

## Global Mixed Race

### *An Introduction*

STEPHEN SMALL AND REBECCA C. KING-O'RIAIN

US President Barack Obama is an international figure with a widely recognized multiracial and multinational history. He is also seen as perhaps the single most powerful “mixed-race” individual in the world.<sup>1</sup> However, his work as a community activist, his religious and social affiliations and his cultural activities, are clearly focused primarily on African Americans and Obama defines himself as African American—publicly, politically, and perhaps personally. At the same time, Obama talks openly about the fact that his father is Black and from Kenya and that his mother is White and from Kansas but that his mixed origins are not the most important component of his identity. So to what extent are Barack Obama’s mixed origins of social significance if he doesn’t identify himself as such? If people of mixed origins mobilize to highlight his mixed origins, should he be expected to respond? He is not the only person to downplay their mixed origins. Besides, historically, isn’t everyone mixed? If so, then what is the big deal?

What is “mixed race” anyway? We use the term “mixed” in this book for people who feel they are descended from and attached to two or more socially significant groups. The term should be read with assumed scare quotes around it, to signify recognition of its socially bound nature. For simplicity’s sake we do not use actual scare quotes throughout the text. We have capitalized *Black* and *White* throughout the book where the terms are applied to racialized groups, but have left them in lowercase when used as nonracial adjectives.

*Global Mixed Race* presents new, empirical data collected from around the world primarily from outside of the US. We use the North

American experiences and histories as a backdrop to assess the ways people of mixed descent identify, speak, defy, and bolster identities in other countries. We pay particular attention to the ways that these experiences help us think through how we see and engage with social differences such as the relationship between physical appearance and ethnicity (in Mexico), gender (in Trinidad and Tobago), or religious identity (in Kazakhstan). Do critical and comparative explorations of the experience of mixing undo meanings of race and challenge standard modernist categories of identity? Not always.

But should all people of mixed descent (usually defined as immediately descended from two racialized discrete and identifiable groups) be expected to identify as being mixed? Besides, what is the difference between mixed ethnicity and mixed race? How do tradition and power fit into the equation? We find answers from many different nations while keeping in mind the tragic and bloody colonial encounters across national boundaries (for example, transatlantic slavery) that have formed the foundations on which we have come to understand the multiracial experience in some places.

In *Global Mixed Race* we compare the status and identity of mixed people within a global framework in order to better understand how race, ethnicity, culture, class, and gender work in local and national contexts within a global world. We unpack how some of the concepts just mentioned get constructed, used, or thwarted in different contexts. In each chapter we ask: How has globalization and the role of the state (among other things) affected the mixed experience in each country or context and what are the similarities/differences across countries?

Mixed people have always existed, but what is new, we argue, is the expanding populations of mixed people, as well as the increasing recognition and visibility of mixed people and identities within contemporary societies. In particular, we highlight how mixed people have been used as emblems of multiculturalism—as “chic” and “new” and how those ideas are commodified (particularly on mixed-race bodies) within global capitalism while at the same time being seen as suspect because they are considered not pure or “inauthentic.”<sup>2</sup>

While President Obama may not embrace or publicize his mixed origins, there are many other individuals and groups today that do. In South Africa, for example, people of mixed origins were able to carve

for themselves a distinctive social and economic position in society, with privileges over people without mixed origins presumed to be “pure” Blacks. With vigorous endorsement by the dominant White power structure, mixed people became a buffer group between a small number of elite and powerful Whites, and a large number of exploited and oppressed Blacks.

People of mixed African and European origins across Brazil and the Caribbean also highlighted their mixed origins from the early days of colonial conquest. Evidence from surveys in the US and the UK indicate that, increasingly, people with mixed origins are far more likely to reject a monoracial identity and embrace a mixed identity.<sup>3</sup> There is similar evidence that this is true as well for people of mixed origins in Germany, the Netherlands, and France. In Asia, *haafu* celebrity actors, athletes, and musicians, like traditional *enka* singer *Jero* in Japan, also highlight their mixed origins.

However, many individuals of mixed origins hide their mixed background due to shame, guilt, or fear of persecution in Japan, Vietnam, and Malaysia. Why do some groups highlight their origins and others do not? What are the key factors that shape both individual and group identities of mixed origins? Some individuals and groups may see it as an advantage, often providing status, privilege, and resources, including legal rights. Others may see it as a disadvantage, having confronted stigma, discrimination, hostility, and persecution. Yet for others being mixed is neither a meaningful nor significant identity. But what drives these differences?

### Mixing across the Globe or Global Mixed Race?

The nature and responses of mixing racialized and/or ethnic identities have varied tremendously in different parts of the world and within specific social contexts over time. In the US, interracial dating and marriage were once illegal and socially disdained by Whites, but at the same time, widely practiced clandestinely by White men; as a result, a population of mixed origins with distinct and prominent communities emerged across the southern US. Dramatic changes have resulted from the Civil Rights Movement, Black Power, and the Women’s Movement.<sup>4</sup> Since the last laws against interracial marriage ended in 1967, patterns

of residential and educational segregation changed significantly, and the social acceptance of people of mixed origins has increased dramatically across the nation.<sup>5</sup>

In Brazil, mixed-race people have been a major demographic group in the national identity for centuries.<sup>6</sup> Throughout the twentieth century, people of mixed descent most frequently distanced themselves from Brazil's Black population. And yet in recent decades, there is evidence that many of them are increasingly rejecting a mixed identity and embracing a Black identity. Much of this trend, we are told, has been shaped by significant influences on these groups from the United States, most notably the Black Power movement. Across other areas of Latin America—as well as in the Caribbean—populations of mixed origins have long occupied an intermediate position, with relative power of various kinds.<sup>7</sup>

In East Asia, where patterns have been different, people of mixed origins have often been rejected.<sup>8</sup> People of mixed descent who are products of the long Western military presence in Japan and Okinawa, or the presence of other ethnic groups such as Koreans in Japan, are often seen as problematic in Japanese society, which is based on a strong ideology of racial purity.<sup>9</sup> For many years, people of mixed descent in Japan were denied public recognition, since they did not have 100 percent Japanese ancestry or at times even Japanese family names and therefore could not attain Japanese citizenship.<sup>10</sup> With increased globalization, these patterns are changing.

Clearly then, racial, ethnic, religious, linguistic, and national mixing has been around for centuries.<sup>11</sup> It reflects patterns of power, migration, conquest, and colonization. In several key nations where significant numbers of people of mixed origins developed out of these interactions they have been studied for some time.<sup>12</sup> So if mixing has been around so long, what is new about it? And what does a book like this have to add to the analysis and debates?

A study of people of mixed origins across nations raises fascinating questions about the changing social construction of race, the changing social significance attached to mixed origins, and the changing relevance of biology and genetics. It raises questions about the role of individuals and the role of communities and institutions, and the ways in which social context (including laws, politics, and social acceptance) works to

shape attitudes and behavior. This book places these processes in the context of the dramatic changes in nations across the world that have been created by the dizzying pace of international migration and globalization.

### Why Globalization?

But what has been the impact of global forces on people of mixed descent? Is there a global mixed race? Globalization involves highly complex political, economic, and cultural dimensions. The movement of populations and the movement of ideas have deep racial and cultural dimensions including increased sexual contact; dating and marriages across racial, ethnic, and national boundaries; and far greater social acceptance and social circulation of ideas about mixing.

What are some of the dimensions of globalization that directly shape the experiences and expressed identities of people of mixed racial descent? One tenet of globalization is that alongside deterritorialization the processes described broadly as hybridity (seen as cultural, ethnic, and racial blending) are increasingly a defining characteristic of globalization.<sup>13</sup> With increasing hybridity, there has been an increasing social acceptance of mixed cultural identities (both individual and collective) across the world. This acceptance is far more common and far more widespread than in the past. Thus, the idea of having multiple allegiances to multiple racial or ethnic groups is more socially accepted, if unevenly expressed across national boundaries. We explore the contours, the social texture, and the cultural fabric of these patterns.

There has been massive population movement since the end of the Second World War. Large numbers of people have moved in search of work, others as students, still others as refugees. Thousands of workers are involved in foreign nations for humanitarian projects. Substantial numbers of men and women travel abroad for the far more dubious purposes of sex tourism. Many women migrate and settle in other nations to carry out care work or sex work.<sup>14</sup> International dating and marriage add another significant dimension to this mix. Gender shapes all these movements and relationships, as do racial and gender stereotypes such as the image of submissive, passionate, erotic Asian women, highly sexualized Brazilian or Caribbean women and powerful, independent, economically successful White men.<sup>15</sup>

Some people move long distances and stay permanently; others move short distances and commute back and forth. Whichever pattern prevails, new sexual, emotional, and marital relationships, including same sex relationships, have developed. Some of these movements have added new ethnic, national, and religious mixes to long-established populations. Other movements have introduced entirely new mixed populations to nations and contexts that typically represented themselves as monoracial.

In addition to the facts of migration, the social significance of being mixed is also affected more and more by the flow of racial ideas across the world. The frequency of interracial dating and marriage, the size and visibility of people of mixed racial origins, including celebrities, and the greater tendency to express pride in mixed-heritage backgrounds have all become far more visible—for example, in media (movies, television, music, magazines, and literature), online and web communications, censuses, conferences, and a wide range of academic studies. While most images in the past were created by people who are not of mixed origins, today more and more people of mixed origins are at the forefront of the production and dissemination of such images. For example, there are increasing numbers of images of race mixing in popular culture and we see relationships and people of mixed racial descent prominently normalized in movies and on television. There is also a growing interest in novels, poems, and memoirs written by people of mixed race<sup>16</sup> and many international beauty pageants are becoming dominated by women of mixed origins. The allure of mixed race has become chic and the marketing of “*Generation E.A.: Ethnically Ambiguous*” has become big money.<sup>17</sup> How are these images used to sell products and ideas premised on unrealistic ideas of multiculturalism? To what extent have mixed bodies been used to further neoliberal ideologies of choice and multiculturalism without tackling the lived experiences of marginalization and discrimination that people of mixed descent may encounter?

In online and web communications, issues of mixed-descent identity, experiences, and expressions are more and more common. Men seek women (sometimes of color) online to have sex, date, or enter into long-term relationships. Websites have been set up to celebrate mixed-race identity. Other websites increase contact across cities, regions, and nations and the use of webcam technology such as Skype has brought

mixed families across the globe into closer communication with one another.<sup>18</sup> In all these areas of popular culture, ideas about mixedness are circulating internationally and globally and may become embedded in nation-state apparatuses through censuses, government policies, ideas, and ideologies about race that have traveled the globe.<sup>19</sup>

Another goal of *Global Mixed Race* is to raise the level of discussion about the interaction between long-established patterns of mixed-race interactions and identities, for example, in the context of conquest and colonization, and about new patterns of migration in an age of national independence, quotidian international jet travel, and the global network of media and communications now available. Globalization has expanded and speeded up processes of recognizing mixedness that were already well under way. Old and new patterns are clearly not identical, linear, or developmental. The forced contact and unrecognized social status for mixed people in places that experienced colonialism in the past are very different from newer patterns that involve far more voluntary, cosmopolitan, and socially accepted or even valorized patterns of mixing. But several things are distinctly new including the far greater contemporary flow of racial ideas and the growing tolerance and choice to identify as mixed. There is a unique mixed experience coming out of these patterns as state borders become more porous and people and ideas move around more quickly. One notable development is the way in which people of mixed origins are working together across national borders to organize social support, rights movements, and increasing media exposure to push back against state institutions that try to make them chose just one identity on passports, in racial/ethnic record keeping in schools, and for census enumeration.

### Getting Out of the Box

Historically most research on mixed-race people has taken place in the United States. Secondary sites in terms of the volume of the literature include Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United Kingdom. We address the latter three areas, but we have left the United States out of our analysis because such a heavy preponderance of study has taken place there. Instead we take our inquiry to other parts of Europe, including Germany, to Canada, to Japan, and to Africa and Central Asia using the United States as a backdrop and comparator.

We examine nations with long-established, large, socially distinct, and visible populations of mixed origins, for example, in nations like Zambia, Brazil, Mexico, Trinidad and Tobago, and Kazakhstan. We also investigate countries where socially recognized and publicly visible distinctive populations of mixed origins are of relatively recent origin, like Great Britain, Germany, Canada, and Japan. We recognize and accept that from a historical perspective many, even most, nations, have involved significant patterns of racial, ethnic, and national mixing. But we believe it's clear that these nations reveal different and even divergent patterns of the circumstances in which mixing happened (colonization, conquest, military occupation, economic migration) and the social significance attached to such mixing (for example, the introduction of laws to forbid mixing or the celebration of ethnic chic). On the other hand, there has been a range of responses by and on behalf of populations of mixed origins. Therefore, this book analyzes some of the ways in which these variations have occurred and assesses their significance in a globalizing world, identifying the various ways in which forces of globalization have disrupted, changed, or expanded historically entrenched patterns.

We explore the dynamics of mixed-descent issues in these places, and do so in a way that highlights common as well as diverging issues across various parts of the world today. We identify the racial and ethnic definitions of these groups, including externally imposed definitions (by academics, politicians, policy makers, and media commentators) and self-definitions; we consider some of the unique issues that currently affect these groups in specific nations; and we consider common issues and themes pertaining to these populations across the various social, geographical, and national contexts.

The impact of global forces on these groups is a central theme in this book. This includes a focus on the wide range of population movements in the last fifty years, and many of the ways in which changing nation boundaries, (for example, the end of the Soviet Union) have had an impact on people of mixed origins. What do these local or national idiosyncrasies tell us about mixed-origin issues in the global order? And how are the increased dynamics of globalization affecting the lives and social placements of people of mixed descent?

## The Contribution of Globalizing Mixed Race

The analyses in this book proceed along four areas of inquiry: a consideration of the historical growth of mixed populations in a range of nations in all their unique trajectories; a consideration of the nature and dynamics of each context in the present period; a comparison of important experiences and issues attendant upon mixed-origin groups in a variety of social and political contexts around the globe; and a consideration of the impact of the key dynamics of globalization on people of mixed descent and the meaning of racial mixedness in particular.

The analysis across chapters is undertaken on two overlapping levels. One is the popular level of on-the-ground experiences, activities, issues, discussions, and groups. That is, authors seek to explain who the people of mixed racial descent are in each context, what they are doing and saying, how they are experiencing their racial mixedness, and how issues of mixed identity are being discussed and debated in the public sphere of media and politics. In particular, we seek to ascertain whether mixedness has gone global and how the debates and experiences are being influenced by global trends.

The second level of analysis is academically oriented. Authors seek to identify and evaluate analysts of the mixed phenomenon in various contexts. What are their arguments and issues? What are the concepts that they use and how do analysts of experiences of mixed descent in these various places position themselves regarding the concept of race? That is, do they reify race? Are they opposed to using the concept of race? Do they position themselves as post-race? In each context, what are the main disciplines being brought to bear on the analysis of mixed-descent issues?

## Overview of the Contents of the Book

*Global Mixed Race* begins with an overall comparison of 141 countries in terms of their racial and ethnic categorization. In chapter 1, “Multi-raciality and Census Classification in Global Perspective,” Ann Morning compares the racial or ethnic categorization of mixed people and examines how mixed-race people are classified and recognized in censuses in countries across the globe. Morning demonstrates that most

countries permit some form of mixed identification. They do so in two different ways: (1) self-identification through open-ended response formats or (2) an indication of mixed background by selecting either multiple choices, a generic mixed option, or specific combinations of racial background. Terms that enumerate ethnicity and race include *ethnicity*, *nationality*, *race*, *indigenous group*, *ancestry*, and *cultural group*. Morning argues that such approaches to racial classification have repercussions for how mixed-race people identify themselves, and they reflect the political and social processes that inform them.

We proceed then to look more specifically at social contexts where there has been a recognized history of mixing: Zambia, Trinidad and Tobago, Kazakhstan, Brazil, Australia, and Mexico. We then turn to societies with newer populations of mixedness: Japan/Okinawa, Germany, the UK, and Canada.

Juliette Milner-Thornton, in chapter 2, “Rider of Two Horses’: Eurafricans in Zambia,” explains the historical and contemporary processes of identity formation in Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) of the mixed-descent colored community. She finds that so-called Coloureds accused of *riding two horses*, claiming to be African or European depending on social and political goals, were criticized for incorporating not their African, but their European lineages in their cultural practices. *Eurafrican* (recognizing the parentage of British fathers and African mothers) was not a label available to many of mixed descent and the official recognition of British paternity and citizenship was not bestowed upon them. Using an autoethnographic and historical approach, Milner-Thornton demonstrates the enduring legacies of imperial ideologies of race, gender, class, and categorization in the postcolonial context by exploring coloredness in Zambia through tracing Eurafricans’ progressive adoption of *Coloured* in their political campaigns to the local British administration and its current application as an ethnic categorization in Zambia.

In chapter 3, “Split Me in Two’: Gender, Identity, and ‘Race Mixing’ in the Trinidad and Tobago Nation,” Rhoda Reddock demonstrates that the number of those identifying as mixed in the national census is growing. The term *mixed* has shifted from those of African European, *creole* descent to also mean those of African Indian (South Asian) descent, known as *douglas*. Looking at race mixing in the popular imagination

(culture, music, and discourse), Reddock shows how race mixing has permeated the national discourse of Trinidad and Tobago as a mixed nation and how this contributes to continued notions of colorism and gendered sexual competition.

In chapter 4, “In the Laboratory of Peoples’ Friendship: Mixed People in Kazakhstan from the Soviet Era to the Present,” Saule Ualiyeva and Adrienne Edgar focus on the former Soviet Republic. Independent since 1991, modern-day Kazakhstan promotes itself as a global blend of East and West and a stable economy within the central Asian region, with mixedness promoted as one source of its success. This rise in the appreciation of mixing has coexisted alongside a resurgence of Kazakh consciousness, particularly in terms of pride in the Kazakh language. Religion also continues to be a salient issue in marriage decisions. Kazakhstan provides a fascinating counterexample of mixing in a non-Western context unlike ones that are the focus of so many accounts; here former Soviet notions of ethnicity and nationality prevail but race does not.

Brazil has long been recognized as a multiracial nation and, in fact, much of the narrative about the nation is premised on the mixing of racial and ethnic groups. However, G. Reginald Daniel and Andrew Michael Lee find in chapter 5, “Competing Narratives: Race and Multiraciality in the Brazilian Racial Order,” that since the 1970s, the Black movement has articulated a binary racial project that combines Black and multiracial individuals into a single African Brazilian category distinct from Whites to heighten awareness of and mobilize opposition to the racial discrimination that exists in Brazil. In the early twenty-first century, various individuals, along with Brazil’s Multiracial Movement, countered with a narrative supporting Brazil’s ternary racial order. The goal has been to defend and reassert the historical process of racial blending that has characterized the Brazilian people as well as to affirm the right of individuals and the nation by extension to identify as multiracial. The chapter ends by analyzing Brazilian racial formation and national identity, particularly as they relate to ongoing formations of Blackness and Whiteness.

We next move to Australia and New Zealand, both settler societies, where a conversation about personal biography and “whom we think we are” involves, as always, a mixed dimension. Through an

examination of testimonies from “light-skinned” Aboriginal people and Australians of color, Farida Fozdar and Maureen Perkins argue in chapter 6, “Antipodean Mixed Race: Australia and New Zealand,” that both race and mixed race are important categories for thinking about the lives of Australians and New Zealanders. They focus on how globalization has produced a need for authenticity among indigenous populations with mixed heritages despite Australia’s thirty-year history as an officially multicultural society. They also find that, in a global context, mixed-race individuals may have more of a cosmopolitan orientation than those who are monoracial.

In chapter 7, “Negotiating Identity Narratives among Mexico’s Cosmic Race,” Christina Sue examines how Mexican *mestizos* of varying colors construct their identities within the context of a national ideology of race mixture. She shows how “light-skinned” *mestizos* claim mixed-race status as a strategy to wed themselves to the nation at little to no social cost, while simultaneously reaping the social benefits of their “light skin.” Darker-skinned *mestizos*, on the other hand, stress a mixed-race identity, but as a means of highlighting their European origins. Both of these groups are far less aware of the specifics of their non-European ancestors. Consequently, individuals turn to another information source—Mexico’s national ideology that centralizes the Indigenous root of the Mexican mixture—to inform their understandings of their own mixed-race backgrounds. As such, this chapter presents a concrete case of how and when national citizens use official ideology to inform their understandings of their own identities.

From these older mixed-race societies, we move to societies that some might not think about in terms of mixing. In chapter 8, “Multiraciality and Migration: Mixed-Race American Okinawans, 1945–1972,” Lily Anne Yumi Welty bases her research on interviews with people of mixed descent in Okinawa, a militarized doubly postcolonial context (having been occupied both by the US military and Japan) in the Pacific. She finds that for mixed-race Okinawans immigration is not one-way but rather back and forth, and that these individuals have transnational lives, which contributes to their transnational, multiracial, and multicultural identities.

In chapter 9, “The Curious Career of the One-Drop Rule: Multiraciality and Membership in Germany Today,” Miriam Nandi and Paul

Spickard find that the specifics of German history culturally predispose Germany to reject explicit discussion of race, while the country has nonetheless adopted a one-drop rule, defining as German people who have only the smallest shred of actual German ancestry, language, or culture. However, the same cannot be said for mixed people whose non-German ancestry comes from darker, more pigment-rich places, even when they were born and raised in Germany and perform German culture perfectly. They remain racialized Others within German society. The chapter examines the position of Black Germans historically and at present, and the racialization of people of mixed German and Turkish, German and Arab, German and Mexican, and German and South Asian ancestry. It contrasts their situations to those of other interviewees, who mix German parentage with Irish or Dutch. The former group are all racialized as foreigners; it is to the latter only that the one-drop rule of German ancestry works. Not surprisingly, the difference is race. And most ethnic Germans really don't want to talk about it.

In Chapter 10, "Capturing 'Mixed Race' in the Decennial UK Censuses: Are Current Approaches Sustainable in the Age of Globalization and Superdiversity?" Peter Aspinall and Miri Song present data from the UK at the crossroads of official state-level racial categorizations and individual personal categorizations by people of mixed descent. They find that *official* British conceptualizations are increasingly challenged by the preferred descriptors used by mixed-race people and also by the growing diversity of the population. Their chapter focuses on how different types of mixed people understand and articulate their identifications. They question the salience of race, more generally, as a marker of difference in relation to the lived experiences of many mixed people in Britain today. They tackle the disjuncture between official categories (as used in the census) and the ethnic and racial terms and understandings used by young mixed people themselves.

In chapter 11, "Exporting the Mixed-Race Nation: Mixed-Race Identities in the Canadian Context," Minelle Mahtani, Dani Kwan-Lafond, and Leanne Taylor show how Canada's multiculturalism, enshrined in its constitution, actually plays out in mixed unions with the population of mixed descent on the rise. This chapter asks how mixed-race people in Canada understand multiculturalism and a series of related questions: How multicultural policy facilitates celebratory readings of

mixed-race identities, while simultaneously reinforcing discourses of race and ethnicity that maintain traditional understandings of monoraciality? How is continued social inequality understood in a multicultural Canada? And what is the particular experience of the Métis people, that is, individuals who identify as being of both First Nations and French ancestry?

We conclude in chapter 12 with an examination of social-identity categories and the processes both of *identity declaration* and *identity differentiation and categorization* by tracing how racial ideas travel from place to place. We analyze mixed experiences at different levels of social analysis such as at the national level in Mexico and Brazil, in terms of governmentality in Kazakhstan, in terms of citizenship and national identity in Zambia, in terms of racial/ethnic categorization in the UK, and transnationally across countries such as linkages between the US and Okinawa.

There is evidence that many mixed people across the globe still must choose one and only one identity even where there is state valorization of mixedness. The experiences vary, but there are still racial hierarchies that are unequal along racial lines and in some cases mixed people lose out. Sometimes mixed people embrace multiple identities, but often they identify themselves monoracially out of necessity. Does this make a global mixed-race community or collective identity across the globe? Not necessarily, but there are issues of global discrimination, commodification, and commercialization that have rallied and united mixed people on certain issues and experiences through the global flow of racial ideas.

We also find that, despite predictions that the role of nation-states would decline, in many places the role of the state is still strong. However, even nation-states that say they are multicultural and mixed still struggle to make good on this claim—to be mixed in fact, not in name only. So what is it like to be mixed in the increasingly global world in which we live? Let's find out.

## NOTES

1. We wish to acknowledge the generous support of a grant in aid of publication from the National University of Ireland.
2. Matthews, "Eurasian Persuasions: Mixed Race, Performativity and Cosmopolitanism"; Haritaworn, "Caucasian and Thai Make a Good Mix."
3. Ali, *Mixed-Race, Post-Race: Gender, New Ethnicities and Cultural Practices*; Parker and Song, *Rethinking "Mixed Race."*
4. Wilson, *The Declining Significance of Race*; Collins, *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender and the New Racism.*
5. DaCosta, *Making Multiracials: State, Family and Market in the Redrawing of the Color Line.*
6. Degler, *Neither Black Nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States*; Daniel, *Race and Multiraciality in Brazil and the United States: Converging Paths?*; Loveman, "The Race to Progress: Census-Taking and Nation-Making in Brazil 1870–1920."
7. Whitten and Torres, *Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean, Vol. II: Eastern South America and the Caribbean*; Reddock, "Jahaji Bhai: The Emergence of a Douglha Poetics in Trinidad and Tobago"; Premdas, *Identity, Ethnicity and Culture in the Caribbean.*
8. Spickard, *Mixed Blood: Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth Century America.*
9. Lie, *Multiethnic Japan.*
10. Armstrong, "Racialisation and Nationalist Ideology: The Japanese Case."
11. Elam, *The Souls of Mixed Folk: Race, Politics, and Aesthetics in the New Millennium.*
12. Spickard. *Mixed Blood: Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in the Twentieth Century America*; Spickard and Daniel, *Racial Thinking in the United States: Uncompleted Independence.*
13. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*; Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture.*
14. Kempadoo, *Sun, Sex, and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean*; Cabezas, *Economies of Desire: Sex and Tourism in Cuba and the Dominican Republic.*
15. Padilla et. al., *Love and Globalization: Transformations of Intimacy in the Contemporary World*; Constable, *Cross-Border Marriages: Gender and Mobility in Transnational Asia*; Childs, *Fade to Black and White: Interracial Images in Popular Culture.*
16. Fulbeck, *Part Asian, 100% Hapa*; Marchetti, *Romance and the "Yellow Peril": Race, Sex, and Discursive Strategies in Hollywood Fiction*; Childs, *Fade to Black and White: Interracial Images in Popular Culture*; Hugel - Marshall, *Invisible Woman: Growing up Black in Germany.*
17. La Ferla, "Generation E.A.: Ethnically Ambiguous"; Spencer, "Mixed-Race Chic."

18. King-O'Riain, "Globalization, Emotional Ties, and Digital Technology: Skyping and the Intimate Transnational Practices of International Couples and Families."
19. Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics*; Morning, "Ethnic Classification in Global Perspective: A Cross-National Survey of the 2000 Census Round."