multiraciality, prescribing different developmental goals (Jacobs, 1992; Kich, 1992; Poston, 1990; Wehrly, Kenney, & Kenney, 1999). However, such models often recapitulate aspects of the popular monoracist identity development models, simply inverting their monoracist values. So, rather than proposing that a Multiracial identity is unhealthy or deficient, such models prescribe Multiracial identities as a desirable sign of psychological health (Spencer, 1997a). But, as Spencer (1997a) has suggested, presuming to know or prescribe which racial identities are "healthy" and which are not conceals political racial projects behind a mask of pseudo-science.

Rather than using prescriptive stage models, I suggest we use and develop models that are curious and attempt to describe, rather than prescribe, people's racial identities. A few scholars have proposed non-stage-based, models for understanding Multiracial identities without attempting to validate Multiracial or Monoracial identities. Such theories analyze factors that influence identity choice (Wijeyesinghe, 2001), model social ecology, (Renn, 2003), or attend to the fluidity and contextuality of identity (Jackson, 2009). By acknowledging more than one type of identity development model, anti-racist educators might be better able to address a variety of identities and experiences, while reducing the incidence of pathologizing or alienating students. As Luke suggested, students might benefit both from learning about multiple identity models and from approaching such models with a critical eye, attending to the model's values and assumptions.

If anti-racist education aims to change students' values and actions, beyond how they think of their racial identity, then I suggest it will need to assess more than

their identities. Rather than using people's identities as a proxy for their racial ideologies, I recommend developing ways to more directly assessing students' ideologies (Knaus, 2006). The non-linear, less prescriptive models I mentioned above might provide inspiration and guidance for such alternatives. And, such alternative theories and models might also help anti-racist educators revise another popular praxis: "caucus groups" or "affinity spaces" as attempts to create "safe spaces."

Recommendation 7. Create "spaces" based on ideology or experience, not identities.

While some anti-racist curricula use identity-based "safe space" or caucus group approaches, I suggest re-imagining the bases on which such groups are organized. Anti-racist education and related projects may tend to cater to White students' learning (Blackwell, 2010). As a solution (or evasion), some educators have suggested using "separate spaces" pedagogies (e.g., single-sex schools or classrooms for women; homogenous racial caucus groups); "safe" places where "oppressed" students' learning would be served, because "privileged" students are absent (Blackwell, 2010; Kumashiro, 2000). By presuming that shared racial identities are sufficient for creating "safe spaces," these theories and pedagogies numerous problems for Multiracial students – and for students in general. Separatist pedagogies run afoul of at least two problems: first, establishing and policing boundaries of those spaces and, second, perpetuating the problematic fiction of the "safe" learning environment.

"Safe space" approaches based on racial identity presume that racial groups and boundaries are obvious, context-free, uncomplicated, and uncontested. When "homeplaces" and other "safe spaces" are proposed (Blackwell, 2010), generally missing are any instructions regarding how educators should draw the boundaries or specify criteria for who does and does not belong in those spaces. Instead, groups and their boundaries are generally assumed to be obvious, context-free, uncomplicated, and uncontested (Kumashiro, 2000).

Such pedagogies create problematic choices for students whose identities are ambiguous, contested by educators or students, or located somewhere outside the borders of the choices offered (Rogers, 2003). When safe spaces are convened at the same time in different locations, it's often unclear how educators imagine Multiracial participants will be able to simultaneously occupy two or more separate spaces. Activities that compel Multiracial students to choose from a set of insufficient and inaccurate identity options can result in the antitheses of "safety": confusion, discomfort, and guilt (Collins, 2000b). Even then, the goal of "safety" may be misguided.

Leonardo (2010) suggested recognizing that participants and classroom dynamics are always already racialized; examining pervasive academic assumptions of "safety;" and recognizing (but not romanticizing) Students' of Color competencies, rather than allowing the least competent students to drive pedagogical decisions (Leonardo, 2010). Similarly, rather than uncritically accepting "safe spaces" pedagogies, Kumashiro (2000) suggested viewing those spaces as constantly contested, redefined, and in need of interrogation. He proposed the questions,

"[W]hom does this space harm or exclude? ... [W]hat practices does this program foreclose and make unthinkable? ... [W]hom does this pedagogy miss or silence? ... " (Kumashiro, 2000, p. 31). So, educators may need to uproot or at least trim back their assumptions about and uses of "safe spaces."

Some anti-racist educators have tried to accommodate Multiracial students by modifying the "safe spaces" approaches – often with problematic results. For example, some educators suggest that Multiracial students choose the space with which they identify *most* (as though such a primary identification exists). Other educators sometimes presume that they know how a student should identify – and may even tell a student so, as Stacy noted of her own experience. "Choices" may sometimes be compelled through the threat of taking away the purported choice, which Grace experienced as, "You pick one, or I'll pick for you."

Requiring students to "Choose whichever group you identify with *most*," is insufficient, inappropriate and impractical. It still compels Multiracial students to identify monoracially. Further, it doesn't account for the reality that other students (and trainers) may contest the validity of a student's "choice." For example, a student might choose a People of Color caucus, but be read by other students and perhaps trainers as White. Conversely, a student might choose a White caucus, but be read as a Person of Color. In both cases, the "make your best choice" option ignores the reality that a "wrong choice" may be interpreted as both pathological and as negating the "safety" of the space. And, if a student asks trainers or fellow students for guidance about which group to choose, it may be disingenuous for people to withhold their opinions; particularly when that student will be judged for

their choice. Yet, relying on trainers' opinions about students' racial identities also creates problems.

Assigning students to a group based on phenotype is insufficient for addressing racialization. Rebecca, among other participants, spoke out against assigning students to a group based on their phenotypes. As previously noted, White supremacy's operations extend beyond phenotype-based discrimination. So, while a person whose phenotype is racialized as White (or White-er) might benefit from having their body "read" as White, that does not necessarily imply that White supremacy will privilege them in non-phenotype-related ways. And, conversely, a person whose phenotype is racialized as non-White cannot be assumed to be disadvantaged by White supremacy in all ways. Using phenotype to sort or racialize students obscures important aspects of racialization.

Assigning students based on "parents' racial heritages" is also problematic. As with using phenotype, this option racializes students based on something other than an assessment of their experiences of racism. Instead, it tacitly perpetuates the social construction of race as biological by relying on assumptions about one's "real" (i.e., biological) parents (Spencer, 1999). Further, it ignores the reality that other students may still dispute the student's belonging, as they may not use the same criteria for determining in-group membership. For Multiracial participants, the "parents' races" information still requires heuristics for making sense of those responses. For example, based on which rationales should a student who is Asian and Black be assigned to a group? And what space is afforded to acknowledge a gestalt racial identity that might be more or different than the sum of its parts? Such

complexities have prompted some educators to simplify their models for caucus groups.

In some cases, anti-racist educators may have simplified a multipolar racial caucus group framework into a binary "People of Color/White" framework; this creates its own problems. It might seem more all-inclusive to create a space for all People of Color and thus provide a space for Multiracials who are "multiple minority." However, this option obscures both the differential racialization of various Peoples of Color and the racialized inter-group conflicts between them. Such a binary framework also creates a false choice for Multiracial students who may be racialized as both of Color and White. And, for "multiple minority" Multiracials, being included in a People of Color caucus may still obscure the monoracism they face in their constituent Communities of Color, similar to the problem created by a racial binary in the Racialbread Cookie activity. To resolve such problems, some anti-racist educators have tried increasing the number of racialized spaces, rather than decreasing them.

Following the prevailing racial nationalist model, some educators have tried to rehabilitate the "safe space" pedagogies by adding a Multiracial caucus (DaCosta, 2007). This approach has been attempted in classrooms, teaching tools, and also in some professional conferences' organization of affinity group spaces (Butler, Rifkin, & Rohr, 1998). As I have previously discussed, simply adding a Multiracial category or caucus group aligns this option with Multiracial separatists, rather than increasing Multiracial people's inclusion in their constituent communities. And, practically, it still creates a forced, false choice situation; now, however, Multiracial

participants have the option of yet another group, for which even more groups might sanction them for choosing. For example, a Black and Latina Multiracial student who chooses the Multiracial caucus group might be erroneously interpreted as rejecting her affiliations with both Black people and Latin@s. Such monoracist narratives are already pervasive; adding a Multiracial caucus only provides an additional opportunity for them to be deployed. And, although students who choose a Multiracial caucus group may have the opportunity to discuss their experiences of monoracism, this creates an apples and oranges comparison with other groups' experiences. Other caucus groups would most likely be discussing their experiences of racial privilege or oppression, not their experiences of *mono*racial privilege or oppression. A Multiracial caucus group might be more appropriate if the other caucus group convened was a Monoracial caucus group, which would focus the activity on monoracial privilege and oppression.

As an alternative to the racial nationalist approach of creating a Multiracial group, a few educators have tried adapting the caucus group format to allow participants to move from group to group during the allotted time. Here, most of my experience is based on personal anecdote. In 2003, I attempted to revise a racial caucus group activity to allow for "floating" between groups. I had tried to imagine a format that would better approximate the "Mark One Or More races" option, rather than a "Multiracial category" option. However, I found that the "floating" option incurred a number of problems. Students who moved between groups were not able to participant in each group for the full amount of time. Further, this format meant that Multiracial students would be seen by other students as leaving early or

arriving late to a group, further characterizing them as partial members and perhaps disloyal. But, participants did suggest a rather simple way to address these constructed time-related problems.

As one basic intervention, anti-racist educators might adapt caucus group activities such that each caucus is convened at a different time. This way, every participant has the option to attend one or more caucus group, without being forced to choose between groups. I have seen a few professional conferences adopt this simple modification for their racialized affinity group spaces. However, for classroom trainings, this option would require alternative lessons be provided during each caucus group session, for those students who are not attending the caucus group. And, further, this option still does not address the monoracist authenticity testing that fellow caucus group members may enact. But, it does help address some of the structural problems with racialized caucus group pedagogy, if not the interpersonal discrimination that may arise during it.

Rather than trying to adapt the current "safe spaces" pedagogies, I recommend another alternative: Create "safe spaces" and caucus groups based on experiences of or ideologies about racism, rather than using identity as a poor proxy for either. Arnold alluded to such an option when he suggested that trainers "[allow] Multiracial participants to articulate who they are or to share some aspect about themselves which is not readable just by their phenotype or so on."

Similarly, my colleague Chase Catalano (personal communication, 2009) has similarly modified gender-based caucus groups for discussing transgender oppression. Rather than asking people to caucus based on their gender, he pre-

assesses students and asks them to caucus based on their proficiency with the topic of the lesson: transgender oppression. For example, participants might identify as being entirely new to the topic, somewhat learned about the topic, or experienced with the topic. This modified caucus group format allows educators to tailor their lessons or conversations based on participants' exposure to the topic, rather than assuming that, because of a particular identity, they will have had particular experiences or ideologies.

However, there's a significant difference between convening in a group where people have academic knowledge of a subject and convening in one where people have personal experiences of privilege or oppression. Further, this experience-based approach to caucusing does not address students' ideologies, which also significantly influence how they may learn about the topic. For example, a student might be very knowledgeable about transgender oppression, yet still thoroughly endorse it from any number of ideological stances. Likewise, it is possible for a student to identify as a Person of Color, have experienced racism, and be knowledgeable about racism, yet also hold an archly conservative ideological stance about racism.

Ideology, I think, is part of the core of what "safe spaces" are actually trying to sort for. Luft (2004) proposed that a core goal of anti-racist education is to prompt students' resubjectification regarding their experiences of racism and their willingness to engage in collective anti-racist activism. If this is the case, then I suggest educators might better tailor their lessons to students by assessing the current state of students' perspectives on racism and their willingness to engage in

anti-racist activism. Educators might pre-assess students for not only their experience with a topic, but also for their ideological positions regarding racism. This would require developing more explicit criteria for assessments, with a critical eye toward validating any proposed criteria (e.g., not using racial identity as a proxy for ideology). Assessing students' ideological stances might also help educators measure anti-racist education programs' effects on students' ideologies; a pre-assessment might be matched with a post-assessment.

However, I imagine this proposed shift from identity-based caucuses to ideologically- or experientially-based caucuses will be controversial. First, it would require a more overt acknowledgement that anti-racist education *is* trying to change students' ideas and behaviors in particular ways. Second, it would require clearly articulating those ideological learning goals and the criteria for assessing them. Third, actually assessing students' ideology (or experiences) would be more time- and labor-intensive than simply asking them to gather based on their racial identities. And, students may resist process or results that suggest that they are ideologically inferior, let alone "racist." Despite these likely challenges, however, I recommend experimenting with ideologically based caucus groups as alternatives to racial identity-based caucuses.

Recommendation 8. Experiment with integrating more learner-centered pedagogies into anti-racist praxes.

During the focus groups, participants called on anti-racist educators to alter curricula to make space for experiences that "don't fit" or even contradict existing models. For example, Julia called for creating opportunities for students to share

their unique experiences, validating them rather than cutting or stretching them to fit a particular theory. Aimee suggested that anti-racist educators might assess their own curricula with the criterion, "Do Mixed people feel their experiences enrich the conversation and are necessary?" Likewise, Critical Race Theorists have suggested the value of making space for counternarratives, stories that reinterpret dominant narratives and interpretations (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). I recommend exploring ways to further integrate anti-monoracist counternarratives into anti-racist education. In particular, I suggest exploring possibilities within consciousness-raising pedagogies and Critical Pedagogy.

Consciousness-raising pedagogies could be a way to draw out and work with students' experiences. In a focus group, Paul invoked the classic feminist statement, "The personal is political," and called for more spaces for students' to share and collectively interpret their experiences. Consciousness-raising (CR) pedagogies have served past social movements, such as the Civil Rights Movement and the Women's Liberation Movement (Evans, 1979). Through collective story-sharing in small groups, political organizers used CR to help women build relational knowledge and re-interpret the nature of their problems from "personal" issues to symptoms of larger political systems (Sarachild, 1974/1978). Feminist educators have also suggested the continuing utility of CR pedagogies and ways to implement them, even in formal classrooms (Freedman, 1994). Both Grace and Jamila, alluding to CR, suggested that encouraging Multiracial students to share their stories and to pose counternarratives could help politicize students. So, I suggest that CR could be a useful tool both for anti-racist educators and for Multiracial organizers.

However, CR also brings with it a number of potential liabilities, which would need to be addressed. CJ expressed frustration that, in some Multiracial groups, members engaged in story-sharing never moved beyond story-telling to reinterpreting their experiences or taking political action. In another focus group, Grace added that, while the personal may be political, not every personal story should be construed as a comprehensive or holographic representation of political realities. CR groups during Second Wave Feminism were then and have since been criticized for the racism, classism, and heterosexism that limited who participated – and thus limited the political analyses that could be synthesized from participants' experiences (Evans, 1979). So, Grace suggested, curricula should make space for students' experiences, while also providing a broader political analysis informed by voices absent from the classrooms.

Critical Pedagogy might also provide some ways to work with "bottom-up" inductive approaches, through which participants begin with their experiences, then build their political analyses. Several participants alluded to Critical Pedagogy, invoking Freirean critiques of education (Freire, 1970/ 2003). However, Critical Pedagogy has some liabilities that should also be considered. Critical Pedagogy's approaches may be too divergent from the prevailing expectations of anti-racist education and related trainings. As anti-racist trainers are often hired to teach about particular topics and to do so in relatively short periods of time, Critical Pedagogy and other more learner-centered approaches may take more time and be more nebulous than will be allowed in many cases (Shapiro, 2002).

Despite their limitations, anti-racist educational theories and models should not be discounted off-handedly. Used with a critical eye and an understanding of their limitations, such didactic models can be useful for students' learning. And, some Critical Pedagogy scholars have suggested that Critical Pedagogy itself may contain troubling conundrums. For example, if Critical Praxes will help students develop particular political analyses and not others, then the learner-centered nature of the process might be less open or authentic than advertised (Nygreen, 2010). Nonetheless, I recommend experimenting with more learner-centered pedagogies in anti-racist education, while grappling with their potential liabilities.

Learner-centered and inquiry-based pedagogies might provide anti-racist educators with a number of advantages over more didactic, top-down approaches. By drawing on students' own experiences, a more learner-centered approach would allow anti-racist education to better account for the complexities of racism and monoracism than a didactic or "banking" pedagogy. Learner-centered curricula could encourage students to explore for themselves how Multiraciality and monoracism might be related to racism. In doing so, students might not only learn things themselves, they might help create new knowledge and new theories, from which other people could learn and benefit. And, learner-centered pedagogies can help excuse educators and their curricula from unreasonably high expectations that they can or should "have all the answers" about racism. As I explore in the next section, some anti-racist educators may combine their personal monoracist prejudices with a belief that they know more than their students, to toxic effect.

Monoracism in educators' attitudes and behaviors

Among anti-racist educators, monoracism may take various forms, which I recommend identifying and addressing. As I have discussed in the previous section, sometimes educators perpetuate monoracism in anti-racist education because they are working with monoracist theories, pedagogies, and curricula. But, as the participants discussed, sometimes monoracism in anti-racist education is also driven by educators' own monoracist prejudices. Often, this manifests as overt hostility or pathologizing Multiraciality and Multiracial students. However, participants also problematized educators' monoracism that takes the form of positive-sounding stereotypes; "model minority" narratives that I refer to as "Multiracial messianism" (Hamako, 2008). To counter educators' monoracism, some participants called for more Multiracial anti-racist educators. However, in what follows, I challenge that suggestion and offer alternate recommendations. First, I suggest developing criteria and tools for assessing all educators for monoracist attitudes and practices. And second, I recommend providing anti-monoracist education to anti-racist educators, to address their monoracism and to improve anti-racist education. As I believe that anti-racist education can serve all students, so do I also believe that anti-monoracist education should be offered to all anti-racist educators.

Recommendation 9. Prioritize teaching educators about monoracism, rather than recruiting more Multiracial educators.

Several participants suggested that anti-racist education could be improved if more Multiracial people taught it. Seeta called for anti-racist education to include

more educators who are "diverse," because they bring different perspectives, which might benefit all students. Similarly, Jamila said that anti-racist education needs educators who can relate to Multiracial students: Multiracial anti-racist educators. Participants in Seeta's focus group also discussed whether Monoracial educators could or should speak about Mixed experiences. Alice suggested that she did not mind Monoracial educators teaching about Multiraciality, so long as they weren't "speaking for us." Rebecca expressed ambivalence about the prospect of Monoracial educators teaching about Multiraciality, but seemed to accede to Alice's line of thinking. Such suggestions seem congruent with racial essentialist strategies and assumptions (DaCosta, 2007), as well as what Critical Race Theory has called the "Voice of Color" thesis (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). However, as I have explored earlier, I question the validity and utility of perpetuating racially essentialistic approaches.

While I'm not against increasing the number of Multiracial anti-racist educators, I do think it's misguided to believe that Multiracial educators will be essentially better at teaching about Multiraciality or monoracism. While experiencing particular forms of oppression can provide additional insight into its operations (Moya, 1997), such insight is not a given. So, as with my recommendations for caucus groups, I suggest that it might be more effective to discontinue using one's racial identity as a proxy for one's ideology or, in this case, one's teaching practices. Instead, I recommend advocating for *any* anti-racist educators who have strong anti-monoracist analyses and praxes. This will call for

new ways of assessing educators' current analyses and praxes, as well as helping them grow.

Recommendation 10. Develop and deploy tools for assessing educators' monoracist attitudes and practices.

I recommend developing assessment tools for gauging anti-racist educators' own monoracist attitudes and practices. Comparable tools exist for helping educators evaluate other biases and prejudices (American Counseling Association, 2008; McIntosh, 1999). But, to my knowledge, few if any such tools yet exist for assessing an educator's monoracism. Such tools could benefit anti-racist education in numerous ways.

Tools for assessing educators' monoracism could help organizations evaluate potential trainers for "fit" with their goals or audiences. For example, such tools might have helped Cheryl recognize that the trainer her school had invited to discuss racial identity development would be incapable of adequately addressing Multiracial identity or monoracism. In such a case, Cheryl's team might have recognized the shortcomings or problems and then asked the trainer to address those issues, or sought additional trainers, or hired a different trainer entirely. But, without means to evaluate the trainers beforehand, none of those options would have been seen as necessary, let alone contemplated.

Such tools could also be useful for educators' own professional development. Stacy and Cheryl both suggested that anti-racist educators should learn about Multiraciality and check their own prejudices. By doing so, educators could become more effective with Multiracial students, as well as improving the overall quality of

their curricula. As a rudimentary, yet still all-to-relevant example, an assessment might help an educator more explicitly recognize their monoracist beliefs that Multiracial students are tragic, confused, or in need of correction. Self-assessment tools could provide educators with means for focused, critical self-reflection, helping them identify their own areas for further learning. To increase their educational value, such assessment tools might also recommend supplemental material that would address various aspects of a person's monoracism, based on the assessment.

To support the development of such assessment tools, I also recommend conducting further research in several areas. As previously mentioned, I recommend further research about the dynamics and manifestations of monoracism on various levels of analysis. I also recommend conducting further qualitative research on anti-racist educators' perspectives on Multiraciality and monoracism. The participants have provided secondary data, based on their experiences with anti-racist educators, but I believe that anti-racist educators' perspectives deserve to be studied more directly, as well. Along with such research, I also recommend asking anti-racist educators about the challenges they've experienced when trying to teach about Multiraciality or to Multiracial students. By better understanding the causes and manifestations of anti-racist educators' monoracism, such studies could help illuminate ways to better teach about monoracism *to* anti-racist educators.

Recommendation 11. Teach educators about monoracism.

I recommend teaching anti-racist educators about monoracism. Other scholars have also suggested that educators should learn about the "unique forms of discrimination" levied against Multiracial people (Dalmage, 2003; Murphy-

Shigematsu, 2010). Likewise, participants called on anti-racist educators to learn more about Multiraciality and to then include such lessons in teacher-training programs. Joshua noted that many teachers know little about Multiracial people or monoracism. Further, their teacher-training programs fail to provide them with useful education on such topics. So, Joshua suggested incorporating content about Multiraciality into teacher-training programs and certification standards. Other participants named various ways monoracism may manifest among anti-racist educators. June noted the need to challenge educators' monoracist stereotypes and narratives. Leonard said that educators' monoracist deficit thinking about Multiracial students must be challenged. So, anti-monoracist education might benefit both anti-racist educators and anti-racist education programs.

Anti-racist educators, like all people, harbor their own oppressive assumptions and ideologies. However, for anti-racist educators, some are learned from the general social environment, others from the theories that educators enact in practice (Adams, 2007). Anti-racist scholars and educators may aim to create a classroom environment where students can share, inquire, listen and critically reflect (Hardiman, et al., 2007). However, as some scholars and the participants note, educators' monoracism often works against those aims (Schwartz, 1998a). Consequently, Multiracial students may be confronted by educators who are unfamiliar and unfriendly about monoracism (Kenney et al., 2012). Instead, Multiracial students may face monoracist harassment from their teachers (Knaus, 2006; Murphy-Shigematsu, 2010; Wardle, 2005). Despite its emphasis on self-reflection, some critics have suggested that anti-racist education and related

projects may be dogmatically prescriptive and resistant to self-reflection (Ellsworth, 1989/1994; Luft, 2004; Nygreen, 2010). Anti-racist educators may vigorously contest ideas that contradict their unexamined assumptions and oppressive beliefs (Adams, 2007). Without an understanding of monoracism, teachers' reflective practice cannot sufficiently help them make sense of monoracist classroom dynamics or their role in perpetuating them (Webb, 2001). I suggest this may be *particularly* true in anti-racist teacher-trainings, in which educators may feel particular prejudices *reinforced* by the theories and pedagogies they are learning.

When students confront or question anti-racist educators, sometimes the educators may retrench, treating the questions as proof of students' racism (Luft, 2004). June provided an anecdote that handily conveyed this dynamic, saying,

> I've also seen when it's like "This doesn't really work for me," the response is, "Oh, you don't get anti-racism," or, "You must still be really racist," or, "You must have internalized racism," or using something from the model to explain why you don't get the model. I'm trying to say that I *understand* what you're trying to explain, but it doesn't *work* for me.

Some anti-racist education programs have understood students' questions or challenges, particularly those calling for greater complexity or intersectionality, as a form of resistance to learning; PISAB refers to such behaviors as "escapism" (Luft, 2004). June summarized her sense of this by saying,

> My guess is because White people are like, "Blaaaah!" [PISAB trainers] were like, "No, I can't change it. This is how it is; just get it!" So, I guess that's where it's from, but it doesn't really work … And I don't think it's coming from my racism.

I suggest that such accusations of "resistance" or "escapism" bear further examination and critique.

I recommend reconceptualizing the criteria for gauging students' racism or "resistance." For example, as previously noted, I propose that students' racial identities should not be used as a proxy for assessing their racial ideologies or experiences. Instead, educators might develop tools for assessing the factors they intend to influence (e.g., ideology). Further, given the increasing currency of intersectionality and the persistent marginalization of some subgroups within Communities of Color, I suggest that anti-racist educators should revisit the belief that calls for intersectional analyses are necessarily "escapism." And, I suggest that anti-racist educators could benefit from holding their models and theories more lightly; they are means for understanding realities, but they are not direct or perfect representations of people's experiences. Pointing out such shortcomings is not always a sign of avoidance or resistance to learning. And, this means that educators will *also* need to learn to get beyond binary thinking and accept more of the ambiguities and complexities that arise in anti-racist training spaces.

Addressing anti-racist educators' monoracism should also include educational efforts to counter Multiracial messianism (Hamako, 2008). Modifying curricula to include Multiraciality does not automatically make a teacher or a curriculum "progressive" or anti-monoracist (Elam, 2011, p. 30). Without a firm analysis of monoracism, some educators may devolve into using positive-sounding, messianic or model-minority stereotypes about Multiracial people.

Multiracial messianism creates numerous problems. Increasingly, U.S. popular culture has been fetishizing Multiracial people, assigning to them positive, but false and therefore dehumanizing, stereotypes of "hybrid vigor" (La Ferla, 2003;

Schlaikjer, 2003b). Multiracial messianism obscures the impacts of monoracism, concealing them behind overly optimistic characterizations of Multiracial people and their symbolic meanings for U.S. race relations. Multiracial messianism relies on a false narrative about the "newness" of Multiraciality, which supports the erasure of past monoracism and serves a nationalist agenda that proposes that racism is progressively declining, with Multiracial people are cast as proof of that decline (Edles, 2002; Hamako, 2008; Leroy, 2008; Nakashima, 2005; Rosa, 2001). Multiracial messianism's "model minority" stereotypes harm Multiracial people in numerous ways. They create impossibly high standards for Multiracial people, which can contribute to feelings of inferiority when one inevitably falls short. Such messianism also incentivizes Multiracial people to hide monoracism's impacts. For example, in the late 1990s, when students created Hapa Issues Forum, some members opposed the name, out of concern that it might pathologize Multiracial people by suggesting that they have "issues" (i.e., psychological issues). And, such messianic and model minority narratives of Multiraciality may also stimulate reactionary monoracism from Communities of Color, who may already believe that Multiracial people have a racial superiority complex.

Participants cautioned against Multiracial messianism and positive stereotypes. For example, Leonard criticized both educators who "minimize the Mixed-Race experience" and those who "champion it." Both, he said, were ways of glossing over Multiracial experiences. Participants called for education that would challenge prevalent "model minority" stereotypes that Multiracial people possess "hybrid vigor" or are "saviors" or "bridge builders." Educators who traffic in such

false stereotypes may be particularly tempting to Multiracial students who, so long marginalized, may be overly willing to take on any positive-sounding stereotypes, in an effort to support their own share of ethnic "pride," to match other groups' "pride" movements. But, countering monoracist "shaming" does not require promoting Multiracial "pride" or false positive-stereotypes. An understanding of monoracism is a remedy that's more defensible and less divisive.

I recommend that anti-monoracist scholars and educators develop and provide anti-monoracist trainings to organizations of anti-racist educators and Communities of Color. Both Carol and Arnold suggested providing such trainings to Communities of Color and their organizations. To date, I know of only a few such efforts, including those by the now-defunct organizations Hapa Issues Forum, iPride, and New Demographic. It's my hope that, through my research and community work, I might help develop programs offer anti-monoracist education to anti-racist educators and others seeking a better understanding of monoracism or Multiracial students.

Recommendation 12. Research the effectiveness of various anti-racist educational programs and approaches.

I asked participants about the aspects of anti-racist education that did and did not work for Multiracial students, as well as their criteria for evaluating anti-racist curricula and their suggestions for improvement. As an attempt to begin exploring how anti-racist education deals with Multiracial students, this study has attempted to identify, frame, and discuss areas of concern – both the participants' and my own. However, this project has not attempted to assess the actual

effectiveness of the curricula presented or discussed. With my limited resources, this study provides expert witnesses' perspectives, as secondary information that can guide future practice and future studies of practice. So, I recommend that concerned anti-racist educators and scholars marshal both the will and the resources needed to assess the effectiveness of anti-racist education and of the suggestions provided in this dissertation.

Anti-racist education intends to affect the lives of its students and, through them, the world they live in. Thus, I propose further studying anti-racist education's effectiveness – what do students learn? How does anti-racist education affect them, for good and for ill? How might the suggestions in this study influence anti-racist education when put into practice? The observations, critiques, and suggestions I have presented will need to be put to the test, evaluated for their actual results, and treated based on whatever merits or drawbacks they present.

Whether defined narrowly or broadly, anti-racist education programs' effectiveness remains generally understudied. Few scholars or research organizations have ventured to study such programs effects on their students (Donaldson, 1994; Freeman & Johnson, 2003; Katz, 2011; Luft, 2004; O'Brien, 2001; Plastas, 1992; Wilson, 2006). Luft (2004) noted that neither she nor the eight anti-racist educational organizations she studied have systematically evaluated the effects of their work. For all my critiques of such programs, I believe that they warrant further study. I began my doctoral research with the intention to help improve such programs. So, to better evaluate their effectiveness, I recommend that scholars direct more research energies into studying such programs' effects on

individuals, organizations, and the anti-racist social movements they are intended to serve. And, in light of several authors' critiques of the individualistic and therapeutic focuses of many anti-racist educational programs (Lasch-Quinn, 2001; Luft, 2004), I particularly recommend studying the few anti-racist education programs that teach to intact work groups, rather than to audiences of unaffiliated individuals. Such programs – and studies of such programs – might prove particularly fruitful for educating members of Multiracial organizations and influencing the direction of collective Multiracial movements.

Thus far, the few studies of anti-racist educational programs' outcomes have tended to focus on students' intrapsychic changes – their ideas, attitudes, and values – rather than their behaviors or larger-scale social changes. For example, Wilson (2006) studied the effects of a PISAB-type program that had been adapted for a secondary education setting. In his study, Wilson measured both psychological effects and participants' self-reports of changes in their behaviors, using two sub-scales from Barbarin's (1996) Institutional Racism Scale: the Personal Efforts to Reduce Racism sub-scale and the Personal Use of Strategies to Reduce Racism sub-scale. In a broader scope, Stephanie Burrell Storms' research on Social Justice Education courses' effects on students' perceptions of their preparedness for social action might also provide measures and direction for further research (Burrell, 2008; Burrell Storms, 2012). However, in both cases, the studies focused on students' attitudes, perceptions, or self-reports of their actions, rather than measuring their actual actions or the effects of their actions. The scope of racism extends far beyond the individual or attitudinal into the institutions and structures

that organize society (Pincus, 2000; The Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change et al., 2004).

So, I particularly recommend reaching across disciplines to find or adapt non-psychological measures to assess anti-racist educational programs' outcomes. Measures of collective action might fill a space between the more psychological, individualistic assessments of racism and the macroscopic measures of structural racism (e.g., statistics regarding poverty, incarceration, or disease). Education researchers looking for larger-scale measures might look into tools from sociology, geography, public policy, history, and organizational development (Jackson, 2005; Vaughn, 2008).

I also recommend that education researchers, with such measures in hand, study anti-racist education programs' curricular monoracism and their effects on students' monoracism. When such programs teach about Multiraciality, either purposefully or incidentally, what do they teach? How do they teach about it? And what are the effects of such lessons on students? In my own research, I attempted to solicit curricula from the participants, so that we might collectively analyze and discuss concrete examples. However, I was not successful in gathering a sufficiently detailed collection of curricula; submissions were more impressionistic recollections than detailed instructions for teaching. So, in the future, I hope that other colleagues and I will have the opportunity to present a similar set of educators with more concrete examples of anti-racist curricula. For example, I might present research participants with a description of the PISAB curricula, then invite critical

discussion (Luft, 2004; Shapiro, 2002). Such inquiries might also be directed at a broader set of exemplars.

Summary

In Chapter 7, I presented participants' responses to my research questions regarding the aspects of anti-racist education that they see as working well or not working for Multiracial students. In this chapter, I have discussed my own perspectives on participants' answers, framing those discussions within a series of recommendations for both educational pratices and further research. To address monoracism in anti-racist education's theories, curricula, and pedagogies, I discussed ways to incorporate Multiraciality and an anti-monoracist analysis into anti-racist educational practices and curricula, as well as alternatives to the prevailing binary, identity-based theories and pedagogies. To address educators' own monoracist attitudes and behaviors, which may manifest in classrooms or training spaces, I recommended developing ways to assess such monoracism, to make teaching educators about monoracism a priority over finding more Multiracial educators, and to research such monoracism's impact on anti-racist education's effectiveness. Next, I conclude with reflections on my process and the development of my own perspectives on my research.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

Concluding this research project, I have had the opportunity to reflect back on the problems I set out to address, the answers to questions posed, and how my own perspectives have evolved through this process. I began my doctoral program with a particular set of problems in mind, shaped by my own experiences with anti-racist education and with the Multiracial Movement. I had taught about race and racism in a variety of contexts and sought to integrate that work into my role in Multiracial student and community organizations. As both a student and a teacher, I had participated in anti-racist education that seemed to fall short of what I felt anti-racist education could be teaching. When I shared such concerns with friends and colleagues, they would often share similar questions and stories of their own. Adding to my sense of urgency, I was hearing a rising clamor in mainstream political discourse that used Multiracial people as justification for colorblinding policies or proof of an imminent post-racial utopia. At the same time, I saw a number of respected colleagues leaving Multiracial organizing, having expressed their frustration or disappointment with the incoherent direction and political consciousness of Multiracial organizations. I believed – and I still believe – that better anti-racist education could not only help people new to the Multiracial Movement develop their political consciousness about their experiences, that that it could also allow more experienced Multiracial activists to feel like they could continue to develop personally and do meaningful work within the Multiracial Movement.

It is for these reasons that, when I began my doctoral work, I imagined that my dissertation might take the form of a handbook of anti-racist curricula that could be shared with Multiracial organizations like those with which I had worked. With such a tool, I thought they might more effectively educate, organize, and mobilize members for anti-racist activism. As my work progressed, however, my goal broadened, guided by my advisor, my colleagues, and further exposure to various academic literatures. While I still intend to use my work to produce anti-racist curricula for Multiracial students and organizations, my doctoral studies have prompted me to explore broader fields of ideas and to produce something that I hope will contribute to the academic study of anti-racist education and of Multiraciality, as well as to community-based activism for social justice.

With this dissertation, then, I posed research questions about what Multiracial students should be learning from anti-racist education, as well as how that anti-racist education might better achieve those learning goals, introduced in Chapter 1. To begin answering those questions, I solicited the participation of people who have worked in the Multiracial Movement in various educational capacities and who align themselves with a broad and multilayered definition of racism. In Chapter 2, to help frame participants' responses, I presented my own concept of "community-based anti-racist education" and four general critiques of such programs. In Chapter 3, I synthesized an expanded view of monoracism, the systematic oppression of Multiraciality, so that I could later apply an anti-monoracist critique as I interpreted participants' responses. In Chapter 4, I

described how, through surveys and focus group interviews, the participants shared their perspectives with me and with each other.

The participants suggested a variety of learning goals that anti-racist education should help Multiracial students accomplish, which I presented in Chapter 5. Participants wanted Multiracial students to learn about racism and monoracism, as well as about the hierarchies that trouble Multiracial organizing. Such suggestions support some of anti-racist education's core goals, while nevertheless challenging some of its central concepts, such as its binary framework of privilege and oppression. Furthermore, participants called for anti-racist education to help participants develop relational knowledges that better connect them with their fellow students, with Multiracial communities, and with the racial communities with which they identify. This finding runs counter to some popular monoracist accusations that Multiracial people only seek to escape connection with Communities of Color. Finally, participants wanted anti-racist education to help Multiracial students develop reflective knowledge about their own racial identities, as well as the will and the skill to assert these identities while responding to monoracist challenges.

In Chapter 6, I presented my own perspectives on participants' responses, framed by my recommendations for practice and further research. My recommendations to practitioners and scholars were:

1. Refocus from teaching about race to teaching about racism.
2. Teach about different racisms, not a monolithic racism.
3. Teach how racisms have historically created different monoracisms.

4. Teach about histories and politics of Multiracial activism, including the intra- and inter-movement conflicts.
5. Explore various theories of monoracism's relationship to racism.
6. Research, articulate, and teach how monoracism operates, at multiple levels of analysis.
7. Teach about monoracism without either excusing or demonizing Communities of Color.
8. Shift from language about "Multiracial" toward "Multiracialized."
9. Theorize and teach about different monoracisms, not a monolithic monoracism.
10. Expand theories and curricula about White supremacy beyond the phenotype/"White-skin" discourse.
11. Create new theories and curricula that do not presume that all Multiracials are "between" Whiteness and non-Whiteness.
12. Research intersectional methods for studying and teaching about monoracism.
13. Offer anti-racist education programs for intact Multiracial organizations' members.
14. Teach monoracial communities/ organizations about monoracism.
15. Account for monoracism when interpreting claims of "rights" to racial self-identification.
16. Teach ways to resist racial interrogation and ascription that do not reinforce other aspects of racism.

17. Account for monoracism when interpreting advocacy for Multiracial identification.
18. Rather than emphasizing racial identity development, help students learn how monoracism affects them.
19. Teach practical skills for challenging racism and monoracism.
20. Critically consider the idea and practice of teaching "transferable allyship skills."

In these recommendations, I tried to bring to bear my own evolving anti-monoracist analysis.

To guide anti-racist education to better accomplishing these goals, participants also pointed out aspects of anti-racist education that they saw as working well and not working well for Multiracial students, which I presented in Chapter 7. In particular, participants addressed challenges in anti-racist education's theories, curricula, and pedagogies, as well as in its educators' attitudes and behaviors. Participants problematized the exclusion of Multiraciality, the use of binary frameworks, monoracist assumptions inherent in racial identity development theories, and the use of identity-based "safe space" pedagogies. Instead, participants suggested including Multiracial content, exploring frameworks of intersectionality and fluidity, and various alternative ways of creating "safe spaces." Participants also addressed educators' own monoracist attitudes and behaviors. They spoke of the pathologizing of Multiraciality, the treatment of critique as invalid "resistance," and of positive-sounding stereotypes that gloss over discrimination against Multiracial people. To counter such problems, participants

suggested teaching educators about monoracism, as well as advocating various approaches to racial identity and using pedagogies that make greater space for students' experiences.

In Chapter 8, I offered my own analysis of participants' critiques and suggestions, framed by my recommendations for practice and research. These recommendations were:

1. Articulate the benefits of teaching about monoracism.
2. Assess monoracism in anti-racist educational theories, curricula, and pedagogies.
3. Explore and adapt curricular inclusion models for including monoracism in anti-racist education.
4. Seek and implement less binary frameworks.
5. Explore and develop intersectional pedagogies.
6. Explore and develop pedagogies based on non-linear identity models.
7. Create "spaces" based on ideology or experience, not identities.
8. Experiment with integrating more learner-centered pedagogies into anti-racist praxes.
9. Prioritize teaching educators about monoracism, rather than recruiting more Multiracial educators.
10. Develop and deploy tools for assessing educators' monoracist attitudes and practices.
11. Teach educators about monoracism.

12. Research the effectiveness of various anti-racist educational programs and approaches.

With these recommendations, I hope to encourage collaborative innovation among practitioners and scholars who are interested in improving anti-racist education's effectiveness, particularly for Multiracial students, but also for all students.

In addition to offering answers to my research questions, my doctoral work has provided me with opportunities to examine and continue developing my perspectives on the problems I set out to address. Through this process, I have increasingly shifted away from thinking about Multiracial identity and about identity-based organizing and toward thinking about monoracism and about ways to use anti-monoracist analysis as a means to frame problems and organize people. This shift has also challenged me to reconsider my own sense of who is Multiracial or Monoracial, how I make such determinations, and how I explain the transformation of my perspective. Already, I have had spirited conversations with respected colleagues, weighing the potential merits and consequences of placing increased emphasis on monoracism within Multiracial organizing. For Multiracial identity-based organizing, integrating the belief that monoracism is what makes someone Multiracial or Monoracial will likely require radical redefinitions of how boundaries are drawn and how problems are framed. I find myself only beginning to pull on that thread to see where it leads, what might unravel, and what new things might be woven.

Although I began my doctoral work with a sense that Multiracial people experience discrimination, it was only years later that two colleagues gave a name,

monoracism, to such discrimination. And despite my own work on conceptualizing monoracism, I still find it sounds strange to my ear when I hear other people use it in conversation. If the concept of monoracism is to take hold, I believe that activists, scholars, and people in many walks of life will need to not only use the concept, but also explore and develop our definitions of it. I am grateful to those scholars and activists, including the participants in this project, who have shared their experiences and analyses of monoracism. I look forward to learning more from the people who are and will be taking up the work of theorizing and identifying monoracism.

While working with the concept of monoracism, I have increasingly felt that anti-monoracist frames may offer a broader reach and greater analytic power than Multiracial identity-based frames. By engaging in anti-monoracist analyses, we may think more broadly about how monoracism affects everyone (to different degrees and in different ways), not only the people it constructs as Multiracial. Similar to the belief that no one is perfectly gender-conforming, I believe that no one conforms perfectly to the impossible racial standards enforced by systems of racism and monoracism. Recognizing this situation and taking up anti-monoracism could help address some of the essentialist authenticity-baiting dynamics that occur in racial identity-based organizing – dynamics that alienate people who could otherwise benefit from those organizations; people who could support those organizations' work for racial and social justice. Therefore, anti-monoracist work should not only be about or for Multiracial people, it has the potential to help everyone better understand their varying experiences of racism and monoracism.

Further, if we pursue the idea that monoracism socially constructs Multiraciality and Monoraciality, then an anti-monoracist analysis may also help reveal aspects of the protean nature of race and racism. As different racisms construct race differently across time or location, an anti-monoracist analysis might help us see the ways that racism may fluidly construct race, even in a given situation. Indeed, while the experience of being differently racialized by various people in a given situation is not exclusively the domain of people who *identify* as Multiracial, we can learn a lot about the complexity and fluidity of racialization from considering such experiences. If racism is what racializes a person, and if different people or entities may enact different racisms in a given situation, then can a person be said to have a fixed and singular racialization? By recognizing this complexity and fluidity of racialized experiences, what useful lessons might we learn, which could help us challenge racism writ both small and large? In the process of pursuing answers to my research questions, I have begun asking these new questions. As I conclude this research project and begin the next iterations of my work, I'm grateful and encouraged by the recent creation of the Critical Mixed Race Studies Association, the work of colleagues in that nascent field, and the work of my colleagues in Social Justice Education.

In this dissertation, I have focused on community-based anti-racist education programs, using a relatively narrow definition of anti-racist education. However, I believe that the questions, problems, and suggestions I have posed could be of service to other educational subfields and approaches. Given the dearth of research on anti-racist education, I have periodically drawn on material from broader

educational subfields, such as Multicultural Education and Social Justice Education. In the future, I hope to pursue similar lines of inquiry beyond anti-racist education, into areas such as Ethnic Studies college courses, Critical Mixed Race Studies, Multicultural teacher education, Inter-Group Dialogue, community education programs, and Social Justice Education. With this project, I hope that I may support and inspire my colleagues, those known and those yet unknown, as they pursue their own scholarly and practical inquiries in service of social justice.

APPENDIX A

RECRUITING SCRIPT

Hello, my name is Eric Hamako.

[If referred by another person:] I received your name from _____, who thought you might be interested in this study.

I'm a doctoral student in education at the University of Massachusetts. I'm conducting a research project, asking how we can improve anti-racist education for Multiracial people, particularly in the Multiracial Movement.

To answer this question, I'm recruiting people to participate in focus groups in several areas around the country. The focus group participants will share training activities with each other, then come together in groups of five people to discuss a few basic questions: what should Multiracial participants be learning, what works about current anti-racist training activities, what doesn't work, and how could training activities be improved? When the project is done, I'll use the information from the focus groups to write my dissertation, to help improve anti-racist education for Multiracial people.

I'm recruiting participants who meet four criteria: 1) experience with the Multiracial Movement or Multiracial organizations; 2) experience as educators, in either classroom or community settings, 3) an anti-racist stance. Basically, I'm defining racism as the systematic oppression of People of Color, which benefits White people – and that racism operates on institutional and cultural levels, as well as an interpersonal level. And fourth, I'm looking for people who're interested in

talking about how we can redesign anti-racist learning activities to better educate Multiracial participants.

Do you meet these four criteria? [If "yes" to criteria 1 and 2, continue. If "no" to 1 or 2, thank, ask for potential references, and terminate call. If "no" to criteria 3, make a note of that and continue.]

I see that you would fit into one of the focus groups. Each focus group will take about two hours. Participants will not be paid for participating, but you will have the opportunity to share training activities with each other and to meet each other in person. And refreshments will be served.

Because we'll be meeting in small groups, the participants in your group may know each other and will hear what you share. However, when I write up the final report, your identity can be confidential – or you can choose to have your comments attributed to you by name.

Would you like to participate in a focus group in your area on how can we redesign anti-racist learning activities to better educate Multiracial participants? [If "yes," continue. If "no," thank, ask for potential references, and terminate call.]

Would you be available at any of the following times?

_____ (date) at _____ (time)?

_____ (date) at _____ (time)?

_____ (date) at _____ (time)?

_____ (date) at _____ (time)?

[If "no," thank and terminate call. If unsure, schedule a follow-up call. If "yes," continue.]

I'm also asking participants to recommend other potential participants for this study. Do you know other people who might be a good fit for the project's three criteria?

[If "yes," continue. If "no," skip to "So that I can communicate with you…"]

Name/s?

Telephone/s: Email/s:

So that I can communicate with you, would you please confirm your contact information?

Name:

Street:

City: State: Zip:

Telephone (day): Telephone (evening):

Email:

I'm only recruiting a small number of people to participate in the groups – each person's attendance is very important. Since you've agreed to participate, I'll send you a confirmation email in the next week, with further details about the focus groups, including the date, time, and location. I'll also send you a paper copy of an Informed Consent Form, for you to sign and return to me.

If you have questions or if your schedule changes, please call me at (831) 818.6279. If you have any questions regarding the group and would like to contact someone other than me, please call Professor Maurianne Adams at (413) 545-1194 or email her at adams@educ.umass.edu.

Thank you.

APPENDIX B

PARTICIPATION CONFIRMATION EMAIL

Dear _____ [name],

Thank you for agreeing to participate in a focus group on _____ [date] at _____[time] at _____[location]. This letter provides some information about what you can expect.

By conducting these focus groups, I hope to get a better sense of how we can improve anti-racist educational activities for Multiracial participants. To do this, I'm convening focus groups of anti-racist educators who work with the Multiracial Movement, so that we can think about this work together.

I will facilitate each focus group. The focus groups will last approximately two hours. Participants will be asked to discuss a set of open-ended questions.

Documents in the mail

In a few days, you will receive paper documents in the mail, along with a return envelope. Please fill out and return one of the two copies of the Informed Consent Form and the participant intake survey.

As a participant in the study, you have choices about confidentiality. When you interact with the other participants online or in-person, you may choose to use your real name or a pseudonym (fake name). I will ask all participants to respect each other's confidentiality. However, you should understand that I cannot guarantee that all participants will respect people's confidentiality. For the research report, you may also choose to be called by your real name or by a pseudonym.

Sharing activities online

To help participants connect and share training activities with each other, I have set up an online space where we can share activities and our thoughts about them. Please join the online space by doing the following [instructions here].

To pool our training experiences and resources, please submit two or three training activities to the online space. Training activities should focus on anti-racist learning goals – but they can be activities that DO work well for Multiracial participants OR activities you feel DO NOT work well for Multiracial participants.

Following up

I'll give you a reminder phone call one or two days before the focus group to confirm your attendance.

This study has been approved by the Internal Review Board of the University of Massachusetts Amherst's School of Education. I'm happy to answer any questions about the project. To learn more, feel free to call or email me at (831) 818-6279 and hamako@educ.umass.edu. If you have questions for my advisor, Professor Maurianne Adams, you may contact her at adams@educ.umass.edu

Sincerely,

Eric Hamako

University of Massachusetts Amherst

APPENDIX C

HUMAN SUBJECTS WRITTEN INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Consent Form for Participation in a Research Study

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Student Researcher: Eric Hamako
Study Title: Improving anti-racist education for Multiracial people
Faculty Sponsor/P.I.: Maurianne Adams

1. WHAT IS THIS FORM?

This consent form will give you information about the study so you can make an informed decision about participation in this research study. This form will help you understand why this study is being done and why you are being invited to participate. It will also describe what you will be asked to do as a participant and any known risks, inconveniences or discomforts that you may have while participating. We encourage you to think about this information and ask questions now and at any other time. If you decide to participate, please sign this form; you will be given a copy for your records.

2. WHO IS ELIGIBLE TO PARTICIPATE?

We are inviting participants based on several criteria. First, participants should be involved in the Multiracial Movement or an organization that primarily serves people who identify as Multiracial/Mixed-Race. Second, participants should have some experience designing curricula and/or teaching, in either classroom or community settings. Third, participants should have experience with anti-racist work and be comfortable with anti-racist ideas. Fourth, participants should be interested in the question, "How can we redesign anti-racist learning activities to better educate Multiracial participants?" Participants will not be screened for their racial identity, but will be screened for their training/educational work, their connection to the Multiracial Movement, and their anti-racist stance.

3. WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?

The purpose of this study is to identify ways that anti-racist educational activities do and do not work well for Multiracial/Mixed-Race participants, to suggest possible improvements to the activities, and to identify criteria for evaluating such activities.

4. WHERE WILL THE STUDY TAKE PLACE AND HOW LONG WILL IT LAST?

This study will center on a set of three focus groups, held during 2009 and 2010, in several major cities in the United States. The study has two stages. In the first stage, before the focus groups, the entire participant pool will be asked to electronically share and review anti-racist training curricula. The first stage of the study will likely require approximately five hours of your time, spread out over two months.

In the second stage, during the focus groups, participants will discuss a series of questions about anti-racist education for Multiracial participants. The focus group will require approximately two hours of your time.

5. WHAT WILL I BE ASKED TO DO?

If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to complete a basic intake survey and to share educational materials for anti-racist training activities (if you have some) and to read those contributed by other participants. You will also be asked to share your thoughts during one two-hour focus group.

6. WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS OF BEING IN THIS STUDY?

By participating in this study, you may benefit in several ways. First, you will have access to training curricula shared by other participants. Second, you will have the opportunity to give and receive peer feedback on some curricula and training practices. Third, you will have the opportunity to meet and work with other people who design and/or facilitate anti-racist training activities with Multiracial people.

In addition to these expected benefits, we also hope that your participation in the study will help improve anti-racist training activities for Multiracial participants.

7. WHAT ARE THE RISKS OF BEING IN THIS STUDY?

By participating, you may be exposed to a small number of risks. First, you may feel emotional discomfort while discussing your work and ideas, and those of your peers. Second, we ask that all participants respect each other's confidentiality; however, we cannot guarantee that all participants will keep confidential what you disclose during the study. We do not anticipate other physical, emotional, or social risks.

8. HOW WILL MY PERSONAL INFORMATION BE PROTECTED?

The following procedures will be used to protect your confidentiality. The researchers will keep all records and data in a secure location. Only the researchers will have access to the audio-recordings, transcripts, and other data.

During the project, you will have the option to disclose your real name to other participants. Alternately, you may have your emails routed through the researcher and introduce yourself to other participants by your pseudonym, to maintain the confidentiality of your real identity and name.

At the conclusion of this study, the researchers may publish their findings. To protect your identity and confidentiality, you will be assigned a pseudonym (fake name) and you will be written about in a way that attempts to hide your real identity.

Given the nature of focus group research, we cannot guarantee the confidentiality of what you disclose; it is possible that a participant might violate the confidentiality agreements. We also cannot guarantee that participants will maintain the confidentiality of email correspondences related to this study. However, we will impress upon all participants the importance of respecting each other's preferences for confidentiality.

Although we do not expect this to be an issue, we also cannot guarantee the confidentiality of disclosures about child abuse, neglect, or threats of suicide or homicide.

9. WILL I RECEIVE ANY PAYMENT FOR TAKING PART IN THE STUDY?

You will not receive any payment for participating in this study. Some participants may receive reimbursement for travel expenses, based on financial need.

10. WHAT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS?

Take as long as you like before you make a decision. We will be happy to answer any question you have about this study. If you have further questions about this project or if you have a research-related problem, you may contact the student researcher, Eric Hamako (hamako@educ.umass.edu, (831) 818-6279) or the faculty sponsor/principal investigator, Maurianne Adams (adams@educ.umass.edu, (413) 545-1194). If you have any questions concerning your rights as a research subject, you may contact the University of Massachusetts Amherst Human Research Protection Office (HRPO) at (413) 545-3428 or humansubjects@ora.umass.edu.

11. CAN I STOP BEING IN THE STUDY?

You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to be. If you agree to be in the study, but later change your mind, you may drop out at any time. There are no penalties or consequences of any kind if you decide that you do not want to participate.

12.WHAT IF I AM INJURED?

The University of Massachusetts does not have a program for compensating subjects for injury or complications related to human subjects research, but the study personnel will assist you in getting treatment.

13. SUBJECT STATEMENT OF VOLUNTARY CONSENT

I have read this form and decided that I will participate in the project described above. The general purposes and particulars of the study as well as possible hazards and inconveniences have been explained to my satisfaction. I understand that I can withdraw at any time.

_____	_____	_____
Participant Signature:	Print Name:	Date:

By signing below I indicate that the participant has read and, to the best of my knowledge, understands the details contained in this document and has been given a copy.

_____	_____	_____
Signature of Person Obtaining Consent	Print Name:	Date:

APPENDIX D

SURVEY 1: PARTICIPANT INTAKE SURVEY

Please provide the following information.

Name: _____

In your opinion, which groups or people are included in "Multiracial"?

What is your history working with the Multiracial Movement?

How do you define "anti-racism"?

What is your history working with anti-racist activism and/or anti-racist education?

(OVER)

Age: ___

Current city and state where you live: _____

Gender: _____

Sexual orientation: _____

Educational background (please mark highest level attained):

__ Some high school
__ High school diploma or GED
__ Some college
__ Bachelors degree (BA/BS)
__ Masters degree
__ Doctoral degree

Racial identity(check all that apply):

__ American Indian or Alaska Native (Print tribe/s: _____)
__ Arab, Arab American, Persian
__ Asian, Asian American
__ Asian Indian
__ Chinese
__ Japanese
__ Korean
__ Vietnamese
__ Other Asian (Print race: _____)
__ Black, African American
__ Latina/Latino
__ Pacific Islander
    __ Filipino
    __ Guamanian, Chamorro
    __ Native Hawaiian
    __ Samoan
    __ Other Pacific Islander (Print group: _____)
__ White
__ Some other race (Print race: _____)

Hispanic or Non-Hispanic:

__ Hispanic
__ Non-Hispanic

Other racial or ethnic identities you claim: _____

Religion/s: _____

APPENDIX E

PHONE/EMAIL REMINDER SCRIPT

Hello,

I'm calling/emailing to remind you that you've agreed to participate in a focus group on _____[date] at _____[time] at _____[location]. If you have questions, concerns, or now find that you cannot attend, please contact me, Eric Hamako, at (831) 818-6279 or hamako@educ.umass.edu.

Thank you!

APPENDIX F

SURVEY 2: CURRICULA EVALUATIONS

Please use this form to write your comments, feedback, and critiques about the curricula shared with the group.

There are enough spaces for you to comment on up to 10 of the shared activities. Feel free to comment on as many or as few as you like.

NOTE: To submit your responses, you MUST click the "continue" buttons until you get to the button that says "Submit." Once your responses are submitted, you will see a screen that says, "Thank you!" If you do NOT see this screen, then your responses have not been submitted.

Your responses will not be connected to your name. However, all participants in your focus group will have the opportunity to see the compiled comments about each activity. So, what people write below will be read by other participants, but no one's name will be attached to their comments.

First Name: _____ Last Name: _____

General Comments: Please use this space for any general comments you would like to share. These comments do not have to be about a particular activity.

_____

FIRST ACTIVITY

1. Activity Name: _____

Please enter the activity's file-name (e.g., "Racial Beads.pdf")

1a. How well does the activity's LEARNING GOALS address the needs of Multiracial participants?

1b. What aspects of the activity work WELL for Multiracial participants?

1c. What aspects of the activity do NOT work well for Multiracial participants? For example, in what ways does the activity ignore or convey bias against Multiraciality or Multiracial participants?

1d. How could the activity be CHANGED to better serve Multiracial participants? Please offer specific, concrete ideas, if you can.

1e. What CRITERIA did you use to evaluate this activity for bias against Multiraciality? And what criteria would you propose for evaluating OTHER activities for bias against Multiraciality?"

1f. Other comments, feedback, critiques about the activity?

SECOND ACTIVITY

(Questions repeat for activities 2-10)

APPENDIX G

SURVEY 3: FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANT WORKSHEET

Name _____

To help you gather your thoughts for the focus group discussion, please respond to the following questions. You will be asked to turn in this sheet at the end of the focus group.

1. How can we improve current anti-racist learning activities, so that they more effectively help Multiracial participants learn about racism?

2. In what ways is the Multiracial Movement engaging in anti-racist activism?

3. What do you, as anti-racist educators in the Multiracial Movement, think Multiracial participants should learn?

4. In your experience as educators, what problems and possibilities arise when teaching Multiracial participants about racism?

5. What *criteria* would you propose for evaluating anti-racist learning activities for bias against Multiracial people?

6. What other thoughts or comments do you want to share?

APPENDIX H

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Date and Time: _____
Location: _____
# of Participants: _____

Welcome and Introductions

Hello everyone and welcome to our focus group. Thank you for agreeing to participate.

My name is Eric Hamako. I've organized these focus groups as part of my doctoral research – and to help us collectively think about how to improve anti-racist educational activities for Multiracial participants.

To help me, while I facilitate, I've asked _____ [note-taker] to take notes on our process. _____ will not be participating in the discussion. I'll be using their notes to help me make sense of the audio recording of our group today.

To begin, I'd like to have everyone introduce themselves. Please say your name (or pseudonym) and briefly tell us a bit about your connection to Multiracial activism or anti-racist education.

Purpose and Agenda

The purpose of this focus group is to give you a space to share your ideas and experiences related to a specific set of questions – questions about what you think Multiracial participants should be learning about racism, what works in the training activities that're currently available, what doesn't work, and how things could be improved.

Today's focus group will run for approximately two hours. Here's the agenda. First, we'll discuss some guidelines for the focus group. Then, we'll get into the questions. I'll ask you to collect your thoughts by writing them onto a worksheet. Then, we'll have an open discussion of the questions. At the end of the focus group, I'll say a little more about the process and then we'll adjourn.

Guidelines

1. To help you share your ideas, I'd like to suggest a few guidelines for our discussion.
2. Confidentiality: Once you leave this group, don't share what other people have said. You're welcome to share your own ideas, feelings, or experiences. But don't share other people's "story."
3. Speak for yourself; use "I" statements
4. Share airtime with others. If you normally speak a lot, try making space for other people. If you don't usually speak up in groups, try to challenge yourself and share your thoughts.
5. Diversity of opinion is good. We're trying to hear many views, not to develop a consensus.
6. You have the right to pass or not share.
7. When you speak, please speak loudly and clearly – for the audio-recordings.
8. Are there other guidelines you'd like to establish, to help the group discussion?

Before we continue, to you have any questions?

Nominal Group Worksheet

Before we begin the group discussion, I'd like to give you a few minutes to review the questions we'll be discussing, to collect your thoughts. On this worksheet are the questions – please write down any thoughts or notes that will help you remember your ideas during the group discussion. At the end of the focus group, I'll collect these worksheets and take a look at what you've written there, in addition to what you shared in the group.

(Hand out worksheet. Allow 8-10 minutes for participants to write their thoughts. Then thank the group and continue.)

Focus Group Discussion

1. How can we improve current anti-racist learning activities, so that they more effectively help Multiracial participants learn about racism?
2. In what ways is the Multiracial Movement engaging in anti-racist activism?
    - 2.1. PROBE: Can you give me a specific example?
    - 2.2. PROBE: In what ways are you doing anti-racist activism within the Multiracial Movement? Can you give specific examples?
    - 2.3. PROBE: In your descriptions, how're you defining "anti-racism"?
3. What do you, as anti-racist educators in the Multiracial Movement, think Multiracial participants should learn?
    - 3.1. PROBE: Why do you think these learning goals are important?
    - 3.2. PROBE: How might learning goals vary based on the heritages a Multiracial participant claims?

3.3. PROBE: If participants learn these things, what will happen?

4. In your experience as educators, what problems and possibilities arise when teaching Multiracial participants about racism?

4.1. PROBE: What are some examples of activities or approaches that don't work as well as you'd like? Why don't they work so well? Give specific examples.

4.2. PROBE: Referring back to the curricula that people shared, can you give specific examples of what works or doesn't work for Multiracial participants?

4.3. PROBE: Have other people in the group had similar or different experiences with that type of activity?

4.4. PROBE: How might participants' particular Multiracial identities or "mixes" influence this? Give specific examples.

4.5. PROBE: What are some examples of activities or approaches that are effective? What makes them effective? Give specific examples.

4.6. PROBE: Are there things that go more easily when teaching Multiracial participants about racism? If so, what are those things? And why do you think it's easier? Give specific examples.

4.6.1. How might anti-racist learning activities be improved?

4.7. PROBE: How would you measure improvement? How would you know whether a change actually leads to improved learning outcomes?

5. What criteria might you, as Multiracial anti-racist educators, propose for evaluating anti-racist learning activities for bias against Multiracial people?
    5.1. PROBE: What would you look for as markers of an effective or ineffective learning activity or curriculum?
6. What other thoughts or comments do you want to share?

(Summarize some of the main points from the discussion – then ask participants whether I've reasonably summarized the discussion. Ask what I might have missed or gotten wrong.)

Next steps

Thank you, everyone, for what you've shared. Please hand in your worksheets.

Now that we've completed the focus group interview, I'll type up the audio recording of today's discussion. I'll use that to look for themes in what you've shared and compare that with things other focus groups have shared. Then, I'll write up my own thoughts about what's been shared, as part of my dissertation. Before I finish the dissertation, I'll get back in touch with you, to confirm whether you want to be identified by name or for your identity to be confidential in the final report. When the dissertation is done, I hope to share it with you all and with other people interested in anti-racist education and Multiracial issues.

Please remember – respect each other's confidentiality. Once you leave here, don't share what other people have said or attach their name to what they've said.

You're welcome to share your own experiences or things that have come up for you, but don't share other people's "story."

Before we conclude, do you have any questions for me?

Conclusion

Thank you, everyone. I appreciate you taking the time to be here and sharing your ideas and expertise. I look forward to being in touch as we continue our work on these matters.

APPENDIX I

MULTIRACIAL TIMELINE CURRICULUM

Like other participatory learning activities involving timelines, the Historical Timeline of Multiracial Events helps participants learn about certain historical events relevant to their own lives and to see the broader context in which their lives are situated (Cho, Paz y Puente, Ching Yoon Louie, & Khokha, 2004; Griffin & Harro, 1997; Rauscher & McClintock, 1997; Wijeyesinghe, et al., 1997). Facilitators have a variety of pedagogical options when helping participants learn about historical events.

Learning goals

1. Participants *understand* some of the key events in the history of racism and multiraciality in the U.S.
2. Participants *understand* how racist policies and laws have and continue to impact the experiences and identities of people of color, whether monoracial or multiracial.
3. Participants *understand* that multiracial people have organized themselves and resisted racism/White Supremacy.
4. Participants *place* their own life stories in relation to key events in the U.S.'s racial history.

Description

Wijeyesinghe et al. (1997) suggest a variety of ways of presenting historical timeline information. First, facilitators could provide participants with paper copies of the timeline, then deliver a brief lecture on the events noted. Second, facilitators

could prepare two sets of cards, one with the historical dates, the other with the events, distribute them to different participants, and then ask participants to match the dates to the events. Third, facilitators could post the dates in chronological order around the room, then give participants cards with events printed on them, and ask participants to tape the cards to the correct dates. Fourth, facilitators could prepare a quiz based on the events, ask participants take the quiz, then give the participants the answers and ask them to evaluate their knowledge of this history and why they might have known or not known what they did. Fifth, facilitators could prepare a game in the style of the "Jeopardy" television show, using the dates and events.

Cho et al. (2004) suggest additional activities that increase the reflective knowledge facilitated by the Timeline activity. Facilitators could give participants a sheet of paper or a stack of index cards, on which participants could draw a personal timeline on the paper or write down important events from their personal histories on each card. Facilitators might ask participants to focus on multiraciality, but not omit other significant events. After participants have created their timelines, the facilitator might ask participants to find a partner, preferably someone they don't know, and share their timelines with each other. Then, if using the index card option and a timeline posted on the wall/s, the facilitator should hand out pieces of tape and more blank sheets of paper. Ze should ask participants to tour the timeline with their partner, and use the tape to hang their personal timeline up in the larger timeline. Participants may use their tape and blank papers to include other significant dates and events that are not on the timeline.

Regardless of which option/s facilitators choose, they should reconvene the participants as a large group and help the group discuss their thoughts and feelings. I suggest the following questions:

1. Did anything surprise you? What?
2. What patterns do you see over time?
3. How have laws, immigration policies, and wars influenced the presence, experiences, and identities of multiracial people?
4. How have different groups treated multiracial people over time?
5. What challenges have multiracial people faced over time? How have the challenges changed?
6. How have multiracial people challenged injustices? What can we learn from these histories?
7. What have you learned from this activity?

Criteria for evaluating learning

1. Participants *understand* the general concept that U.S. society has socially constructed race through racist policies.
2. Participants can generally *articulate* themes from the timeline.
3. Participants can *articulate* ways in which past and current policies and resistance may have influenced their lives, directly or indirectly.

Justification

As noted above, the Historical Timeline of Multiracial Events aims to create variety of kinds of knowledge. It transmits representational knowledge by helping participants learn how and when U.S. society has racialized groups using racist laws

and policies, over time. The Timeline can also help participants learn about the history of multiracial organizing, activism, and resistance to racism. Further, using some of the variations on the activity, the Timeline can also help participants reflect on their own experiences and how they fit into the broader historical context.

Caveats and considerations

Given the large amount of historical data on the timeline and my inclination toward more participatory pedagogy, I suggest that facilitators use the most participatory (and least lecture-based) approaches with which they feel comfortable. Facilitators may also want to add and/or omit certain events, knowing that the current timeline and any other timeline would reflect some political choices about what to include and what to exclude. Working with participants who have relatively more knowledge of history or with research skills and sufficient motivation, facilitators might ask participants to research and construct their own timelines of events they feel are relevant to multiracial people and themselves in particular.

A Historical Timeline of Multiracial Events

1607: English colonists establish the English colony of Virginia in North America (Douglass, 2003).

1619: European colonists bring the first Africans to North America, as indentured servants (Takaki, 2000).

1661: Maryland passes the first law in the Colonies establishing the "one-drop rule" for racializing Black people (Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1664: Maryland passes the first law in the Colonies banning interracial marriage to Blacks (Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1675: Bacon's Rebellion unites African and European indentured servants, who stage an armed rebellion against the European ruling class in Virginia. Virginia defeats the rebellion and begins a series of policies to disarm and enslave Africans and privilege European indentured servants, while reducing Virginia's reliance on European laborers (Takaki, 1993).

1691: Virginia passes law banning interracial marriage to Native Americans (Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1790: The U.S. passes the Naturalization Law of 1790, establishing that only "whites" can become citizens (Takaki, 1993).

1790: First U.S. Census (Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1803: With the Louisiana Purchase, the U.S. buys most of the current U.S. from France. Along with the land, the U.S. acquires a population of Black Creoles, the multiracial descendants of slaves or freed slaves and French colonists (Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1819: The U.S. annexes Florida from Spain. Along with the land, the U.S. acquires a population of multiracial descendants of Spanish, Native American, and free Black heritages (Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1840: First Chinese immigrants arrive in the U.S. (Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1845/1848: The U.S. annexes Texas and half of Mexico from Mexico. Along with the land, the U.S. acquires 80,000 Mexican people of mixed heritage (Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1850: California passes law banning interracial marriage to "Mongolians" (Asians) (Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1865: The U.S. Civil War ends. With the passage of the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the U.S. abolishes the legal enslavement of Blacks.

1868: The U.S. passes the 14th Amendment, which legally establishes that citizenship cannot be denied on the basis of race.

1869: The U.S. passes the 15th Amendment, which legally establishes that the right to vote cannot be denied on the basis of race.

1870: U.S. Census uses the term "race" for the first time (Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1882: The U.S. passes the Chinese Exclusion Act, prohibiting Chinese (the primary Asian immigrants to the U.S.) from immigrating the U.S. (Takaki, 2000).

1887: The General (Dawes) Allotment Act of 1887 defines who is legally Native American by mandating that, to receive land, a Native American must be "at least one half or more Indian blood" (Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1887: In the South, Jim Crow laws establish the "one-drop rule" for defining who is Black (Rosenbaum, 2005). By 1910, Jim Crow laws take back most of the rights Blacks gained since the end of the Civil War (Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1890: U.S. Census identifies some people as "Mulatto" (Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1893: The U.S. annexes Hawai'i from the Hawaiian people. Along with the land, the U.S. acquires the people of Hawai'i, including its substantial mixed-race population (Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1896: *Plessy v. Ferguson* establishes the "Separate but equal" doctrine. Additionally, it defines a "Negro" as "a person with any known black ancestry" (Davis, 1995; Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1905: California passes a law voiding all existing interracial marriages (Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1920: U.S. Census Bureau eliminates the "mulatto" category. By 1925, most of the Black population, including former "mulattos," support the "one-drop rule" of Blackness (Davis, 1995; Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1923: *United States v. Thind*, U.S. Supreme Court rules that while Asian Indians are "Caucasian," they are not "White," because "White" is defined by the "understanding of the common man." This reverses previous legal doctrine that race was biological or scientific (Haney Lopez, 1995).

1937: Everett Stonequist publishes book, *The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict,* theorizing that conflict between racial groups causes psychopathology in mixed-race people (Wehrly, 1996).

Late 1940s: In an effort to distance themselves from Nazi atrocities, geneticists declare that, "race mixing is not detrimental and sometimes even favorable" (Wehrly, 1996).

1950: The United Nations declares that race has no scientific basis (Rosenbaum, 2005).

1965: The U.S. passes the Immigration Act of 1965, again allowing Asians to immigrate to the U.S. In 1960, there were less than 900,000 Asians in the U.S. (Takaki, 1989).

1967: *Loving v. Virginia U.S.* Supreme Court case strikes down state laws that ban interracial marriage (Evans, 2004).

1977: U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB) issues Directive 15, which establishes the first standard government definition of race (Rosenbaum, 2005). Directive 15 names five racial groups: American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, Black, Hispanic, and White (Office of Management and Budget, 1977/ 1996).

1978-9: Interracial/Inter-Cultural Pride (I-Pride) forms (Douglass, 2003; Evans, 2004).

1988: The Association of MultiEthnic Americans (AMEA) forms, uniting 14 multiracial organizations from across the U.S. (Douglass, 2003; Evans, 2004).

1990: U.S. Census Bureau adds "other" category (Wehrly, et al., 1999).

1991: Susan Graham forms Project RACE (Evans, 2004).

1992: Maria Root publishes *Racially Mixed People in America,* "the first anthology of original research on and by mixed people" (Evans, 2004).

1992: Hapa Issues Form (HIF) forms, becoming the first national organization to focus on Asian Pacific Americans of mixed heritage (Evans, 2004).

1993: "Multiracial organizations begin lobbying for a multiracial category." (Wehrly, et al., 1999) AMEA and Project RACE testify to the Congressional Subcommittee on the Census (Evans, 2004).

1994: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) issues a statement to the Census Bureau opposing the recognition of multiraciality (Evans, 2004).

1994: "Wesleyan University's Interracial Students' Organization (ISO) hosts the first national conference for mixed race college students" (Evans, 2004).

1997: The 3rd Multiracial Leadership Summit ratifies "check one or more races" option for the Census campaign, instead of a separate "multiracial" category. Project RACE and two websites split from the other organizers over the decision (Evans, 2004).

1998: Matt Kelley launches *Mavin* magazine (Evans, 2004).

2000: Census 2000 allows people to "check one or more" races; almost 7 million people identify as multi-racial (Evans, 2004).

2000: Jen Chau creates Swirl, Inc., a community organizing multiracial group (Evans, 2004).

2000: Alabama amends its state constitution, removing the clause banning interracial marriage. Alabama is the final state to repeal its bans on interracial marriage.

2004: The Mavin Foundation initiates a campaign to help student groups bring their universities and colleges into compliance with "check one or more races," the Campus Awareness and Compliance Project (Evans, 2004).

2005: The U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB) issues a statement, saying that for Civil Rights enforcement purposes, Federal agencies should count multiracial people toward whichever racial group or groups the multiracial person reports as relevant to their Civil Rights claim. Further, for Civil Rights purposes, the OMB instructs Federal agencies to count multiracial people as part of each of their racial groups. Thus, for example, Federal agencies should count a multiracial person of Black and Asian heritage as a Black person AND as an Asian person (Swirl Inc. & New Demographic, 2005).

APPENDIX J

DESIGN A MONORACIST INSTITUTION CURRICULUM

Design a Monoracist Institution asks participants to shift from the typical analysis of racism and discrimination as acts perpetrated by individuals to analyzing and imagining how institutions systematically enact racism against people of color; specifically, the aspects of institutional racism that target multiracial people. I define "monoracism" as a subset or aspect of racism/White Supremacy that stems from its racialization of groups as distinct and mutually exclusive. Monoracism describes the specific dynamics of racism which privilege people who identify with or whom other people identify with only one racialized group and disadvantage people who identify with or are identified with more than one racialized group. I've adapted the activity from a comparable activity, "Create a Sexist Institution," (Goodman & Schapiro, 1997, p. 121).

Learning goals

1. Participants *understand* the concept of institutional oppression, as distinct from interpersonal oppression.
2. Participants *consider* various types of institutional oppression, as they relate to multiracial people.
3. Participants *imagine* what anti-racist institutions might be like.

Description

After giving an overview of the activity and its goals, the facilitator should give a general explanation of "institutions" and help participants brainstorm a list of institutions (e.g., schools, businesses, government agencies, foundations, prisons,

courts, military, commercial media, hospitals and medicine, mental health institutions, political parties, religious organizations, etc.). Then ze should ask partipants to break out into small groups; four or five people is desirable. Ze should ask each group to choose one of the brainstormed institutions to focus on. The facilitator should then ask each group to design a monoracist version of the institution, one that will maximally discriminate against multiracial people and privilege monoracial people, using easel paper and markers. Participants should list or depict "behaviors, practices, procedures, policies, and structures" (Goodman & Schapiro, 1997). After a set amount of time, about 30 minutes, facilitators should ask participants to reconvene as a whole group. Each group should take a few minutes to share the institution they have designed. Goodman and Schapiro (1997) suggest that, after each group has shared, facilitators should lead a discussion with the following questions (which I have adapted from sexism to monoracism):

1. What do you notice about the different institutions that were designed? How are they similar?
2. How did you come up with the ideas for your institutions? Were they based on experiences or information you already had about institutional [monoracism]?
3. What values and attitudes are reflected in these institutions?
4. How are these designs similar to what actually exists in real institutions?
5. In what ways could these institutions be changed to be less [monoracist] and more equitable?

Following the discussion, facilitators may opt to debrief the activity, asking participants how they felt about it and what they feel they've learned.

Criteria for evaluating learning

1. Participants can differentiate institutional oppression from interpersonal oppression or other forms, and can give examples as well as definitions.
2. Participants can identify one or more aspects of monoracist institutional oppression in current institutions.
3. Participants can articulate what institutions might do to become less monoracist.

Justification

Design a Monoracist Institution can help facilitators shift participants' discussion from personal experiences and identity toward identifying collective problems embedded in society. The activity helps participants understand the concept of "institutional oppression" on a functional level, as well as to identify aspects of institutional oppression within contemporary institutions, building interpretive-representational knowledge (Park, 2001). The activity also helps participants collectively identify aspects of monoracism on an institutional level. In addition to building connections between participants through collaborative design-work, the activity also helps participants identify items that could conceivably become part of a collective action or campaign

Caveats and considerations

Facilitators should consider participants' pre-existing knowledge about institutional oppression, as well as their own design preferences, when deciding

when to use Design a Monoracist Institution. If many participants understand the concept of institutional oppression and have already explored or expressed their personal experiences, then facilitators might opt to use the activity relatively early on in a training sequence. However, if most participants have not had an opportunity to share personal experiences or ask questions about multiraciality before, I would suggest offering activities that provide those opportunities first, so that participants can feel closer to one another – and so that unstructured and spontaneous sharing of stories doesn't disrupt Design a Monoracist Institution. Then again, facilitators might make a conscious decision to lead with this activity, to provide a context in which participants can later situate and understand their personal experiences.

APPENDIX K

RACIALBREAD COOKIE CURRICULUM

Racialbread Cookies is adapted from Sangrey's (n.d.) Genderbread Cookie activity, which was created to help participants understand the complexities of gender and critique binary constructions of gender. Lorber (1996) notes that social sciences and broader society tend to assume that a person has one and only one sex, gender, and sexuality, which are fixed and cluster together in particular constellations: "male, man, and attracted to women" and "female, woman, and attracted to men." However, the realities of gender are significantly more complex than this binary-gender system can accurately describe. Lorber (1996) argues that sociologists should differentiate between sex, sexuality and gender, as a means to disrupt this inaccurate and oppressive gender-binary. To similar ends, Sangrey (n.d.) created the Genderbread Cookie activity as a way to disentangle, depolarize, and complicate ideas about sex, gender, and sexuality. I believe that multiracial educator-activists could adapt the Genderbread Cookie activity to help expose and critique the White-Nonwhite system through which racism functions, as well as validating participants' authenticity and complex realities.

Learning goals

1. Participants think about the complex set of aspects that influence racial identity and judgments of "authenticity."
2. Participants reflect on their multiracial identity.
3. Participants reflect on how society's racism socially constructs a false binary of Whites/People of Color.

4. Participants begin to understand the various and sometimes contradictory criteria upon which racialization is based.

Description

The Racialbread Cookie activity consists of three stages: 1) introduction of the model, 2) application of the model, and 3) discussion and reflection. In the first stage, the facilitator presents the image of the Racialbread Cookie and gives a brief lecture explaining the different racialized qualities, the axes running through the Cookie. In the second stage, the participants take a personal copy of the Racialbread Cookie image and map their own identities on the body, representing themselves. In the third stage, the facilitator helps participants discuss their self-representations, their feelings about the activity, and their reflections about racial identity.

In the first stage, the facilitator presents the Racialbread Cookie image, which is a simple line drawing silhouette of a gingerbread person, with a number of horizontal axes drawn through the body, representing continua. Each axis is assigned a label, a factor which society racializes. Examples of aspects might include:

1. phenotype
2. racialized heritage/s
3. racialization/s at birth (e.g., on birth certificate)
4. birth family's racialization/s
5. raised family's racialization/s
6. racialization in [a particular setting]
7. racialized identity
8. racialized expression/behavior

9. racialized social orientation (friends)
10. racialized sexual orientation (to whom you're sexually attracted)
11. nationality/citizenship
12. language
13. cultural capital/fluency[12]

The facilitator should explain that there are various different aspects of who we are, for which society racializes us. Ze[13] should then explain the different aspects that they have chosen for this particular activity (some or all of the aforementioned). On the left side of the axes, is the word "White," and on the right side, are the words "Person of Color." The facilitator should explain that U.S. society defines Whiteness and non-Whiteness (or "Person of Color-ness") as separate and opposite, in relation to each other. Further, because U.S. society expects that races are separate and opposite, it demands that a person be only all one or all the other, with one's answers lining up on one side or the other. For example, U.S. society expects that a White person will "look" White, be born to two White parents, be born White and stay White throughout their life, identify as White, etc. But, ze should point out, for many of people, not just multiracial people, our realities are more complex than the U.S. system of racialization allows. The facilitator should answer questions and help participants understand the model, imperfect though it may be. Ze may also want to leave some of the axes unassigned and solicit additional

[12] For more examples and discussion, see Wijeyesinghe (2001), who presents a model of multiracial identity that accounts for numerous different factors that may influence how a person of multiple racialized heritages identifies themselves.
[13] In this activity, I will use the gender-neutral pronouns "ze" (instead of "he/she") and "hir" (instead of "his/hers," and "him/her") when describing hypothetical persons.

aspects from the audience after explaining. The facilitator should then segue into the second part.

In the second phase, the facilitator should hand out copies of the Racialbread Cookie and ask participants to map out their identities on the different axes.

In the third phase, the facilitator should help participants share and discuss their self-representations, their feelings about the activity, and their reflections about racial identity and how U.S. society racializes people. The facilitator might ask how people would "read" various hypothetical individuals based on their Cookies or how people would read a participant if some aspect of their Cookie were different.

Criteria for evaluating learning

1. Participants can *articulate* the idea that U.S. society racializes people based on various different factors, and that reality is more complex than the system can represent.
2. Participants *articulate* aspects of themselves that they had not previously thought about or associated with one another, using the Racialbread Cookie.
3. Participants *articulate* things they have learned about each other's identities, thoughts and feelings.
4. Participants *feel* better connected to one another.

Justification

This activity aims to help participants learn various kinds of knowledge. First, representational knowledge about the U.S. system of racialization, as well as a more nuanced sense of the criteria for which people may be racialized. The activity

aims to help participants understand the social and often contradictory or arbitrary nature of U.S. racialization, lending to a sense that race is socially constructed, not absolute or biological. Second, reflective knowledge, as participants work to understand their own identities, as well as their thoughts and feelings about U.S. racialization. And third, relational knowledge, as participants share with each other about their identities, experiences, thoughts and feelings. The activity introduces a conceptual model for understanding the nuances of racialization, while helping participants reflect on how racialization and the model impact them, and helping participants learn more about one another.

Caveats and considerations

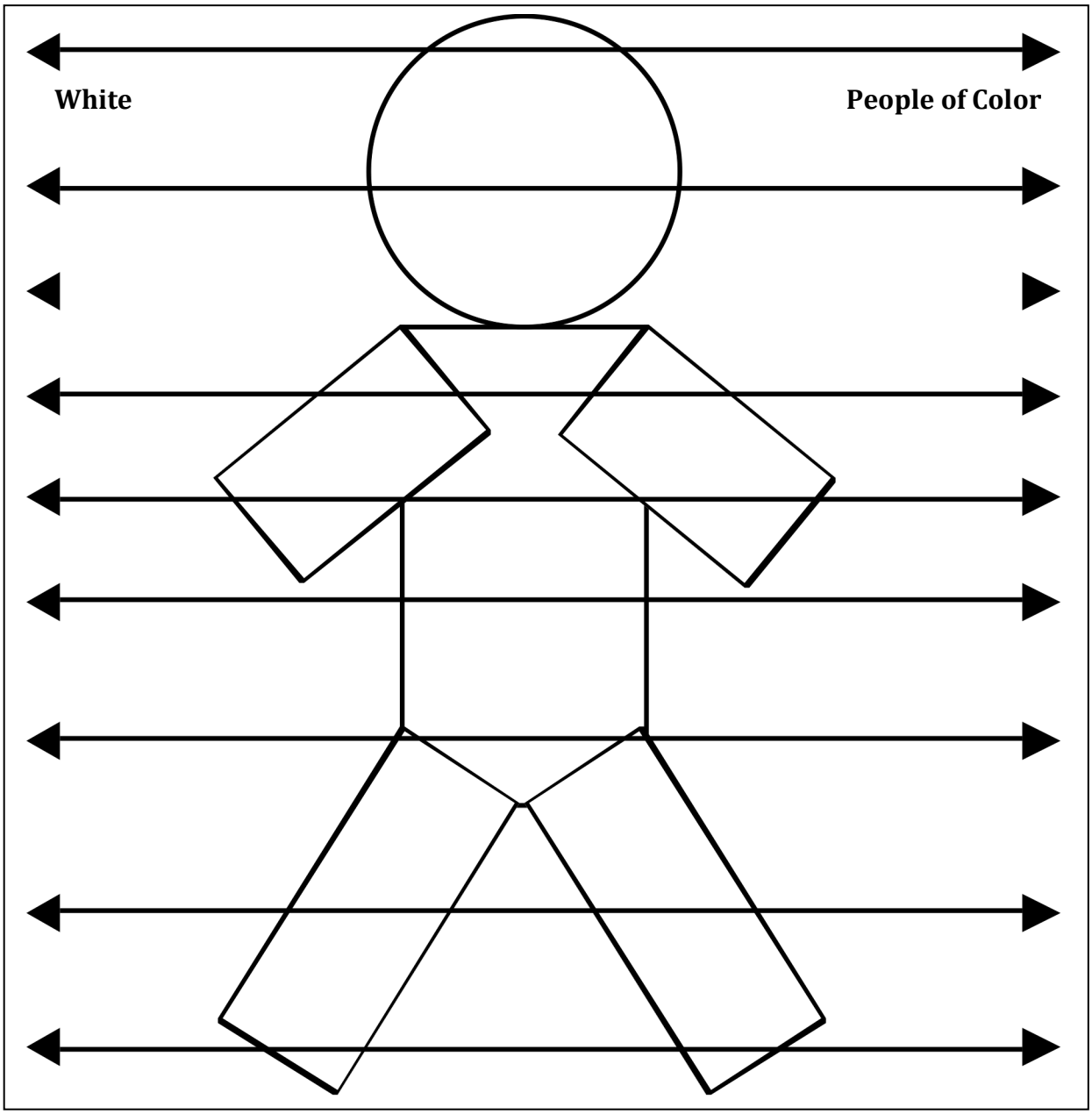
While the Racialbread Cookie activity may help multiracial participants reflect on racialization in the U.S. and validate their own identities by challenging the overly simplistic system, I still see a number of shortcomings in the activity, which I hope other facilitators will join me in considering and working to resolve. Given that the U.S. system of racialization constructs a binary of White-Nonwhite, the activity may tacitly reinforce some aspects of that system even as it attempts to deconstruct other aspects. For example, the activity might be more useful to participants who have some White heritage or cultural connection to Whiteness. The activity overtly names and represents Whiteness as one side of the racialization binary, but may homogenize or hide the complexity and diversity of Communities of Color. For example, how would a multiracial person with Black, Latina, and Asian heritages locate themselves on the continua? Locating hirself on the "People of Color" side of the continua might still not reasonably represent or explore the

complexities of hir experiences. Further, by pre-assigning the factors represented by the continua, the facilitator may be foreclosing discussion on other factors that are important markers for participants. I would also offer that the number of continua on the cookie might be increased or decreased. I expect that field-testing will help other educator-activists and me better understand and improve the activity.

Without having field-tested the activity, I will still offer a few ideas of how we might modify it. First, rather than pre-assigning factors, facilitators might ask participants to "fill-in" or suggest factors to be assigned to the continua; this alone could stir an interesting discussion. Second, facilitators might leave the poles of the continua blank and ask participants to assign them as appropriate for their own experiences (e.g., Black and Asian). However, I would suggest using this variant after using the White-People of Color version, as a fill-in variant might not adequately explore the nature of White Supremacy and Whiteness' role in defining non-Whiteness. Further, in neither the original nor the variant I've offered, would participants be able to articulate more than two identities on the poles (e.g., they could not represent Black, Asian, and White). A friend has suggested perhaps assigning nodes on the continua, in accordance with the U.S.'s constructed racial hierarchy; however, the linearity of the continua still constrains us to a two-dimensional representation of any particular factor. For field-testing, I would suggest doing the original activity, followed by several variants, not only to compare them, but to see what participants learn from doing the variations in different sequences. For example, the facilitator might first provide a pre-fabricated cookie with set axes and poles, then give participants a pre-fabricated cookie with only set

axes and have them fill in the poles with their own heritages, then give participants a blank cookie and have them fill in both the axes and the poles.

The Racialbread Cookie



APPENDIX L

MULTIRACIAL POWER SHUFFLE CURRICULUM

Adapted/created by Eric Hamako, 2002
Time allotted: 68 minutes for activity and discussion.

Instructions:

Establish Ground Rules and Agreements

1. No talking (laughing, pointing, etc.) during the activity portion.
2. If you don't feel comfortable stepping, you are not obligated to do so.
3. No "outing"
4. If you're unclear about the question, interpret it as you will.
5. Confidentiality, no names attached.
6. Other ground rules?

Run the Power Shuffle

EVERYONE, TOE UP ON THE LINE. WE ARE GOING TO READ A SERIES OF STATEMENTS THAT HAVE TO DO WITH SOCIAL PRIVILEGE AND SOCIAL OPPRESSION. THE POINT OF THIS EXERCISE IS NOT TO GET A REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATIONS OF THE PEOPLE IN THIS ROOM, BUT TO LEARN ABOU SOME OF THE ISSUES THAT AFFECT U.S. IN OUR COMMUNITIES. IT'S NOT INTENDED TO BE A DIAGNOSTIC OF ANYONE EXCEPT THE PEOPLE WHO'RE IN THIS ROOM TODAY. BEFORE WE BEGIN, WE'D LIKE TO THANK JEWISH YOUTH FOR COMMUNITY ACTION (JYCA – PRONOUNCED "JAI-KUH"), A LOCAL ORGANIZATION, FOR ITS SUPPORT IN DEVELOPING THIS PARTICULAR VERSION.

WE WANT TO EMPHASIZE TO YOU THAT, IN THIS ACTIVITY, WE'LL BE LOOKING AT MANY ASPECTS OF OUR LIVES THAT WE ARE BORN INTO; MANY OF

THESE ITEMS WE DO NOT CHOOSE FOR OURSELVES, BUT RATHER THEY'RE CHOSEN FOR U.S. WITHOUT OUR CONTROL. SO, WHILE THIS ACTIVITY MAY BRING UP A VARIETY OF FEELINGS, IT IS NOT A MEASURE OF ANYONE'S MORAL GOODNESS OR BADNESS. THESE ARE ISSUES THAT AFFECT U.S. ALL.

REMEMBER OUR GROUND RULES AND AGREEMENTS: CONFIDENTIALITY, AMNESTY, AND THE RIGHT TO PASS.

THIS IS A SILENT, PROGRESSIVE WALK. PLEASE REMAIN SILENT THE WHOLE TIME. IF YOU'RE NOT SURE ABOUT A QUESTION, JUST DECIDE FOR YOURSELF WHETHER OR NOT IT APPLIES TO YOU.

PLEASE LISTEN TO THE STATEMENT AND THEN TAKE ONE STEP FORWARD OR BACK ACCORDING TO THE INSTRUCTIONS – RATHER THAN TAKING A BIG STEP, PLEASE JUST PUT ONE FOOT IN FRONT OR BEHIND THE OTHER. IF THE STATEMENT DOESN'T APPLY TO YOU, JUST STAND STILL. REMEMBER TO BREATHE AND NOTICE WHO IS STANDING NEAR YOU.

-*After each item, say,* NOTICE WHAT THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS COME UP FOR YOU. TAKE A LOOK AROUND YOU, SEE WHAT YOU NOTICE.

Items for the Power Shuffle

Take a step forward if you are over 18 years old and younger than 67 years old.

Take a step forward if you are male.

Take a step forward if you identify as male or female.

Take a step forward if you are comfortable with the gender assigned to me at birth.

Take a step forward if you are comfortable with the body assigned to you at birth.

Take a step back if you have experienced physical or sexual violence.

Take a step forward if you are heterosexual.

Take a step forward if you are a male dating a female or a female dating a male.

Take a step back if you have ever had to hide or lie about your sexual orientation.

Take a step forward if you are Christian and/or Catholic.

Take a step forward if you are literate.

Take a step forward if you speak Standard American English.

Take a step back if you speak with an accent.

Take a step forward if you attend or have attended private school.

Take a step forward if you have graduated from High School.

Take a step forward if you have graduated from College.

Take a step forward if you attend or have graduated from Graduate School.

Take a step back if you are the first person in your family to go to college.

Take a step forward if your ancestors came to the U.S. by choice (not as refugees or as slaves).

Take a step forward if your parents speak English and are literate.

Take a step forward if both of your parents were born in the U.S.

Take a step forward if you were born in the U.S.

Take a step forward if you are a U.S. Citizen.

Take a step forward if you are from the East Coast or the West Coast.

Take a step back if you are from a rural area.

NOTICE WHERE YOU ARE STANDING… TAKE A DEEP BREATH… FEEL WHAT IT'S LIKE TO BE STANDING WHERE YOU ARE… THINK ABOUT THE MESSAGES THAT YOU'VE RECEIVED ABOUT STANDING WHERE YOU ARE… REMEMBER THAT YOU ARE GOOD NO MATTER WHERE YOU ARE STANDING ON THIS LINE.

Take a step forward if you were raised by both of your birth parents.

Take a step back if you were adopted by your parent or parents.

Take a step forward if you were raised by two parents.

Take a step back if you are a single parent.

Take a step forward if at least one of your parents has a stable job.

Take a step forward if your parent or parents' income is more than $40,000.

Take a step back if your family has ever received government assistance.

Take a step forward if your parents are college educated.

Take a step back if anyone in your family is or has been incarcerated.

Take a step forward if your parents paid for your education.

Take a step forward if your parents are or will be financially supporting you.

Take a step forward if you have a home to live in.

Take a step back if you have ever been homeless.

Take a step forward if you own or are buying your own home.

Take a step forward if you have a full-time job or, by choice, you work part-time or not at all.

Take a step forward if you have a car.

Take a step forward if you have medical insurance.

Take a step forward if your home has a computer with internet access.

Take a step back if you have ever been incarcerated.

Take a step forward if other people consider you attractive.

Take a step forward if you are of average height (or taller) for your gender.

Take a step forward if you can fit in an airplane seat.

Take a step forward if you are quote-unquote "able-bodied."

Take a step back if you have a learning disability.

Take a step back if you do not have a life-threatening or chronic illness or disability.

NOTICE WHERE YOU ARE STANDING… TAKE A DEEP BREATH… FEEL WHAT IT'S LIKE TO BE STANDING WHERE YOU ARE… THINK ABOUT THE MESSAGES THAT YOU'VE RECEIVED ABOUT STANDING WHERE YOU ARE… REMEMBER THAT YOU ARE GOOD NO MATTER WHERE YOU ARE STANDING ON THIS LINE.

Take a step forward if you are white.

Take a step forward if you can "pass" as White.

Take a step back if you are or were the only person of your race or ethnicity in your grade in school.

Take a step back if anyone has ever told you "go back to your own country."

Take a step back if you have been followed in a store.

Take a step back if you have ever been stopped, harassed, or arrested by the police.

Take a step forward if you are monoracial or monoethnic.

Take a step back if you are of more than two ethnicities.

Take a step forward if your API heritage is East Asian (Japanese, Chinese, Korean).

Take a step back if your API heritage is South Asian, Southeast Asian, Central Asian, West Asian, or Pacific Islander.

Take a step forward if one of your parents is white.

Take a step back if one of your parents is of African, Latin American, South American, Caribbean, Native American, or Arab descent.

Take a step forward if you can "pass" as a member of one of your ethnicities.

Take a step back if someone has ever challenged or disbelieved you about your ethnicity.

Take a step forward if your parent or parents talked with you about being multiethnic or "mixed."

Take a step back if you have ever had to fill out a form that did not recognize or forced you to omit one or more of your ethnic identities.

Take a step forward if you knew at least one other "mixed" person, growing up.

Take a step forward if you are lighter-skinned than your siblings.

Take a step back if you have experienced racism from members of your family.

Take a step forward if you are a member of an organization for multiethnic people or have participated in events for multiethnic people before.

THANK YOU. PLEASE STAY WHERE YOU ARE AND CONTINUE FACING FORWARD.

Group Discussion

1. People in the front, what do you see? People in the back, what do you see?
2. People in the front, how do you feel? People in the back, how do you feel? People in the middle, how do you feel?
3. How do you feel about your location? How do you feel about the people near you? How do you feel about people in other locations?
4. Do you see any patterns or trends in where people are located? What might that mean?

NOW LET'S GET BACK INTO A CIRCLE.

7. Were there any questions that really struck you or made you think?
8. How did it feel to participate in this activity?
9. What do you think this activity is about?
10. How do you relate this activity to Ward Connerly's "Racial Privacy Initiative"?
11. What challenges to you think hapa communities face? How does this activity highlight those challenges?

12. How can we work to overcome the challenges that face hapa communities?

ADDITIONAL OPTIONAL QUESTIONS:

13. What does it mean to "succeed?" What does it mean to people in general? What does it mean to you, personally?
14. What factors influence our ability to achieve "success?"
15. What aspects of social power and privilege were tapped in this activity?
16. What other dimensions of social power and privilege can you think of, which might not have been tapped in this activity?
17. Are all dimensions of social power and privilege equally influential? What changes the relative influence of a dimension of social power and privilege?

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