The London School of Economics and Political Science

INSIDE THE BOX: ETHNIC CHOICE AND ETHNIC CHANGE FOR MIXED PEOPLE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Tze Ming Mok

A thesis submitted to the Department of Social Policy
of the London School of Economics and Political Science
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
London, December 2019

To my father Pui Meng Mok
(1947-2018)

DECLARATION

I certify that the thesis I have presented for examination for the PhD degree of the London School of Economics and Political Science is solely my own work other than where indicated that it is the work of others (in which case the extent of any work carried out jointly by me and any other person is clearly identified in it).

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. Quotation from it is permitted, provided that full acknowledgement is made. This thesis may not be reproduced without my prior written consent.

I warrant that this authorisation does not, to the best of my belief, infringe the rights of any third party.

I declare that my thesis consists of 88,807 words.

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores why do people with multiple ethnic ancestry variously identify as 'White', mixed or as non-mixed minorities in the Census, surveys, and daily life, and why they change their reported ethnic group, using data from Understanding Society: The UK Household Longitudinal Study, and the ONS Longitudinal Study (ONS LS), as well as qualitative interviews. Analysis revealed an unexpected pattern of working class 'White' choices and of more privileged 'Mixed' choices for those who reported having one White and one non-White parent. Moreover, among those who ever chose a 'Mixed' category in two waves of the Census, personal socioeconomic decline in status predicted a destabilisation of mixed choices, and some evidence of moves towards Whiter choices. Qualitative interviews suggested that lower-status White choices were often related to heightened anxieties about racism and exclusion in White working class neighbourhoods. The association between deprivation, sensitivity to risk and context, ethnic change in general, and insecure or defensive White choices in the qualitative data, was potentially explained by the low social trust associated with low socioeconomic status. Meanwhile, secure and stable mixed choices were associated with personal and cultural confidence, and trust in state data collection. This confidence was enabled variously by having a middle class background, having sources of cultural resilience to racism within the family or social networks when young, gains in life experience 'with age', and upward social mobility over time. Racialised social hierarchies may not be replicating via straightforward 'aspirational Whitening' among mixed people within one generation, but are still being reproduced via constructions of Whiteness as a protective identity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS, ACRONYMS AND TERMINOLOGY

Add Health	The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health
ONS	Organisation for National Statistics
ONS LS	ONS Longitudinal Study
Understanding Society	Understanding Society: The UK Household Longitudinal Study

Note on capitalisations

Reference to the 'White' and 'Black' ethnic or racial categories are capitalised as proper nouns referring to generally accepted cultural communities in the UK, as are more specific ethnic terms such as 'Asian'. The terms 'mixed', 'mixed race' or 'multiracial' as used to describe individuals or groups are not capitalised, as the mixed population is not currently considered a specific or single ethnic or cultural community in the context of the UK. However, when referring to the 'Mixed' top-level category in Census or survey data being used, capitalisation is retained.

LIST OF APPENDICES

1 EMPTY BOXES – GAPS IN RESEARCH INTO ETHNIC SELF-CLASSIFICATION FOR MIXED PEOPLE IN THE UK

Intvr: Any questions to start with about the interview?
Resp: Just your list of ethnic groups, I didn't fit into any of those at all.
- *Jack, Indian father, White British mother, 70s.*

1.1 Introduction

In the UK, the population often referred to as 'mixed race' is frequently described as the country's fastest growing minority group (Coleman, 2010; Platt, 2018; Rees, Wohland, Clark, Lomax, & Norman, 2016; Wohland, Rees, Norman, Boden, & Jasinska, 2010), although it is far from a homogeneous population, nor can it be described as an ethnic group on its own.

Recent descriptive statistics have shown that a non-trivial number of people with mixed parentage in the UK are selecting out of 'Mixed' ethnic categories in social surveys (Nandi & Platt, 2014a); and that the churn in and out of these categories in the Census for England and Wales is very high compared to the non-mixed ethnic groups

(Simpson, 2014). However, until the present study, there had been no systematic quantitative analysis of why this might be the case in the UK.

Analysis of ethnic data in the British research community generally assumes that ethnic group is a stable, static or 'time invariant' characteristic. There is low awareness of the scale and variety of ethnic 'options' being exercised by mixed people, or of the phenomenon of reported ethnic group fluctuation or change over time. However, exploring, quantifying and explaining these phenomena have important implications for how researchers analyse inequalities, and for theories of integration and assimilation. If ethnic measurement is not working the way it is intended, researchers need to understand whether certain choices are influenced by social stratification or other structural conditions. This is because measuring the associations between ethnicity, structural conditions and socioeconomic outcomes was the main reason ethnic group measurement was introduced in the contemporary British context (Bulmer, 1986; Coleman, Salt, Peach, & Britain, 1996).

In a practical sense, the lack of British investigation of mixed people's ethnic fluctuation or ethnic options is due to the relatively recent appearance of measures that allow us to detect this phenomenon at all. In the UK, a direct ethnic question first appeared in the Census for England and Wales only in 1991, and did not include any options to specifically express multiple ethnic group or descent. The next Census in 2001 introduced the choice of four 'Mixed or multiple ethnic group' tick-box options. These locally idiosyncratic options, developed after public consultations (Aspinall & Song, 2014), are "White/Black Caribbean", "White/Black African", "White/Asian" and "Any other mixed background". Figure 1-1 below shows all incidences of the ethnic question in the Census 1991-2011. These categories are used in most large British social surveys and in official administrative data collection (Appendix 1.A. provides a typical example of inconsistent use of the categories in gathering administrative public health data). Gathering ethnic group data is seen as a major strand of British and wider Western public policy efforts to reduce social inequalities. This was indeed the impetus to introduce the ethnic question into the England and Wales Census; although its introduction – intended to take place in 1981 – was delayed for ten years due to a lack of trust from some communities who associated the practice of ethnic and racial enumeration with its less virtuous history (Ballard, 1996; Bulmer, 1986).

Indeed, biologically racist origins and socially deterministic uses still have deep implications for how ethnic and racial data is gathered, used and interpreted (L. T. Smith, 1999; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008). DaCosta counts racial classification among the primary mechanisms "through which racial domination is (re)produced", in her influential study on how the US multiracial advocacy movement formed around calls for recognition in the national Census. She called for analysis to "understand how variations in racial classification affect the structure of race relations and processes of group formation and struggle" (DaCosta, 2007, p. 213). This call informs the present study's approach to the 'Mixed' categories in the UK. Importantly, not only do different forms of top-down classification have implications for the structure of racial stratification in society, but so too do the responses of those being classified.

This thesis asks: What are the limits of agency for those in the UK making ethnic choices, and what do their aggregate choices say about social hierarchy as a whole? In research and advocacy focusing on people with multiple ethnicities, or of 'mixed race' in the UK, there is an ongoing tension between utopian post-racialism (Ford, Jolley, Katwala, & Mehta, 2012), and the continuing need for critical analysis of societal, historical and institutional racism (Caballero & Aspinall, 2018). A popular 'bill of rights' that has influenced much qualitative research emphasizes that people with multiple ethnic ancestry must be free to interpret and choose their own identities, and not be defined or constrained by specific ancestral origins (M. Root, 1993). But how 'free' are these choices, what does one choice or another reflect about a person's life, and does the choice itself make any difference?

Ticking boxes in a Census or survey, or choosing to identify with those categories, are autonomous expressions of personal identity, lived cultural experience, and can work to reinscribe or re-encode meaning into the categories predefined by the state (Ali, 2003; Hall, 1973). However, these choices also reflect internalisation of ascribed and constructed ethnicity or race, and thus by extension structural position (Spickard, 1996), although this reflection of position is likely not straightforward or simplistic. This thesis explores the extent to which identity choices for mixed people in the UK, and change in those choices, are implicated in or informed by different structural outcomes.

Figure 1-1: All occurrences of the direct ethnic group question asked by the Census for England & Wales, ONS. (Left to right) 1991, 2001, 2011

1.2 A preliminary note on terminologies of race and ethnicity used in the thesis

With regard to the comparative international discourses of Census classification, former slave societies are the only countries who specifically use the term 'race' in their Censuses (i.e. the Americas and the Caribbean) (Morning, 2014). The race-conscious Americas are often regarded as functioning within either a binary or tripartite social structure, defined by proximity to Blackness or proximity to Whiteness, due to the institutional, social and legal legacy of the African slave trade (Bonilla-Silva, 2002, 2004; Dineen-Wimberly & Spickard, 2010). By contrast, reference to 'ethnicity' or 'ethnic group' are particularly popular in Oceania (Morning, 2014), where countries were also colonised by the British and other European powers, but largely after the British abolition of slavery.

The UK itself falls somewhere in between, broadly functioning along the lines of a historical race discourse in its definition of salient groups, but currently using only the phrase "ethnic group" in surveys and the Census. For the purposes of this study, it makes sense to mostly interpret the intention and meaning of these standard UK ethnic categories from a policy perspective rather than analysing the 'accuracy' or not of the UK government's use of these terms. Essentially, the UK enumerates the largest politically and socially salient group memberships, which may be 'racial', ethnic, regional, national or cultural, but refers to them all as 'ethnic groups'. As part of this, the population identified as officially 'Mixed' in the UK is defined more by policy and historical context than by consistent terminologies of race and ethnicity.

As in other Anglophone countries, the terms 'race' and 'ethnicity' are often used interchangeably in everyday British contexts, but are the subject of intensely theorised distinctions and interconnections in academic settings (Ali, 2003). Official use of the term 'race' was more common in the UK well before either 'race' or 'ethnicity' were officially counted in the Census, such as in the Race Relations Act (1965). The racial term 'coloured' for visible ethnic minorities was regularly used as a descriptor in research and discussion up to at least the 60s. Although the official term used was 'ethnic group' in the first Census ethnic question in 1991, the term 'racial group' was included in the instructions to the question, as was reference to 'ancestry' (see Figure 1-1). The UK's Office for National Statistics, which administers the Census and is

responsible for the national harmonization of ethnic data, now does not use the term 'race' in data collection. Traces of this older 'race' discourse however remain for example in the overarching 'top-level' categories of 'White' and 'Black' (racial concepts), as well as the paradox of the phrase 'Mixed/multiple ethnic groups'. 'Mixed' originates as a specifically 'racial' term that refers to the 'blood' of individuals 'mixing', and does not make sense as a term applied to ethnic groups per se, unless referring to creole communities.

The current ONS definition of ethnic group is that there is no consensus on how ethnic groups are defined, but that ethnic group membership is:

> self-defined and subjectively meaningful to the person concerned. The terminology used to describe ethnic groups has changed markedly over time and how this is defined or measured, tends to evolve in the context of social and political attitudes or developments. Ethnic group is also very diverse, encompassing common ancestry and elements of culture, identity, religion, language and physical appearance (Potter-Collins, 2011).

Thus, the ONS and the UK government deploy the term 'ethnic group' in a way that specifically encompasses 'race' – i.e. physical appearance and colour connected to descent, in the same way that the US-based academic Anne Morning uses the term 'race' as a 'master category' to subsume or encompass 'ethnicity'. For example Morning's typology of claims to 'race membership' can be variously based on not only physical appearance and descent, but non-physical ethnic characteristics such as cultural affiliation (Morning, 2018).

Moreover, specific ethnic and racial categories in different places carry a different history and purpose, even if the words used are the same. Where it has been argued that the US Census race question essentially replicates the 19th century biologically racist schema of 'races'; the England and Wales Census has a similar order to it, but also appears to replicate Britain's relationships with its former imperial subjects. The main non-White categories, and even some of the White categories, are defined by their historical place within the British Empire or as racialised British subjects. That same defining colonial vocabulary is being used to assess and measure their marginalisation. For example, Black-African, as distinct from Black-Caribbean (See Figure 1-1) is obviously not an 'ethnic group' in a theoretical sense – Africa is a continent and Black African is an agglomerative 'racial' category constructed by colonialism. However, the categories in use make sense if the aim is to enumerate specific postcolonial migrant

minority *communities* that are socially defined in the UK by precisely those racialised and territorialised categorisations.

Under the terms of the UK's pragmatic approach, for a person describing their primary salient identity group membership in the Census or in society, whether the relevant term is a racial or ethnic one, they serve the same purpose. In a theoretical counterpart to this phenomenon, DaCosta draws on Wacquant and Bourdieu in observing that the processes that produce ethnic groups unavoidably involve the same ascriptive, racializing processes that produce 'racial' groups, namely, the marking out of otherness for the purposes of domination and the maintenance of social hierarchy. For her, this means that the "sharp distinction between the two concepts becomes unnecessary" in the context of social justice movements (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; DaCosta, 2007, p. 213). This line of thinking is echoed by various other researchers looking at mixed identity choices (Brown, Hitlin, & Elder Jr., 2007; Spickard, 1992). Brown et.al. note that "[w]hile race and ethnicity are analytically different constructs, they are socially equivalent" (Brown et al., 2007, p. 162). As noted by Omi and Winant, ethnic groups are racialised (i.e. subjected to negative ascriptive characterisations by dominant groups) in the same way as 'races' (Omi and Winant 1994).

These approaches acknowledge that processes of social domination play a key role in constructing identity; and that ethnic groups as identified by the state do not exist independently of racism. As such, these writers are explicit about the need to address the *racialization* of ethnic minority groups in order to address racism and thus inequality of group outcomes. This can be viewed as 'social justice' work; or as a driver of administrative policymaking. An example of the latter in the UK is the formal acknowledgement of the social racialization of the group known as Irish Travellers, by designating them as "a racial group" in need of protection from discrimination in 1997 under race equality laws governing Northern Ireland (*Human Rights Commission*, 2004), despite having the same Irish 'racial' origins as the majority settled Irish population.

We can thus see that in the UK (like anywhere else) any group at a disadvantage can be racialised. What is more, 'races' are sometimes officially assigned as 'ethnic groups', and 'ethnic groups' as 'races'.

However, the typically understood distinctions between ethnicity and race are still useful in this study. That is, according to the most constructivist interpretations, ethnicity is constituted by its self-defined social practice, commonly defined as a *self-identified* sense of cultural belonging to a group connected by a belief in (*though not necessarily the fact of*) common descent, language or ancestral homeland (Eriksen, 1991; Gellner & Breuilly, 2008; A. D. Smith, 1986). By comparison, the 19th century concept of 'race' is rooted in ascriptive categorisation by dominant groups based on physical appearance and pseudoscience, driven by historical imperatives of imperial expansion, exploitation and social control (Banton, 1983, 1998), or as Frederickson puts it, "difference and power" (Fredrickson, 2002, p. 9). These specifically oppressive and ascriptive elements of the concept of physical 'race' are invoked throughout this thesis in particular reference to the stigmatizing racialization of physical Blackness (as opposed to non-Whiteness). This use of Blackness to define the colour-line appears to remain the cornerstone of the contemporary social construction of race in White-dominated English-speaking countries. This contrasts with specifically ethnocultural issues of belonging or acculturation.

Despite the contradictions inherent in the terminology used to define the UK 'Mixed' category, as a UK-based study I will mostly be using the term 'mixed people' to describe the population of interest in this research. This is a shorthand term: the subjects of the present study are descendants of multiple "descent communities" to use Morning's term, which she uses in the context of a global overview of how ancestrally-defined salient communities are defined in national Censuses (Morning, 2014), and in light of the common structural processes that produce 'race' and 'ethnicity' discussed above. I also refer at times to 'ethnic' identity or 'ethnicity' as it is used in the UK Census standard, when in fact, as discussed, the defined 'ethnic groups' in the standard are more 'racial' than ethnic. I also address more specifically racial concepts where relevant, particularly when touching on the unique racialization of Black bodies; and the requirements of White British identity.

1.3 Literature review

I first briefly discuss the place of the mixed subject within historical public narratives, in order to provide the context for a review of identity theories about how mixed people respond to such narratives by making their own ethnic choices. I then examine the

empirical methodologies used thus far to investigate the issues of mixed ethnic choice and change, and finally I summarise the empirical research findings on which the thesis bases its questions.

1.3.1 Revulsion to redemption: historical narratives of the mixed subject

The historical evolution of the archetypal mixed subject in Western Anglophone culture, as constituted or constructed by society, the state and the market, is well-trodden critical ground (Ali, 2012; Caballero & Aspinall, 2018; Olumide, 2002). I briefly summarise some dominant narratives here, as necessary context for the more granular theoretical literature on ethnic choice and change.

At the dawn of Western concepts of racial hierarchy, English texts as early as the mid-18th Century referred to the "dangerous" social threat posed by the increasing number of mixed race offspring of lower class White women and Black men (Caballero, 2014). As pseudo-evolutionary theories of human racial categorisation grew influential in the 19th century to coincide with the consolidation of imperial conquest, academics infamously proposed that 'mulatto' children were physically weak with low fertility, due to inadvisable effect of 'cross-species' breeding (Nott & Gliddon, 1854). By the early 20th century these crude biological postulations evolved into the literary and cultural archetype of the 'tragic mulatto' – a figure made popular in the US, who would inevitably die once their attempt to 'pass over' into the White world failed, demonstrating the injustice of the colour line while simultaneously enforcing it (Bogle, 2001; Pilgrim, 2000). A classic literary example is the instantaneous death of Clare Kendry in the Harlem Renaissance novel 'Passing', who suddenly falls off the top of a building and back down the social hierarchy, at the very moment her Black descent is discovered by her White husband (Larsen, 1929).

The 'tragic mulatto' archetype dovetailed with the popular takeup during the interwar period of the theory of the 'Marginal Man'. This was the first influential sociological conceptualisation of mixed race subjects notable for historical and cultural perspectives on group dynamics and power structures (Olumide, 2002; Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1937), rather than being solely based on biological racism. While contemporary Western scholarship on mixed people has tended to focus closely on individuals isolated in their mixedness, Stonequist discussed mixed communities such as the Anglo-Indians in India, or the Cape Coloureds of South Africa.

Despite being defined as maladjusted, anxious, and trapped between worlds in the 'tragic' vein, the 'Marginal Man' was not solitary but part of a distinct mixed ethnic community that often functioned as a colonial intermediary class vulnerable to the contextual needs of the imperialist project (Olumide, 2002). The academic and popular uptake of the Marginal Man theory beyond its original authors, seized upon the social and cultural maladjustment of this archetype as a mark of moral and social inferiority and maladjustment of individuals (Furedi, 2001). Contemporaneous with the rise of fascism and increasing popularity of eugenics, Cabellero describes this interwar period when writing about the UK as the "period of moral condemnation" of mixed people (Caballero & Aspinall, 2018). According to Furedi, this moral condemnation was a response to the destabilising challenge that mixed people presented to the social order. This contrasted ironically with the dependence of the British Empire on intermediary creole ethnic groups to uphold rule in its colonies.

The defeat of fascist states in World War II and the birth of postcolonialism as a cultural and academic force paved the way for Homi Bhabha's influential concept of the Mimic Man, a rereading of the Marginal Man theory. In Bhabha's elaborations on colonial and postcolonial hybridity, the Mimic Man or Westernized, 'hybridized' native is, like the tragic 'passing' mulatto, an ironic imitation that revolts, repels and shakes the coloniser to its core, even as it upholds their rule (Bhabha, 1984, 1997). While Bhabha's 'hybridity' referred to colonial cultural mimicry rather than specifically mixed race populations, in a widely cited passage he uses Freud's metaphor of a reviled or 'marginal' mixed race person as a reference point for explaining this mimicry, its desire and doubling – a metaphor that in Freud's original context referred to the role of fantasy in the fractured unconscious. The construct of the mixed subject here doubles back on itself, deployed as a metaphor for the promise of social destabilisation and deconstruction, and serving as an entry-point to Bhabha's concept of the Third Space as adopted by theorists of multiracial or mixed identity (Bhabha, 1994; Bolatagici, 2004; Ifekwunigwe, 1999).

The various bodies of hybridity scholarship – queer, feminist, postcolonial, multiracial, post-human – frame the experiences of subjects as destabilising to categories and existing modes of knowledge, and whose very existence offers an emancipatory challenge to historical fixed binaries and essentialist identities (S. Ahmed, 1999, 2014b;

Bolatagici, 2004; Haraway, 1991; Ifekwunigwe, 1999; Nishime, 2005). At the same time, scholars have noted that we cannot assume that moments of transgression and ironic mimicry can uproot structural injustice (S. Ahmed, 2004; S. Ahmed & Swan, 2006). These discourses of disruption have been contemporaneous with the late-capitalist appropriation of the mixed race subject as glamorous, fetishized, consumable and redemptive (DaCosta, 2006, 2007). After repeated reincarnations and tragic deaths of the 19th and early 20th century, the weak and constantly dying mixed race subject is raised from the dead as a Christ-like redeemer figure for the 'post-racial' era, absolving Western societies of the sin of racism.

Figure 1-2: Image of British athlete Jessica Ennis in Christ-like pose on cover of report by Ford et.al (2012) for the thinktank British Future
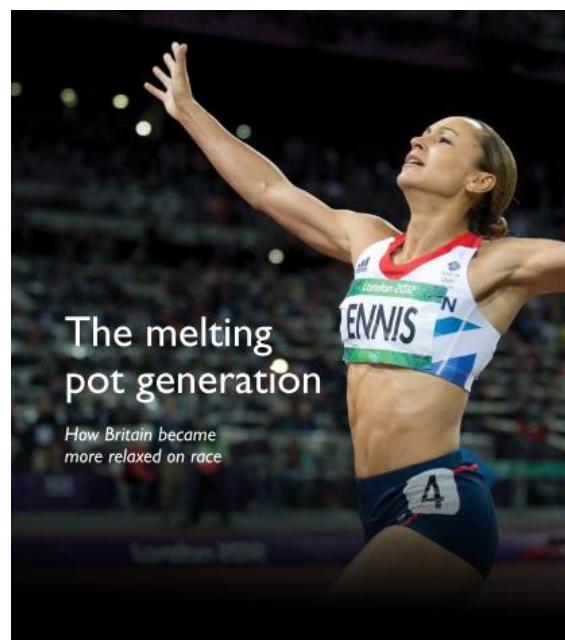
DaCosta discusses the images of children used in Benetton advertisements (DaCosta, 2006), others point to the postracial utopianism associated with support for former US president Barack Obama (Joseph-Salisbury, 2018; Tesler & Sears, 2010), although the Olympic athlete Jessica Ennis is the best modern British example. Sandy-blonde, humble and smiling, she is the daughter of a White English and black Jamaican couple, and was the nation's Olympic 'Golden Girl'. During the London 2012 Olympics her

story was widely deployed as an emblem of a utopian post-racial Britain emerging unified and victorious from the ashes of nationwide riots one year earlier,[1] to somewhat prematurely herald the end of racism (Clark, 2014; Eccles, 2012; Ford et al., 2012; Prince, 2012).

This brief summary has provided an overview of how mixed people are talked about, constructed, and deployed symbolically, setting out the context of ongoing construction by state instruments such as the Census, rather than narrating a history of self-definition or resistance to those constructions. I now examine theories and examinations of what mixed people themselves do in relation to their identity.

1.3.2 Identity theory about mixed people's ethnic identity choices

Theories about mixed people's ethnic choices and practices of self-definition generally form a subset of theoretical literatures on racial and ethnic identity formation and identity choice. Mirroring the contextual discussion above, these literatures theorise and research what mixed people and other minorities are doing while becoming a part of, ascending, or shaking up a social order.

The largest body of relevant literature comprises traditional sociological or social psychological work on racial, ethnic and national identity, and community formation, some of which crosses over into political science and political theory (Anderson, 1991; Berry, 1997; Eriksen, 1991; Gellner & Breuilly, 2008; Holloway, Wright, Ellis, & East, 2009; Mead, 1934; Park, 1928; Phinney, 1990; Stonequist, 1937; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). These theoretical approaches have been prevalent in the empirical literature on ethnic choices, as they develop testable theories. While diverse in scope, what these literatures have in common is that their subjects are individuals or groups defining their identities in relation to others, whether in the context of migrant communities or historical 'nation-building', or individual identity formation throughout a lifespan. This literature analyses the ways that individuals and groups find a place *among or amid* groups through their life journey. Within these theories, the influence of Erikson,

---

[1] Riots across England in the summer of 2011 were sparked by the police killing of Mark Duggan in Tottenham, London. Duggan, like Ennis, was of mixed Black Caribbean and White descent.

Phinney and Turner's related work on adolescents and young adults moving through crises towards 'identity achievement' is particularly influential in the empirical literature on specifically *mixed* identity choice discussed further below. These focus on youth experiences as crucial to identity journeys (Aspinall & Song, 2013b; Aspinall, Song, & Hashem, 2008), although the life course interviewing of Tashiro, focusing on older people, suggests "no natural resolution of identity for mixed race individuals" (Tashiro, 2015, p. 119).

Closely related to this first 'horizontal' body of identity theories are the critical sociological, legal and historical theories of institutional racial and ethnic hierarchy, including critical analysis of ethnic enumeration methods, and empirical studies on groups and individuals moving up hierarchies and 'becoming White' (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991; Bashi & McDaniel, 1997; Bell, 1995; Bonilla-Silva, 2002; Crenshaw, 1991; Fox & Guglielmo, 2012; Fredrickson, 2002; Gualtieri, 2009; Ignatiev, 2009; Omi & Winant, 1994; Roediger, 2006; L. T. Smith, 1999; Song, 2004; Winant, 2000; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008). As it relates to mixed people, this literature is again about finding a place, but in a vertical hierarchical context – i.e. about finding or being placed upon *a rung on a social ladder.* To use a comparative shorthand, I refer to this second body of literature as addressing 'vertical' choices.

These writings examine not only strength of ethnic group identification amid or against groups, but how this interacts with relationships of oppression, domination and subordination, broadly within the neo-Marxist tradition. There is a substantial body of literature that examines the changing status of groups as a whole with regards to Whiteness, particularly the many nationalities who have 'become White' in the US – from the Irish, to Syrians and other Arab groups, to Jews, to Italians (Abdulrahim, 2008; Ajrouch & Jamal, 2007; Alba, 2016; Brodkin, 1998; Gualtieri, 2009; Guglielmo & Salerno, 2012; Ignatiev, 2009; Roediger, 2006). Central to this process in modern times has been "[t]he distinction between on one hand, *not being White*, and on the other, *being black*" (my emphasis, Garner, 2007, p. 120; Ignatiev, 2009). An extension of this literature is Critical Whiteness Studies. This literature offers important contributions in its examination of how Whiteness is constructed and enacted differently at different classes of society, as part of a elite 'moral economy' of resource distribution based on racialising and excluding Others (Bonnett, 1998; Garner, 2007, 2009, 2012; Olumide,

2002; Roediger, 1999), and which only relatively recently included the White working classes in the UK (Bonnett, 1998).

These critical sociological theories of racial hierarchy are less frequently cited in quantitative studies, even though social class factors are usually included in statistical models in the quantitative research into mixed ethnic choices or change. This literature does however emerge where researchers take a step back to appraise the purpose of their enterprise and the wider implications of their findings, or are carrying out deeper examinations of assumptions and historical baggage inherent in the practice of ethnic enumeration to start with (DaCosta, 2007; Korgen, 2010; Song, 2004; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008).

A third field of relevant theory is the broad literature at the foundation of interdisciplinary cultural studies, which extend upon mid-century critical Marxist and often Lacanian perspectives, and critical theory. As already explored above in my discussion of the narratives of mixedness, this includes theories of postcolonialism and hybridity, and granular analysis of the performative construction, constitution and interpretation of ethnic and racial subjectivities (S. Ahmed, 1999, 2006, 2014b; Ali, 2003; Bhabha, 1984, 1994; Fanon, 1967; Hall, 1973, 1985, 1996b, 1996a; Ifekwunigwe, 1999; Olumide, 2002), including the desire for or aversion to Whiteness (S. Ahmed, 2007; Seshadri-Crooks, 2000; Storrs, 2008).

Althusser's Lacanian concept of interpellation, whereby all are subjects produced and 'hailed' by social ideologies in different sites and contexts, is central to examinations of race and ethnicity in the British cultural studies tradition, particularly with regard to construction of identity and gender in popular culture and the media (Ali, 2003; Hall, 1985). However I draw particular attention here to Althusser's original approach to the concept of interpellation as an act of *the state* – as acts of both of the ideological and the repressive state apparatus (Althusser, 1971). We can view the national Census, and national survey instruments as just such formal state tools of cultural, ideological and administrative production that 'hail' subjects of the state and assign them their position. Moreover, as Hall writes of cultural production and response, the meaning of Census and survey categories are then subject to 'decoding' and then 're-encoding' by those who fill them out and live within their labels (Hall, 1973).

In this literature mixed people and mixedness as a concept can function within the collective of intersectionally queered groups that disrupt the process of social placement through non-fixedness of social positions and bodily 'orientations' (S. Ahmed, 2006, 2014b; Nishime, 2005). These writers examine how the construction and performance of ethnic choices may simultaneously undermine and reinforce hierarchy (S. Ahmed, 2014b; Ali, 2003, 2007; Ifekwunigwe, 1999; Mahtani, 2002). This literature arises from disciplines usually quite separate from conventional empirical or quantitative social science investigation of ethnic outcomes, and are rarely acknowledged in the quantitative research on mixed people's identity choice. However, some studies that are influenced by post-structural or symbolic interactionist theories of identity formation, and which emphasise a complex and iterative structural and ideological framework in approaching ethnic choice, are aligned with this literature. An example is Holloway's 'neighbourhood effects' work that advances a concept of ethnic identity as an iterative process functioning at multiple scales of the "body, family and the neighbourhood" (Holloway et al., 2009), rather than a fixed or linear trajectory towards an 'achieved' identity. Among UK researchers, Karlsen, Nazroo and others foreground conventional quantitative analysis of ethnic group inequalities with analysis of structure, agency and racialization in the use of ethnic data (Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002; Nazroo et al., 2018; Panico & Nazroo, 2011).

The strongest influence of this 'third body' of literature emerges in qualitative analytical discussions and empirical studies of ethnic embodiment and performance for mixed people. This is particularly so in examination of the ideological projection of historically entrenched racial anxieties and latter-day post-racial triumphalism onto mixed bodies (Ali, 2003; Caballero & Aspinall, 2018; DaCosta, 2007; Joseph-Salisbury, 2018; Mahtani, 2002). These are crucial concepts for the methodological theorisation of how people provide 'unstable' or 'mismatched' ethnic information in survey and administrative data. Thus, this body of literature makes a direct contribution to conceptualisations of how mixed people present or change their ethnicity in surveys. The self-reflexiveness of critical cultural studies also urges us to ask crucial analytical questions posed by the new fashion for 'postracial' identity: What are these new positions and forms of positioning good for? Will they set us free?

These theoretical approaches – which I characterise, somewhat reductively, as looking at horizontal placement, vertical placement, and contingent/performative placement

respectively, are expressed through specific modes or fields of ethnic choice behaviours for mixed people that may have particular structural implications, and which are explored or tested directly in the empirical literature. One mode of choice behaviour is to engage with the choice, e.g. via the options on a Census form – that is, choosing between White, mixed or multiple (variously defined), or to identify as a single minority ethnic group only. A second mode is about whether to accept or emphasize racial and ethnic identity at all, compared with other identities – such as local, national or global identities. Another mode of choice behaviour relates to consistency and change or instability of ethnic identity (including changing meanings of the same identities) depending on context. This thesis focuses the most on the first and third modes, particularly in the quantitative analysis, although all three are valuable for appraising and understanding how mixed people represent or deploy their identities. Whether deciding on an ethnic identity, avoiding ethnic identity, or changing ethnic identity, from the top-down administrative perspective these types of behaviours are matters to be monitored, measured or controlled for a perceived greater good. From the perspective of mixed people themselves, the choices can be seen as conduits through which agency is exercised.

1.3.3 Empirical approaches

How are these ethnic choices being made, how do we know they are being made, and how much of this knowledge is dependent on forms of measurement? Empirical research into mixed identity choice employs varying levels of critical analysis of normative assumptions and methodologies. Given the focus of this study on the meeting-point between the mixed subject and the tools used to know about their identity choices, there is a clear need to examine those methodologies and their theoretical foundations.

1.3.3.1 <u>What is being measured and how?</u>

Although mixed people's ethnic or racial identity is constructed, expressed and measured using the same modes as everyone else's, research with UK mixed people has found that, for obvious reasons, mixed people have a more even distribution among a wider range of ethnic choices or 'options' than monoethnic people, given that many may have at least three possible choices that refer to their ethnic ancestry in the UK

context (Nandi & Platt, 2014a). Mixed people also potentially have higher non-response to direct ethnic questions in some contexts, and potentially more motivation to choose the 'other ethnic group' option even when technically able to accurately classify themselves within an existing category (Aspinall et al., 2008). They also exhibit higher levels of fluctuation in what ethnicity they report compared to monoethnic people, when responding to the same measurement instrument (Simpson, 2014) and also in different contexts (Aspinall et al., 2008; Song, 2012; Song & Hashem, 2010). These findings are expressions of the three types of 'options' discussed above: ethnic group choice, avoiding choice, and contextual ethnic change.

Recent descriptive analysis of large-scale UK datasets further shows that the level of uncounted fluctuation or hidden mixed ethnicity in the UK is substantial, and far greater than for non-mixed people (Nandi & Platt, 2014a; Simpson, 2014). Existing qualitative research suggests that fluctuation and 'hidden' mixedness is affected by the relative lack of reliability of the UK's restrictive single-coded standard ethnicity question for mixed people in particular. However, it is also theoretically valid to consider ethnic and racial identity to be contextual, and that it is not necessarily 'error' to have a different ethnic identity at different times or in different administrative contexts.

In the language of critical theoretic and cultural studies literature, we can describe the approach of quantitative methods as counting performative ethnic identity statements made on official forms; and that this quantitative project of ethnic enumeration is associated with the tradition of state monitoring and control over bodies. Meanwhile, qualitative research gathers and analyses discursive statements made to interviewers; and despite varying outcomes, this tradition is on the whole associated with providing an opportunity for agency and the exercise of autonomy.

Both quantitative and qualitative approaches have had technical weak spots with regard to measuring identity choices for mixed people in the UK. Broadly speaking, the quantitative research has been mostly unable to investigate ethnic identity choices at all due to a lack of UK data (Song, 2012), while the sampling approach of the qualitative research may have led to the experiences of the majority of people with mixed parentage or ancestry being overlooked. Essentially, the quantitative research has been able to target representative samples of the population of the UK, but has not yet asked the right questions; while the qualitative research has been asking the right questions, but has not been able to sample a wide enough range of people.

1.3.3.1.1 *Right people, wrong questions? Limitations and potential of quantitative measurement of mixed identity choice*

Awkwardly for social scientists who wish to use quantitative methods to measure and analyse institutional racism, these methods and measurements are inextricably bound up with a grotesque historical legacy that can prompt suspicion or resistance from groups being targeted for measurement (Bulmer, 1986; L. T. Smith, 1999; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008). We can view the modern ethnic enumeration project as state-driven attempts to redeem the historically racist practice of racial or ethnic categorisation, through turning its use to what governments perceive as more rational or progressive policy-making. These policies are grounded in liberal rather than radical notions of substantive equality which, some critics observe, seek to 'empty' ethnic categories of any significant differences (Crenshaw, 1991; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008), even as they risk implying that race and ethnicity are not only fixed but also deterministic categories (James, 2008).

In service of this contested project of liberal historical redemption, data collection focuses on collecting information about identities that mark out difference; that are associated with disadvantage; and that can be agreed upon. As has been discussed above, the UK approach to defining ethnic minority categories lies squarely within this pragmatic tradition. The UK government's definition of ethnic group categories and the ways in which ethnicity can be expressed, while consultative and defined by progressive policy goals, has however ultimately been a top-down state-led process whose outcomes appear to reflect originally narrow and increasingly outdated assumptions about mixed populations in the UK.

In a more technical sense, a specific limitation of the quantitative approaches to researching ethnic options in the UK is the convenient assumption that ethnicity is stable for minority groups, which therefore assumes that there is no autonomous choice that needs measuring in the first place, such as via repeated measures of ethnic group for the same individuals. Possibly as a result, there is nearly no UK longitudinal data on ethnicity that records ethnic change.

A second technically limiting top-down assumption in the UK seems to be that, for the purposes of statistical measurement, it is 'good enough' to use single-coded ethnic tick-boxes (i.e. tick one box only) and to just keep adding boxes for groups whose size

grows to the extent that they become politically and socially salient. The lack of movement towards a system where people with multiple ethnic group can tick multiple boxes may be related to a form of path dependency in the delivery of the Census, i.e. it is difficult to change the approach without losing comparability with past data; and there may also be institutional barriers to introducing substantial change within the Census review process.

The UK is the only country out of its family of Anglophone White-majority settler colonial countries of the former British Empire that still uses single-coded ethnicity choices in its Census standard - i.e. where respondents may tick only one box. The US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand censuses all use multi-coded options that allow people to tick more than one ethnic group or race that they identify with (NIDEA, 2013). In the case of the US Census there is the option to tick more than one 'race', plus an additional 'ethnic' rather than 'racial' question measuring specific Latin American national origin (Morning, 2014).

Complex analysis of ethnic choice and fluctuation has been carried out most extensively in the US, and also in New Zealand, where a variety of multi-coded, longitudinal, time series, and multidimensional ethnicity measures have been used for longer in social surveys and Censuses. Although government approaches to summarising and publishing ethnic data in these countries are not necessarily any less 'top-down' than in the UK, the relative richness of the raw international data and measures permit more nuanced analysis by researchers. These measures include not only the multi-coded ethnic options, but also parental ethnicity questions, forced-choice questions to indicate 'main' or primary ethnic identity, questions about ethnocultural knowledge and practice, and questions about external perceptions of respondents' race or phenotype.

The existence of these more complex ethnic and racial measures in the White-majority settlement countries of the former British empire seems likely due to the original racism of the colonial project, including slavery, which relied on the pacification, disciplining and enumeration of governed bodies (L. T. Smith, 1999; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008). Reflecting these concerns, the contemporary and historical measures in these countries also reflect a greater awareness of ethnicity as a potentially unstable characteristic, due to longstanding socially salient mixed populations. In the earliest 19th Century censuses in New Zealand for example, individuals with both Māori and European descent were

labelled 'half-castes' and were counted and divided by census-takers into those 'living as Māori' and those 'living as European' (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

In terms of interest in the concept of ethnic change, numerous studies as early as the post-Civil War Reconstruction era in the US attempted to quantify the number of 'legally Black' people changing their reported race to strategically pass as White in society and hence in Census data, to access social, legal and institutional advantages (Burma, 1946; Eckard, 1947). The phenomenon and history of 'passing' by mixed people with Black descent, and forced assimilation by those of indigenous descent, have their own very substantial bodies of historical, cultural and sociological literature, which is too extensive to be covered here. Suffice to say, there is a rich history of academic explorations of mixed people's ethnic fluidity, performativity, and moving across categories over lifetimes or generations in White countries under the acknowledged constraints of legally enforced racism or colonialism.

For example, until 1981, the New Zealand Census requested an accounting of halves, quarters and eighths for those of mixed "ethnic origin". This historical interest in racial purity represents a 'blood quantum' concept of race or ethnicity that is rejected by the indigenous Māori tradition, and is no longer in use in the New Zealand Census. At the same time, this data also functions in the historical record as recognition of long histories of colonisation, settlement, and interethnic partnering over generations. By comparison, the tendency in the UK is to assume that 'mixed' refers to a person with one White and one Black parent, where the Black parent may be an immigrant, despite the history of non-White immigration and mixed populations in the UK being centuries old (Caballero & Aspinall, 2018). This assumption has meant a limited awareness in the UK of who the mixed population actually is, in analysis of ethnic outcomes.

There is, however, increasing methodological interest in multidimensional ethnicity measurements in the UK, as well as in multi-coded ethnicity options that enable respondents to express more nuanced and diverse identities and family histories. British researchers have advocated for more widespread use of such measures (Burton, Nandi, & Platt, 2010). Some UK researchers into mixed experiences had previously advised against the use of 'multi-ticking' as too complicated for respondents (Aspinall et al., 2008), but have revised their views given that the four 'mixed' Census categories are

increasingly inadequate for measurement and analysis in an era of growing superdiversity (Aspinall & Song, 2013b).

Despite these limitations, there are two sources of UK data that can be used to analyse 'hidden' ethnic ancestry and ethnic change for mixed people. Understanding Society: The UK Household Longitudinal Study is the only current British national survey of adults using multidimensional ethnicity measures. Early descriptive analysis of Understanding Society suggested that more than half of all people who could be defined as mixed (according to both self-identification and reported parental ethnicity) are not being captured in any survey data as mixed because they do not identify as such (S. McFall, Buck, Laurie, Garrington, & Nolan, 2012). However, there has not yet been any analysis of why this might be the case. Understanding Society plans to repeat direct ethnicity measures, but only at Wave 10, and at that point attrition may be a problem for analysing change for the mixed groups.

There is one other source of longitudinal data in the UK that can provide a view of ethnic change over time for mixed people. The ONS Longitudinal Study now has two waves of linked intercensal ethnicity data that include the mixed Census categories (2001 and 2011). Research using this data supports Aspinall and Song's UK findings that there is very high instability over time in and out of the mixed groups (Simpson, 2015). There has not, however, been any analysis of what factors may be associated with this instability.

1.3.3.1.2 *Right questions, wrong people? Limitations and potential in qualitative research into mixed identity choices*

Qualitative research into mixed identity choice in the UK has played an important role in highlighting the multi-dimensional, contextual and fluid nature of ethnicity for mixed people, reflecting on the social reproduction of race and racism, and examining how to combat them (A. Ahmed, 2009; Ali, 2011; Aspinall & Song, 2013b; Aspinall et al., 2008; Caballero, 2012; Caballero & Aspinall, 2018; Caballero, Edwards, & Puthussery, 2008; Edwards & Caballero, 2008; Ifekwunigwe, 1999; Joseph-Salisbury, 2018; Olumide, 2002; Platt, 2012a; Song, 2017; Song & Hashem, 2010; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002; Twine, 2010).

UK research has provided particularly strong insights into experiences of the biracial children of Black and White parents. For example, several key foundational qualitative studies on the mixed race experience in the UK focused on those with Black and White

parents or on Black/White interracial parenting (Ifekwunigwe, 1999; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002; Twine, 2010). Much of this research occurred prior to systematic national data being gathered on the wider ethnic origins of the UK mixed population in the 2001 Census. The largest UK study that focused specifically on mixed ethnic 'options' had a wider ethnic range, although due to a focus on a particular social experience of 'mixedness' also only included participants based on assumed 'racial ambiguity' or biraciality, by excluding those with parents from the same top-level Census category – i.e. a person with Chinese and Filipino descent would not 'count' as mixed (Aspinall & Song, 2013b). Song's recent work on multiracial parents also operates on the same premise, interviewing only those whose own parents "are visibly different from each other according to dominant social norms" (Song, 2017, p. 7).

In terms of the three bodies of identity theories discussed above, the theoretical underpinnings of the qualitative UK and international research has drawn substantially on the first body of 'horizontal' individual social psychological theories, and the third body of 'contextual/contingent' cultural studies literature, in exploring the experiences and identity-formation of individual mixed people. In terms of the second body of theory addressing 'vertical' choices, although the relationship between class, racial hierarchy and forms of ethnic choice are addressed in a range of UK studies, it can be difficult to locate these as typical or representative experiences given the nature of qualitative research, and due to sampling limitations.

Essentially, the UK qualitative studies do not seek to replicate representative population samples of quantitative studies, and indeed, there is no traditional methodological expectation or imperative that they do so. However, it has only recently become clearer that the UK's mixed population – as self-defined in survey and Census data – is not quite what people assumed it was. While qualitative research in the UK has delved into a range of different segments of the mixed population, including approaches such as insider autoethnographic accounts, in-depth case studies, and very geographically focused studies in particular cities, some groups in have been overlooked, and indeed, have only recently been found to be overlooked at all. This particularly includes those with mixed parentage but who are White identified, those from working class White neighbourhoods, the non tertiary-educated, those who are not considered 'biracial', and people outside of large urban centres and the Southeast of England.

Also due to sampling approaches, including small-scale studies, studies also faced limits in their ability to systematically examine relationships between class and race as opposed to exploring particular cases. Samples have tended to skew middle class, female and mixed-identified in the case of adults (Aspinall & Song, 2013b; Aspinall et al., 2008; Caballero et al., 2008; Edwards & Caballero, 2008; Ifekwunigwe, 1999; Song, 2017; Song & Hashem, 2010), some of which seemed likely due to typically gendered patterns of self-selection into research studies, snowball sampling, sampling through universities, schools and childcare centres, or due to particular interest in women or autoethnographic approaches by researchers. Some recent research into mixed men's experiences in the UK has attempted to address the gender gap (Joseph-Salisbury, 2018).

In both the US and the UK, studies focusing specifically on ethnic choices of adult mixed people has been dominated by studies of university-age students and young adults (see critiques in Caballero, 2014; Root, 2002). Although there are certainly qualitative studies of the experiences of mixed adults older than this demographic, these are not studies seeking to identify patterns of ethnic choices per se, for example in Caballero's holistic studies of historical mixed communities, Tashiro's biographical case studies of older mixed Americans, or Song's study of mixed parents (Caballero, 2012; Song, 2017; Tashiro, 2015)

1.3.3.2 Empirical findings: What ethnic choices do mixed people make, and what does this mean for society?

The most comprehensive explanations about *what* ethnic choices mixed people make, are from the quantitative literature arising from the Americas. However, because there is so little equivalent quantitative research on the UK, generalizing from these studies is difficult. International research has produced a range of results relevant to the body of theoretical literature on racism and social stratification discussed above at 1.3.2. Aspects of ethnic choice and change for different groups appear consistent with racialised social hierarchies specific to the countries being studied – mostly the US and New Zealand (Campbell, 2007; Carter, Hayward, Blakely, & Shaw, 2009; Harris & Sim, 2002; Herman, 2004; Kukutai, 2007, 2008; Kukutai & Didham, 2009; Mihoko Doyle & Kao, 2007; Ropp, 1997). For example, White/Asian youths in the US appear to have more flexibility compared with their White/Black counterparts, being more likely to identify as White, or to make the 'postracial' choice to opt out of answering a direct

ethnic question completely; and these choices appear related to skin colour. US findings reveal an abiding racialisation of young people with any Black parentage, contributing to their 'Blacker' ethnic choices (Herman, 2004). Meanwhile some researchers have claimed that mixed peoples' movement towards Whiter identities over individual lives or generations in the US is associated with traditional concepts of integration and advancement up the social ladder (Alba, 2016).

The UK's own social and racial hierarchy has unique factors, vocabulary and migration history that stands in contrast to the Americas (S. Ahmed, 2014a; Anthias, 2001a, 2001b; Chakrabortty, 2014; Gilroy, 1987, 1993; Hall, 1996b), so international findings cannot be transferred wholesale, especially those regarding the Latinx populations that have been the focus of much research on ethnic attrition and 'Whitening' in the Americas. The UK groups with White and Black, or White and Asian parentage, are the groups assumed to be most comparable to their US counterparts, although these groups have different histories and characteristics compared with the US (Chakrabortty, 2014; Gilroy, 1993).[2]

In the small amount of UK qualitative research directly on ethnic 'options', when mixed people were 'forced' to choose a side, those who identified as White felt this way for cultural reasons and were less likely to have visible Black ancestry. Those who felt closer to being monoethnic minority groups tended to explain that this was due to ascriptive racialization, such as experiences of racism, and were more likely to be Black-descended and more politically concious (Aspinall & Song, 2013b; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002). Aspinall and Song specifically found that those of Asian and White

---

[2] In everyday discourse, 'Asian' in the UK indicates South Asian populations, while in the US 'Asian' is widely assumed to refer to East Asian populations. Neither assumption is correct in terms of current ethnic enumeration practices of those countries, but it does reflect historical practice and migration trends, and highlights important contrasts in forms of racialization and ethnic question wording. For example, until the 2011 Census, South Asian communities in the UK were the only communities officially defined as 'Asian', with the Chinese and other East or Southeast Asian groups being designated 'Other' in official data collection. During the 70s and 80s it was common for politicised UK South Asians to identify themselves as "politically Black" under conditions of extreme racist hostility and socioeconomic marginalisation. Meanwhile the notion in the US that Asian-Americans could have considered themselves 'Black' in any way would likely not be understood.

parentage in their sample of university students in London and Southeast England were most likely to choose White ethnicity when given a 'forced choice', especially those with a Chinese parent. Those with a Black parent were the least likely to choose White (Aspinall et al., 2008).

Aside from ethnic or racial descent and skin colour, international quantitative research has also shown that gender, socioeconomic status, family structure, characteristics of their minority or White parents, and ethnic composition of the neighbourhood significantly predicted various forms of ethnic choice and change for different types of mixed people in various studies (Campbell, 2007; Davenport, 2016; Harris & Sim, 2002; Herman, 2004; Holloway et al., 2009; Mihoko Doyle & Kao, 2007). Significant interactions within regression models revealed intersectional effects of racialisation, for example indicating that in the US, mixed identities are more popular choices for Black-descended women than for their male counterparts.

While varied, using different samples, models, independent variables and dependent variables, the quantitative research broadly paints an intuitive picture of mixed people's choices being significantly influenced by the norms of their social milieu, family, neighbourhood and national narratives, and that choices may change according to changing contexts (for example contrasting at-home interviews with at-school interviews). The range of studies from the Americas that examine whether and how *socioeconomic status* predicts ethnic choices do not, however, present a clearcut or consistent picture across ethnic groups or countries, and will be examined in greater detail in following chapters.

Prior to the present study, there has been no in-depth research from the UK about how any of these characteristics predict ethnic choice or change for mixed people, using a representative sample of the population. As mentioned above, there have been broad findings from qualitative samples about the outcomes of 'forced choices' among those of different ethnic backgrounds. There were also a range of qualitative findings about the mechanisms of identity construction, including some discussion of ethnic choice. These were often restricted to a university student or youth cohort, or to mixed people with a Black and a White parent (A. Ahmed, 2009; Ali, 2003; Aspinall & Song, 2013b; Ifekwunigwe, 1999; Song & Hashem, 2010; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002). The picture that these studies provide of how socioeconomic status predicts ethnic choice in the UK is

somewhat incomplete. However, there are valuable findings that I summarise here, and discuss in more depth in Chapter 3.

Several British studies examined the cultural, racial and class implications of the experiences and attitudes of the parents of mixed children, which were informative as models of 'racial literacy' among parents, but not necessarily indicative or predictive of what eventual specific choices their mixed children would make about their own ethnic group (Ali, 2003; Caballero et al., 2008; Twine, 2010). However, intuitively these 'racially literate' or 'politicised' parents were encouraging their children away from White identity. There was mixed evidence as to the class distribution of 'racially literate' attitudes among the parents of mixed children, but some key strands can be teased out.

Ali noted that working class parents in her sample more consistently designated their mixed children 'mixed', while middle class families expressed a wider range of interpretations of children's identity, taking both cultural and political factors into account. This included the more politicised stance of more highly educated or middle class parents encouraging Black-only identities for their children (Ali, 2003, p. 174). Twine's sample of 'racially literate' White mothers encouraged their children to be 'Black', and this racial literacy was associated with those mothers being raised in multi-ethnic urban environments allowing for close friendships and support networks with Black peers when young and later in life. This in turn was associated in her qualitative sample with being working class, with higher maternal education in the social sciences (particularly for those with working class backgrounds who ascended to middle class professional status); and mothers of any class background working with or in Black and minority communities.

Being middle class or wealthy appears to act as a "'buffer' against racism" in Ali's research (Ali, 2003, p. 174); and we could view a small amount of evidence from Twine and from Tizard & Phoenix as suggesting that this 'buffer' could be related to less 'racial literacy' among some wealthy families and thus less incidence of politicised Black identity. In descriptive statistics of their large qualitative sample in the 1990s, Tizard & Phoenix found statistically significant simple associations between their interviewees choosing a 'Black' identity and: Politicised attitudes towards racism, having reported experiencing more racism, attending a state school, and speaking

regularly to parents about race (Tizard & Phoenix, 2002, p. 241). As over 90 per cent of students in the UK attend state schools, Tizard & Phoenix's findings may be more indicative of characteristics lacking among the *most wealthy* mixed children, or area effects associated with wealthy White areas where private schools are located, rather than of choices of working class versus middle class mixed children per se.

In Aspinall & Song's study, which sampled from universities, results usefully reflected particularly middle class experiences. For example, the study found that around 25 per cent of their mixed student sample had changed their reported ethnic identity since arriving at university, and that a key factor in this was greater exposure to members of their minority ethnic group after upbringings in very White middle class suburbs or exurbs (Aspinall & Song, 2013b, p. 42).

These are some clues to how class in the UK may affect the ethnic choices of mixed people. These qualitative studies were unable to and in fact did not seek to generalise about the choices of mixed people as distributed in the wider population. Thus, some sections of the landscape have been left unexplored – in particular, examinations of mixed people growing up in White working class areas, and comparative analysis that may help disentangle family or household influence from class, and from neighbourhood ethnic density effects.

This discussion of the empirical approaches and findings outline some specific gaps in the research into mixed identity choices, that are mainly due to methodological approaches: namely, that quantitative approaches have yet to systematically address potential reasons for ethnic choice or change in the UK (right people, wrong questions); and that qualitative approaches have been unable to sample widely enough to fully explore answers to those same questions (right questions, wrong people). In this thesis I bring these two modes of research together to complete the picture. A particular advantage will be that as I can analyse and sample from a representative adult population, findings from my sample cohort will be able to provide a longer-term perspective on the cohorts of past qualitative studies, such as Tizard & Phoenix's cohort of youth in the 1990s, and Aspinall & Song's university cohort from the 2000s.

1.4 Conceptual framework

In Figure 1-3 below I present a diagram summarising how the different bodies of literature reviewed and their common themes relate to one another. The blue elements

indicate the processes of ethnic identity construction and reproduction for individuals. Elements from all the theoretical and empirical literature deal with processes of ethnic identity construction, taking in external construction through ascription, socialisation, racialisation or otherwise objectifying or top-down processes at different sites or scales. In turn, subjects reinterpret and enact their own constructions of identity at the same range of sites, using various methods of identity performance – including, of course, engagement with the ethnic group question in the Census. I draw here on the "scales of the body, the family and the neighbourhood" (Holloway, Wright, & Ellis, 2012), using a wider interpretation of social context to include other community structures such as workplaces, and further add the highest level of the production of national and cultural narratives. This breakdown into sites is particularly useful in framing the present study's approach to data analysis and variable selection.

In relation to this feedback loop of identity construction, I indicate the three types of 'horizontal', 'vertical' and 'contextual' ethnic choices discussed in the three bodies of theoretical literature. These are indicated by the green arrows. The 'horizontal' choices span the range of different or competing affinities at the different 'scales', such as between family, community and nation. As I approach the literature on ethnic choices as being situated within an intersectional and particularly racialised social hierarchy, I highlight this via the vertical arrow indicating the second type of 'vertical' or hierarchical choice in the literature, given that hierarchies of race, age, class and so forth, are relevant at every site of identity construction and choice. The third crossed arrow highlights how contextual choices can move in any 'direction'. The body of literature from which this concept of contextual choice arises, underpins thinking about modes of performance, expression of, and agency over the interpretation of ethnic identity.

Figure 1-3: Conceptual Framework: Three theories of ethnic choice operationalised via identity construction at different 'scales'

1. **Horizontal/relational choices between competing identities**

'Scales of identity' where individuals are subjected to ethnic construction, and where racialisation occurs

In response subjects interpret and enact ethnicity at these 'scales' via **embodied**, **social** & **textual/discursive performance**

Body

Family & household

Neighbour-hood

School

Workplace

Peer groups

National discourses of identity:

Including administrative constructions of ethnicity *e.g.* ***Census and survey categories***

2: **Vertical/ hierarchical choices about status** *i.e. how race and ethnic group express class position*

with intersectional implications e.g. for gender

3. **Contextual/contingent choices** *that challenge a stable system of identity*

1.5 Research questions

The overarching question this thesis seeks to answer is: What explains ethnic choice and ethnic change for mixed people in the UK, and what role do structural factors play in this?

The subquestions are:

1. How do mixed people in the UK identify in surveys? Can we develop a typology of mixed people based on self-identified and parental ethnicity?
2. Do these different types of mixed people in the UK have significantly different structural characteristics, such as family structure, skin colour, income and class?
3. Are there significant associations between the *ethnic choices made* by comparable groups of mixed people (based on parental ethnicity) and those same structural factors?
4. What is the extent of ethnic identity change over time for mixed people?
5. Is the likelihood and direction of ethnic fluctuation for mixed people over time significantly associated with embodied, familial or socioeconomic structural factors?
6. What can we discover qualitatively about why any of these significant associations exist?

1.6 Data

Three data sources are used in this thesis, and are described in greater detail in the following chapters. The first five questions are answered through quantitative analysis of Understanding Society: The UK Household Longitudinal Study, and the ONS Longitudinal Study (ONS LS), which are the two UK datasets referred to above in the review of empirical literature on ethnic choice and change.

The final question is addressed by analysis of qualitative interviews with mixed people who participated in Understanding Society. This use of nested qualitative sampling from a quantitative dataset allows for the targeted selection of a more representative range of adult mixed participants, including types of mixed people that have been invisible in existing studies of mixedness and those who have been less well researched. For example, interviewees were sampled based on either their self-identification as

'mixed' in Understanding Society, or having reported their parents as being from any two different ethnic groups even if they did not select a 'mixed' category in the survey.

1.7 Methodology

A mixed methods approach allows for not only analysis of the data, but exploration of the context of data-generation, i.e. how mixed respondents engage with survey questions about ethnicity. In using mixed methods, this research takes a post-positivist but pragmatic approach (Robson, 1997). It assumes external structural conditions are reproduced and interpreted, for example into survey results, via human beings with agency (Giddens, 1993; Hall, 1985; Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002). Thus, separate epistemologies are not required to analyse structure and agency (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) and nor are separate epistemologies required to conduct quantitative and qualitative research together.

1.7.1 A brief note on the use of quantitative methods in this thesis

My specific quantitative methods will be elaborated in more depth in the next three chapters, but proceed in a conventional manner using mostly regression analysis. The analysis gives us the overall view of patterns and trends at a national scale, which may provide us with indications about how ethnic choice and change respond to or reflect racism in the UK.

I acknowledge the degree to which quantitative analysis of race and ethnicity is open to critique from critical methodologists, as touched on above (DaCosta, 2007; Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002; L. T. Smith, 1999; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008). These critiques underline the need to clearly articulate what quantitative analysis is for, and the critical social context and implications of such research. A key part of this is avoiding reductiveness and essentialism in the treatment of ethnic categories as fixed characteristics or variables (James, 2008; Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008). Indeed, the aim of the present study is to break apart the fixity and essentialism in the presentation of quantitative ethnic data and instead examine fluidity, contingency, context and change, not only as measurement 'error' but as a characteristic of ethnic identity expression itself.

To deconstruct these categories does however require analysis of the data available, and I indeed use the categories as a part of standard statistical analysis. Rather than

abandoning all notion of the utility of ethnic enumeration, I attempt to wring as much use as possible from the problematic data that is currently being generated. If the purpose of critical theory is emancipation, a pragmatic critical approach to a problematic positivist construct is to look at all the ways it can be used to "help us be free of it" (Mok, 2019).

I read and analyse quantitative findings while assuming epistemological and methodological limitations. This thesis will examine associations within quantitative data rather than causes. We must assume that there will be unobserved effects and characteristics, that the average marginal effects are of course, 'average', and that the measures or variables being used are conceptually problematic. Qualitative research will in some ways do the heavy lifting of detecting or validating potential causal mechanisms, i.e the reasons behind the patterns we see at a national level. The qualitative element will also help us understand the extent to which the categories being analysed are meaningful or useful.

1.7.2 Qualitative methods

I set out here some key elements of my qualitative approach, particularly sampling and mode of interviews, and the implications for the research and my own positionality. Thirty semi-structured in-depth qualitative telephone interviews were conducted, 27 of which were with interviewees with mixed ethnic ancestry; and three of which were with 'monoracial' comparators who had at some point selected 'White British' on Census or survey data. Most of the interviews were sampled directly from a representative population sample survey that included respondent ethnic group and respondent parental ethnic group. This allowed me to recruit interviewees from many of the previously under-researched groups mentioned above.

1.7.2.1 Mode of interviews

The interviews were conducted by telephone calls only, rather than face-to-face using either in-person interview or video-chat methods such as Skype or Facetime. There were both logistical and methodological reasons for this choice. It was my goal to maintain the same conditions or modes of interview for the entire sample, for methodological and analytical consistency across cases. Due to the diverse locations of the participants across the country due to the use of a national sample frame, unlike

more geographically clustered qualitative studies, it was not practical to conduct in-person interviews as a sole researcher.

I also considered that I would be unable to maintain common conditions for all participants if internet-based video-chat was used, as participants had variable access to computer or smartphone technology, or variable levels of skill and comfort with using this technology, particularly on the part of some older participants (who e.g. did not have regular access to email or the internet, and with whom I only corresponded via physical post or landline telephone calls). As such, I decided to maintain common telephone-only interview conditions across the sample.

Neither interviewer nor interviewee seeing one another, across the entire sample, produced a number of methodological upsides. In terms of the participants not being visible to the interviewer (i.e. myself), one of the reasons for the preference for standardizing the interview conditions was to reduce potential for bias in how I later interpreted the qualitative data. If I had sighted some interviewees but not others, there was a potential for differential bias in interpretation of the interviews based on how I perceived the physical 'race' or appearance of the participants who I had seen (e.g. allowing my own views of their racial appearance to supersede their own accounts of how they had been racialised in the past) while being potentially more likely to trust the personal accounts of those who I had *not* seen. Thus, the option of myself not seeing anyone set the best potential baseline for myself in my own reflexive analysis. Relying on respondents' descriptions of their own physical appearance, and how people racially identify them over their lifetime in various contexts, could be seen as relatively less problematic, and even more valid as data over the whole corpus, than relying on a single interviewer's subjective perceptions of physical racial or ethnic characteristics over a brief interview period, via a video link to settings where, e.g. lighting and image quality is not consistent.

There were also potential upsides to participants not seeing me. 'Race of interviewer-effects' on interview and survey respondents have been found to have particular impact on questions or interviews *about* race (An & Winship, 2017; Conrad, Schober, Nielsen, & Reichert, 2019; Cotter, Cohen, & Coulter, 1982; Davis, 1997; Silver & State, 2003; West & Blom, 2017). Much of this research focuses on perceptions of White and Black interviewers and research participants, including on the phone or virtual interviews,

particularly in the US context. There is of course, no clear evidence of how such effects would impact on a situation with a New Zealand-born Chinese interviewer and a wide range of British people of mixed ancestry. However, whatever the unknown interviewer effects might have been, the literature suggests that race of interviewer-effects occur in the context of social power relations, where participants are able to clearly assign a race to their interviewer (specifically as White or Black), including over the phone due to cultural or linguistic cues. As a New Zealand-born Chinese, my position in social and racial hierarchies familiar to British people is somewhat indeterminate, as I discuss further in the next section. The telephone interview mode may have helped to mediate a range of possible assumptions about social position or power assigned to interviewer race, simply by making my ethnic group or race more ambiguous, and foregrounding my national identity as a New Zealander.

1.7.2.2 <u>Researcher positionality and reflexivity</u>

I reflect here on my positionality as a researcher for three related reasons: 1) Clarifying the ethical approach in engaging participants in this research in the context of a mixed methods study; 2) to work towards more valid analysis through reflexive criticality about my assumptions; and 3) to be transparent about potential interviewer effects.

In terms of the values inherent within the research, I took into account the problematic tradition of research subjects being objectified. I sought to address the extent to which the research could support participants' agency and autonomy within the framing of a very empiricist quantitative analysis that reduces and averages out individual experiences into data points. My intent for the role of qualitative research within the overall study, was to be a process of bringing individual voices, agency and texture of the 'unreduced' data back into the research as a primary source of meaning, rather than only as a way to complement and explain quantitative findings.

I also had to assess the impact of my assumed position of authority in terms of associations with a) an elite academic institution (LSE) and b) the institution that carries out the Understanding Society study (ISER, Essex University) with which participants had a lengthy pre-existing relationship of trust. It was important for participants to not confuse the two studies or feel required or coerced into participating. I found that elements of my own personal positionality, discussed further below, helped flatten out power relations during the interviews and recruitment process.

In terms of reflexivity of analysis, I was aware throughout of the need to check my assumptions against the quantitative evidence and the qualitative evidence participants presented, particularly in light of my own cultural privileges. In a technical sense, I approached the quantitative analysis through the lens of structuration and cultural production (Giddens, 1993; Hall, 1985), being mindful of the tensions and interplay of structure and agency by which the data sources were produced (Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002); and the analysis of the qualitative interviews from a social constructivist perspective whereby participants and the interviewer are engaged in co-construction of knowledge, with the assumption that 'interviewer effects' of some kind were inevitable.

For example, the qualitative interview processes themselves at times clearly had an effect on some respondent's self-examination of ethnic identity. In a few cases, respondents began to discuss changing their ethnic choice in survey forms during the interview, seemingly as a result of reflection prompted by the interview. I also assumed that complete detachment and 'neutrality' of analysis was not possible. Reflexive analysis meant that I took into account the limits, biases and also personal strengths of my own perspective as an immigrant to the UK, and as a second-generation Chinese New Zealander with a multi-ethnic family.[3]

For example, experiences of cultural 'marginality' are often discussed as a common trait of migrants, second-generation minorities, and mixed people in the West, as discussed previously – the notion of not belonging fully to either the White Western host culture or to specific minority cultures. However, as the child of English-medium educated Malaysian and Singaporean immigrants to the West, I benefit from those countries' highly syncretic approach to ethnicity, uniquely notable for generally not demanding that Chinese, regional, national or Western cultures be prioritized or placed in conflict with each other.

I am also personally influenced by indigenous New Zealand concepts of ethnicity that resist biologically racist notions of blood quantum (e.g. being 'half' or 'quarter' of an

---

[3] I am of Southeast Asian Chinese ethnicity with some possible but unconfirmed intra-Asian mixed heritage (Viet), and an intra-Asian mixed child (Chinese and Indian), whom I have variously categorised as 'mixed Other' and 'Other Asian' in UK survey data.

ethnic identity). In contemporary ethnic enumeration as well as indigenous tradition, this concept is rejected in favour of the Māori notion of whakapapa – identity affiliation through all ancestral lineage, no matter how distant (Howard & Didham, 2003; Kukutai, 2004; Pihama, 2010).

I am aware of how these strands of cultural security have been enabled by the protections of my upper middle class upbringing in a multicultural working class suburban environment that lacked marked racist hostilities targeting my ethnic group when I was young. This awareness was gained through grassroots ethnic advocacy and community organizing work I undertook in New Zealand in the past, during which it became clear that these secure structural and cultural characteristics distinguished me from a wide range of other minority and Asian peers from the second or 1.5 generation who suffered relatively more from cultural 'marginality' and from a greater sense of threat or social anxiety. Crucially, despite my ethnic group being highly racialised in my home country (more so than in the UK, due to perceived social, cultural, and geopolitical threats to New Zealand from Asia and China), I have limited personal experience with violent racial victimization, or victimization as a young child.

This awareness of the limits of my own personal experiences in explaining ethnic identity and identity choices, arrived at through a process of direct comparison with the experiences of others, has inevitably become part of my practice of social inquiry. I consciously theorise from my own specific position, from which I move by offering and holding space for what I have not experienced. This is the basis from which I personally related to or interacted with interview participants with distinctly different experiences to mine, such as those who made disclosures of severe cultural and racial trauma (Newton, 2017; Page, 2017).

Examinations of my positionality are not only relevant to how I approached participants, but for how participants related to me. Despite my obvious (to me) Chinese name on the recruitment materials and emails, as interviews took place on the phone rather than face-to-face, I believe that participants primarily identified me as a 'New Zealander' due to my accent, and in some cases it was clear that they did not remember my name, or connect our telephone interaction to the name of the person identified as the researcher in the recruitment materials. In the UK, accent is a key indicator of class, so a familiar yet foreign native English-speaking accent seemed to be treated as

completely outside of the national class system, and participants largely seemed to speak to me with relative unselfconsciousness. Comments from interviewees upon brief discussions of my nationality – despite a wide range of political and social perspectives of participants – commonly revealed their views of New Zealand and New Zealanders as non-threatening, friendly, somewhat delightful, and either beneath or on the same hierarchical level as interviewees' own conception of their national and ethnic identity. This seemed to both neutralise my position as a middle class researcher based at an elite institution, and obscure my racial status.

I was also viewed as a combination of an insider and outsider, depending on the interviewees. For example, for those with mixed or minority identities, there were some assumptions that I shared with them a colonial history, and some experiences as a person of colour, which is true. For those with White identities, their idea of a New Zealander was a person with something in common with them due to hailing from the culturally Anglocentric Commonwealth family of nations, which is also true. However, I found that it was particularly helpful to be transparent about my outsider status when eliciting more open discussion of UK-specific cultural issues, prompting willingness to elaborate on the underpinnings of 'commonsense' British social phenomena to the 'foreigner' without any negative implication. I was able to avoid the personal pitfalls of ingroup research, particularly assumptions that I would 'know what they mean' without that knowledge being made legible in the interview (Ochieng, 2010).

Pillow critiques the practice of positionality statements as attempts to write of our subjects "as familiar" to the detriment of reflexive criticality (Pillow, 2003). While my position may at times have been analogous to the interviewees, I did not seek to be taken as or to write subjects as 'familiar'. The advantage of being similar in some respects, of being analogous, but not to be assumed to be 'familiar' with interviewees' lives, is why the interview worked well as a process of discovery and explanation, and of working through participants' processes of self-representation *to others*.

1.8 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is organised into seven chapters. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 draw on quantitative analysis of Understanding Society (chapters 2 and 3) and the ONS LS (chapters 2 and 4), while chapters 5 and 6 analyse the qualitative data. Chapter 7 offers some conclusions.

The quantitative chapters of this thesis in part examine the relevance of the international literature to the UK context. Given the lack of UK analysis of this issue, Chapter 2 is exploratory, and Chapter 3 poses no formal hypotheses, only setting out broad expectations. It is only by Chapter 4 that the analysis posits formal hypotheses, after a clearer picture has emerged of how racial and social hierarchies are being reproduced through mixed peoples' choices.

In Chapter 2, I address the first two research subquestions through summary descriptive analysis of the Understanding Society data, and some use of the ONS Longitudinal study. I generate a typology of mixed groups, based on stated respondent ethnicity and stated parental ethnicity. This analysis is necessary to provide a fuller picture of ethnic choices for mixed people in the overall population, and includes analysis of who we are able to assume has multiple ethnic ancestry, and who remains undetected. This provides an overview of the landscape of who the different types of mixed people are in the UK within and outside of the strictures of the 'mixed' category, and where these groups 'sit' in society.

While Chapter 2 focuses on the population, Chapter 3 focuses on choices, addressing subquestion 3. I estimate multinomial logistic regression models using Understanding Society data to identify what factors are associated with specific types of mixed people – according to parentage – making different ethnic choices. The choice itself between 'White', 'Mixed' and non-mixed minority ethnic group is treated as a dependent variable, for a sample of those with one White and one non-White parent.

Which mixed people change their ethnic group and what is associated with those changes, is then addressed in Chapter 4, answering subquestions 4 and 5. I look at the characteristics of groups according to whether or not they have changed their ethnic group between the 2001 and 2011 Census for England and Wales, including different kinds of change. I then test associations between types of ethnic change and structural characteristics, using binary logistic and multinomial logistic regression models.

Having answered the 'what', I then seek to answer the 'why' in Chapters 5 and 6. These chapters analyse 30 qualitative interviews conducted with mixed people and a selection of mono-ethnic comparators, most of whom were recruited from Understanding Society. Chapter 5 takes a thematic analysis approach to answer questions of why participants made particular ethnic choices and what those choices mean. In a

methodological sense, it is the counterpart to the cross-sectional quantitative analysis of Chapter 3, looking at moments of 'ethnic choice' and what conditions appear to be associated with those choices. Chapter 6 uses a comparative case study approach, primarily using the 'most similar' case selection method, to look at drivers of different types of ethnic change over lifetimes. Methodologically, it is the counterpart to Chapter 4, looking at ethnic choice and change in the context of the life course.

The concluding chapter reflects on the implications for ethnic measurement in the UK and for the national and international literature, including recommendations for the UK's future ethnic measurement approaches. This includes discussions of contributions to empirical investigations of racial hierarchy and ethnic attrition questions, and theoretical contributions to critical race theory, particularly studies of Critical Whiteness in the UK.

2 Mixed assumptions – Who are the different groups of mixed people reported and 'hidden' in UK survey data?

2.1 Introduction

Why do mixed people make the ethnic choices that they do? Is there a relationship between how mixed people describe themselves, and structural factors such as socioeconomic status, neighbourhood ethnic density, and education? To address these wider questions using quantitative data, we first need to agree on who mixed people are, and how we can use available data to identify them. This has been a surprisingly underexplored area in UK quantitative research, although some UK data analysis has identified a substantial 'hidden' population with mixed parentage who do not identify as mixed in surveys (Nandi & Platt, 2012).

Some qualitative research has taken a fairly specific view on how to research who is 'mixed' in the UK context – that is, by identifying the relevant group as those with

monoracial parents from two visibly different races according to prevailing social norms (Aspinall & Song, 2013b; Song, 2017). But there is a difference between the study of identities arising from experiences of visible biraciality or of parental interraciality, and my interests in describing how populations with multiple ethnic ancestry interact with ethnic data collection.

By definition, looking at representative population samples means an elaboration of the full diversity of the characteristics of the population who both categorise themselves directly as mixed, and who can be categorised as mixed according to available data. This may mean that, indeed, there is no cohesive meaning to the 'Mixed' categories being used in quantitative data collection in the UK (Ali, 2007), or clearly defining traits and experiences that these groups or individuals hold in common – other than their interactions with survey instruments that seek to define them according to their multiple ethnic ancestry. This wider, even disparate, descriptive view, is a necessary part of investigating the uses and misuses of the 'Mixed' ethnic categories in national data, as contrasted with what they are meant to be for.

By definition, the mixed population groups I am comparing with each other are diverse. Taking this broad view allows for comparisons between those who identify as mixed, and the similar numbers of those who do not, but who declare multiple ethnic ancestry via their parents. It also allows for more fine-grained examination of the characteristics of different subsets of both of these groups. This will inform our understanding of pathways of integration and assimilation, social mobility, racialization, and ethnic attrition. All the quantitative analysis in this thesis has essentially a descriptive intent, and this chapter summarising the descriptive statistics of all identifiable types of mixed people in the UK is the starting point.

Using the Understanding Society Wave 1 individual respondent and household datasets, in this chapter I set out a quantitative and descriptive typology of mixed groups, based on their self-identified ethnic group and the ethnic group they have reported for their parents. I describe the characteristics of different groups, including their socioeconomic profile, and analyse where the groups 'sit' in relation to each other. As a part of this broadly descriptive approach, I also test the significance of socioeconomic differences between the groups, to provide context to inequalities of status.

2.2 Literature

Despite the recorded history of interracial partnering in the UK stretching back to the 16th century, with references to the social dynamics of mixed populations by at least the 18th century (Ali, 2012; Alibhai-Brown & Montague, 1992; Caballero, 2014; Olumide, 2002), the group now commonly referred to as 'mixed race' in popular British vernacular is often assumed to be dominated by mixed people who are UK-born children of an inter-ethnic or interracial couple – likely with a Caribbean or South Asian immigrant father and a White British mother. Key British qualitative literature has focused on the biracial experience as the salient trait of 'mixedness' – specifically having parents who are visibly different races from each other as the criteria for inclusion into studies on mixed or multiracial people (Aspinall & Song, 2013b; Song, 2017).

Recent literature has begun to re-examine this, particularly in how the 'second-generation mixed' population is parented and defined, including how they define themselves (Aspinall, 2017; Ryder, 2019; Song, 2017; Song & Gutierrez, 2015). However, earlier assumptions that the meaning of being 'mixed' or 'mixed race' was interchangeable with being first generation biracial, seem to have prepared the ground for early qualitative research in the UK (Tizard & Phoenix, 2002); consultation on how to accommodate multiple ethnicity in the Census for England and Wales (Aspinall et al., 2008); and options for parental ethnic group in the Understanding Society data analysed in this chapter.

Since the 'Mixed' categories were introduced in UK survey and administrative data, the category has been included in substantial amounts of quantitative research into socioeconomic outcomes for different ethnic groups. Such research, for example on labour market 'ethnic penalties' and other inequalities, has proceeded on the assumption that the mixed population is being adequately captured by the ethnic categories provided, and that the findings about population outcomes are thus representative of the reality for the salient or relevant group being classified. Those socioeconomic outcomes tend to lie somewhere between White British and minority communities (Heath & Cheung, 2006; Knies, Nandi, & Platt, 2014; Panico & Nazroo, 2011).

But given the diversity within the overall 'Mixed' categories, there are questions about how meaningful such findings are – or in a specific sense, what those findings actually

mean, and for whom. Quantitative assumptions that the 'biracial' group commonly *understood* to comprise the mixed population is well-captured in official data using the 'Mixed' categories, were challenged in the UK context by initial examination of data from Understanding Society in 2012. The Understanding Society questionnaire includes a standard ethnic question using the Office for National Statistics (ONS) standard, but also asked respondents to report the ethnic groups of their parents at wave 1. Amid detailed descriptive summaries of this ethnicity data, Nandi and Platt noted that "[a]mong those with parents from different ethnic groups, 30 per cent call themselves 'Mixed' but 35 per cent of them call themselves White British", and a further 7 per cent 'other White' (Nandi & Platt, 2012).

Following this insight, there has not yet been systematic investigation of the characteristics of this 'hidden' population with mixed ancestry in the UK; whether their multiple ethnicity or mixed identity is 'hidden' in social reality, or how they might differ from those who do identify themselves as mixed in survey data. There has also been no investigation of the characteristics of people self-defining as 'mixed' in Census or survey data, but who do *not* report parents from different ethnic groups (or whose parents do not report their own ethnicity as different from each other). How might the overall population of people who we can define as having mixed ancestry differ from the usual conceptions about what qualifies as mixed or 'mixed race'?

There is a contrast between the approach of research that seeks to examine the specific and qualitative social experience of mixedness for first-generation mixed children of visibly interracial partnerships in the UK (Aspinall & Song, 2013b; Ifekwunigwe, 1999; Song, 2017; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002), and the interest in aggregate outcomes for the mixed descendants of marginalised groups, including the qualitative experiences associated with a full range of those descendants. This contrast brings us back to the fundamental question of what ethnic enumeration is for.

Overviews of quantitative research on mixed ethnic choices tend to conclude that there are at least three distinct purposes for ethnic questions in survey or Census questionnaires that inform the design of questions: 1) To measure personal expressions of ethnic identity (which relates most directly to personal wellbeing and cultural connectedness); 2) to measure external perceptions of respondent race (as a proxy for social experiences of racialization and racism); and 3) to measure the extent of

integration and structural racism as it affects marginalised populations, including over time or through the generations (as a reflection of how racist a society is overall) (Burton et al., 2010; Charmaraman, Woo, Quach, & Erkut, 2014). These multiple aims are best served, it is argued, by multiple types of questions (Burton et al., 2010) and even by different research approaches. However, in the UK research so far, pursuit of the third purpose through quantitative analysis has been limited by only being able to use data arising from a question designed for the first purpose.

With regard to the 'first purpose' of measuring individual ethnic identity, which foregrounds the UK qualitative literature of mixedness, from a quantitative perspective Roth points out that "for analytic purposes, racial/ethnic self-identification should be treated as a statistical numerator, but …the challenge is for researchers to establish the correct denominator—the population that could identify as members of the group based on their ancestry". She argues that this multigenerational ancestry-based approach to ethnicity is necessary for the purposes of tracking processes of integration, assimilation, and the evolving construction of racial and ethnic categories in society – the 'third purpose' I refer to above (Roth, 2018).

A large-scale and descriptive study by the Pew Research Centre that asked for ancestry data, estimated that the population of the US with mixed ancestry, according to reported parental 'race' (in US terms), was more than two and a half times as large as the population identifying themselves as multiracial (the equivalent US term for the UK's 'mixed'). Based on reported *grandparental* ancestry the mixed population would have been more than eight and a half times the size of the reported mixed population. The report authors noted based on this that "multiracial identity quickly fades with the generations" in the US context (Parker, Morin, Menasce Horowitz, & Lopez, 2015, p. 42).

Quantitative US studies with more in-depth examination of socioeconomic characteristics are largely restricted to youth and young adults, partly due to reliance on household data with parents and children present (Roth, 2018). Of these studies, findings suggest that those differing in their choices from each other, or for whom identity 'fades' or does not 'fade', differ on characteristics in ways that reflect how race and racism play out differently for different groups in society (Campbell, 2007, 2010;

Davenport, 2016; Emeka & Vallejo, 2011; Herman, 2004; Hitlin, Brown, & Elder, 2006; Parker et al., 2015).

While interrogating ethnic choices for mixed people is new territory for the UK in terms of quantitative analysis, research from the Americas and New Zealand includes a number of in-depth quantitative examinations of predictors of ethnic choice and ethnic change. These will be outlined more extensively in the following chapters, but I touch on a number of aspects below. There are a range of US findings on the differences between differently-identified mixed people. These findings are likely to be context-specific to the US in many ways, but the research does highlight specific concepts that are worth exploring in light of the UK findings in this chapter.

As touched on in the introductory chapter for example, I expect skin colour and appearance to be a major factor that contributes to internalisation of ascribed race or ethnicity, or 'reflected race' – i.e. appearance prompts social construction of identity (Morning, 2011). The evidence on skin colour from the US highlights the need to pay particular attention to groups with Black descent in the UK. Despite the lack of historical institutionalisation of slavery or the 'one drop rule' on the British mainland, a wide range of researchers have pointed out similarities in the UK and the US's modes of racism against Black populations (Gilroy, 1987, 1993; Omi & Winant, 1994; Small, 1994). Social conventions of Black hypodescent exist to some extent in the UK, as evidenced by the social ascription of those with recognisably Black phenotype to Black categories, or the treating of the term 'mixed race' as referring to specifically Black-related populations, due to the extraordinary racialization of Black bodies compared with other ethnic groups (Gilroy, 1993; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002).

In terms of theories of how racial and ethnic choices are socioeconomically formed, there are a number of competing theories from the Americas that will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters. To briefly summarise, the classic Brazilian theory that "money Whitens" (Alba, 2016; Carvalho, Wood, & Andrade, 2004; Ianni, 1960) has relevance for segmented assimilation and ethnic attrition studies of Latin American descendants in the US (Alba & Islam, 2009; Duncan & Trejo, 2011, 2018; Emeka & Vallejo, 2011); but seems to be contradicted by range of different effects in contemporary Latin America (Schwartzman, 2007; Telles, 2014; Telles & Paschel, 2014), and even by some findings from the US that multiracial choices are associated

with being middle class or wealthy (Davenport, 2016; Stephens, Markus, & Townsend, 2007; Townsend, Fryberg, Wilkins, & Markus, 2012).

Studies of large Latinx populations in the US do not have any obvious parallel in the UK context. However, the lack of settled patterns across countries or contexts even where there has been substantial research on how class may predict ethnic identification for this group, highlights the need in the UK for an initial exploratory and descriptive examination of where different types of mixed populations – analysed according to both personally reported and parental ethnic group – sit socioeconomically in British society.

Moreover, although the specific Latinx-focus of US studies may not be relevant to the British context, the literature in question foregounds the notion of ethnic attrition, which is markedly under-studied in the UK – that is, strategic shifting of ethnic categories within or between generations to an extent that may bias quantitative analysis of socioeconomic outcomes for different ethnic groups. There are as yet no studies of UK populations that can cast light on whether generational attrition from one ethnic group category to another, or choices to not identify as Mixed despite mixed parentage, could be resulting in overestimation or underestimation of the status and outcomes of people who *are* reporting as Mixed.

The focus in this chapter and overall thesis on exploring the characteristics of populations with 'hidden' as well as 'visible' multiple ethnic ancestry is not a fixation on blood quantum for individuals. Rather, the purpose of this research is to analyse the long-term implications of different pathways to assimilation and integration for migrant and minority communities, and what this means for the sociological analysis of race and structural racism. As what may be applied directly from overseas research may be limited, quantitative research on ethnic choices of mixed people in the UK context must therefore start at the beginning, and answer basic descriptive questions about the contrasts between groups that are self-identified as mixed (the numerator); and all those who have known multiple ethnic ancestry (the denominator). As such, this chapter addresses the following research questions.

1. How do people with mixed or multiple ethnic ancestry in the UK identify in surveys? Can we develop a typology of mixed people based on self-identified and parental ethnicity?

2. Do these different types of mixed people in the UK have significantly different structural characteristics, such as family structure, skin colour, income and class?

2.3 Methods

2.3.1 Data

The main dataset analysed in this chapter is Understanding Society, with some triangulation using the ONS LS.

Roth has summarised two ways of identifying the 'denominator' (mixed ancestry) and the 'numerator' (respondent ethnic choice) when counting mixed people. The first is to use data sources that ask respondents to report not only their own ethnic group, but also ancestry data (e.g. parents' and grandparents' ethnic group), such as with the Pew survey mentioned above (Parker et al., 2015). Understanding Society is an example of this kind of data source, where adult respondents report their parents' ethnic group (which is thus not dependent on whether the parent is present in the household) as well as their own ethnic group.

The second approach is through use of household-level surveys or Census data, where two generations are present in two-parent households and all report ethnic group. The ONS LS is an example of this, as it links the data of all those in the household at the time that each Census is taken, allowing for some analysis of parental ethnic group of respondents.

While each type of data source has its limitations, the former type (using reported ancestry data) is preferable methodologically but has been less available to US researchers. Understanding Society is a rare example, and thus is used for the main analysis of this chapter. On balance, bias and inaccuracy in respondents reporting their parents' or grandparents' ethnicity is still preferable to household-level surveys in which analysis is hampered by selection bias of two-parent households, age limitations, and having to account for proxy effects in responses for children.

Understanding Society is the UK's successor to the 25-year long British Household Panel Survey. It is an annual survey, with the first wave having been conducted in 2009. That first wave asked individual respondents to report their own and their parents'

ethnic group. The survey includes both household and individual level data, and includes a substantial ethnic minority boost sample that recruited respondents from areas with high ethnic minority area density. The survey has a complex and stratified design, and includes an 'extra five minutes' of questions focusing on experiences of ethnic minorities, which is asked of a subsample of those who report as ethnic minorities and a comparator subsample of those who report as White.

While Understanding Society is a longitudinal study, this chapter conducts cross-sectional descriptive analysis only, and mainly focuses on Wave 1 data with some minor examination of Wave 2 variables. Wave 1 includes 30,169 households, 43,674 main sample individuals and 7,320 further individuals from the ethnic minority boost.

The ONS LS is a longitudinally linked 1 per cent subsample of the Census for England and Wales that samples and links decennial Census data of all people born on four particular dates in the year.

2.3.2 Sample

The sample used in the main descriptive analysis of this chapter includes only those who answered the individual questionnaire of Understanding Society (and were therefore at least aged 16 or over in 2009) and who reported their ethnic group and both their mother and father's ethnic group (n= 47,438).

The survey asks respondents to self-identify their ethnic group according to a list on a showcard (See Figure 2-1 below) which replicates (but adds ranked numbers to) the standard list used in the Census for England and Wales (see Figure 1-1). Unlike the US, Australia, Canada and New Zealand which all allow at least two choices in their Census standards ('multi-ticking') the UK standard is to allow only one choice of ethnic group, and only one response can be coded in the data. However, it includes four specified 'Mixed or multiple ethnic group' categories. The next question asks them to identify their parents' ethnic groups according to a non-Census standard ethnic list showcard (See Figure 2-2 below). The parental ethnicity list does not include the 'Mixed' categories but does include some specific groups not included in the standard ONS list, such as Turkish, and African-Asian (referring to South Asians who had settled in African countries in the colonial period before arriving in the UK). Assumptions that may have informed this mono-ethnic approach to parental ethnicity for mixed people in Understanding Society options have been discussed earlier.

Figure 2-1 Understanding Society showcard displayed to respondents asked "What is your ethnic group?" at Wave 1

SHOWCARD G2

White

1. British/English/Scottish/Welsh/Northern Irish
2. Irish
3. Gypsy or Irish Traveller
4. Any other white background

Mixed

5. White and Black Caribbean
6. White and Black African
7. White and Asian
8. Any other mixed background

Asian or Asian British

9. Indian
10. Pakistani
11. Bangladeshi
12. Chinese
13. Any other Asian background

Black / African / Caribbean / Black British

14. Caribbean
15. African
16. Any other Black background

Other ethnic group

17. Arab
97. Any other ethnic group

Figure 2-2 Understanding Society showcard displayed to respondents asked "To what ethnic group does your mother/father belong?" at Wave 1

SHOWCARD G3

1   White – British/English/Scottish/Welsh/Northern Irish

2   Irish

3   Gypsy or Irish Traveller

4   European, other than British

5   Other white group

6   Indian

7   Pakistani

8   Bangladeshi

9   Sri Lankan

10   Chinese

11   Turkish

12   Middle Eastern or Iranian

13   Caribbean

14   North African

15   Black African

16   African Asian

97   Other ethnic group

When respondents chose an 'Other ethnic group' option, they were then asked to specify that group – however, these answers are not provided with the dataset. Analysis by ONS of write-in answers to 'Other ethnic group' in the 2001 Census suggest that this category overall was dominated by East and Southeast Asian groups not elsewhere defined in the ethnic group list, such as Filipino and Japanese (Gardener & Connolly, 2005). This may be pertinent to those who designated their parents' ethnic group as 'Other', although is less generalisable to those with mixed parentage reporting 'Other' themselves.

The full sample of 47,438 is first divided into subgroups according to cross-tabulation of a reduced derivation of reported respondent ethnic group (Four categories: White, mixed, specified non-mixed minority and 'Other ethnic group'), and their parents' reported ethnic group (Three categories: two White parents, one White and one non-White, and two non-White parents), outlined in Table 2.1. Because of the lack of consistency between the respondent ethnic group list and the parental ethnic group list used in the survey, I have grouped all non-White parents together rather than separating out the 'Other' ethnic groups which may not be consistent with the 'Other' categories used in the respondent ethnic group list. Thus, there are twelve subgroups in the full population sample that we can define, according to self-identification and reported parental ethnic group, as outlined in the table below.

Table 2.1 Mixed people categorised by own ethnic group choice and reported parental ethnic group combination

Respondent choice	Ethnic group of both parents		
	2 White parents	1 White & 1 minority parent	2 minority parents
White	White (2 White parents)	White (1 White parent)	White (no White parents)
Mixed	Mixed (2 White parents)	Mixed (1 White parent)	Mixed (no White parents)
Non-mixed minority	Minority (2 White parents)	Minority (1 White parent)	Minority (no White parents)
'Other'	'Other' (2 White parents)	'Other' (1 White parent)	'Other' (no White parents)

The key sample of interest for this chapter is highlighted by the 'cross' in the table above – i.e. the population that we can regard as having multiple ethnic ancestry according to either self-reporting as 'mixed/multiple ethnic group' or according to their specific reported parental ethnicity.

In terms of groups that are excluded from the sample, we cannot assume from the data that those making the White choice with two minority parents, or making the minority or 'Other' choices with two White parents are mixed. As such, the sample for the main analysis consists of the six highlighted subgroups in the table, who either self-define as 'Mixed' (including those with minority parents from the same or different ethnic groups) and all of those with one White and one non-White parent.

2.3.2.1 ONS LS – triangulation sample

In a brief exploration of the extent and types of mixed ethnicity among the parents of any given sample of people reporting as mixed, this chapter uses a subsample of the ONS LS. The subsample selected for this analysis comprises members of the study who either reported their ethnic group as Mixed, or who had parents with different ethnic groups from each other. I included only those who had both parents in the household in 2001, as parental ethnicity for ONS LS sample members is only recorded if that parent is living in the home with the ONS LS member on the date of the Census. 2001 parental ethnic group is compared with 2011 ONS LS member ethnic group. I have limited the ONS LS sample to those aged 16 and over in 2011, as per the age range of the Understanding Society data, and to increase the likelihood that their 2011 reported ethnic group was self-defined rather than completed by a parent.

The sample of course skews young due to the parent-sampling requirement, and we can expect that other characteristics will also be skewed by the lack of sole parent households. Also, as the ONS LS is a sample of the Census for England and Wales, it is not fully comparable with the national sample of Understanding Society, as Scotland and Northern Ireland conduct their own Censuses independently. However, this triangulation is used to give some general insight into the hidden mixed population in the *parental* ethnic data reported in Understanding Society. The advantage of the ONS LS is that unlike in Understanding Society, both parents and children have the option of the 'Mixed' categories as they are answering the same Census question.

2.3.3 Variables

Understanding Society asked all respondents in Wave 1 to report their ethnic group, and the ethnic group of their mother and father individually. I collapse reported parental ethnicity into three categories of 'both parents White', 'one White and one minority parent' and 'two minority parents'. It is important to again note that the choices for parental ethnicity *do not include any options for 'Mixed or multiple ethnic groups'* (see Figure 2.2). This means that in cases where individual parents were mixed, respondents had to make a 'forced choice' in assigning them a best single ethnicity – a substantial limitation of this data which should be taken into account (and which I examine further in this chapter in the triangulation exercise using data from the ONS Longitudinal Study).

I then collapse self-identified ethnic groups into 'White', 'Mixed', 'Non-mixed minority ethnicity' and 'Other ethnicity'. 'Other' is included as a separate category rather than included in the 'minority' category only. This is due to the potential likelihood of mixed people selecting 'Other ethnicity', which may be relevant to the acceptability of survey terms for the mixed population, and also due to the possibility of this group having distinct characteristics from the minority-identified mixed people. I also derive binary indicators for having a Black, Asian, Middle Eastern/North African and 'Other' ethnic group parent.

The table below outlines how I recode the ethnic options presented in the questionnaire for respondent and parental ethnic group, into the categories for the variables described above.

Table 2.2 Ethnic categories derived from respondent and parental ethnic group options in Understanding Society

Derived category	Respondent ethnic group as per questionnaire options	Parents' ethnic group as per questionnaire options
White **(Used in respondent 4-category and parental 3-category ethnic group variables)**	White 1.British/English/Scottish/Welsh/ Northern Irish 2. Irish 3. Gypsy or Irish Traveller 4. Any other White background	1. White – British/English/Scottish/ Welsh/ Northern Irish 2. Irish 3. Gypsy or Irish Traveller 4. European, other than British 5. Other White group
Mixed **(Respondent ethnic group 4-category variable)**	Mixed 5. White and Black Caribbean 6. White and Black African 7. White and Asian 8. Any other mixed background	N/A (no mixed categories available)
Minority (non-mixed) **(Used in respondent 4-category and parental 3-category ethnic group variables)**	Asian or Asian British 9. Indian 10.Pakistani 11.Bangladeshi 12. Chinese 13. Any other Asian background Black/African/Caribbean/Black British 14. Caribbean 15. African 16. Any other Black background Other ethnic group 17. Arab	6. Indian 7. Pakistani 8. Bangladeshi 9. Sri Lankan 10. Chinese 11. Turkish 12. Middle Eastern or Iranian 13. Caribbean 14. North African 15. Black African 16. African Asian 97. Other ethnic group
Other ethnic group **(unspecified)** **(Used in respondent ethnic group 4-category variable)**	Other ethnic group 97. Any other ethnic group	N/A
Black parent **(Dummy variable)**	(see right hand column)	12. Caribbean 15. Black African
Asian parent **(Dummy variable)**	(see right hand column)	6. Indian 7. Pakistani 8. Bangladeshi 9. Sri Lankan 10. Chinese 16. African Asian
MENA parent **(Dummy variable)**	(see right hand column)	11. Turkish 12. Middle Eastern or Iranian 14. North African
'Other' parent **(Dummy variable)**	(see right hand column)	97. Other ethnic group

Variables selected for summary descriptive analysis correspond to the different scales or spheres of ethnic and racial identity formation discussed in Chapter 1: the body, family, community, socioeconomic status, and national identity.

In terms of 'the body', the first variables I examine are gender (captured only as a binary in the survey data) and age in years at Wave 1. One would expect the distributions to shed some light on suggestions from the US research that mixed identification skews female and younger. I also examine a variable that asked respondents to rank the importance of skin colour to their personal identity. A binary variable is derived from this, indicating whether respondents classify their skin colour as important ('very' or 'fairly important to who I am') or not important ('not very important' or 'not important to who I am'). Understanding Society has no measures, either direct or indirect, of skin colour or phenotype itself, and neither does any other large scale UK survey. This 'importance of skin colour' question was part of a cluster of questions that can be best characterised as indirect measures of colour-based 'race consciousness', also including respondents' pride in their skin colour, and happiness upon meeting someone with the same skin colour as their own. These variables were only available at Wave 2 and for a subset of respondents – a portion of the Ethnic minority Boost sample and a comparator group from low ethnic minority density areas (altogether n= 8,095 of those who reported parental ethnic group at Wave 1). Due to weighting issues discussed further in Chapter 3, I report the unweighted percentages for the skin colour question. I also include a derived variable indicating whether respondents reported being Muslim, as this could contribute to racialization based on name or clothing (such as women wearing the hijab or niqab).

A particular generation of the mixed population is subjected to assumptions about being the children of White mothers and fathers of colour, with ethnic identification being affected by the absence of minority fathers in particular (Caballero et al., 2008; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002). I examined distributions of whether respondents' fathers or mothers were ethnic minorities, and whether the minority parents were Black, Asian, from a Middle Eastern/North African background, or none of these, derived from parental ethnicity variables as outlined in the table above. I also looked at rates of whether fathers or mothers were absent from respondents' households when they were 14 years of age. This was derived from a variable on parental occupation when respondents were 14, meant to indicate class position, with an option being 'father not living with

respondent [at age 14] so don't know' and 'mother not living with respondent [at age 14] so don't know'.

Given the focus on area effects in the literature on ethnic choices and identities, particularly area ethnic density, I examine three variables, two of which are very limited indicators of minority presence in the current neighbourhood of the respondent. One variable indicates whether the respondent was living in an area with the lowest ethnic minority density, which excluded it from any targeting for the ethnic minority boost. A related variable is whether the respondent was part of the 'ethnic boost' sample that targeted neighbourhoods with the highest ethnic minority density. The third area-level variable included in descriptive analysis is the percentage of each group living in rural areas. The bluntness of these area-level indicators should be noted. A further analytical limitation here is that these variables do not capture the ethnic density of the neighbourhood that respondents were *raised* in; any relationship between ethnic choice and area ethnic density of the area they live in as an adult could be self-selective.

I examine a suite of socioeconomic variables that relate to household class position when young, to the individual now, and to current household status. The highest level of respondent education is coded into a three-category variable (no qualifications, school-level qualifications, tertiary qualifications) and the distribution is reported. Similarly, the occupation of the mother or father in the household when young is derived from the Understanding Society classification using SOC2010 (Office for National Statistics, 2010) and recoded into a three-category categorical variable, and the distribution reported. Parental education level was only asked of a small subsample of the first wave of the dataset – however, comparing the distributions between the mixed subsample groups is still of use. Given the role of maternal tertiary education in ethnic choice (Davenport, 2016), valid weighted percentages of parents with tertiary education are reported where sample sizes in the mixed subgroups are above 30.

Household-level socioeconomic variables being considered are equivalised household income in GBP and being in a household experiencing income poverty (defined as less than 60 per cent of median household income in the dataset), both derived from the household-level income data in the dataset. Also included is a derived variable indicating a subjective self-report of whether a household is experiencing financial stress ('finding it quite difficult' or 'finding it very difficult').

At the level of the national discourse, I include a binary indicator for whether respondents were born in the UK. I also include a measure of each group's average level of importance they placed on 'British identity', derived from an eleven-point scale (zero-to-ten) in the original dataset. A spontaneous code of '11' was assigned in the original dataset to those who said that they do not consider themselves to be British, and I have coded these as zero.

2.3.4 Analysis

I first establish the weighted proportions of the different types of overall combinations between reported ethnic group and reported parental ethnic group, and then narrow the sample of interest down to mixed 'types' and mono-ethnic comparator groups. Pre-supplied survey weights are applied. Weighted descriptive statistics of various characteristics are then provided, allowing for comparison of different subgroup profiles, using the conceptual framework (Figure 1-3) that assumes key 'scales' of identity at the level of the body, the family, the neighbourhood, socioeconomic status, and the wider national discourse. All full counts on individual variables are included in the descriptive table, and I do not exclude cases with missing data on other variables. A full table of descriptive statistics for all 12 groups is available at Appendix 2.A.

The first table first contrasts the overall demographic and socioeconomic profile of those reporting as mixed, to those with mixed parentage who do not report as mixed ('visible' vs 'hidden' mixed). Some significance-testing of means and proportions is carried out, applying supplied survey weights. This provides some insight into the degree to which there is significant 'ethnic attrition' affecting the mixed category that could effect analysis of outcomes overall for that category. The 'hidden' group is comprised of the three groups reporting one White and one non-White parent but who do not select the 'mixed' category; (those reporting as White, as non-mixed minorities, and as 'Other ethnic group'). The 'visible' mixed group are all those groups reporting as 'mixed', no matter what their reported parental ethnic group, which includes those reporting one, two, or no White parents.

In the second section of the table, the two 'hidden' and 'visible' mixed groups are then disaggregated into the six mixed types, and two further groups are included in the table to provide some overall comparative context. These extra non-mixed groups are the assumed White majority - i.e. those reporting as White with two White parents – and the

overall mono-ethnic minority population, i.e. those reporting specific minority ethnic groups, with two non-White parents. Significance testing is also carried out, with Group 5 being chosen as the 'baseline' in these comparisons. Group 5 is the mixed-identified group with one White and one non-White parent, which is the combination commonly assumed to define what the 'Mixed' category means in the UK.

2.4 Findings

2.4.1 What are the different 'types' of mixed people according to stated ethnic group and parental ethnic group?

Cross-tabulating the derived categorical variables for respondent and parental ethnic group provides an overall picture of how well reported parental ethnicity maps onto the mixed ethnic categories in the full survey data. This is represented visually at Figure 2-3 below, a Sankey plot that shows reported parental ethnic groups on the left flowing into reported respondent ethnic group on the right. We can see that the large White and non-mixed minority categories behave largely as expected, in that the flows from parental ethnic group and respondent ethnic group are mostly intuitively 'matched'. However, the flows into the 'Mixed' category and out of the 'One White and one minority parent' category are relatively messy.

A full cross-tabulation at Table 2.3 below details the unweighted counts and weighted percentages of the twelve subgroups according to their parental ethnic groups. It can be seen in more detail that although the flow of people with mixed parentage into the self-identified 'White', minority and 'other' groups, is negligible as a percentage of those particular groups, it is relatively large for the mixed category itself. We can also identify the six relevant mixed categories mentioned in discussion of the sample (highlighted in red in Table 2). These include the three 'visible' mixed groups that define themselves as mixed, even if they report that their parents are of the same ethnic group; and the three 'hidden' mixed groups that do not identify themselves as mixed, but who report that their parents are from different ethnic groups.

Figure 2-3 Mapping parental ethnic group to respondent ethnic group, Understanding Society Wave 1, n=47,438
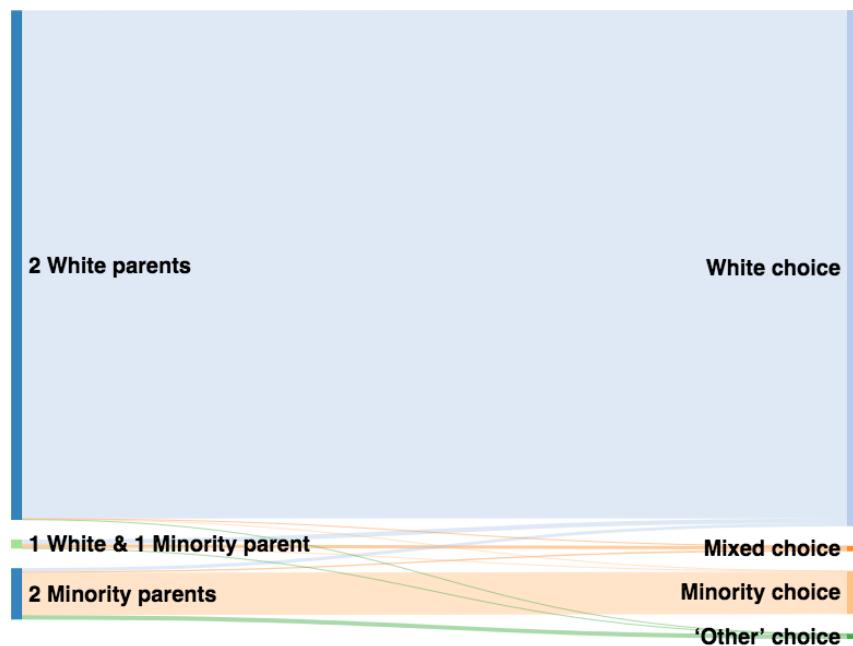
Table 2.3 Self-identified ethnicity (4 categories) by parental ethnicity (3 categories), Understanding Society Wave 1 (n=47,438), cross-tabulation, unweighted counts and weighted percentages

		2 White parents	1 White & 1 minority parent	2 minority parents	Total
White choice	Weighted %	89.20%	0.82%	0.56%	90.58%
	n	37,097	371	311	37,779
Mixed choice	Weighted %	0.07%	0.60%	0.24%	0.92%
	n	52	512	249	813
NM minority choice	Weighted %	0.06%	0.09%	7.43%	7.58%
	n	29	92	7992	8113
Other choice	Weighted %	0.08%	0.09%	0.75%	0.92%
	n	49	61	623	733
Total	Weighted %	89.42%	1.60%	8.98%	100%
	n	37,227	1,036	9,175	47,438

On the weighted estimates, the adult population that can be feasibly counted as mixed in 2009, in that they have multiple ethnic ancestry, is more than double the figure of those who actually reported being mixed (see summary in Table 3 below). Using the 2009 data, an estimated 52.04% of the mixed population over 16 may not have been identifying as mixed at any one time; with the White-identified group representing an estimated 42.81% of the total of all possible adult mixed people. Mixed-identified people with one White and one non-White parent appear to have been the minority within the population of adults with mixed ethnic parentage. Three mixed groups generally overlooked in definitions or discussions of the UK mixed population are rather substantial. These are the White-identified people with one minority parent, the mixed-identified reporting two minority parents, and the minority-identified with one White parent.

Table 2.4 Count and weighted proportions of six mixed types, Understanding Society Wave 1

	N	Unweighted per cent	Weighted per cent
White identified; 1 minority parent	371	27.75	42.81
Mixed identified; 2 White parents	52	3.89	3.72
Mixed identified; 1 White parent	512	38.29	31.49
Mixed identified; 2 minority parents	249	18.62	12.74
Non-mixed minority; 1 White parent	92	6.88	4.79
'Other ethnic group'; 1 White parent	61	4.56	4.44
Total possible mixed people in Wave 1	1337	100%	100%
Total mixed-identified	813	60.80	47.95
Total not mixed-identified	524	39.20	52.04

*Shaded rows indicate those who would not usually be counted as mixed
in standard analysis of UK survey data.*

Figure 2-2 below provides a visualisation of the weighted data for these mixed groups. Again, what respondents reported for their parents' ethnic groups on the left flow into their own ethnic choices on the right. 'Minority' in the plots is shorthand for non-mixed or monoethnic minority ethnic group.

Figure 2-4 Mapping parental ethnic group to respondent ethnic group: Weighted percentages of six mixed types (n=1337, Understanding Society Wave 1
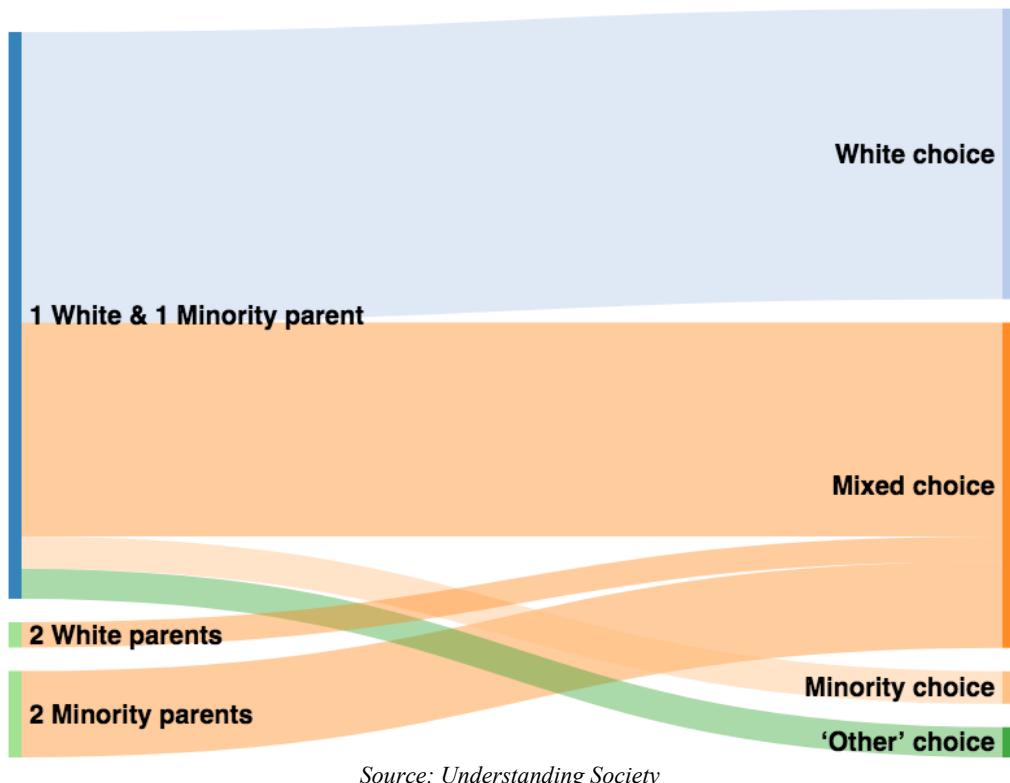
Source: Understanding Society

There is a range of likely partial explanations for the different 'mismatched' categories. At a sociological level, the appeal of White, mixed or non-mixed minority identities or categories will affect people differently depending on their family and community context, which is explored more deeply in the rest of this thesis. There are also more technical explanations. For example, there are likely to be cases of transracial adoption, reporting of step-parents as parents, and lack of consensus over the literal or social meaning of ethnic and geographic terminology, particularly around definitions of 'White' and 'Asian'. A particular stumbling block for the Understanding Society data, as discussed earlier, is the lack of mixed/multiple ethnic categories for the parental ethnic group question, which is likely to explain why a substantial chunk of the mixed category reported having parents from the same minority ethnic group.

Some triangulation of this data using the ONS LS provides an expanded view of parental ethnic group, and reveals likely sources of further underestimation of the size of the hidden mixed population. The advantage of the ONS LS is that the same mixed

ethnic options are available to all who complete the Census, including of course, the parents in the households linked to LS study members.

The ONS LS data on parental ethnic group is included into the dataset only if parents are resident in the household on Census night, and the sample of those with data on both parents is therefore a non-representative subsample (although I have applied the same age restriction of Understanding Society to the ONS LS sample, including only those aged 16+). Despite expected differences, the ONS LS provides the same fundamental picture overall of large 'hidden' groups that we could classify as mixed, and more detail about what may be missing from analysis of the Understanding Society data.

The purpose of the triangulation is essentially illustrative. The comparison reveals the range of parental ethnic combinations of the ONS LS data in Figure 2-4 on the right, showing the different ways in which the Understanding Society questionnaire restricts parental options, creates 'forced choices', and is likely to have rendered some segments of the mixed population undetectable for inclusion in this analysis. Figure 2-4 and Figure 2-3 help us to visualize the missing group of those who are non-mixed minority-identified but who have mixed parents, who would likely have coded their parents as non-mixed minorities in Understanding Society. Their equivalent in Figure 2-4 is the orange band of 'two minority parents' flowing into 'minority' choice using Understanding Society-equivalent categories – i.e. not detectable as mixed in the Understanding Society data. We can assume that an equivalent White-identified group exists, but is undetectable even in the ONS LS plots, i.e. the White-identified respondents with one or two mixed parents but who assign their mixed parent/s as White. These two groups with mixed ancestry that are not observable in the data are likely to be embedded in their respective White and minority communities, and would be examples of multigenerational ethnic attrition driven by family context.

The Sankey plots the two cross-tabulations of the ONS LS sample are below, using raw counts, with full tables available at Appendix 2.B. On the left is the plot of parental ethnic group flowing into respondent ethnic group, with the parental data aggregated into the Understanding Society monoethnic categories, allowing for a direct comparison with Figure 2-4 above that visualises the Understanding Society data, before comparing with Figure 2-6 on the right which reveals the fuller combinations of parental ethnicity.

Figure 2-5 Mapping parent to child ethnic group, parents backcoded to binary choice as per Understanding Society, raw counts, ONS LS
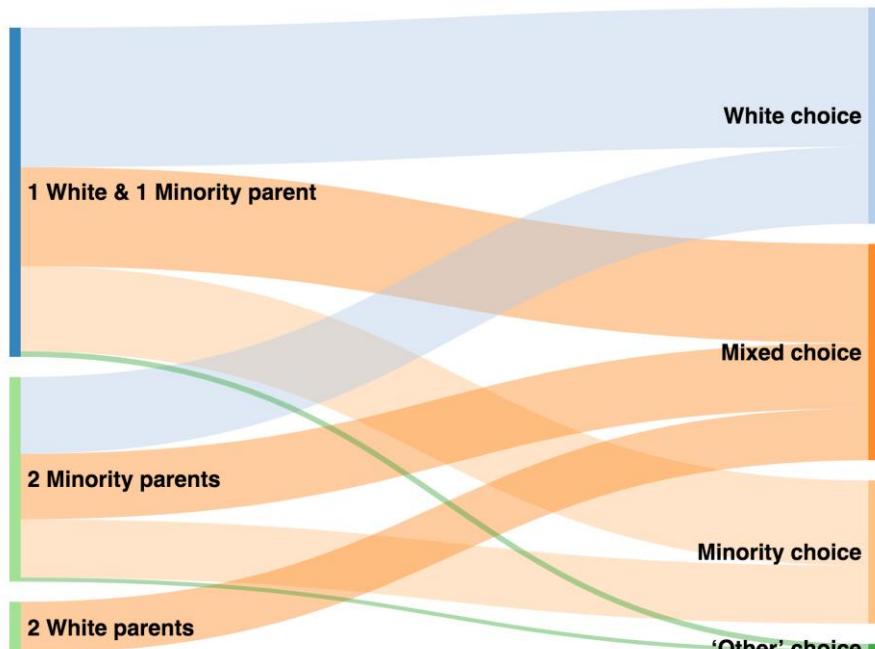
Figure 2-6 Mapping parent to child ethnic group, full parental ethnic group as per Census for England and Wales, raw counts, ONS LS
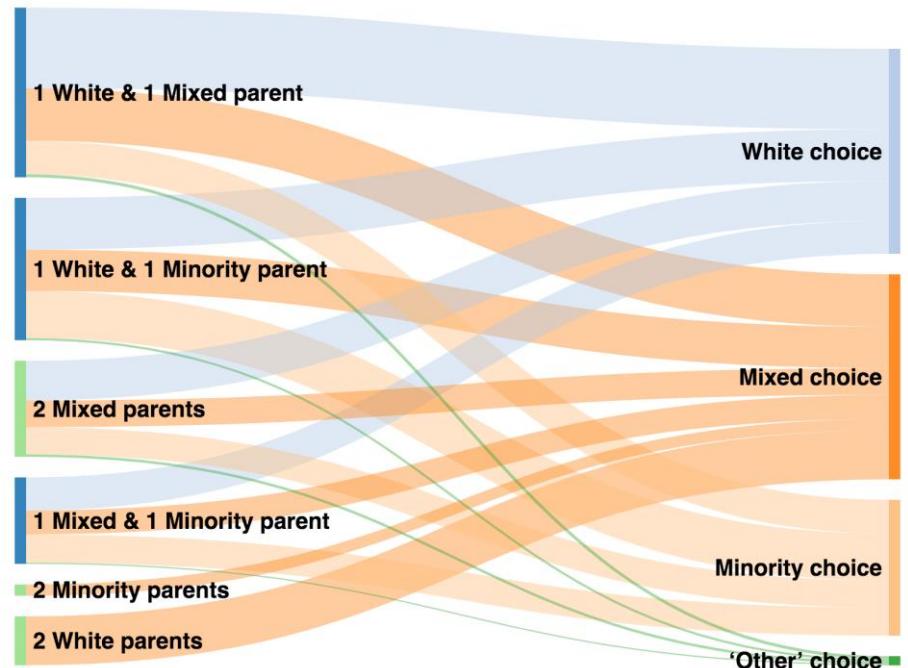
The way that the mixed parents in Figure 2-6 are aggregated to the minority categories in Figure 2-5 does not necessarily reflect how they would have identified themselves. However, applying estimated proportions of White self-identification according to Table 3 also would have been problematic.[4] As noted, this comparison is illustrative in purpose.

In Understanding Society, there is a substantial mixed-identified group who identify both parents as non-mixed minorities. Despite limitations, the ONS LS data suggests that most of these pairs of parents will include at least one mixed person, and that the 'forced choice' in Understanding Society obscured the diversity of these pairings: e.g. as a pair of mixed parents, a mixed and a non-mixed minority parent, or a mixed and a White-identified parent.

2.4.2 Are there significant differences in characteristics between the mixed types?

Despite the inability to identify certain 'hidden' or unreported mixed groups due to lack of information about mixed ancestry for parents in Understanding Society, this dataset at least has the advantage of being a representative, stratified population sample of adults making their own ethnic choices. This chapter now summarises the characteristics of groups that *can* be identified using Understanding Society data.

Table 2.6 below summarises the descriptive characteristics of the identified mixed groups. All statistics are weighted except where otherwise indicated. Valid percentages are reported for each variable. Where variables are from smaller subsamples, this is indicated. The full table of characteristics for all 12 groups listed in the discussion of the sample is available at Appendix 2.A, including non-missing *n* for each variable.

---

[4] In light of qualitative findings discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, in Understanding Society it seems likely that respondents report their parents' ethnic group more strictly according to ancestry criteria, compared with their own ethnic choices being more likely to reflect personal cultural and national identity. However, in the ONS LS Census data, parental data is all self-reported by the parents, and accordingly there is a greater proportion of White British personal choices among parents of mixed and minority-identified people on the ONS LS than in Understanding Society. There is also greater incidence of reporting minority parentage with White personal choices in Understanding Society than in the ONS LS.

The first two columns of Table 2.6 compare characteristics of the 'visible' mixed-identified group in aggregate (identified according to having made the 'mixed' choice) and the 'hidden' or unreported mixed group in aggregate (identified according to parent ethnicity). Asterisks indicate where summary statistics for the 'hidden' group's characteristics are significantly different from the aggregate 'visible' group.

The remainder of the table splits these aggregate groups apart into the six different mixed types defined at Table 3 above. Also included are the two assumed-monoethnic comparator categories (White with two White parents; and mono-ethnic minority with two minority parents). The mixed groups have been ordered 1-6, and arranged in the table according to their overall proximity on characteristics and stated ethnic group to the White comparator group on the far left, and to the minority comparator group on the far right (although position in the table is not determinative). Highlighted near the centre of these eight groups is Group 4: the 'Mixed-identified with one White parent' group. In this section of the table, asterisks indicate statistically significant difference of weighted means or proportions to Group 4. Group 4 is being treated here as a 'baseline' for all the other groups due to common assumptions in quantitative and qualitative research, and in public discourse, that mixed-identified people with one White and one non-White parent are the most representative of mixed status and mixed experience, and that their outcomes are somewhere midway between White and non-mixed minority outcomes.

2.4.2.1 Hidden versus visible mixed

Although significance varies, being 'hidden' mixed is associated with lower education and income; but less incidence of subjective financial hardship than being 'visible' mixed. The most substantive and significant differences in characteristics however, are in ethnic parentage, including minority patrilineality, area ethnic density, age, and attitudes to British identity and skin colour. The majority of self-selection into non-mixed categories overall appears associated more with likely appearance and cultural environment than consistently with class status. The 'hidden' group is significantly older, far less likely to have a Black parent or any minority father, places less importance on skin colour, lives in Whiter areas, and reports a stronger 'British' identity.

When the 'hidden' and 'visible' categories are disaggregated into the six smaller categories defined by their specific ethnic choices and parental ethnic combination, we can see that the aggregate 'hidden' group characteristics are dominated by Group 1, the large White-identified group with one White parent; and the 'visible' group is dominated by Group 4, the largest mixed-identified group (with one White parent). The contrasts between Group 1 and 4 are more consistently significant than between the aggregate 'hidden' and 'visible' categories, due to the effect of being aggregated with other smaller mixed types with characteristics that skew in the opposite direction.

2.4.2.2 <u>Differences between the six mixed groups</u>

The typology below first provides a quick overview of how each group is defined, and briefly explains how I have ordered the groups in Table 2.6 as 'closer to White' and 'closer to minority'. I then describe each group in more detail.

2.4.2.2.1   *Group 1: White choice with one non-White parent.*

The largest 'hidden' mixed group, the White-identified mostly has a Middle Eastern/North African or 'Other ethnic group' parent. As noted, ONS analysis of Census data suggests that the 'Other ethnic group' choice for the parental ethnic categories is dominated by East Asian and Southeast Asian groups not provided a specific tick-box (Gardener & Connolly, 2005), likely due to the common interpretation in the UK that 'Asian' refers to South Asians only. It is also likely that a portion of the 'Other' parents in the Understanding Society data are mixed themselves, as explored in the triangulation exercise with ONS LS data. This group had the lowest incidence of having a Black parent and also the lowest reported rates of feeling that skin colour was important to their identity. Together, these findings suggest that this White-identified group on average is the most physically White-looking, an implication explored in more depth in the qualitative chapters 4 and 5.

Group 1 is also significantly more likely to live in very White areas, and is the group that is most likely to have been born in the UK and has the highest levels of 'British' identity, suggesting a conflation between 'White British' and 'British' identity. Socioeconomically, Group 1 has a significantly higher proportion of people with no high school qualifications than the mixed baseline Group 4 (the mixed-identified with one White parent), and also significantly lower mean household income. However, income distribution was more compact and there was low incidence of household

income poverty, also reflected in low subjective financial hardship rates. The proportion whose parents reported tertiary education appears substantially lower than for Group 4 – this difference is non-significant, although sample sizes for the subsample providing parental education levels are small, and this likely affects statistical significance.

Table 2.5 Summary typology

Closer to White	**Group 1**	**White choice - one White parent** **Assimilated identity, likely Whiter appearance, live in Whiter areas**
	Group 2	'Other ethnic group' choice - one White parent Not accepting mixed category, less assimilated identity but similar to White socioeconomically
	Group 3	Mixed choice, two White parents Acknowledging mixed ancestry within high status White context
Midway position	Group 4	Mixed choice, one White and one minority parent The 'survey standard', with family and socioeconomic traits distinct from groups on either 'side'.
Closer to minority	Group 5	Mixed choice, two minority parents Acknowledging mixed ancestry from within minority community context.
	Group 6	Non-mixed minority choice with one White parent Deprioritising White ancestry, signs of marginalisation.

2.4.2.2.2 *Group 2: 'Other' with one White parent*

This very small group also has some similarities to Group 1 and to the White majority. They are overall highly educated, with low poverty and deprivation similar to the White majority, and are more likely than most other groups to be living in a very White area or a rural area; although a good proportion also live in areas targeted by the minority Boost. This group is the least likely to report a Black parent, and mostly assign their minority parents as 'Other' as well, which, as noted earlier, could mean that the group could substantially have an East or Southeast Asian minority parent, or a mixed parent. As would be expected from the residual nature of the category, there is high variance in

household income and a possibly bimodal age distribution (see age plots at Appendix 2.C) suggesting overall a demographic and socioeconomic diversity. Their choice of 'Other' for themselves appears to have distinctly different implications from the nationalistic or assimilationist implications of a 'White choice'. For example, they are substantially foreign-born with lower sense of British identity. 'Other' appears to be a way of expressing non-White ancestry without accepting that the 'mixed' label fits or applies to them.

2.4.2.2.3 *Group 3: mixed with two White parents*

This is a very small group with the highest overall socioeconomic status (e.g. higher income and education than the White majority) and the largest proportion living in the Whitest neighbourhoods. Analysis of specific reported ethnic group for those in this group suggests it is mostly comprised of those indicating White and Black Caribbean or White and Asian descent, suggesting that, in combination with high-status White parents, that the group could include transracially adopted people. It may also include people acknowledging smaller amounts of symbolic minority ancestry, and/or who had made the 'White' forced choice for a mixed parent.

2.4.2.2.4 *Group 4: Mixed with one White parent*

The group commonly assumed to represent what being mixed 'means', is markedly the youngest of all the groups with a median age below 30 in 2009, and the highest proportion of women. Most of the group has either a Black or an Asian parent. They are the most likely to have had an absent minority parent growing up, and are significantly more likely to live in a very White area compared with Group 5 or Group 6 (classed as 'closer to minority' in the typology and table). They also attach significantly less importance to skin colour than Group 5 and 6, but significantly more than the White-identified Group 1. These indicators formed an overall picture of being socially, geographically, or culturally distinct from groups that are more associated with or similar to mono-ethnic minority communities.

In terms of 'midway' socioeconomic outcomes, the group has higher education levels than either the White majority or the non-mixed minority group, although this high level of education is likely mediated by a cohort effect due to younger age. Income levels are not significantly different from the White majority, though significantly higher than the non-mixed minority group, the mixed with two minority parents group (Group 5), and

the White-identified mixed group (Group 1). The group has a relatively low rate of household income poverty, but significantly higher reported rates of subjective financial hardship compared to groups with similar income distribution.

Along with the White-identified Group 1, they have the highest rates of being UK-born, but report significantly lower levels of British identity compared with Group 1.

2.4.2.2.5   *Group 5: Mixed identity with no White parents*

This group is very similar in nearly all respects to the non-mixed minority comparator group, with the exception being that most have at least one Black parent (compared with the overall minority population being dominated by Asian ethnic groups). As concluded in the analysis of the ONS LS data, people in this group likely have mixed parents who they assign as non-mixed minorities due to survey option limitations, influenced by cultural connection to those communities. We can view this group as not only similar to, but likely embedded in minority communities and culture, as indicated by their parental ethnic group – but acknowledging mixed ancestry.

This group could have been placed 'closest to minority' in the table as they are the most similar to the minority comparator group on characteristics, but I have placed them alongside the Group 4 'baseline' as both are mixed identified, and it is helpful to compare them directly. Together Group 4 and Group 5 comprise the majority of the population generally counted as 'mixed'. As such, the contrasts between them provide an idea of how the visible or reported 'mixed' population, rather than being exemplified by Group 4, is split between a slightly older and mostly migrant group that is more close to minority communities and has less White parental influence, and the younger UK-born group that has more connections to White communities or parentage.

2.4.2.2.6   *Group 6: Non-mixed minority choice, one White parent*

The profile of this group is marked by signs of marginalisation, which seem to be associated with a more strongly racialised identity. More likely to have Asian parentage than Black, and with a similar level of MENA parentage to the 'Other'-identified Group 2, this group has the highest percentage of Muslim members. It also has the highest proportion of those reporting that skin colour is important to their identity, which seems logically associated with their choice to identify as non-mixed minorities.

Socioeconomically, this group is doing the worst of the mixed groups, and in some cases worse than the mono-ethnic minority baseline, with the lowest income, highest poverty, markedly lower levels of tertiary education, and higher proportions of those with no qualifications.

Creating a typology according to reported respondent and parental ethnic group reveals significant differences between groups, and sorts mixed types into broad groupings that are closer to the White majority or to the non-mixed ethnic minority population in terms of socioeconomic, neighbourhood, family or embodied characteristics.

However, socioeconomic characteristics do not consistently conform to patterns of 'Whiter' groups doing the best in all areas. For example, although the White-identified mixed group has low poverty rates, they also appear to be more classically working class than their mixed-identified counterparts with one White parent, with lower average household income and education.

A key demographic division found between the six mixed groups is the median age difference between UK-born children of inter-ethnic partnerships; and groups dominated by an overseas-born mixed population. Groups 4 and 6 with one White and one minority parent have by far the youngest median age. This contrasts with an older age distribution of Group 5, the mixed-identified with two minority parents, which has a very similar age distribution and similar proportion born outside the UK to the non-mixed minority comparator group (See age distribution for all six groups and the two comparator groups at Appendix 2.C).

The UK-born are usually portrayed as the face of 'mixed race Britain' (Ford et al., 2012), and typically as urban children of an interracial partnership of the 'Windrush' generation – the cohort associated with Caribbean post-war labour migration. This is typified by the profile of our Group 4, the mixed with one White parent. However, there appears to be a substantial population of older mixed immigrants from the Caribbean, Africa and Asia who, even as they make a 'forced choice' to assign their parents as non-mixed, highlight a colonial-era history of mixed descent with their own mixed choice.

Table 2.6 Weighted descriptive statistics for six reported and non-reported mixed groups, including in aggregates of reported and unreported, plus two mono-ethnic comparator groups, Understanding Society Wave 1, n=46,426

	Reported vs 'hidden' mixed		Closer to White				Midway (baseline)	Closer to minority		
	(G3, G4, G6)	(G1, G2, G5)	White majority	G1. White/ 1WP	G2. Other/ 1WP	G3. Mixed/ 2WP	G4.Mixed/ 1WP	G5.Mixed/ 2MinP	G6. Min/ 1WP	NM minority
N (total n=46,426)	813	524	37097	371	62	52	512	249	92	7992
Weighted per cent	47.96	52.04	89.2	0.82	0.09	0.07	0.6	0.24	0.09	7.43
The body										
Mean age in 2009 (S.D.)	34.34 (0.64)	39.42*** (1.16)	47.62*** (19.07)	39.87*** (18.26)	37.57* (15.72)	39.57* (19.06)	31.8 (12.97)	39.09*** (15.79)	37.13* (16.46)	37.44*** (14.82)
Median age in 2009	32	36	47	36	38	37	29	37	33	35
% female	53.80	51.54	51.54†	50.74	56.2	53.6	56.86	46.3*	54.29	46.3***
Skin colour v. important	37.5	31.18	22.89**	11.54*	20.83	40.00	33.20	46.73*	48.84†	49.53***
% with a Black parent	42.41	10.64***	0***	8.79***	2.78***	0***	43.84	51.26	34.49	27.46***
% with an Asian parent	18.49	14.58*	0***	11.64***	15.77	0***	21.44	16.59	39.74*	63.32***
% with a MENA parent	8.66	29.10***	0***	32.15***	14.80	0***	8.20	12.33	15.13	3.86***

% with an 'Other' parent	26.11	45.10***	0***	46.73***	66.64***	0***	24.6	37.46**	10.64*	7.45***
The family										
% minority father	71.20	56.11***	0***	55.58**	55.6	0***	67.96	100***	61.28	100***
% father absent at 14	11.71	9.25	3.93***	10.33	3.59*	4.03*	13.48	9.61	4.75*	3.23***
% mother absent at 14	1.83	1.92	.90**	1.20	5.50	.82	2.49	.51*	5.04	.54***
% at 14 had parent in prof/managerial job	21.20	19.17	15.00*	18.57	18.21	34.75†	20.44	19.05	25.17	25.97
% Father tertiary educated	23.99†	25.55	26.07	23.10	NES	NES	32.61	14.43†	NES	20.18†
% Mother tertiary educated	24.61	21.27	15.63***	21.88	NES	NES	33.35	11.98*	NES	13.22***
% Muslim	5.71	3.14*	.33***	1.59	4.04	1.56	3.24	13.18***	15.92***	32.91***
The neighbourhood										
% in very White area	31.72	44.68***	64.97***	47.37**	40.69	52.91*	34.18	19.50**	24.24	11.21***
% in ethnic boost sample *(unweighted)*	50.43	26.15***	1.30***	1.30***	39.34	39.55**	26.92	50.20	24.14**	66.30***
% living in rural area	6.70	15.78***	23.92***	16.06**	18.00*	12.76	7.06	4.06	11.26	2.04***
Socioeconomic status										

% tertiary educated	38.71	34.90	31.35**	34.74	41.94	30.31	38.35	42.05	29.80	45.84**
% high school quals	49.34	44.49	40.59***	45.14	41.65	67.72*	50.46	41.16*	41.26	33.10***
% no high school quals	11.95	20.61**	28.06***	20.12**	16.41	1.97*	11.18	16.79†	28.94***	21.06***
Mean equiv HH income (S.D.)	1530.74 (1241.38)	1436.68 (1147.13)	1541.17 (1158.57)	1417.39* (1011.08)	1572.26 (1144.21)	1527.74 (833.65)	1608.64 (1356.04)	1343.29* (1015.32)	1483.54 (1999.38)	1333.13*** (1092.91)
Median equiv HH inc	1272.33	1221.13	1308.92	1245.22	1194.86	1332.21	1330.81	1142.98	1140.82	1117.18
% in household poverty	17.73	18.43	15.67	17.64	16.35	4.14†	16.44	24.88*	27.49*	25.79***
% in financial hardship	20.80	12.32***	11.39***	10.89**	17.65	9.99†	19.99	26.02	20.26	20.70
National identity										
British identity	6.35	7.51*	7.13*	8.14*	5.00*	6.75	6.46	5.88	5.92	7.20**
% born outside UK	34.81	25.70**	6.00***	21.80	43.68**	27.95	21.93	68.65***	43.80**	71.21***

This is typified by Group 5, which is almost indistinguishable on characteristics from the non-mixed minority comparator population. Most of Group 5 indicate that they had some White ancestry (e.g. by choosing mixed White/Black Caribbean) (see Appendix 2.D.), while also indicating that their parents were either both Black, both Asian, or both 'Other ethnic group'. These may be cases where the 'forced choice' resulted in choices that reflected their mixed parents' *national* origins (e.g. 'Caribbean', 'Indian'), or that they chose 'Other ethnic group' for their parent to express that their parent is mixed.

We can see evidence of two possible demographic phenomena. First, there is a cohort distinction between being first generation mixed (i.e. parents are an interracial partnership) or second generation mixed (i.e. one or both parents are already mixed). Keeping in mind that this data is limited to adults, this indicates that the second generation mixed in the UK includes a distinct cohort that is older rather than younger than the first generation mixed, and which is left out of the usual discussions focusing on the youngest mixed 'superdiverse' cohort (Aspinall & Song, 2013b, 2014).

The second phenomenon pattern is illustrated by the older age of Group 1, which also has one White parent and is similarly likely to be UK-born as the very young Group 4. This suggests that a specific cohort or period contrast drives the difference between the White choice and the mixed choice for those born in the UK to a White and a non-White parent. This may indicate a period effect whereby younger people feel less stigma in mixed identities and find the mixed survey categories more acceptable.

The overall picture provided by the descriptive statistics is of a diverse mixed population that has arisen through a range of historical and demographic circumstances. 'Ethnic attrition' to non-mixed categories seems to follow a pattern of having similar structural characteristics to these categories, and is also associated with variables that can be seen as attitudinal as well as structural, such as importance of skin colour to identity, and feelings of Britishness which seem to signal assimilationist choices.

2.5 Discussion

This preliminary analysis has provided new details about the proportions and characteristics of statistically 'unobserved' population groups with mixed ancestry in the UK, and fresh insight into the diverse characteristics of those who do identify as mixed. Survey weighted analysis suggests that there are more people who acknowledge

mixed parentage but who do not identify as mixed, than there are mixed-identified people in the UK. It should be noted that, as indicated by the Pew study, although the data used in the present study includes reported parental ethnic group, there is likely to be a further 'missing' population of those with mixed ancestry going back to their grandparents' generation or earlier. As such, this chapter's findings on the overall population with mixed ancestry in the UK should be viewed as a *minimum* population, rather than a maximum. Moreover, the common assumption that the mixed population in the UK is defined by having a White and a non-mixed minority parent has also been challenged.

Characteristics of the various types of mixed people identified from the UK data confirmed some expectations set up by the international research, and confounded others. As expected, skin colour or appearance seemed a likely influence on preference for the White category in particular. Those with a Black parent were least likely to choose the White category, and those from Middle Eastern/North African and 'Other' backgrounds the most likely. However, an estimated 20 per cent of the White identified category of mixed people have Black or Asian parents.

Detailed examination of parental ethnic group suggests social ambiguities over what qualifies as 'White' in the first place. For example, 'Arab' ethnicity in the US is back-coded to 'White' as a convention of the official legal 'Whitening' of early 20th century Arab migrants (Gualtieri, 2001, 2009), despite this group's extreme racialization in more recent times, especially after the 9-11 terrorist attacks (Selod, 2015). Meanwhile in the UK, 'Arab' is coded to 'Other' which is excluded from the 'White' category. But examination of the six mixed groups and the full range of twelve groups (see Appendix 2.A), as well as qualitative research discussed later in this thesis, suggest that some from Middle Eastern ethnic groups are likely to classify themselves as 'White' because they consider their ethnic group to be 'racially' White as in the US.

The main findings, as well as detailed breakdowns available at Appendix 2.D, and Table 3.3 and Table 3.4 ahead in Chapter 3, show that those with Asian and White parents are more likely than those with Black and White parents to identify only with their minority parent's ethnicity (rather than as Mixed or White) – the context being that those with Black and White parents are the most drawn to the 'Mixed' category. This runs contrary to patterns in the US research which emphasis the lingering influence of

the 'one drop rule' in understandings of identity, and underlines why it is so important to investigate the UK context specifically. The high acceptability of the 'Mixed' category for those of Black and White descent in the UK may contrast with a lower popularity of the equivalent 'multiracial' identity for the same group in the US.

Although the 'colour line' in terms of access to White identification seems particularly clear for Black-descended people in the UK, this chapter reinforced previous British research findings of the 'mixed' label's high acceptability for this group (Aspinall, 2017; Aspinall et al., 2008; Simpson, 2014) compared with for any other kind of mixed person. Again, in terms of commonly deployed social terminology, the widely-used UK term 'mixed race' is often understood to mean a person of Black and White parentage rather than any other combination. If the 'mixed' category is historically associated with the term 'mixed race', and the term 'mixed race' is assumed in society to indicate people with Black descent, functioning as a type of Black subset category, the lower uptake of this category by other mixed groups that do not have Black descent is a rather obvious consequence.

However, there may be a range of other reasons why the Asian-descended mixed group prefers the monoracial minority choice to the mixed choice, compared with indications from the US. Gender dynamics within the family may play a role. Those with Asian descent in the relevant period for this UK sample were typically more likely to have had a South Asian father and White mother, as opposed to an East Asian mother and a White father, due to migration patterns. South Asians are strongly racialised in UK society, their mixed children more visible as minorities than those with an East Asian parent, and in decades past were socially or provisionally assigned as 'Black' in public and political discourse (Chakrabortty, 2014; Twine, 2010). As particular South Asian populations in the UK traditionally have Muslim names, and due to those with mixed South Asian and White descent being often misperceived as having Middle Eastern appearance, this group may have particular intersectional vulnerability to Islamophobia as well as racism. These may all contribute to stronger push-factors towards monoethnic identity choices compared with mixed Asian counterparts in the US, who on average are more likely to have East Asian descent.

On a technical level, common understandings of the term 'Asian' in the UK define the group as South Asian, to the exclusion of East and Southeast Asians (although all are

meant to be included in the top-level Census category of Asian). Those with White and non-Chinese East Asian parentage (which are not given specific categories in the Understanding Society ethnic question for parents) may be more likely to be assigning their minority parents as 'Other ethnic group' rather than as Asian due to interpretation of terminology, and these cases would be missing from the analysis of those with Asian and White parents.

Further to the question of the potential role of ethnic choice in reproducing racial hierarchy via ethnic attrition, a key finding was the low socioeconomic indicators of those with a White parent who choose to identify as non-mixed minorities only – worse in some instances than the overall indicators for the minority baseline. However, against expectations of the 'closer to White' groups all falling clearly into the top end of a socioeconomic hierarchy, the very substantial White-identified group with a non-White parent could be characterised overall as having a secure working class profile, with low income and education, but also low poverty and hardship. While in some senses doing relatively well compared with other of the mixed groups, their position runs counter to theories about money 'Whitening', or more successful members of minority groups engaging in aspirational or upward attrition into White categories, at least within one generation (Alba, 2016).

Although contrasts between the aggregate 'visible' and aggregate 'hidden' mixed groups are mostly non-significant in this small sample, ethnic attrition in the overall population may contribute to biasing some socioeconomic data for the overall mixed-identified group upwards. This would be the result of attrition to White and to non-mixed minority categories for those with low socioeconomic status.

The role of identity and national inclusion rather than socioeconomic advancement in White choices is also highlighted by the findings. In a previous analysis of Understanding Society data, Nandi and Platt found that 'British' identity was found to be significantly stronger among nearly all of the main UK ethnic minorities than among the White British, when controlling for age and education, but that British identity among the aggregate 'mixed' category was not significantly different from the White British (Nandi & Platt, 2014b, 2015). This chapter did not replicate the controls used in Nandi and Platt's study, but did find significant descriptive differences between the 'hidden' and the 'visible' mixed types with regard to importance of British identity. The

White-identified mixed group reported feeling the most British of any of the mixed or non-mixed groups, indicating a self-selective conflation for this group between 'British' and 'White British' identity, as reflected in ethnic choice.

The analysis also raised some unanswered questions, especially over the status of the high levels of financial stress reported for the 'midway' Group 4 – the mixed identified with a White and a non-White parent – despite their higher income and low household poverty rate. The possibility of this being due to geographic clustering in London or other urban areas where living costs are higher seemed unlikely, given that non-mixed ethnic minorities have an even higher degree of clustering in London and urban areas than those who report being mixed (Office for National Statistics, 2011), but have no such contrast between income and financial stress. One possibility is that different ethnic choices may reflect not only different resource-bases, but also different expectations of access to resources. For example, Group 4 could have expectations being able to access resources of White communities, and therefore have higher sensitivity to lack of resources, similar to arguments that awareness of local or national inequality is associated with greater stress (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010, 2018).

However, in the absence of direct evidence of this, the analysis in the following chapter will focus on analysis of the ethnic choices themselves as dependent variables, and rely on more objective socioeconomic measures as independent variables and controls. This discussion has however highlighted the potential role of access to socioeconomic and cultural resources in forming identity for mixed people, as discussed by Twine in her examination of the sources of racial literacy for White mothers of mixed children (Twine, 2010). This will be a key element of the theories surrounding ethnic choice that will be addressed in the following chapters, and particularly in Chapters 4 and 5.

We have seen in this analysis the distinct effect of being 'embedded' in particular communities via parentage, linking some groups to particular relative outcomes no matter what specific ethnic category they choose. However, it appears that in other cases, the choice itself may be a self-selective expression of characteristics and experiences that cannot be explained so directly. This underlines the need, when examining the structural conditions of acculturation and assimilation, to also examine the responses to those conditions. Therefore, the next chapter addresses ethnic choices

themselves and what they might mean, by analysing the choice between White, mixed and non-mixed minority for the groups with one White and one non-White parent.

This research has contributed new insights into the diversity within the UK's mixed population, attempting to estimate a quantitative 'denominator' (Roth, 2018) of all those in an adult age sample who could identify as mixed. This was based on both stated ethnic group, and data on parental ethnic group, although there are likely more groups with mixed ancestry who are undetectable in the survey data. As per earlier descriptive research (Nandi & Platt, 2012), only a minority of those who could identify as mixed do so. The present study found that the largest group of people with a White and a non-White parent identify as White, while a smaller percentage identify as specific non-mixed minorities.

A substantial proportion of the mixed-identified report parents from the same minority ethnic group, likely due to the inability to report mixed parents in the source survey. Data triangulation with the ONS LS suggested that the dominant notion of 'mixed race Britain' as a UK-born phenomenon, overlooks a cohort of overseas-born mixed people who are at least the second generation in their family to be mixed. Further analysis suggested that ethnic attrition beyond the second generation of being 'mixed' is resulting in hidden populations with mixed ethnic ancestry that will not necessarily be detected even by reporting parental ethnic group. Asking more detailed questions about ancestry would enable more in-depth analysis of historical minority group integration, assimilation, outcomes and ethnic 'attrition' within the UK.

From the limited perspective of one generation of ancestry data, ethnic attrition to non-mixed categories appeared to be associated with cultural or familial embeddedness in those ethnic communities, which also meant that characteristics of the groups in some cases reflect socioeconomic stratification between the White majority and ethnic minorities in the UK. However, where mixed people have theoretically the same options – with one White and one non-White parent – group characteristics did not follow such a neat pattern, with both the White and the minority-identified biracial groups being poorer and less educated than the mixed-identified biracial group. The following chapter uses further quantitative analysis to investigate why this might be the case, i.e what is associated with people of the same type of mixed parentage making different ethnic choices.

The analysis in this chapter has been an important starting point in this study's inquiry into ethnic choice and change for mixed people. For policymakers to know where to direct resources, how to combat inequalities, and how to analyse multigenerational integration and mobility, we need to know which groups of people with multiple ethnic ancestry are visible in ethnic data, and which groups are not. This chapter's perspective has been important for reminding us of one of the key purposes of ethnic enumeration in general in the UK, and that of mixed people in particular – which is to track what happens to marginalised populations over time and why, through pathways of integration, assimilation and evolving meanings of racial and ethnic options.

3 LOWER STATUS, WHITE CHOICES – ETHNIC CHOICE PREDICTORS FOR MIXED PEOPLE

3.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, exploring, quantifying and explaining the phenomenon of ethnic choices for mixed people has important implications for how researchers analyse social stratification, racial or 'postracial' inequalities, and theories of integration and assimilation. Most people with mixed ancestry in the UK do not choose the 'Mixed' ethnic categories that have been used as standard practice in UK social surveys and the Census since the early 2000s (Nandi & Platt, 2014a). Other data shows that the composition of mixed categories in the Census for England and Wales are highly unstable compared to non-mixed ethnic groups (Simpson, 2014).

The previous chapter illustrated differences between types of mixed people depending on their stated ethnic group and their stated parental ethnic group. Groups that reported as 'Mixed' but also reported having two White parents were the best off, while the mixed-identified group that reported having two minority parents was indistinguishable on characteristics from the overall minority population. Connectedness to White or

minority communities through family context thus seemed a strong predictor of social status for some mixed groups. However, three groups arguably have a common level of *potential* connectedness to both White and non-White communities – i.e. one White and one non-White parent – which are the groups commonly assumed to comprise the mixed population. Of the three, contrary to theories touched on in Chapter 1 about tripartite racial hierarchies and 'Whitening with success', the White identified group has relatively low income, and the mixed identified group relatively high income.

In this chapter, I focus on these three groups with a White and a non-White parent, and treat their different ethnic choices as a dependent variable. This allows me to investigate why the same types of people would make different choices. I analyse the structural factors associated with people of mixed parentage choosing between 'White', 'Mixed' and a non-mixed minority ethnic group. This is the first analysis of this kind using nationally representative UK data for a full adult age-range. I then discuss UK findings in the context of expectations from research in the Americas, and the findings of Chapter 2. I ask whether, from a sociological perspective, when controlling for background characteristics such as age, the descriptive patterns found in Chapter 2 hold. That is, is the racialised social hierarchy of the UK reflected or reproduced through the ethnic choices of mixed people with similar parentage?

Overall, researchers need to understand whether certain choices are influenced by structural conditions, because measuring inequalities across ethnic groups was the key reason contemporary ethnic measures were introduced in the UK in the first place (Bulmer, 1986; Coleman et al., 1996).

3.2 Literature

I continue from Chapter 2 the conceptualisation of ethnic or racial identity functioning at what Holloway terms different levels or 'scales'. These comprise the scales of the body, the family, the community or the neighbourhood (Holloway et al., 2009). At a macro level, I consider how modes of racism and racial hierarchy are embedded within a national-historical discourse by examining how theories of how ethnic and racial choice interacting with those hierarchies have played out in quantitative research in the Americas. As mentioned briefly in the previous chapters, there are contrasting theoretical explanations of ethnic choice that emerge in various studies across different

countries: the theory that 'money Whitens' or is associated with White choices, the 'mixed privilege' theory, and the finding that higher status 'polarizes' by making people more likely to choose either White or Black rather than a mixed category.

3.2.1 Evidence from the Americas

In the US and Latin America, the fluidity of ethnic and racial identity among those with mixed ancestry has long been acknowledged and researched. This fluidity has confronted or been formed in response to specifically discriminatory racial laws that arose from projects of colonial and White supremacist domination, namely slavery and the dispossession and genocide of indigenous peoples. The phenomenon of 'passing' by people of multiracial descent legally designated as Black under the historical 'one-drop rule' of hypodescent in the US, has its own very substantial body of cultural and sociological literature. This includes attempts as early as the 19th century to quantify the number of 'legally Black' people reporting as White in society and the Census (Burma, 1946; Eckard, 1947). An apparent 'Whitening' effect of higher status has been observed in historical and contemporary Brazilian studies, and has informed research in the US and the Americas. Empirical studies have attempted to exploit time series and longitudinal data, as well as cross-sectional data to investigate such processes (Carvalho et al., 2004; Ianni, 1960; Liebler, Rastogi, Fernandez, Noon, & Ennis, 2014; Mitchell-Walthour & Darity, 2015; Saperstein & Penner, 2012; Saperstein, Porter, & Noon, n.d.; Schwartzman, 2007; Telles, 2014; Telles, Flores, & Urrea-Giraldo, 2015; Telles & Paschel, 2014).

The Brazilian theory that 'money Whitens' according to a classic racial hierarchy model, would suggest that upwardly mobile mixed people will 'Whiten' over time when reporting their race as if scaling a ladder of opportunity. Bonilla-Silva theorises that multiracial or mixed people in the US are inhabiting a newly coalescing middle-tier in this racialised social hierarchy in the style of the tripartite racial ladder found in Brazil and some other Latin American countries (Bonilla-Silva, 2002, 2004). 'Forced choice' cross-sectional studies from the US that e.g. ask mixed subjects to choose between Black and White with no mixed option, tend to show that higher status – be this on the basis of income or parental education – is associated with 'Whiter' choices, for all-age samples of particular mixed ethnic subgroups (Campbell, 2009; Emeka & Vallejo, 2011). Some researchers suggest that more privileged mixed people will be integrated

seamlessly into the White community to the extent that they assume White identities in life and in responses to race or ethnic group questions, and hence are essentially 'hidden', rising up the racial ladder either intergenerationally or within their lifetime (Alba, 2016; Alba & Islam, 2009). Related to this is the concept of 'ethnic attrition', which has seen mixed, mestizo or second-generation migrant populations self-sort into 'higher' or 'lower' status ethnic categories, mirroring Portes & Zhou's concept of segmented assimilation (Duncan & Trejo, 2007, 2011, 2018; Emeka & Vallejo, 2011; Portes & Zhou, 1993).

Recent Latin American studies have, however, found that racialization and social hierarchies function differently according to local national culture; and that even in Brazil, the 'money Whitens' theory needs modification due to contemporary trends (Schwartzman, 2007; Telles, 2014). Telles & Paschel's comparative study, which was able to control for skin colour, finds that higher status may 'Whiten', polarize, 'mestizo-ize' or have no effect. For example, higher status was significantly associated with choosing mestizo identity in Colombia and Ecuador, where the national discourse has historically valorized the idea of 'mestizaje' or mixedness as central to nation-building (Telles, 2014; Telles & Paschel, 2014; Wade, 2004, 2005).

The outcomes of this Latin American 'Mestizo privilege' effect aligns with a phenomenon observed in some US studies of Black and White-descended university students, that also find that the multiracial or biracial choice in the US is an indicator of relative privilege (Townsend et al., 2012). The theoretical context advanced for this in the US is that middle class mixed people of Black descent will be more likely to select into multiracial identity as a post-materialist gesture of individualism and uniqueness; while working class mixed people of Black descent will be more likely to seek security within Black identity and communities – they cannot afford to be 'biracial', in that there is a material cost to being different to those around you (DaCosta, 2007; Fhagen-Smith, 2010; Stephens et al., 2007). It thus appears to be the conceptual opposite of the Colombian or Ecuadorian 'mestizaje' effect, where the mestizo choice appears to be an act of mainstream self-inclusion into a hegemonic national identity. We thus see that even when a similar phenomenon appears in different places, it may be happening for different historical or social reasons.

The methodological approach of existing quantitative analysis of cross-sectional ethnic choices for mixed people in the Americas (in contrast with studies of change for individuals over time) takes the form of ring-fencing mixed groups – or more specifically for most of the US studies, 'biracial' groups – defining samples by parental ethnic groups. The analysis tends to examine respondent cross-sectional identity choice as the dependent variable in logistic regression models (Campbell, 2007; Davenport, 2016; Emeka & Vallejo, 2011; Harris & Sim, 2002; Herman, 2004; Qian, 2004), often including a 'forced choice' scenario between White and a non-mixed minority race, with no third mixed option (Campbell, 2010; Harris & Sim, 2002; Herman, 2004). This means that the 'multiracial' or 'biracial' choice itself has been relatively under-studied. One study modelled ethnic choice between White, mixed and non-mixed minority choices with a large US sample, using administrative data that lacked a 'forced choice' question (Davenport, 2016). Results supported both the 'ladder' and 'mixed privilege' theories, in that higher family income for US undergraduate students was associated with Whiter choices; but that higher parental education – of the White parent – was associated with more multiracial and less White choices (Davenport, 2016). The contrast between higher income and higher parental education suggests that forms of socioeconomic 'success' can have distinctly different impacts in the US, among university-age people.

Telles & Paschel (2014) also found that higher status appears to 'Whiten' Brazilians with fairer skin tone, supporting the bulk of historical Brazilian evidence that 'money Whitens'. However, the study also confirmed more recent findings that higher status Brazilians with darker skin tone are increasingly likely to now identify themselves as 'Preto' or 'Negro' (Black) than as 'Pardo' (Brown/mixed) (Schwartzman, 2007; Telles & Paschel, 2014). The context for this more recent phenomenon appears to be the contemporary impact of the Brazilian Black Pride movement among the highly educated (Mitchell-Walthour & Darity, 2015; Schwartzman, 2007; Telles & Paschel, 2014).

These findings suggest diverse results from nation to nation, arising from the interplay between national cultural discourses and how social status is racialised for mixed people. We seem to encounter both acquiescence to historically White supremacist

social values, and resistance to that history through claiming of various non-White identities.

There seems to be more consistency at the other scales of identity. At the 'scale of the body', skin colour was a consistent predictor of self-identified 'race' across most Latin American countries studied by Telles & Paschel (2014). US quantitative research also reports the substantively large impacts of darker skin colour on experiences of discrimination, importance placed on ethnic group or race, and increased likelihood of minority identity for young mixed people. This was particularly so for youth with a Black and a White parent (Herman, 2004). In terms of personal identity choice and fluctuation, externally appraised skin colour for those with at least some Black parentage was the most important predictor of making the 'Black' choice (Campbell, 2010).

Also at the 'scale of the body', quantitative research suggests that intersectional racialization may play a significant role in identity choice for mixed people, with women being more likely in US studies to be identified by others as 'biracial' rather than as non-mixed minorities (Ho, Sidanius, Levin, & Banaji, 2011; Penner & Saperstein, 2013). In Davenport's study, being a woman was a key predictor of a young mixed person choosing a mixed identity rather than a White or solely minority identity, holding a wide range of socioeconomic and family factors constant (Davenport, 2016). Qualitative researchers suggest that this is because of the attentive exoticisation of mixed women as mixed; compared with negative racialization and hostile treatment of visible minority men whether mixed or not, especially those with Black heritage (Davenport, 2016; Joseph-Salisbury, 2018; McClain, 2004). Analysis in the UK context requires an intersectional perspective on how racialization is gendered (Ali, 2007), and this may mean particular attention to the position and choices of women with Black descent (Crenshaw, 1991, 2015).

The US studies had the most details about family and neighbourhood factors. Significant factors in relevant studies included the gender of the minority parent, and whether parents were living together (Campbell, 2007; Davenport, 2016). Some studies have detected elements of matrilineal or patrilineal ethnic identity for youth and young adults depending on ethnic group. For example, patrilineal Latinx identity in the US may be connected to racialization of Spanish last names (Holloway et al., 2009).

Overall, the university-aged mixed people in Davenport's study were more likely to report as 'multiracial' rather than White or monoracial if their mothers were minorities and their parents were married (Davenport, 2016). One interpretation of this could be that a two-parent household encourages mixed children to incorporate the cultures of both their parents into their identity.

Research on area effects has examined the classification of mixed children by their parents, and found an association between more mixed or minority labelling and higher neighbourhood minority ethnic density (Holloway, Ellis, Wright, & Hudson, 2005; Holloway et al., 2009). In the Davenport study which looked at self-reported ethnic group, neighbourhood ethnic density was a significant predictor with mixed people tending towards minority status or away from White status with higher density of minorities; and towards White status with higher area household income (Davenport, 2016).

3.2.2 Evidence from the UK

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, the UK has very little history of examining and researching issues of ethnic choice and ethnic mobility quantitatively. Research has been limited by data availability, which is itself the result of the country's very brief domestic track record of official ethnic measurement.

Prior to the 1991 Census, assumptions about minority populations in the UK could only be made from country of birth data, as per the approach of most European countries even now (Morning, 2014). There is still a lack of multi-dimensional ethnic identity measures in most British survey data. For example, parental ethnic group is rarely measured, and no longitudinal surveys have so far taken repeated measure of ethnic group. Direct 'racial' measures such as observed phenotype and skin colour are currently unheard of in UK social surveys.

There have been only two UK studies into ethnic choice or ethnic change using a nationally representative adult sample. Neither study closely examined the characteristics of people making different choices, nor controlled for explanatory variables (Nandi & Platt, 2012; Simpson, Jivraj, & Warren, 2014). However, also important is the qualitative UK research that, while not claiming or indeed aiming to generalise about *average* effects of class or other characteristics, elaborated a range of

class-based relationships between resource access and deployment of particular ethnic identities for mixed people.

Several key qualitative studies with fairly large samples pointed out that greater protection from the consequences of racism for mixed people appeared associated with higher class, but that middle class and also wealthy parents of mixed children (including parents who were mixed themselves) had a range of approaches to their children's ethnic identity (Ali, 2003; Song, 2017; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002; Twine, 2010). Specifically class-informed aspects of these approaches included: contextually managing status and identity within middle class White communities (implying vigilance in representation, and awareness of risks of racism) (Ali, 2003); experiencing a buffer of privilege that allowed for a reduced awareness of race and racism (Twine, 2010); or having more politicised attitudes and higher awareness of race and racism associated with higher levels of education (Ali, 2003; Twine, 2010).

Working class responses were slightly harder to characterise from existing qualitative literature, particularly due to the strong association between class and multi-ethnic urban neighbourhoods in the populations sampled from, and the corresponding lack of examination of mixed people in White working class areas. Tizard & Phoenix's London-focused study of youth with Black and White parentage, found that affiliation with 'Blacker' identity and culture for mixed youth was stronger in these working class multi-ethnic London neighbourhoods with more Black people in them; and that sole White mothers in these neighbourhoods were likely to be assimilating to Black cultural norms (Tizard & Phoenix, 2002). Building on this finding, Twine focused on a minority of her sample of White mothers who were race-conscious to the degree that they preferred to raise their children 'as Black', the bulk of whom had working-class backgrounds and lived in multi-ethnic or Black neighbourhoods. Meanwhile, Ali found that by contrast with middle class parents, working class parents in her study consistently designated their children "as 'mixed'" (Ali, 2003, p. 91). Twine's 'racially literate' minority of parents, while tending towards the working class in her particular sample, seemed similar to Ali's cases of 'politicised' parents who were middle class.

Area affects were clear in allegiances of London mixed children to Black culture; with children assimilating more to white cultural norms in the white-dominated exurbs (Ali, 2003; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002); and in Twine's observations of how growing up in,

living in and working in multi-ethnic communities was a consistent enabler of 'racial literacy' among White mothers of mixed children. Living in these kinds of neighbourhoods – in quantitative terms, is not always 'independent' of class status; meaning that questions remain over the situation for those in White working class areas.

The focus also on parental preference and context provided by parents, while illuminating potential causal mechanisms that will be discussed further in Chapter 5, is not specifically predictive of adult ethnic choice. Efforts by racially literate mothers, whether working class or middle class – to raise their children as identifying solely as 'Black' during the era of the "politics of singularity" (Ali, 2003) will not necessarily result in Black-identified children. Indeed, Twine observed the paradox of a culturally secure upbringing 'as Black' by a White mother, resulting in children insisting on identifying as Mixed rather than as solely Black, out of loyalty to and respect for that mother; patterns indicated in general by Tizard & Phoenix's findings of ethnic choice among youth tending towards the ethnic group of the parent with whom relationships were closest (2002).

Thus, we have a complex mix of UK-specific qualitative findings that are likely to be somewhat obscured in the quantitative analysis that follows. However, the quantitative analysis will allow us to see the overall shape of the outcomes – the ultimate 'ethnic choices' for mixed people – in the wider landscape in which these factors play out.

Chapter 2 extended Nandi & Platt's analysis of Understanding Society by examining characteristics of different types of mixed groups. The group usually taken to represent mixed people in UK data – i.e. the non-'hidden' mixed-identified population – is overall less well-off than the White majority, but better off than their non-mixed minority counterparts (Panico & Nazroo, 2011; Platt, 2012b, 2012a), reflecting the tripartite hierarchical structure posited by Bonilla-Silva (Bonilla-Silva, 2004). One would expect this structure to also be replicated via the ethnic choices for mixed people, if following patterns of 'ethnic attrition' in the Americas (Duncan & Trejo, 2007, 2011). There was some evidence for this in the descriptive analysis of chapter 2 in terms of the status of those who all made the mixed choice but did not report having one White and one non-White parent. That is, the mixed-identified with no White parents were very similar in all socioeconomic characteristics to the overall non-mixed minority population; and the

mixed-identified with two White parents had the highest socioeconomic status of all the groups.

But any expected tripartite hierarchical structure was not reflected in the ethnic choices (White, mixed, non-mixed minority) of those who reported the *same* mix of one White and one non-White parent. Those who made White choices were not 'at the top' in terms of status or attainment; rather, the mixed-identified group appeared to have the highest socioeconomic status of the three groups. However, this was before controlling for any independent variables, the most important being age (as a cohort predictor of education and income levels for example).

Due to the relative lack of quantitative UK research and the diversity or inapplicability of international findings, there is very little on which to directly base any hypotheses of how the UK's historical discourses around race and ethnicity, and national modes of structural racism, might affect ethnic choice for mixed people with one White parent. I therefore tentatively outline some broad expectations in light of what we do know from UK research, the literature from the Americas, and the findings from Chapter 2.

In terms of phenotype and skin colour, while we would expect that "blackness is not inherited in the same way" in the UK as in the US (Telles & Paschel, 2014, p. 869), we would also expect from the previous chapter's findings and from UK qualitative research, that skin colour predicts ethnic self-sorting to a substantial degree, and particularly for those of Black descent (Aspinall & Song, 2013b; Small, 1994; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002). We also might expect to find gender significant in the same way as in the US: women may incline towards the mixed categories due to gendered experiences of racism, colorism and social value (Davenport, 2016), as supported by some findings in the UK (Ali, 2003; Aspinall & Song, 2013b; Caballero, 2012).

We might also expect relatively similar findings about the importance of cultural influence in the family, especially household composition, and the presence and gender of a minority parent (Davenport, 2016) – although qualitative research poses the possibility that White mothers, including sole White mothers, could take a more active role in communicating minority culture to mixed children than fathers of any ethnicity, due to gendered parenting roles (Twine, 2010). However, the impact of local area ethnic density is likely to be broadly consistent with quantitative American and qualitative UK research (Ali, 2003; Aspinall & Song, 2013b; Twine, 2010).

In the quantitative studies available from the US, and the qualitative studies from the UK, are mostly focused on youth and young adult age samples of mixed people, or their parents. Because of this, it can be difficult to disentangle the effect of class from age or cohort. In the present study, we may expect that younger cohorts have been more exposed to the vocabulary of mixed race or multiracial ethnic labels in surveys, and increased societal acceptance of such labels might be reflected in their survey choices, as distinct from the patterns for older people.

In summary, the following analysis is carried out in light of a number of tentative expectations. First, when controlling for background variables, I expect to find evidence that mixed peoples' ethnic choices reflect a tripartite 'racial ladder' model based on the 'aspirational Whitening' theory, where lower status will predict non-mixed minority choice and higher status will predict White choice (Alba, 2016; Carvalho et al., 2004; Ianni, 1960; Saperstein & Penner, 2012; Saperstein et al., n.d.). Second, I expect that embodied intersectional factors such as age, skin/race consciousness, physical racialization, and gender will predict preferences for 'mixed' choices among women (Aspinall & Song, 2013b; Caballero, 2012; Davenport, 2016). Third, I expect the cultural influence of family, community and neighbourhood to predict choices, such as the presence and gender of a minority parent, and area ethnic density (Aspinall & Song, 2013b; Campbell, 2007; Davenport, 2016; Twine, 2010). Fourth, I expect there will be a cohort or period effect on ethnic choice that will reflect the UK's specific colonial and migration history, including evolving attitudes to mixed and minority identities.

3.3 Data and Methods

3.3.1 Data

I again use Understanding Society, a large-scale, high quality, stratified national probability sample survey. Respondents to the main individual adult questionnaire are aged 16 and over. The study has an ethnic minority 'boost' oversample and multi-dimensional ethnicity questions that include reported respondent ethnic group, reported parental ethnic group, and a suite of in-depth identity questions asked of a subsample called the 'extra five minutes' sample. The 'extra five minutes' sample comprises part of the ethnic minority 'boost' (sampled from areas with high ethnic minority density), a

comparator sample of those in a low minority density area, and a sample of recent immigrants.

 All analysis accounts for complex survey design, ethnic oversampling and non-response, using weights supplied with the dataset (Knies, 2015).

Understanding Society is the only large-scale survey data source available in the UK that includes both respondent ethnic group and respondent parental ethnic group. Its ethnic group question for respondents uses the Census standard list, which includes four 'mixed' categories. These options and those for the parental ethnic question can be seen below in Figure 3-1 and 3-2 (repeated from Chapter 2), are discussed further below in the context of this chapter's analysis.

Although a longitudinal study, Understanding Society has yet to take a repeated measure of ethnic group. As such, I employ cross-sectional analysis of Wave 1, which was conducted in 2009 and 2010. I supplement this analysis with some measures that were included in Wave 2.

3.3.2 Samples

Models are estimated for the following samples. The ethnic categories used to define the respondent and parental ethnic group samples are derived from more detailed ethnic responses using the same schema and definition as that used in the previous chapter (see Table 2.2).

Table 3.1 Samples for ethnic choice analysis, after weighting, Understanding Society Wave 1

Main sample	N=942	One White and one non-White parent
Black/White subsample	N=350	All with one Black and one White parent
Asian/White subsample	N=176	All with one Asian and one White parent
'Other'/White subsample	N=410	All with one 'Other ethnic group' and one White parent
'Skin colour' subsample	N=305	All asked about the importance of skin colour, one non-White and one White parent (but excluding the White-identified due to weighting issues discussed below).

Figure 3-1 Understanding Society showcard displayed to respondents asked "What is your ethnic group?" at Wave 1

SHOWCARD G2

White

1. British/English/Scottish/Welsh/Northern Irish
2. Irish
3. Gypsy or Irish Traveller
4. Any other white background

Mixed

5. White and Black Caribbean
6. White and Black African
7. White and Asian
8. Any other mixed background

Asian or Asian British

9. Indian
10. Pakistani
11. Bangladeshi
12. Chinese
13. Any other Asian background

Black / African / Caribbean / Black British

14. Caribbean
15. African
16. Any other Black background

Other ethnic group

17. Arab
97. Any other ethnic group

Figure 3-2 Understanding Society showcard displayed to respondents asked "To what ethnic group does your mother/father belong?" at Wave 1

SHOWCARD G3

1   White – British/English/Scottish/Welsh/Northern Irish

2   Irish

3   Gypsy or Irish Traveller

4   European, other than British

5   Other white group

6   Indian

7   Pakistani

8   Bangladeshi

9   Sri Lankan

10   Chinese

11   Turkish

12   Middle Eastern or Iranian

13   Caribbean

14   North African

15   Black African

16   African Asian

97   Other ethnic group

When survey weights are applied, a small number of White-identified respondents from my main sample who all lived in very White areas avoided for the ethnic minority boost sample, are weighted to zero due to the complex survey design, (Lynn, Nandi, Parutis, & Platt, 2018) and a portion were automatically excluded from the model estimates during analysis (e.g. before weighting, the main sample excluding missing data was n=964; when applying weights in analysis, observations were n=942). Although there were some differences on characteristics, there were so few of these zero-weighted respondents relative to the White-identified group in the main sample, that I considered that it would not likely substantially skew results in the main model and three subsample models. This issue affected the analysis of a question about skin colour asked of the 'extra five minutes' sample only, as nearly all the White-identified mixed people in the 'extra five minutes' sample were weighted to zero, as discussed further below. To compare characteristics of zero-weighted White-identified cases with those remaining in the analytical sample, see Appendix 3.A.

The ethnic-specific subsamples are restricted according to the reported ethnic group of parents, excluding those who reported two White parents or two minority parents even if they identified as mixed, i.e. Groups 3 and 5 as described in Chapter 2. The size and characteristics of these excluded groups, particularly group 5 (estimated in Chapter 2's weighted Table 2.4 to be over 25 per cent of the mixed-identified and 12.74 per cent of all those categorised as potentially mixed), should be kept in mind when interpreting findings in terms of implications for ethnic attrition.

As noted in Table 2.2 on how I derived ethnic categories and variables in Chapter 2, the mixed Black/White group includes those who defined their minority parent as Caribbean or African, but not as 'African Asian' (assigned to the 'Asian' category for parents) or 'North African' (assigned to the 'Other' category for parents). The mixed Asian/White group restricts minority parentage to an Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, Chinese or 'African Asian' parent.

Those with an 'Other ethnic group' parent form a large proportion of the sample. Of these, around 40 per cent had a parent from a Middle Eastern or North African ethnic group. It is possible that most of the rest are East Asian, Southeast Asian, or mixed themselves, as discussed in Chapter 2.

3.3.3 Variables

I derived a three-category dependent variable from the full list of answers to the ethnic group question. I collapsed the four mixed categories into the single top-level 'Mixed' category, and this was assigned as the baseline category for the three-category dependent variable (see Table 2.3 in Chapter 2). Similarly, the White category includes all four White subcategories; and the 'Non-mixed minority' category includes all the other categories, including 'Other ethnic group'[5]. All three categories are theoretically (though of course not necessarily in practice) open to the respondents, as all have a White and a non-White parent.

My choice of independent variables is for the most part a subset of the descriptive variables examined in Chapter 2. I focus on the associations between choice and structural factors at different scales of identity formation: the body, family, socioeconomic status, community/neighbourhood, and nation, broadly in that order, to identify whether macro-level factors mediate micro-level factors.

At the level of 'the body', variables are continuous age in years, and self-reported binary gender, as provided in the dataset. There is no clear theoretical reason for expecting a non-linear relationship between ethnic choice and age, but I estimated a model including age-squared as part of robustness checks. I also estimated models with interactions between gender and age, parental ethnic group, and the gender of the minority parent, to explore potential intersectional associations. These additional models can be seen at Appendix 3.C-3.H, and I reference them where relevant to the context of the analysis.

The data includes questions asked of a subsample at Wave 2 about the importance of skin colour to personal identity. Nearly all White-identified mixed people in this sample

---

[5] Despite contrasts in descriptive characteristics between those who chose 'Other ethnic group' and those who chose a specified non-mixed minority ethnic group in the descriptive data of Chapter 2, these two groups (Group 2 and Group 6) have been collapsed together in this chapter for several reasons. First, the choice of 'Other ethnic group', like that of a specific minority group named in the question list, is a choice to decline both the White choice and the mixed choice. Related to this is the likelihood that 'Other ethnic group' includes specific non-mixed minority ethnic group responses that were uncodeable, and that they in fact, reflect a mono-ethnic choice.

(n=53) are weighted to zero when using the relevant 'extra five minutes' weights recommended (S. McFall, Nandi, & Platt, 2014). Therefore, the three-way analysis used in the rest of the samples cannot be applied to this group, and only the results for the mixed versus non-mixed minority choice are presented. A derived binary version of the variable with 0 indicating 'not important' and 1 indicating 'important' is used. Some examination of the zero-weighted White-identified cases from both the main sample and the 'extra five minutes' sample is at Appendix 3.A.

Relevant to the conceptual 'scale' of the body and of the family, is the specific ethnic group of the respondent's minority parent, which I have recoded into a three-category dummy variable. This indicates whether the minority parent was Black, Asian or another minority ethnic group, as per Table 2.6 in Chapter 2. Having a Black parent is assigned as the baseline, as people with one Black and one White parent is the group most commonly understood within British public discourse to comprise the 'mixed race' population, making for more of an intuitive comparison for the reader.

A binary variable is derived to indicate whether the respondent's mother or father was the ethnic minority parent. This tests for matrilineal or patrilineal associations with identity choice. Interactions between respondent gender and gender of minority parent were explored separately, where sample size allowed, to ascertain whether there were any groups for which ethnic identity appears to be 'transmitted' through the same-gendered parent (homolineal ethnicity).

I also derived a binary variable to serve as a proxy for having grown up in a sole parent household. It combines those who indicated that they lived with both biological parents at 16 or, if not, that they lived with both biological parents at age 14. (Due to the order of questions in the survey, it can only be assumed that those living with both parents at age 16 were also living with their parents at age 14.) Although imperfect, as it does not exclude those who grew up with a birth parent and a step-parent, nor those who had lived with both parents for most of their youth, this was the best available data on respondent's household ethnic composition and contact with parental figures when they were growing up. It allows for a slightly larger sample coverage than the measure of absent parents used in Chapter 2.

For socioeconomic status, as per Chapter 2 I use respondent education and log equivalised household income, as these are the most comparable variables used in

international research. Education is included in the model as a three-category variable, with no qualifications as the baseline, then secondary school-level qualifications and tertiary qualifications. Summary statistics for equivalised household income are reported in the descriptive data tables as it is more interpretable for the reader, although the log of equivalised household income is used in the regression analysis.

For neighbourhood composition, I used the flag for the 'ethnic boost' areas as a binary measure of whether or not the respondent lives in a low ethnic minority density area (that was therefore not targeted for the ethnic boost), i.e. a very White area (Lynn et al., 2018; S. McFall et al., 2014). As noted in Chapter 2, this was a blunt measure of neighbourhood ethnic composition, and future research into ethnic density would benefit from taking advantage of the secure geocoded Understanding Society dataset.

I also included a binary variable indicating whether the respondent was born outside the UK, to broadly identify and control for nationally discursive effects on the ways in which ethnicity is defined for mixed people.

3.3.4 Empirical approach

I present weighted summary descriptive statistics for the different samples, by category of their ethnic group choice between White, mixed and non-mixed minority. Indications of any significant difference in characteristics between the three categories are indicated, using Chi-squared tests and t-tests of means.

I then turn to multivariate analysis, estimating a three-category multinomial logistic regression model, which predicts odds of choosing between White, mixed, and a non-mixed minority identity. This is very similar to Davenport's approach (2016), but in my case, my analysis covers the full adult age-range. The mixed option is the reference category. I thus estimated the odds of identifying as White rather than mixed, and as a non-mixed minority rather than mixed. 'Mixed' was assigned as the baseline as in the survey context, people with parents of different ethnicities are 'expected' to identify as mixed, and it is considered a term with increasingly high social acceptability in the UK (Ford et al., 2012).

The sample for the main model includes all those with a White and a non-White parent, with no missing data on covariates. Estimates are repeated for the subsamples of Black & White parents, Asian & White parents, and 'Other ethnic group' and White parents,

for clarity of interpretation rather than testing interactions between parental ethnic group and the full range of explanatory variables in the main model. As noted, selected interactions are also explored in separate models for the ethnic subsamples, with a focus on respondent gender, age, and gender of minority parent.

I also estimated a model using the 'skin colour' subsample and discuss it briefly. As discussed above, as nearly all the White-identified were excluded via the weighting approach, a binary logistic model was fitted using a dependent variable that included only the mixed and non-mixed minority choices.

When interpreting the three-category multinomial models, I first present the odds of the White choice over the Mixed choice; and then present the odds of the non-mixed minority choice over the Mixed choice. I provide results in the form of nested regressions to make it possible to observe how the variables mediate each other. For ease of visual interpretation, I largely present the results in the form of plots of predicted average marginal effects of the different independent variables in the models, and fitted values of selected predicted probabilities for certain variables of interest.

There are clearly limitations to the extent we can interpret the associations from these cross-sectional models as causal relationships. They may be subject to endogeneity, for example in relation to area effects given the self-selective nature of neighbourhoods for adults.

3.3.5 Sample descriptives

The descriptive tables shown below summarise the characteristics of the White-identified, mixed-identified and non-mixed minority-identified groups in the main sample and three subsamples. Unless otherwise stated, weighted percentages are shown. I provide column percentages for the categorical variables, which comprise most of the measures; and give standard deviations for continuous variables in parentheses. Indications of significant p-values refer to weighted Chi-squared tests applied to cross-tabulations of categorical variables; or, for continuous variables, weighted t-tests of a difference in means between the mixed-identified category and the two other categories.

Comparably to the results from Chapter 2, I find that before controlling for any covariates, the mixed-identified are younger, more likely to have been raised in sole-parent households, and to have higher education and income status on average than the

White-identified and non-mixed minority-identified. The White-identified are older, more likely to be men (though not significantly so), and far more likely to have a minority parent who is neither Black nor Asian. They live in Whiter areas, and have lower education and household income than the mixed-identified group. The non-mixed minority identified group are similar in age to the White-identified group, have the lowest educational and income status, are least likely to live in very White areas, and are far more likely to have been born overseas. Key differences between the ethnic subgroups before controlling for any covariates are that the pattern of non-mixed Black and Asian identity choice appears more matrilineal, while the non-mixed 'Other Ethnic Group' choice appears more patrilineal.

The descriptive findings provide some evidence to support expectations that the mixed choice is associated with relative privilege for groups with similar parentage (i.e. with one White parent), and that a minority choice is associated with disadvantage. However, reflecting the Chapter 2 findings, the characteristics of the White-identified are quite different from expectations derived from research in the Americas and qualitative research in the UK, in that they had the lowest mean equivalised household income.

Table 3.2: Main sample, weighted descriptive statistics

		White-identified	Mixed-identified	NM minority-identified	Total
N (excluding missing data)		345	506	91	942
Weighted percent (row)		54.13	39.82	6.06	100
Mean age Wave 1***		39.87 (18.27)	31.80 (12.97)	37.13 (16.46)	36.49 (16.69)
% female		50.74	56.86	54.29	53.39
% lived w/both parents at 16†		65.21	54.14	67.61	60.95
% minority mother*		44.42	32.05	38.72	39.14
% Black parent***		8.79	43.84	34.49	24.30
% Asian parent***		12.34	23.36	39.74	18.39
% 'Other' parent***		78.87	32.80	25.77	57.31
Education (3-category variable)*	No quals	20.12	11.18	28.95	17.09
	Secondary	48.14	50.46	41.48	47.03
	Tertiary	34.74	38.35	29.8	35.88
Mean equiv HH income†		1417.37 (1001.47)	1612.28 (1340.06)	1439.48 (1799.46)	1496.21 (1207.88)
% in very White area†		47.79	34.09	23.26	40.85
% born outside UK†		21.80	21.93	43.80	23.19

Table 3.3: Black/White subsample, weighted descriptive statistics

		White-identified	mixed-identified	NM minority-identified	Total
N (excluding missing data)		44	269	37	350
Weighted percent		19.58	71.83	8.6	100
Mean age Wave 1		36.29 (19.65)	32.29 (12.85)	39.42 (16.96)	33.69 (14.88)
% female		48.85	60.34	56.39	57.75
% lived w/ both parents at 16		36.86	46.09	55.33	45.08
% minority mother		20.33	24.68	38.99	25.06
Education (3-category variable) †	No quals	13.20	15.66	28.63	16.29
	Secondary	74.88	57.76	43.66	59.90
	Tertiary	11.92	26.58	27.71	23.81
Mean equiv HH income		1345.24 (1431.38)	1475.07 (1044.731)	989.32 (514.34)	1407.66 (1101.63)
% in very White area**		48.04	30.11	20.79	32.82
% born outside UK***		18.73	11.51	48.98	16.15

† p<.10   *p<.05   **p<.01   ***p<.001

Table 3.4 Asian/White subsample, weighted descriptive statistics

		White-identified	mixed-identified	NM minority-identified	Total
N (excluding missing data)		39	100	34	176
Weighted percent		36.53	49.51	13.96	100
Mean age at Wave 1		36.31 (15.82)	32.611 (13.94)	33.00 (13.97)	34.01 (14.66)
% female		56.81	45.70	57.12	51.23
% lived w/both parents at 16		57.97	57.78	89.59	62.01
% minority mother		33.18	24.34	45.15	30.27
Education (3-category variable)	No quals	10.81	10.99	17.55	11.78
	Secondary	39.20	45.17	41.56	42.53
	Tertiary	49.99	43.84	40.89	45.69
Mean equiv HH income		1276.91 (571.90)	1510.12 (910.64)	1909.23 (2699.12)	1477.70 (1227.20)
% in very White area†		45.85	36.61	23.09	38.20
% born outside UK		8.40	21.93	35.82	18.84

Table 3.5: 'Other ethnic group'/White subsample, weighted descriptive statistics

		White-identified	mixed-identified	NM minority-identified	Total
N (excluding missing data)		253	137	20	410
Weighted percent		74.22	23.03	2.76	100
Mean age at Wave 1		40.73 (18.43)	30.59 (12.41)	40.44 (18.60)	38.39 (17.73)
% female		49.85	60.26	47.11	52.17
% lived w/ both parents at 16		69.02	62.23	50.15	66.94
% minority mother		49.00	47.45	28.45	48.08
Education (3-category variable)*	No quals	22.39	5.35	46.92	19.14
	High school quals	43.11	44.38	37.59	43.25
	Tertiary	34.49	50.27	15.49	37.60
Mean equiv HH income		1481.91 (964.79)	1870.66 (1829.66)	1317.40 (755.84)	1566.90 (1224.86)
% in very White area		48.20	37.68	26.80	45.19
% born outside UK		24.31	35.92	49.20	27.67

*† p<.10   *p<.05   **p<.01   ***p<.001*

Table 3.6: 'Skin colour' subsample, weighted descriptive statistics

		White-identified	mixed-identified	NM minority-identified	Total
N unweighted		58	245	44	347
N without zero-weighted		5	241	43	289
Mean age at Wave 1		-	30.92	34.92	31.35
% female†		-	57.85	76.49	59.84
% lived w/ both parents at 16		-	55.23	65.44	56.32
% minority mother		-	27.31	35.67	28.21
Education (3-category variable) †	No quals	-	10.97	28.92	12.89
	Secondary	-	53.59	43.46	52.50
	Tertiary	-	35.44	27.62	34.60
Mean equiv HH income*		-	1703.87	1063.03	1635.25
% in very White area		-	35.1	23.47	33.86
% born outside UK*		-	19.33	48.53	22.46

† p<.10   *p<.05   **p<.01   ***p<.001

3.4 Findings

There are some significant descriptive differences between the three 'biracial' mixed groups depending on their ethnic identification. For example, the mixed-identified group appears to have significantly higher education and household income levels than the White-identified group. Is this shaped by levels of qualifications, or more related to lower social stigma around mixed identities among the younger generation? Multivariate regression analysis that frames ethnic choice as a dependent variable allows us to look at statistical significance of individual structural factors while controlling for others.

Average marginal effects of the independent variables in the four key samples are plotted below at Figures 3-3, 3-4, 3-5 and 3-6. Full tables of average marginal effects are supplied at Appendix 3.B, 3.C, 3.F and 3.G. For the purposes of visual interpretation, age in years is recoded as age in decades for the coefficient plots. Nested regression tables show how some variables were mediated by others, and these are discussed where relevant. The full table of odds ratios from the multinomial regression for the main sample is presented below, the rest are in the Appendices.

Below, rather than discussing the models one by one, I elaborate the findings variable by variable to facilitate comparison for each variable or 'theme' across the different

subgroups. To summarise however, the main multinomial model predicts that when holding all else constant, choosing a mixed identity compared with a White or other non-mixed identity, is significantly and independently associated with higher income, younger age, having a Black parent, and to some extent, higher levels of education. The White choice is significantly associated with having a non-Black minority parent, older age, not being a migrant, and living in a very White area. Contrary to expectations from the broader literature, but reinforcing descriptive findings in this and the previous chapter, this White-identified group had significantly lower predicted household income than the mixed-identified group holding all else constant. The findings also show that, controlling for other characteristics, the non-mixed minority choice was significantly associated with being a migrant, and with lower income and education in general when holding all else constant.

Ethnic choices for people with Black and White parentage were more clearly associated with socioeconomic factors and seemingly with embodied racialization than for those with Asian and White parentage. When examining the effects of age and birthplace variables, ethnic choices for Asian/White mixed people appeared less defined by the historical experiences of a particular migrant cohort, compared to Black mixed identity, and more potentially influenced by cultural in-group and out-group dynamics, including non-White migrant identities. This makes sense in the UK context of Caribbean and Commonwealth African migration cohorts being at the heart of the largest Black communities, and Caribbean immigration to the UK tapering off over time; while Asian immigration is less confined to one historical period or cohort.

A table of the main model is below, followed by AME plots for the main model and ethnic group subsample models. I then consider the net association of the different characteristics in turn.

Table 3.7: Multinomial logistic regression: Predictors of ethnic choice for those with a White and a non-White parent (Nested models, Odds ratios)

	Embodied characteristics	+ Household characteristics	+ SES & neighbourhood	+Migrant
White_choice (vs mixed)				
Age in years	1.031***	1.031***	1.032***	1.033***
	(3.92)	(3.89)	(3.70)	(3.59)
Female (vs Male)	0.769	0.769	0.819	0.856
	(-1.12)	(-1.13)	(-0.86)	(-0.68)
Black parent (base)	1	1	1	1
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Asian parent	2.689*	2.664*	2.844**	2.842**
	(2.56)	(2.55)	(2.72)	(2.68)
'Other' parent	11.59***	11.31***	11.93***	12.65***
	(6.69)	(6.63)	(6.55)	(6.56)
Minority mother	-	1.071	1.145	1.249
		(0.27)	(0.53)	(0.87)
Not w/ both parents at 16	-	0.962	0.885	0.854
		(-0.14)	(-0.40)	(-0.53)
No quals (base)	-	-	1	1
			(.)	(.)
Secondary quals	-	-	0.940	0.926
			(-0.17)	(-0.21)
Tertiary quals	-	-	0.638	0.643
			(-1.40)	(-1.35)
Log equiv. HH income	-	-	0.673†	0.672†
			(-1.83)	(-1.89)
Live in very White area	-	-	1.420	1.407
			(1.49)	(1.49)
Born outside UK	-	-		0.574
Non-mixed minority (vs Mixed)				
Age in years	1.025†	1.024†	1.020†	1.015
	(1.89)	(1.68)	(1.66)	(1.08)
Female (vs Male)	0.899	0.904	0.862	0.786
	(-0.26)	(-0.24)	(-0.40)	(-0.65)
Black parent (base)	1	1	1	1
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)

Asian parent	2.204†	2.027†	2.384†	2.317†
	(1.81)	(1.64)	(1.77)	(1.65)
'Other ethnic grp' parent	0.975	0.844	0.969	0.835
	(-0.06)	(-0.35)	(-0.06)	(-0.33)
Minority mother	-	1.284	1.409	1.104
		(0.61)	(0.77)	(0.21)
Not w/ both parents at 16	-	0.647	0.558	0.640
		(-0.88)	(-1.13)	(-0.84)
No quals (base)	-	-	1	1
			(.)	(.)
High school quals	-	-	0.405*	0.413†
			(-2.06)	(-1.97)
Tertiary quals	-	-	0.332*	0.322*
			(-2.18)	(-2.26)
Log equiv. HH income	-	-	0.584	0.593
			(-1.62)	(-1.48)
Live in very White area	-	-	0.542	0.557
			(-1.12)	(-1.03)
Born outside UK	-	-		2.741†
				(1.93)
N	942	942	942	942

† p<.10   *p<.05   **p<.01   ***p<.001   Source: Understanding Society

Figure 3-3: Main sample (White & non-White parents) AME plot
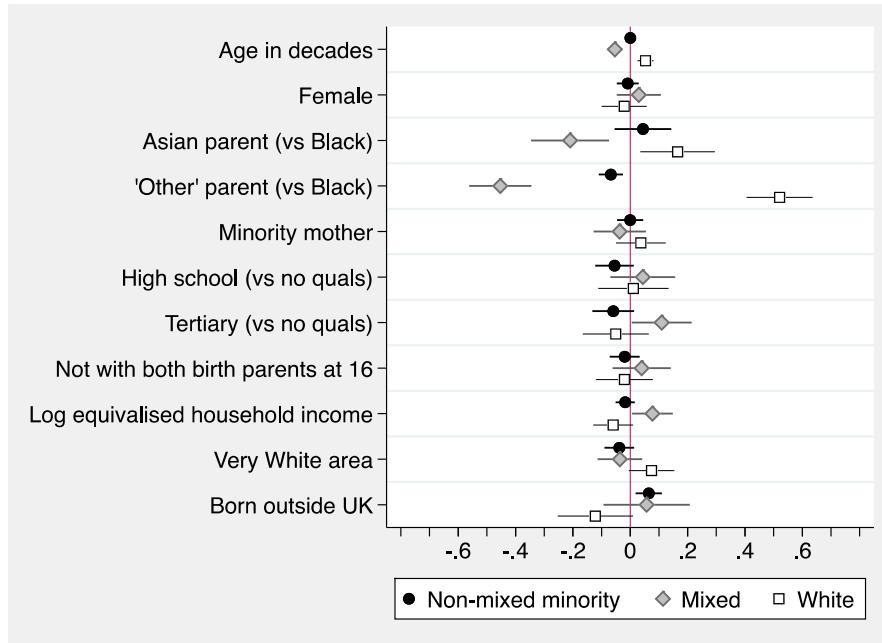
Figure 3-4: Black/White subsample AME plot

Source: Understanding Society. Estimates for variables specified in Table 3.7.
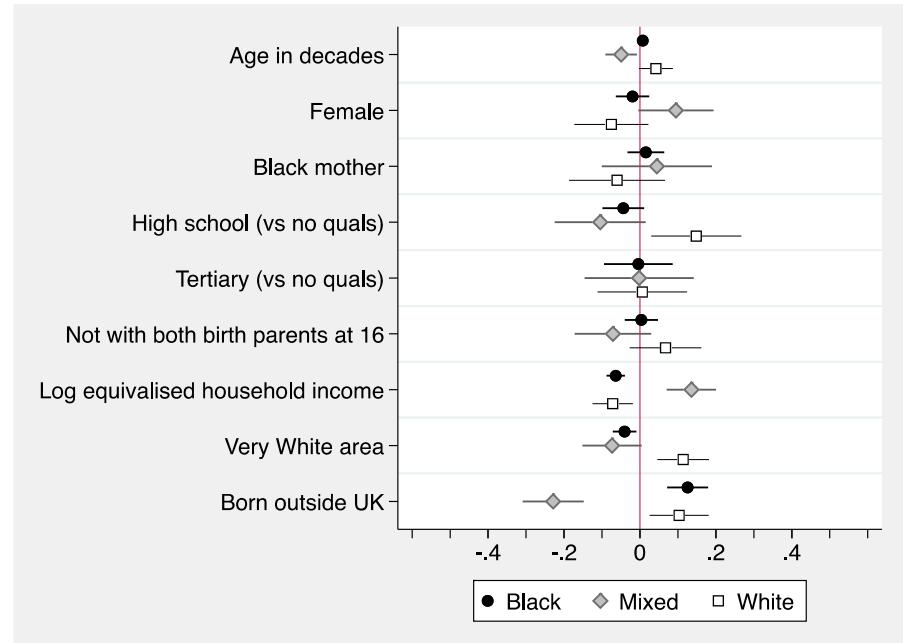
Source: Understanding Society. Estimates for variables specified in Table 3.7.

Figure 3-5: Asian/White subsample AME plot
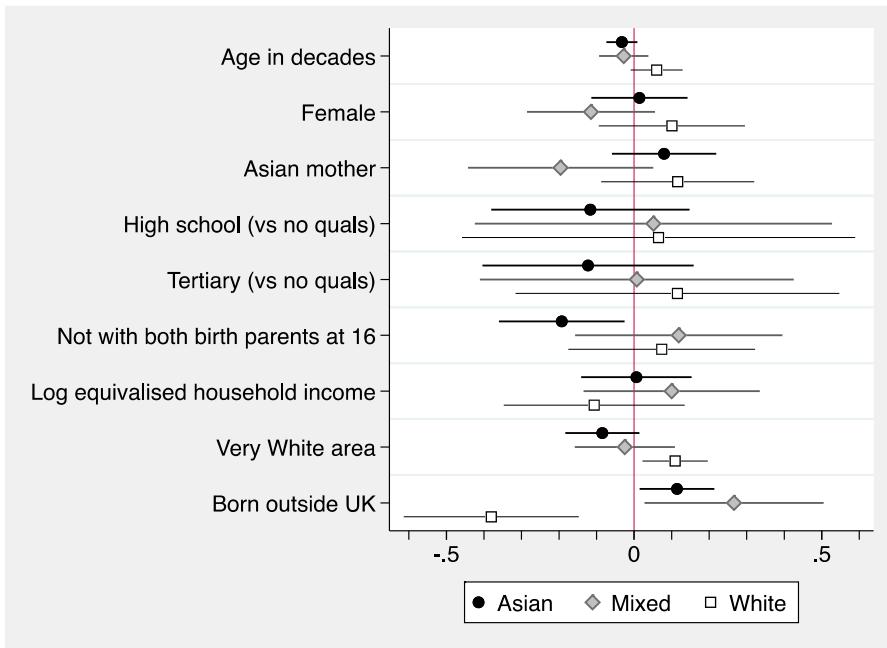
Source: Understanding Society. Estimates for variables specified in Table 3.7.

Figure 3-6: 'Other /White subsample AME plot
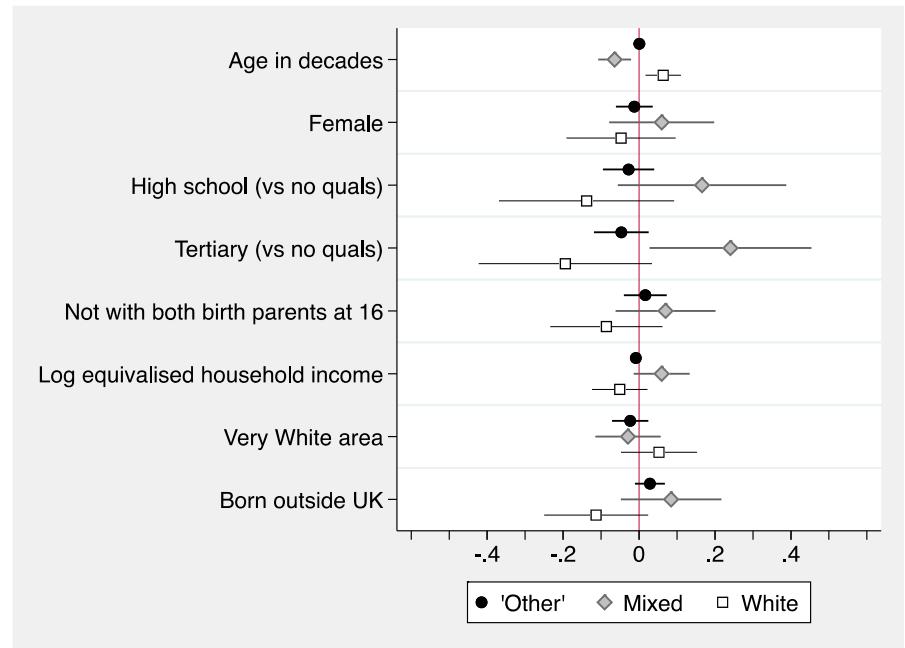
Source: Understanding Society. Estimates for variables specified in Table 3.7.

3.4.1 Embodied factors

3.4.1.1 <u>Age</u>

Older age was significantly and positively associated with choosing a White ethnic group over a mixed one, when controlling for all other variables. Each extra 10 years of age predicted an average 5.5 percentage point higher probability of identifying as White; while in the other direction, being younger predicted a similar increase in the chances of identifying as mixed – a pattern made clear in the predicted probability plot below.

Figure 3-7: Fitted probabilities of ethnic choices by age, main sample
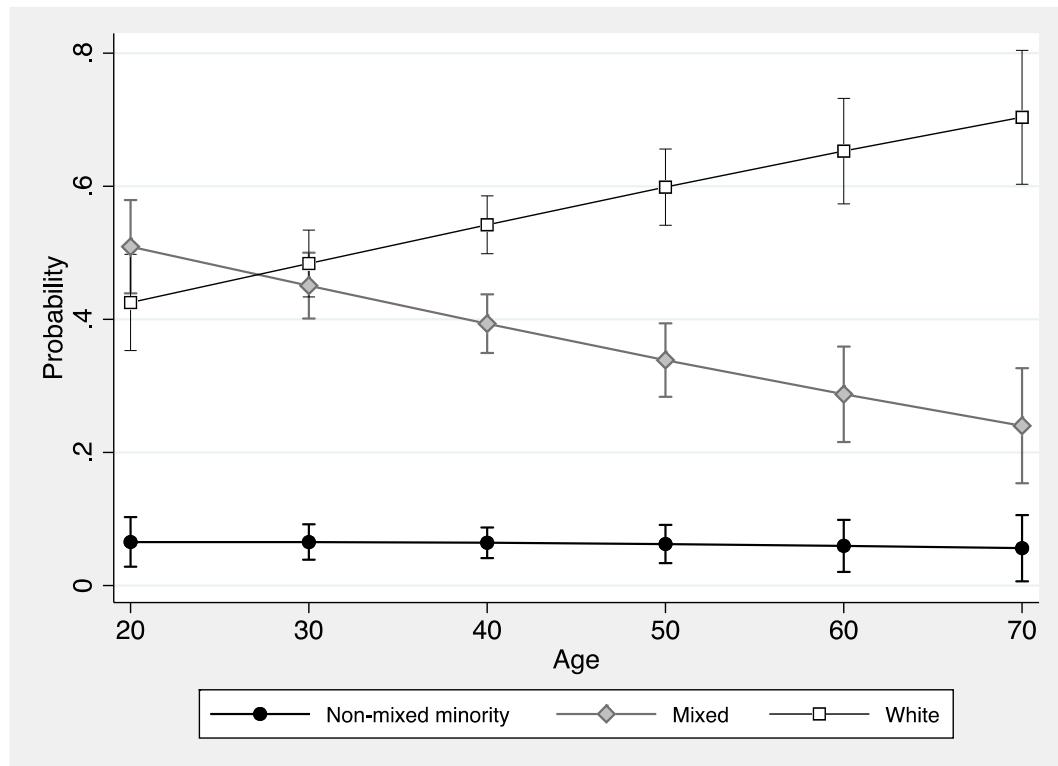
Source: Understanding Society. Estimates controlling for variables specified in Table 3.7.

When viewing the nested models in Table 3.7 we can also see that being a migrant mediated the effect of age to some extent, making age insignificant in the full minority-vs-mixed part of the model. This suggests that age and migration cohort are not independent for some groups, as will be discussed further.

Age-squared was not significant when included in the model, and also makes the main effect of age insignificant (See Appendix 3.H). As noted, there is no clear theoretical

reason why any existing association between age and ethnic choice would be non-linear. Rather, the findings suggest a consistent and gradual change in social attitudes towards minority and mixed identity over time, which appears to indicate a cohort effect – i.e. older peoples' identity and attitudes were formed in more overtly racist times during which mixedness was strongly stigmatised. A similar pattern was present in the subsample of respondents with a Black and a White parent (although this group was much likelier than the others to choose one of the 'Mixed' categories overall) and also in the Other/White subsample (who were much less likely to choose a 'Mixed' category overall).

Age is not significant in the Asian/White subsample, though weaker precision of the point estimates may stem from the smaller sample size. We can also consider the different immigration and demographic patterns of the Black and Asian communities in the UK, in that any cohort and/or period effect on mixed Asian/White populations is likely more diverse and less historically 'clumped'. In the nested models, while the Black/White model and the Other/White model follow the main sample in that being a migrant mediates age and reduces its significance, being a migrant has the opposite effect in the Asian/White model. This suggests that any cohort effect of age on ethnic identification is more independent from being a migrant for the Asian/White group, than it is for the Black/White and Other/White group. The contrast reinforces the importance of historical conditions of a specific migrant cohort to identity choice.

3.4.1.2 Gender

Both gender on its own and interactions in subsidiary models between gender and age, and gender of minority parent were explored, under the expectations of intersectional impacts on ethnic choices. In contrast with much existing literature, gender was not significant in the main sample's full model and most of the subsamples, and there was no significant interaction with age when using the main sample model (see Appendix 3.H). It did predict significantly higher odds of identifying as mixed over White (at a 10 per cent level) in the Black/White subsample, which was expected in light of US quantitative findings, and UK qualitative findings that focused particularly on experiences of those with Black descent.

There was a marginally statistically significant interaction (at the 10 per cent level) for gender and age for the Black/White subsample, in the Black/mixed part of the multinomial model (see Appendix 3.D). Mixed Black/White women had significantly

higher odds than their male counterparts of identifying as Black rather than mixed at younger ages. The picture that emerges is of the older generation of mixed Black/White women being more likely to be mixed-identified than their male counterparts, who were more likely to be either White or Black identified. The strong turn towards mixed identities for the younger generation of mixed people is thus far less distinct, in a relative sense, for women with a Black parent than it is for men. The interaction term is plotted in Figure 3-8 without confidence intervals, so the pattern is more clearly discernible. Women are represented by the dotted lines.

Figure 3-8: Fitted probabilities of ethnic choices, by age and gender, for those with a Black and a White parent, interaction model
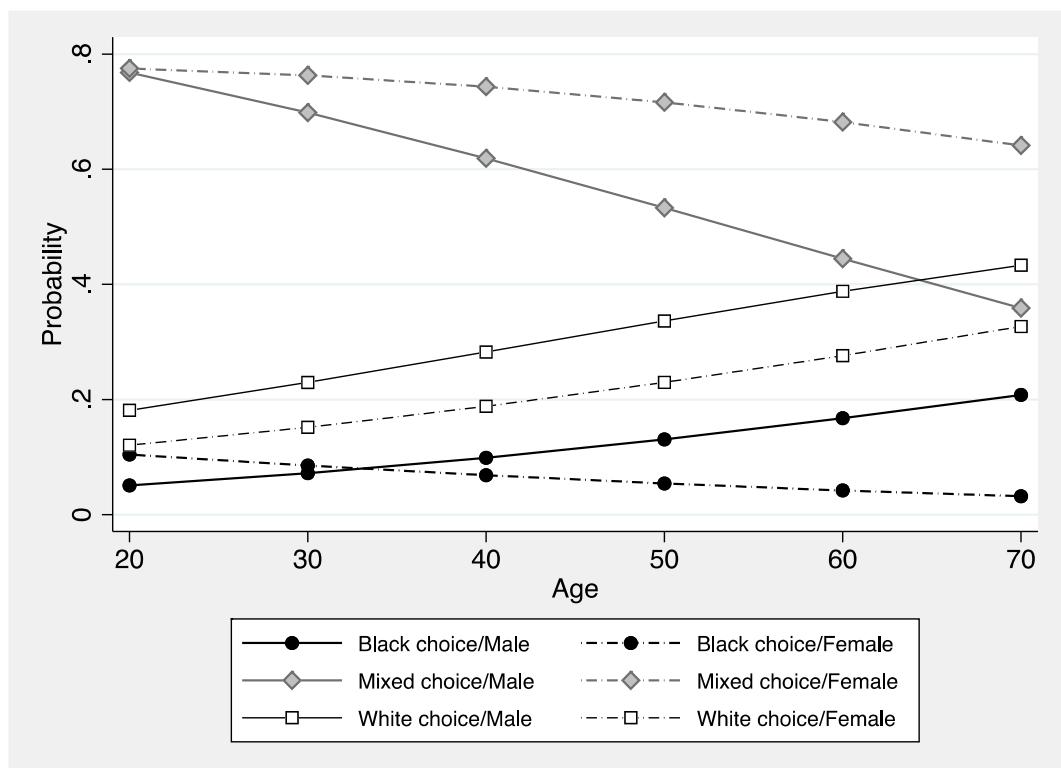
Source: Understanding Society. Estimates controlling for variables specified in Table 3.7.

3.4.1.3 <u>Minority parent ethnic group</u>

The substantively greatest and most consistent predictors of the three ethnic choices are the ethnic categories of the minority parent. The findings reflect the degree to which the term 'mixed race' has been socially constructed in the UK to mean those with a Black and White parent. Those with an Asian or 'Other ethnic group' parent are significantly less likely to choose a mixed identity than those with a Black parent.

As for the White choice, the group with the 'Other ethnic group' minority parent has a predicted 73.6 per cent probability of choosing White, compared with a 21 per cent

probability for those with a Black parent, holding other characteristics constant. As already discussed in the descriptive analysis of Chapter 2, this suggests that mixed people with a parent from the 'Other ethnic group' category are likely Whiter-looking.

Figure 3-9: Predicted probability of ethnic choice by ethnic group of minority parent, main sample
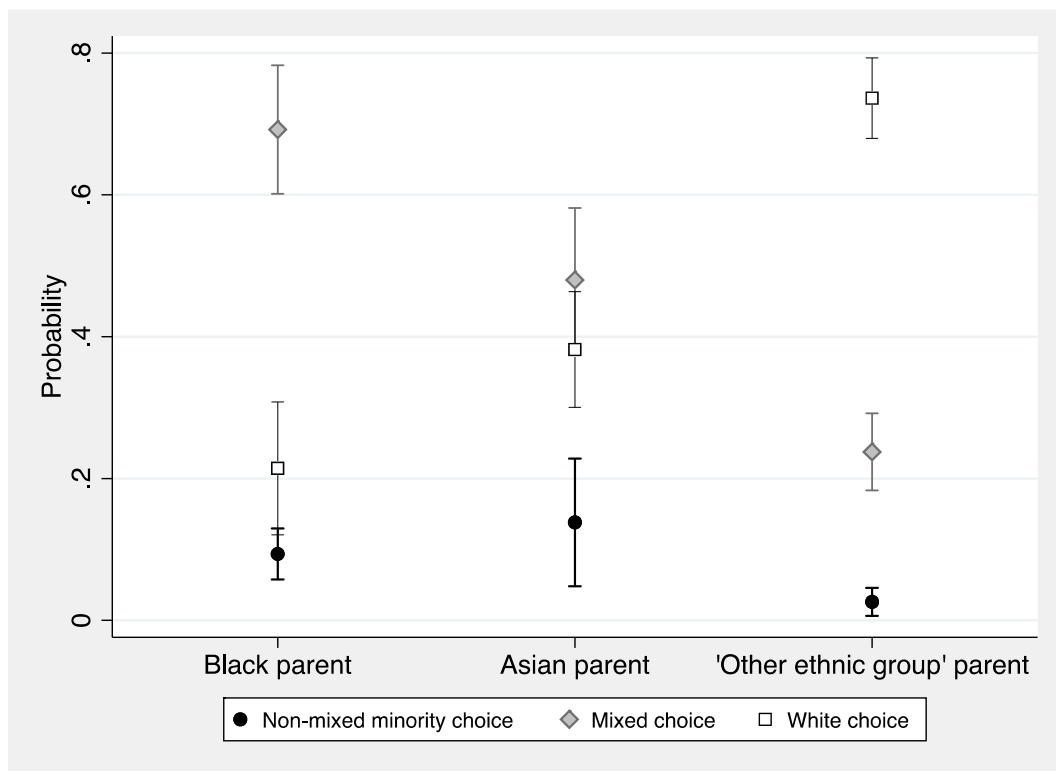
Source: Understanding Society. Estimates controlling for variables specified in Table 3.7.

3.4.1.4 Importance of skin colour ('Extra five minutes' mixed vs non-mixed minority model only)

As discussed, a separate binary logistic model with the comparison only between mixed and minority identified, was estimated using the 'extra five minutes sample' that includes a question on the importance of skin colour to the respondent's identity.

The nested models generally showed similar patterns to the main sample model – such as the association of choices with income, being a migrant, and living in a White area. Feelings about skin-colour were added to the model after the other embodied characteristics of age and sex. Even when controlling for ethnicity of the respondent's minority parent, greater importance placed on skin colour predict significantly higher odds of making the non-mixed minority choice rather than the mixed choice.

Given the evidence, treating this variable as a broad proxy for skin colour has clear endogeneity problems. We can take higher values of this variable as reflecting a higher

level of 'race consciousness', but this may be for various reasons. For some this may imply 'objective' skin colour, but for others it may be more about how they understand their skin colour as part of their identity. For example, it may be due to having experienced more discrimination based on colour or phenotype on average as a group, although because the discrimination and harassment measures in Understanding Society are so time-limited, it is difficult to confirm this. In individual cases it is also possible that higher values on this variable could express an individual's political consciousness and opinions based on their experiences of how others have been treated, how they were raised, or their level of education, rather than a reflection of their own skin colour.

3.4.2 Family/household level

3.4.2.1 Gender of minority parent

The dummy variable for having a minority mother rather than minority father was not significant in any of the four subsamples when controlling for all other variables, despite a simple association in the descriptive statistics at Table 2.6. The general lack of significance of this variable seems to support UK qualitative findings that the presence of White or minority parents mattered substantially less to ethnic identity choices than the *quality* of relationships with those parents, how those parents facilitated connections to their minority culture, and how they supported their children's racial awareness and coping strategies. (Tizard & Phoenix, 2002; Twine, 2010).

However, gender interactions with the 'minority mother' variable in the Black/White subsample model (see Appendix 3.E), showed that having a same-gendered Black parent significantly predicted choosing Black over mixed. Mixed men with a Black father had a 12.8 per cent predicted probability of choosing Black compared with 5.0 per cent probability if they were a woman, holding all else constant. Similarly, mixed women with a Black mother had a predicted 13.5 per cent predicted probability of choosing Black compared with 3.1 per cent for their male counterparts, holding all else constant. This suggests that transmission of Black-only identity is homolineal for mixed people with a Black parent. The way that Black-descended men and women are subjected to doubly racialised and gendered embodied social identities in the UK, compared with other ethnic groups, and the gendered ways in which Black cultural identity is transmitted in the home, may be relevant here.

3.4.2.2 <u>Grew up with both parents</u>

Out of the four samples, the variable indicating whether a respondent was not living with both biological parents when young only significantly predicted ethnic choice in the Asian/White subsample. For these respondents, not living with both birth parents during their teenage years (e.g. being sole-parented) was associated with an average marginal effect of a 19.7 percentage point reduction in likelihood of identifying as 'Asian' only. I return to this point in later qualitative chapters, which highlight how barriers to accessing minority identity for mixed people may be more difficult to overcome for those with Asian descent. In particular, a lack of mother-tongue language fluency due to lack of cultural transmission from parents was highlighted by mixed Asian/White interviewees as a particular barrier to ethnic minority belonging that did not affect those of Black and White descent to the same degree.

3.4.3 Socioeconomic status

While they varied to some extent across the subsamples, the findings on the role of socioeconomic position tend to reinforce the unadjusted findings that both the non-mixed minority choice and the White choice are associated with lower socioeconomic status in the UK; while the mixed choice is associated with higher income and education overall.

Higher income is significantly associated with making the mixed choice over the other choices. With every £1000 increase in equivalised monthly household income, the probability of making the mixed choice increases by an estimated average of 7.7 per cent, while the probability of making the White choice decreases by an average of 6.0 per cent (See Appendix 3.B for AME table). Overall, having secondary qualifications rather than no qualifications is significantly associated with making the mixed rather than the minority choice (see Table 3.7 and Figure 3-3).

In the Black/White subsample, the income effect on the mixed choice is nearly doubled, with every £1000 increase being associated with an average 13.6 per cent increase in the probability of choosing mixed (See Appendix 3.C). By contrast, education but not income is still significant in the Other/White model, and neither are significant in the small Asian/White subsample.

These findings are in distinct contrast to initial expectations of the White choice being associated with higher socioeconomic status. The more significant and substantial

effects of socioeconomic status on ethnic choices for the Black/White subsample are also notable, particularly given that sample size is actually slightly smaller than the Other/White subsample.

3.4.4 Neighbourhood level

The dummy for living in a predominantly White area is not significant in the full model of the main sample. Analysis of nested models however shows that initially significant associations between living in a White area and making the White choice are mediated by the ethnic group of the minority parent. The ethnic subsamples shed some light on this. For the Black/White subsample, living in a very White area has the expected significant association in the full model with a White choice, and negative association with a mixed or minority choice. This effect was less significant for the other subgroups.

In Chapter 2, the mixed types that appeared to be 'closer to White' were more likely to live in White areas. However, as the analysis in this chapter excludes groups that would intuitively be more likely to live in a very White area (e.g. with two White parents) or less White area (with two minority parents), this likely has removed a certain amount of self-sorting at the extremes.

3.4.5 Nation-state level

Being a migrant is a significant predictor of ethnic choice. As can be seen from the AME plots (Figures 3-3 to 3-6), in most of the four models being a migrant is associated with a lower predicted probability of White identification, and a higher probability of all kinds of non-White identification, to varying degrees of significance. This overall picture of migrant status being associated more with non-White identities for mixed people may point to a doubly ascriptive experience of being racialised as both non-White and foreign. It could also be related to the specificity of ethnic categories in the questionnaire missing the cognitive mark for some migrants who, for example, may view certain categories as national or regional identities rather than ethnic groups that can be 'mixed'.

The relationship differed, however, for the Black/White subsample. Being a mixed migrant of Black descent was associated with a significantly lower predicted probability of mixed identity, and a higher point estimate for both Black *and* White identification.

This anomaly may point to how specific understandings of identity can be associated with a particular migrant cultural cohort, independently of age. We should note that this finding is relative to the very high acceptability of mixed identity among UK-born mixed people of Black descent. Qualitative UK evidence of high acceptability of the term 'mixed race' among mixed people of Black descent (Aspinall et al., 2008) may have been limited by a focus on a young British-born and self-identified mixed population, overlooking the label's lower acceptability among their foreign-born and older counterparts.

The Black/White subsample analysis seems to tell a story of how older and migrant Black-descended mixed populations follow an older paradigm that avoids 'mixed' terms, potentially regarding them as stigmatising. However, being a mixed migrant with any other ethnic minority parentage is associated with making less White choices. As noted previously, a migrant cohort effect is not observed in the Asian/White and Other/White subsamples, and they may be a more ethnically and culturally diverse grouping than the Black/White subsample.

3.5 Discussion

This analysis has shown that although Bonilla-Silva's tripartite stratification model of White status at the top, Black at the bottom and mixed in the middle, may broadly reflect the overall socioeconomic status of groups in the UK, it does not predict the self-sorting ethnic choices of those with one White and one non-White parent. The racialised social hierarchy of the UK does not appear to be reproducing itself via this 'biracial' group's ethnic choices.

In terms of effect size, having a parent from an 'Other ethnic group' – a category that is around 40 per cent Middle Eastern and North African ethnic groups and likely also includes East and Southeast Asian parents and mixed parents otherwise uncodeable – was the most substantive predictor of the White choice. We can potentially assume from this, and from additional analysis of the 'importance of skin colour' variable, that the lion's share of White identification is related to looking physically Whiter *on average* (though the data has no robust individual proxy for skin colour that can be applied to the whole sample). This suggests that the most substantial intergenerational 'Whitening' trend for the biggest mixed subgroup in the UK has not been driven by social mobility, aspiration, or economic integration as suggested by some to be central to the US

experience (Alba, 2016), but fundamentally by the parameters of skin colour. It should be noted of course, that the Middle Eastern/North African ethnic groups that in the UK are classified as 'ethnically' non-White, are formally classified as 'racially' White by the US Census Bureau.

To the extent that socioeconomic status is significant, its effect surprisingly defied expectations of Whiteness being associated with higher status. Instead, the White choice for mixed people with one White parent was significantly associated with lower household income than for the mixed identified, even when controlling for all other factors. Not only does there appear to be a 'mixed privilege' effect in the UK, but the 'White choice' was comparable to the 'minority choice' in terms of estimated income, for those with one White parent.

We are thus presented with two competing theories about the mechanism of a 'mixed privileged' effect that is intrinsically connected in the multinomial model with a 'lower status White' effect. On one hand, the US 'biracial' privilege theory discussed earlier (Stephens et al., 2007; Townsend et al., 2012) hypothesizes a post-materialist individualist urge to separate oneself from the communitarian constraints of the one-drop rule. On the other, the 'mestizaje' theory presented by several Latin American examples also discussed (Telles, 2014; Telles et al., 2015) is premised on a nation-building discourse of majoritarian inclusion and 'melting-pot' or 'postracial' ideology. How can we apply these theories to what is happening in the UK? The findings also beg the question: how does the lower status of the White-identified – the counterpart to the UK mixed privilege effect – fit into the constraints of either theory?

Compared with the stigma attached to mixedness historically in the UK (Caballero & Aspinall, 2018; Olumide, 2002; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002), more has been made in recent years of how 'mixed race Britain' is coming into its own as an identity, as a newly ascendant cultural force, or as normalised within popular culture or media discourse. Although the UK mixed population is still a small minority compared with its majority status in some Latin American countries, elements of the British national discourse present the option of mixed identity as an inclusive, multicultural and positive identity that represents 'the future' (Ali, 2003; Alibhai-Brown, 2001; Eccles, 2012; Ford et al., 2012; The Economist, 2014). Thus, in the UK, mixed identification could reflect confidence in being part of a hegemonic narrative of national identity; while also being a marker of postmaterialist individualist confidence that transcends restrictions of

'choosing' between either parent's ethnic community identity as theorised by Townsend and others (Fhagen-Smith, 2010; Townsend et al., 2012).

Can we relate these theories of the middle class mixed choice to the more granular qualitative British findings about the ways that middle class or wealthy upbringings may variously offer protections against the consequences of racism, contextual flexibility, cosmopolitan post-racialism, and politicised or educated racial awareness (Ali, 2003; Song, 2017; Twine, 2010)? The 'utopian postracial' mixed choice discussed above, may be a mode of identity being exercised by less politicised middle class or wealthy mixed people who are relatively protected from the material costs of racism, even if they sometimes experience it. There could be some overlap here with the substantial trend of cosmopolitan and occasionally 'post-racial' thinking that Song observes in her mainly middle class sample of mixed parents (Song, 2017). Meanwhile for more politicised, race-conscious and minority-aligned middle class mixed people, the mixed choice could *also* express a 'refusal to be White', embracing the racial criticality of an alternative statement of national cosmopolitan inclusion – or even a specific expression of communitarian inclusion for those who view being mixed as a subset of being Black.

These mechanisms or drivers of the middle class mixed choice may contrast with each other, but they are contrasting avenues towards the same tick-box, and would contribute to the same overall quantitative 'mixed privilege' effect found here. At the same time, they are not mutually exclusive, and both seem to reflect pre-existing confidence and security of personal identity.

Meanwhile, as the Latin American literature posits, White choices by lower status groups may reflect aspirations towards higher status and national inclusion associated with the cultural capital of Whiteness (Telles, 2014). As Ahmed notes, "Whiteness becomes a social inheritance… a gift" (S. Ahmed, 2006, p. 125) – not only to be received, but to be claimed. The preference for lower income groups to seek safety in either White or non-mixed minority identity makes even more sense if we view the White choice as not only socioeconomically aspirational, but also about aspiration to belonging, security, and being free of stigma in a lived community. This can be concretely related to ethnic choice in qualitative British observations of the 'area effects' for mixed people growing up in particularly White areas who identify more

closely with White people, although available research has focused on middle class or wealthy White areas rather than working class White areas (Tizard & Phoenix, 2002).

The overall picture of ethnic choice for mixed people in the UK is of multiplicity of motives that extend well beyond universalising approaches to class mobility and material aspiration. Socioeconomic factors have a partial role, as do gender, family, age cohort, particular ethnic community, area effects, and nationally discursive context. The ambiguous reasons for the effect of skin colour that is hinted at by this analysis, highlights the large gap left by the lack of skin colour proxy variables available in UK data and research. It also highlights the abiding relevance of specifically racial analysis to countries that officially use only the concept of 'ethnicity' to define the salience of social groups being measured.

With regard to the wider technical measurement question posed by this study, this analysis helps us begin to gauge how much can we trust our ethnic data for the evaluation of inequalities. In the US there are concerns that the successes of some minority groups may not be legible due to their upwardly mobile 'disappearance' into White categories. In the case of the UK mixed population, the concern may track in the other direction, in that those reporting 'as mixed' may appear more successful than the overall population of those of mixed ancestry actually are, as when comparing 'like with like', those with lower status have a higher probability of making White and non-mixed minority choices.

As highlighted in the previous chapter, further research is needed into patterns of ethnic attrition in the UK, and how this may potentially bias findings on ethnic penalties and inequalities. However, findings from this chapter do suggest that younger generations' acceptance of the mixed categories may become further entrenched, meaning that the partial socioeconomic effects associated with non-mixed choices may affect fewer people over time.

This chapter also reveals the limitations of past consultations in the UK on the acceptability of the term 'mixed' or 'mixed race' for use in social surveys and the Census, due to focus on the Black-descended population that is assumed to be the main 'mixed race' population and which has the highest level of acceptance of the 'mixed' term. Findings have highlighted the much lower affinity with 'mixed' identity for other ostensibly mixed groups, and the exceptionalism of choices, racialization, and social context for Black-descended people in the UK, including gendered impacts on identity.

Crenshaw's original intersectional analysis of the multiply marginalised and racialised status of Black women in the US (Crenshaw, 1991, 2015) has relevance in this context, as findings suggest that there are some consistent commonalities in how mixed people of Black descent experience racism and racialization in the UK and the US. The more significant socioeconomic, gender, age and gender interactions for the Black-descended subgroup compared with the other subgroups or the main model, suggest that structural and gendered racism and socially ascribed racial identity may have stronger effect on ethnic choice for those of Black descent, and thus that racial and ethnic choices may be 'less free' for this group. This supports the idea that the identification and Othering of Blackness is the locus or baseline on which social construction of race is formed in White-majority countries (Gilroy, 1993).

Although this chapter has been able to highlight some implications for the longer view of intergenerational ethnic shifts, the cross-sectional nature of the data has been a limitation. I do not assume in this study that the ethnic choices being analysed are time invariant or particularly stable. Indeed, the way in which ethnic identification in data fluctuates or changes over time or in different contexts, and why, has been a key element of the international literature on 'Whitening', ethnic attrition, and racial mobility. These questions are addressed in the next chapter, which uses longitudinal UK data.

This chapter has provided some strong indications of what structural factors are associated with which ethnic choices for mixed people in the UK, the first analysis of its kind in the British context. It also highlights the fact that a range of factors and mechanisms are simply not directly observable in the available data – such as the effect of skin colour for individuals, the specific quality of relationships with parents, relatives and wider communities, and what meanings mixed individuals are actually seeking to express through these ethnic choices. This underlines the importance of seeking richer explanations and context through nested qualitative research as undertaken in Chapters 5 and 6.

4 Instability or aspiration? Ethnic change predictors for mixed people

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapters highlighted a range of characteristics as key to what ethnic choices mixed people make. This chapter examines whether such characteristics also predict ethnic change. The fluidity of ethnic identification among those with multiple ethnic or racial heritage has long been noted, with such changes being discussed in contrasting ways: as aspirational acts of agency (M. Root, 1993), as destabilisation of the social order through subterfuge (Burma, 1946; Eckard, 1947; Larsen, 1929), or as fluctuation or 'instability', implying an unsettled or insecure identity for individuals, rather than only technical instability in the composition of the ethnic group (Carter et al., 2009; Simpson et al., 2014).

Recent and historical research using longitudinal and multidimensional ethnicity data has reframed racial identification in the Americas as fluid and endogenous, finding that choices and change are often tied to racialised and gendered social stratification rooted in a deep history of anti-Blackness (Carvalho et al., 2004; Mitchell-Walthour & Darity, 2015; Saperstein & Penner, 2012; Saperstein et al., n.d.). However, the UK has had little

history of examining and researching these issues quantitatively, and functions within different discourses and histories of race and ethnicity. While the racialisation of Blackness in the UK has strong parallels to the US context (Small, 1994), the UK also lacks a comparable history of slave labour on the British mainland; never had a 'one-drop' rule or official anti-miscegenation and racial segregation laws; and the most substantial waves of non-White immigration began only after World War II (Ali, 2011). The previous chapters have illustrated ways in which North or Latin American findings are not always generalizable to the British context.

In this chapter, I exploit repeated measures of ethnic group in large-scale, representative longitudinal data. The ONS Longitudinal Study (ONS LS) contains linked Census and life events data for a 1 per cent sample of the population of England and Wales. Using this data, I identify the predictors of change in ethnic group identification among those self-categorising themselves as mixed at one or more time points. I examine the role of both baseline cross-sectional socioeconomic circumstances, and change in those circumstances. This allows me to explore the extent to which change is independent of structural and contextual social factors (and thus would appear to be random kinds of change), or alternatively is associated with personal instability, or with changes in social status according to theories of racialised social hierarchies.

4.2 Literature

There is a broad body of theory and research on the evolution, formation and change of ethnic group identities as a whole, with much attention paid to debates about assimilation versus acculturation of minorities in majority-White Western states (Berry, 1995, 1997; Kim, Laroche, & Tomiuk, 2004; Laroche, Kim, Hui, & Joy, 1996; Park, 1928; Phinney, 1990; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996; Stonequist, 1937; Syed, Azmitia, & Phinney, 2007). There is also a body of literature outlining how social definitions or categorisation of ethnic groups and 'races' changes. For example, there are studies of how different groups have entered or exited the privileged category of Whiteness as a whole over time, particularly in the US (Ajrouch & Jamal, 2007; Alba, 2016; Bonilla-Silva, 2002, 2004; Brodkin, 1998; Gualtieri, 2001; Ignatiev, 2009; Nagel & Staeheli, 2005; Roediger, 2006).

There has been no UK quantitative analysis of reasons for reported ethnic group change for individuals as a part of these theoretical frameworks, although there is a growing

body of literature dominated by Latin American and North American researchers with some contributions from New Zealand and elsewhere. This literature has examined predictors of individual ethnic identification choice and change in surveys and Censuses, and what implications this has for society and social hierarchies (Alba, 2016; Bailey, 2006; Bastos et al., 2009; Burma, 1946; Callister, Didham, & Potter, 2007; Carter et al., 2009; Carvalho et al., 2004; Davenport, 2016; Didham, 2017; Francis & Tannuri-Pianto, 2013; Harris & Sim, 2002; Hitlin et al., 2006; Howard & Didham, 2003; Kukutai, 2007, 2008; Kukutai & Didham, 2009; Liebler et al., 2014; Mihoko Doyle & Kao, 2007; Mitchell-Walthour & Darity, 2015; Nix & Qian, 2015; Penner & Saperstein, 2013; Saperstein & Penner, 2012, 2016; Saperstein et al., n.d.). These studies use either time series or longitudinally linked Census data, as well as cross-sectional analysis of surveys with multidimensional ethnicity questions, or longitudinal surveys. They proceed on the assumption that there are socially meaningful reasons for ethnic identification change. Meanwhile, the limited descriptive quantitative research into ethnic change so far in the UK tends towards attributing a substantial portion of that change to various forms of measurement error (Simpson, 2014). If we assume that a large part of reported ethnic change is sociologically substantive rather than being non-meaningful measurement error, several different types of individual ethnic change discussed in the general literature about ethnic identity may apply. They are linked with the three bodies of literature discussed in Chapter 1's conceptual framework, of 'horizontal', 'vertical'/hierarchical, or contextual/contingent ethnic choices (see Figure 1-3).

The first type of change can be classed as *identity change* for individuals over time that is gradual, less subject to contextual fluctuation, and deeply felt, leading towards "achieved identity" in social psychological terms (Phinney, 1990); or "how you see yourself" according to a recent Pew survey of 'multiracial' Americans (Parker et al., 2015). We can see this concept as related to the broader literature on identity formation, acculturation and assimilation (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Berry, 1995, 1997, 2005; Meeus, 2011), which addresses personally-felt and lived identities and loyalties, whether or not they conflict or co-exist.

The second can be classed as *identification change* in terms specifically confined to ethnic reporting or identification to others, which may be strategic, motivated by specific instrumentalist perceptions of the ethnic enumeration process, or responses to

ascriptive experiences, but which may or may not reflect a clear change in how a person feels about themselves or 'sees themselves'. Sociological and social psychological theories of strategic ethnicity, and strategic management of identities, are relevant here (Barth, 1969; Ellemers, 1993; Goffman, 2009; Roberts, Settles, & Jellison, 2008), as is the literature on 'passing' and strategic or aspirational self-labelling in the US and Brazilian contexts (Burma, 1946; Carvalho et al., 2004; Eckard, 1947; Ianni, 1960; Saperstein & Gullickson, 2013).

The third type is *contextual change*, whereby changes in ethnic identification reflect a constantly shifting and multifaceted performance of identity, and there is not a clearcut demarcation or assumption of difference between substantive identity change and identification change, in a challenge to essentialist notions of identity. The literature discussed in Chapter 1 about strategic identity and identity management become relevant here, as do the discussions of mixed and hybrid identity as positional, iterative and performative in the phenomenological and cultural studies literature (S. Ahmed, 1999, 2006; Ali, 2003; Haraway, 1991; Mahtani, 2002; Nishime, 2005; Pravaz, 2003). Low reliability of ethnic questions stemming from what survey methodologists would call cognitive problems, can also be viewed through this lens of contextual ethnicity. These might be issues of positionality, timing, terminological or cultural familiarity, immediate environment, priorities, and varying levels of form-filling fatigue.

In this chapter, and in fact for all studies based on analysing quantitative data on reported ethnic group change, the assumption must be that only *identification* change is being observed. This chapter's approach thus explicitly focuses on people's engagement with constructed ethnic categories that may be problematic, essentialist, or racist – and the patterns that emerge from this exercise of agency. Observable identification change may itself be suggestive of forms of contextual change, or of identity change, but our conclusions about these are necessarily limited.

As discussed in previous chapters, the UK has relatively few relevant quantitative data sources on ethnic change and no notable history of quantitative research in this area. A direct single-coded ethnic group question was only introduced to the Census for England and Wales in 1991. The more complex and longstanding ethnic measures in the White-settler societies of the former British empire compared to those within the British Isles themselves, not to mention the explicit colour-continuum commonly used in Brazil, reflect the long deployment of ethnic enumeration as a colonial tool of control.

However, they also imply a greater awareness of ethnicity and race as potentially unstable and contextual, due to longstanding socially salient mixed populations. Numerous studies as early as the post-Civil War Reconstruction era in the US attempted to use time series Census data to quantify the number of 'legally Black' people strategically passing as White in defiance of racial laws (Burma, 1946; Eckard, 1947), and there have been recent attempts at retrospective longitudinal intercensal linkage for these purposes (Nix & Qian, 2015).

The contemporary Brazilian literature has used similar time-series approaches, exploring whether the country's range of racial shades in the Census and other data acts as a social ladder that the individual may ascend or descend (Carvalho et al., 2004), although most of the Brazilian research in this area is cross-sectional (Bastos et al., 2009; Dineen-Wimberly & Spickard, 2010; Francis & Tannuri-Pianto, 2013; Miranda-Ribeiro & Junqueira Caetano, 2005; Mitchell-Walthour & Darity, 2015).

A small but increasing number of studies on ethnic change have been able to include analysis of repeated measures of ethnicity, rather than cross-sectional analysis of multi-dimensional ethnicity questions. These generally look at the selection of one ethnic option at one wave of a survey or the Census, and the selection of a different ethnic option at following waves (Carter et al., 2009; Didham, 2017; Hitlin et al., 2006; Liebler et al., 2014; Mihoko Doyle & Kao, 2007; Porter, Liebler, & Noon, n.d.; Saperstein & Penner, 2012; Saperstein et al., n.d.; Simpson et al., 2014). The evidence on the reasons for ethnic change that these studies provide is summarised below.

4.2.1 Why do people change their reported ethnic group?

Existing quantitative studies have come up with three broad findings about why people change their reported ethnic group at different times. These finding relate back to the three theoretical approaches to ethnic change outlined above.

4.2.1.1 Identity change: Ethnic change as personal instability and linear development

Social psychological theories (Phinney, 1990; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996) advance the concept of ethnic instability in reasonably positive terms, in the context of the journey of adolescents through various transitions and unstable liminal states towards 'achieved identity', i.e. stable ethnic identity. The focus on younger age groups of the two US longitudinal studies of ethnic choices (Hitlin et al., 2006; Mihoko Doyle & Kao, 2007) as well as in UK qualitative research (Aspinall & Song, 2013b), is driven by this

assumption that ethnic identity fluctuation is a phenomenon that occurs in youth, and that for the vast majority is settled by early adulthood[6]. However, some available qualitative research would suggest that this is not the case for older mixed people, as will be discussed further below (Tashiro, 2015).

Studies have also found that some specifically negative conditions are associated with reported ethnic change. The two Add Health studies found that ethnic change for adolescents was significantly associated with low self-esteem, and lower maternal education (Hitlin et al., 2006; Mihoko Doyle & Kao, 2007). An analysis of predictors of change exploited in a New Zealand survey that covered a full adult age range, and had three repeated measures of ethnic group (Carter et al., 2009) found that ethnic change was significantly associated with being younger.[7] But it was also independently associated with a range of other factors, including multiple ethnicity at Wave 1, and indicators of deprivation including poorer self-rated health and lower income (Carter et al., 2009).

For the most part, studies controlled for cross-sectional indicators rather than change in material or health conditions over time, have not treated 'change' itself as the dependent variable, or have not focused on self-identified ethnic group. As such, we do not actually have clear evidence that 'instability' in life or changes in socioeconomic status are associated with instability of ethnic identification – just that some absolutely worse conditions are.

4.2.1.2 Strategic change: 'aspirational Whitening' vs 'mixed privilege'
Some studies depict movement between categories as conscious strategic attempts by individuals to change status within a racialised social hierarchy, sometimes framed as strategic identification and sometimes as authentic identity change. This engages more directly with sociological theories of social stratification and hierarchy, such as historical analyses of 'passing' and contemporary 'Whitening' (Alba, 2016; Carvalho et

---

[6] It is also convenient that the key data source for these US studies is the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), a survey that has rich multidimensional ethnicity measures. The overlap of theory and data availability may have limited the age focus of US studies in this area.

[7] New Zealand ethnic questions follow a multi-ticking standard, and multiple ethnicity is defined as those who have ticked more than one box.

al., 2004; Francis & Tannuri-Pianto, 2013; Mitchell-Walthour & Darity, 2015; Nix & Qian, 2015; Saperstein & Penner, 2012; Schwartzman, 2007). As touched on in the previous chapters, a number of studies have looked at multigenerational upward mobility, and its associations with ethnic attrition and 'Whitening' based on cross-sectional data (Emeka & Vallejo, 2011; Parker et al., 2015; Schwartzman, 2007; Telles, 2014), or time-series Census data that shows otherwise unexplained ethnic attrition (Alba, 2016; Alba & Islam, 2009; Carvalho et al., 2004). Two recent US studies use longitudinal data on ethnicity to examine the direction of individual ethnic change over the life course, and whether it precedes or follows some kind of material advantage. They both found evidence of 'Whitening' with success and 'darkening' with poorer outcomes, although one was mostly based on interviewer-classification of colour (Saperstein & Penner, 2012); and the other focuses on 'White to Black' and 'Black to White' change, excluding mixed/multiracial categories (Saperstein et al., n.d.).

Some studies support, instead, the 'mixed privilege' hypothesis suggested by the findings of the previous chapter. These studies include longitudinal, cross-sectional and qualitative research. Researchers have advanced theories that higher status is associated with having the security to seek out 'unique' identities due to being less reliant on the resource-base of a large monoethnic community, compared with less privileged mixed people who will be more likely to seek security by sticking with the non-mixed herd (DaCosta, 2007; Davenport, 2016; Fhagen-Smith, 2010; Stephens et al., 2007; Townsend et al., 2012). In Latin American cases, where the mestizo population is the majority, mixed identities are also independently associated with higher status (Telles, 2014; Telles et al., 2015), but by contrast, this is explained by the centring of *mestizaje* (mixedness) within hegemonic or mainstream national identity.

The previous two chapters are to date the only quantitative analysis of predictors of ethnic choice using a representative sample of mixed people in the UK. My unexpected findings that the White choice is associated with lower socioeconomic status, and the mixed choice with higher status, seem to support the 'mixed privilege' hypothesis in the UK context – at least in terms of the cross-sectional patterns. I suggest that the White choice may be framed as 'aspirational' for mixed people lacking socioeconomic security who seek to align themselves with a more powerful social group. This could mean that in the UK, poorer conditions rather than better conditions may 'Whiten' respondents over time. However, I do continue to test the 'aspirational Whitening'

theory directly in the hypotheses below, for consistency with the approach of the previous chapter.

Longitudinal research that appears to support the 'mixed privilege' theory of ethnic change includes the previously mentioned study by Hitlin et.al (2006), which found that those who changed into multiracial identities had higher maternal education than the 'stable monoracial' baseline; while those who switched out of multiracial identity had lower maternal education.

4.2.1.3 Contextual change: Period and cohort effects, and other factors

Three longitudinal studies have shown that older age is positively associated with ethnic stability across all ethnic groups in the US and New Zealand, two of which use Census data (Carter et al., 2009; Didham, 2017; Liebler et al., 2014). But we cannot necessarily assume these findings will be replicated in the UK data on the mixed category, given non-comparability of questions, the brief period since the ethnic question was introduced in the Census, and very different historical approaches to race, ethnicity and mixed identities. Didham's descriptive analysis of all ethnic change in the linked New Zealand Census confirmed the overall association between older age and greater stabilisation of reported ethnic group. However, it also revealed peaks and troughs matched to life transitions, and marked contrasts between ethnic groups according to local histories of migration, colonialism, and post-colonial renewal of indigenous identities (Didham, 2017). Indeed, Tashiro's qualitative study on older mixed Americans highlights the impact of historical events and progressive racial movements specific to the American polity, on her participants' whole-of-life journeys of ethnic identification (Tashiro, 2015). In the UK, the idea that ethnic stability increases over time in a journey towards 'achieved identity', as expressed in an age effect, may be countered by a cohort effect of a more settled social acceptability or even celebration of mixed and minority identities for younger people with specific kinds of mixed backgrounds (Aspinall & Song, 2013a; Didham, 2017; Ford et al., 2012). This could potentially predict more ethnic stability for younger mixed people than for older ones in the UK, due to greater likelihood of 'starting out mixed' rather than being introduced in later life to the possible acceptability of being mixed, for example, with the 2001 introduction of 'Mixed' Census categories.

A range of other personal, family and nationally contextual factors are likely to predict ethnic change, including cognitive issues with the census questionnaire that may be

conventionally considered measurement error. Ethnic group is likely to be one of the strongest predictors of change, due to stronger or more 'fixed' social ascription and racialization for visibly Black-descended people, and more ambiguity for others, as the previous chapters suggest and the US studies have found (Hitlin et al., 2006; Mihoko Doyle & Kao, 2007). However, national-level discourses of race, ethnicity and mixed identification are also likely to have specific effects in the UK that cannot be predicted by international research. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, British people with White and Black parentage have the highest level of acceptance of the 'Mixed' tick-box category, and have commonly use the term 'mixed race' to describe themselves over the last few decades (Aspinall et al., 2008; Caballero & Aspinall, 2018; Ryder, 2019); which contrasts with narratives of Black-only identity in the US constructed under the historical conditions of the 'one drop rule'. Meanwhile, the term 'Asian' does not have a settled definition in the UK, with inconsistency between the 2011 Census and other waves, as well as differences in administrative data collection (See Figure 1-1 and Appendix 1.A).

Social psychological theories about relational identities and the impact of forming and dissolving intimate partnership mean that we might also expect some trends related to relationship breakup, partnering, and ethnicity of spouses and partners (Aron, Paris, & Aron, 1995; Lewandowski, Aron, Bassis, & Kunak, 2006), as was suggested in the New Zealand Census study (Didham, 2017).

In conclusion, there are a range of theories about 'why' mixed people change their reported ethnic group, but only a small amount of empirical analysis using longitudinal data focusing on individual change, and none in the UK context. The availability of two waves of ethnic and socioeconomic data in the UK's ONS Longitudinal Study ('the ONS LS') allows us to explore change in ethnic identity for mixed individuals across the age range and to addressing how far it relates to changes in circumstances.

Building on the findings of the previous two chapters and the theoretical and empirical literature above, this chapter proposes a set of hypotheses regarding the likelihood and direction of ethnic identity change, which are then investigated in the data. These hypotheses examine the significance of both cross-sectional socioeconomic conditions, and of change in those conditions over time, and are as follows:

1) Ethnic identity formation is a linear journey of stabilisation over time, rather than contextual/contingent:

a) Identity stabilises with age, and thus ethnic change for mixed people will be associated with younger age.

b) Alternately, stabilisation over time is a cohort or period effect, and increasing social progressiveness of society over time means that the younger mixed cohort or generation will have more stable ethnic identities.

2) Instability of ethnic identity is associated with insecurity of material and personal conditions:

a) Worse socioeconomic conditions are associated with change, and better conditions with stability

b) Worsening conditions, or other changes that signal general instability in a respondent's household, are also associated with change. These might be things such as relationship breakup, or increasing deprivation.

3) 'Aspirational Whitening' or 'racial ladder' hypothesis of identity/identification change:

a) Worse socioeconomic conditions at baseline will be associated with a move 'away from Whiteness' or 'down' the racial ladder, and better conditions with moving 'up' towards Whiteness.

b) Worsening conditions will also be associated with moving 'down'/away from White, while improving socioeconomic conditions will be associated with moving 'up' towards Whiteness.

4) 'Mixed privilege' hypothesis of identity/identification change

a) Better conditions at baseline predict moves into mixed from either White or non-White minority groups, and worse conditions predict moves out of mixed.

b) Improving conditions predict moves into mixed and worsening conditions predict moves out of mixed.

4.3 Data and Methods

4.3.1 Data

The ONS LS consists of anonymised individual census and life events records for 1 per cent of the population of England and Wales, linked across decennial Censuses.[8] The Census for England and Wales gathers a wide range of demographic and socioeconomic data, including (since 1991) ethnic group of all household members, as well as sex, age, education, occupation, employment status, country of birth, health and (since 1991) disability. It also enables calculation of various indicators of household deprivation.

The ONS LS is the largest longitudinal data resource in England and Wales. Data on approximately 1 million sample members has been collected over the 40 years of the study. Sampling of the Census for the ONS LS was started at the time of the 1971 Census and includes everyone born on any one of four randomly selected confidential dates of any year. These four dates were used to update the sample at the 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011 Censuses. Life events data are also linked for ONS LS members, including births to sample mothers, deaths and cancer registrations. New ONS LS members enter the study through birth and immigration (if they are born on one of the four selected birth dates). The ONS LS currently contains records on over 500,000 people usually resident in England and Wales at each point in time and it is largely representative of the whole population. For an overview of the sampling waves and attrition, see Appendix 4.A.

Data from the study are available to academic researchers subject to strict controls to preserve confidentiality.

---

[8] The two other constituent nations of the United Kingdom - Scotland and Northern Ireland - run their census collection autonomously.

Figure 4-1: Ethnic group question asked by the Census for England & Wales, ONS in 2001 (left) and 2011 (right)

8 What is your ethnic group?

Choose ONE section from A to E, then ✓ the appropriate box to indicate your cultural background.

A White

☐ British ☐ Irish

☐ Any other White background, *please write in*

B Mixed

☐ White and Black Caribbean

☐ White and Black African

☐ White and Asian

☐ Any other Mixed background, *please write in*

C Asian or Asian British

☐ Indian ☐ Pakistani

☐ Bangladeshi

☐ Any other Asian background, *please write in*

D Black or Black British

☐ Caribbean ☐ African

☐ Any other Black background, *please write in*

E Chinese or other ethnic group

☐ Chinese

☐ Any other, *please write in*

16 What is your ethnic group?

Choose **one** section from A to E, then tick **one** box to best describe your ethnic group or background

A White

☐ English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British
☐ Irish
☐ Gypsy or Irish Traveller
☐ Any other White background, write in

B Mixed/multiple ethnic groups

☐ White and Black Caribbean
☐ White and Black African
☐ White and Asian
☐ Any other Mixed/multiple ethnic background, write in

C Asian/Asian British

☐ Indian
☐ Pakistani
☐ Bangladeshi
☐ Chinese
☐ Any other Asian background, write in

D Black/African/Caribbean/Black British

☐ African
☐ Caribbean
☐ Any other Black/African/Caribbean background, write in

E Other ethnic group

☐ Arab
☐ Any other ethnic group, write in

151

4.3.2 Sample

The Census introduced a direct ethnic group question in 1991, and introduced the four 'Mixed' tick-box categories in 2001. The 1991 ethnic group data unfortunately lacks a variable flagging whether ethnic group has been imputed, and thus must be excluded from analysis of respondent ethnic choices or change, as post-Census checks of the 1991 Census showed that imputation resulted in very low accuracy for ethnic minorities (Platt, Simpson, & Akinwale, 2005). As such only the 2001 and 2011 waves of ethnic group data in the ONS LS are used in this analysis. However, data for ONS LS members in the 2001 and 2011 waves are linked back to 1991 to provide information on earlier household composition.

Given this chapter's focus on socioeconomic status, including change in individual status, the analytical sample is restricted to economically active working age adults not in full-time education at 2001 with no data missing on occupation, in order to analyse socioeconomic status as proxied by occupational class. I note that although this excludes about half of all those reporting as mixed in either 2001 or 2011 (see Table 4.1) this study's overall focus is on the under-researched ethnic choices of mixed adults.

The sample in my analysis is also restricted to people we can assume to be mixed given the limitations of available data. Ideally the sample would include those whose parents have different reported ethnic groups in the Census, as well as self-identified mixed people, in order to be comparable with the analysis of Understanding Society in the previous two chapters. However, complete parental ethnicity of LS members is only available if both parents were co-resident with the LS member on the date of the Census in 1991 or later, since 1991 was the date that the direct ethnic question was first introduced. Defining the mixed sample based on parental ethnic group thus would substantially limit the age range, exclude those who were raised in sole-parent households (which would bias results) and would again leave older populations under-examined.

As such, the focus in this chapter is on comparing those reporting a stable mixed identity with those moving in or out of that category between 2001 and 2011. The sample therefore includes only those who reported a 'Mixed' ethnic group at 2001 or 2011 – the equivalent of Groups 3, 4 and 5 according to the typology established in Chapter 2.

I define the 'changers' in Table 4.2 and the first model as those shifting in or out of mixed categories; including between mixed groups. The 'stable' group were those who remained in the same mixed category in both 2001 and 2011. A smaller group of people shifting between two non-mixed ethnic groups (e.g. between White and Black) are not automatically assumed to be mixed, but are included in some subsidiary analysis at Appendix 4.G. Descriptive data supported the assumption that many of these 'switching monoracials' as Hitlin et.al. call them (Hitlin et al., 2006), could actually be mixed given that key characteristics were very close to mixed 'changers' (see Appendix 4.F), although qualitative interviews discussed in Chapter 5 suggest that in the UK context, it is also plausible that some are non-mixed minorities who tick the 'White British' box from time to time as an expression of national identity.

Analysis of parental designation of ethnic group is not within the scope of this study, and the likelihood of parental designation of ethnicity for children means that there is a risk of overestimating ethnic instability for those under 16 in 2001 transitioning out of the home or otherwise into adulthood by 2011 (Simpson et.al, 2015). While a limitation of this study is that there is no way of knowing whether individuals filled in their own Census data, those under 16 – who were more likely not to have filled in their own form – have been excluded. This risk still exists for the younger part of the sample. However, as will be discussed, the age effect on ethnic instability was the opposite to what would be assumed from this. Moreover, checks that focused on a smaller subsample including only respondents who were the 'Household Reference Person' in 2001 yielded substantively the same results as the models reported below (See Appendix 4.G).

Sample sizes for the three main analysis models are below at Table 4.1, with additional data on subsidiary models at the Appendices. The number of cases excluded in the analysis due to missing data on variables was small, and this was considered unlikely to have a substantial impact on estimates.

Table 4.1 Sample sizes for ethnic change analysis, ONS LS

	N (total)	N (no missing data)	
Descriptive sample for overall incidence of ethnic change (see Appendix 4.B)	404,404	n/a	All cases with complete ethnic group data (non-imputed) 2001-2011, including all consistent mono-ethnic White and minority groups.
Descriptive sample comparing characteristics of subgroups for analysis (Table 4.2)	n/a	306,644	All cases 16+ with complete ethnic group data (non-imputed), excluding cases with missing data on variables, and excluding cases consistently in the 'Other' ethnic category 2001-2011 as specific ethnic group not available.
Descriptive mixed subsample for overall incidence of ethnic change (Figure 4-1)	6214	n/a	All cases who reported a 'Mixed' ethnic category in either 2001, 2011 or both, all ages.
Model 1: Main analysis sample	3125	3088	Analysis of any ethnic change, including between mixed subcategories. Only includes those who chose mixed at least once 2001-2011, and age 16+
Model 2 'Whitening' analysis sample	2713	2697	Includes only those who indicated White ancestry at any point, e.g. in picking a mixed category that indicated 'White/Black Caribbean' or picking any White category, age 16+.
Model 3: 'Mixed privilege' analysis sample	3125	3088	Same as main sample. Analysis of change in or out of the overall mixed 'top-level' category

4.3.3 Dependent variables

The change being analysed here is identification change, specifically self-reported ethnic group change in the Census. For brevity, the term 'ethnic change' will be used from this point. For the first model, the dependent variable is a binary variable indicating whether or not there has been any ethnic change 2001-2011. This includes change between sub-categories of the overall top-level 'Mixed' category (e.g. between 'Mixed - White/Asian' and 'any other mixed').

Two further models treat the 'direction' of change as independent variables. For Model 2, the dependent variable is a derived three-category variable, treating 'stable Mixed' as the baseline (though only including 'Mixed' categories that indicated some White descent) (1), then differentiating between changing 'towards White' (2) or 'away from White' (3). Model 3 similarly has a dependent variable that is a derived three-category

variable with 'stable Mixed' as the baseline (including those who may have changed their 'Mixed' sub-category, but stayed within the overall 'Mixed' top-level category (1), then indicating change 'out of' (2) a Mixed category, and 'into' (3) a Mixed category.

4.3.4 Independent variables

A number of independent variables test what kind of personal, familial, household, socioeconomic, cultural, and nationally discursive conditions are associated with ethnic change. They have been defined according to the theoretical models that have driven this and previous chapters' analysis, following the 'scales' of the body, family, socioeconomic spheres, neighbourhood and nation.

Age is included in three bands: under 35 (treated as the baseline), 35-54 and 55+ at 2001. Although both continuous and banded age were tested in models, with little to distinguish them substantively in model outcomes, the use of banded age to explain findings seemed more theoretically consistent with the previous chapter's findings of cohort and period effects being particularly relevant to attitudes to ethnic categories in the UK, rather than the fact of 'age' itself as an embodied characteristic. Continuous age is used at some points for the purposes of ease of visual interpretation of plots.

Specific ethnic groups reported are categorised into whether they gave any indication of Black parentage at 2001 or 2011 (i.e. 'White/Black Caribbean' and 'White/Black African', assigned as the baseline as the group assumed to be the most stable), any indication of Asian parentage, or no indication of either.

Also related to the scale of 'the body' is a binary indicator indicating self-rated poor health. This was included as poorer health has been linked to ethnic change in New Zealand longitudinal research (Carter et al., 2009).

In terms of 'stability' or 'instability' of family characteristics, a binary variable indicates whether individuals had a sole parent in the home any time from 1971-2001; another binary variable indicates whether individuals had moved from having a co-habiting partner in 2001 to no longer having one in 2011.

Data on having a first child and on partnering rather than end of partnership, were considered but not included for practical reasons. First children for men could not be tracked as effectively as for women, as birth records are only linked to the women in the ONS LS. I could also not assume that partners in a household were the same partners as

in the previous wave and that there had therefore been household continuity over ten years. Furthermore, because the theoretical focus was on 'instability' in life and identity in the literature, it made sense to test characteristics such as 'no longer having a partner', which is framed as destabilising or disruptive by heteronormative ideological frameworks that govern the theoretical approach of 'stabilisation over time'.

Individual socioeconomic status is indicated by a three-category measure of educational qualifications similar to that used in the previous chapter (none (1), secondary school level (2) and tertiary level (3)), and four categories of occupational status derived from the UK National Statistics Socioeconomic Classification or NS-SEC (Office for National Statistics, 2018) (non-working (1), routine occupations (2), intermediate occupations (3), professional/managerial occupations (4). Household deprivation is included as a continuous and simple additive measure of the number of deprivation indicators present in the household. The variable is supplied with the dataset and its scale ranges from 1 (no deprivation indicators) to 5 (all four deprivation indicators). Those indicators, also supplied with the dataset, are derived from whether a household has education deprivation (no person with any qualifications); employment deprivation (no person in work); tenure deprivation (social housing); or health/disability deprivation (someone in household had chronic illness or disability).

I distinguish between variables indicating cross-sectional conditions, and those indicating a change in conditions 2001-2011. The latter are derived as three-category variables, indicating whether there has been no change (1), improvement (2) or decline (3) in the number of either household deprivation indicators, or socioeconomic status variables. Some subsidiary analysis was also conducted that looked at the individual forms of household deprivation. There are some limitations to this measure given the ceiling and floor effects, and this is taken into account when contextualising the findings later in the chapter.

As waves are 10 years apart, using 1991-2001 socioeconomic change indicators to predict 2011 choices for clearer longitudinal sequencing would have meant further restricting the age-range and size of the sample. This is why I estimate change on change from 2001 to 2011, which means there are not strong claims being made about causal ordering per se.

4.3.5 Controls

A number of other characteristics are included in the model as controls given their place in the overall literature on ethnic identity and ethnic choice. These include binary gender as supplied in the dataset, with Female coded as 1 and Male as 0. Another binary variable indicates whether individuals were born outside the UK. Area-effects-related variables on ethnic density, population density, and area deprivation are included. All these factors are important to the overall conceptual and theoretical considerations of this thesis, but are not the primary focus of this chapter.

Due to security and disclosure restrictions on Census microdata, area data on deprivation indicators and ethnic density is provided only at a very reduced level – that of ward quintile distributions. For example I assigned each ward in England and Wales an ethnic density score based on publically available Census data for 2001 and 2011. These ward scores were assigned to individuals in the study under secure conditions by ONS. ONS then derived quintiles of the ward distribution of ethnic density, and provided me with a variable with a 1-5 score indicating ward quintile position in that distribution. I use mixed population percentage quintiles rather than Herfindel/Blau Diversity index quintiles, due to near perfect multicollinearity.

4.3.6 Empirical Approach

Using the two available waves of linked sample Census ethnic data for England and Wales, I estimate binary and multinomial logistic regression models of the odds of ethnic change for mixed people, controlling for socioeconomic and other demographic variables.

I first present descriptive statistics about groups reporting ethnic change in and out of the mixed categories, categorised according to the theories of change, based on the presence (or absence) and 'direction' of ethnic change. Included for comparison are the stable White identified and the stable non-mixed minority identified (see Table 4.2).

The most basic group division is expressed by a binary variable of 'Changers' versus 'stable Mixed', indicating those who exhibit any ethnic change whatsoever, versus those who tick the same mixed category in both 2001 and 2011 (n=3088). Further categories of 'changers' are created in order to test theories about there being any significance in the type or 'direction' of changes, i.e. up or down the 'ladder' towards Whiteness, or in and out of a mixed category.

I then estimate a binary logistic regression model, and report probabilities of changing ethnic group when controlling for individual characteristics, family characteristics, household socioeconomic status, area effects, and change of status at individual, household and ward level. The analysis of change in socioeconomic circumstances is indicated through categorical dummy variables that have 'no change' at baseline and two categorical options for 'improved' and 'worsened'. I estimate two further multinomial logistic regression models to predict probabilities of changing 'away from' or 'towards' White status against a baseline of 'no change' (n=2679); and changing in or out of the mixed category, again against a baseline of 'no change' (n=3088).

For ease of interpretation, I predominantly present the results in the form of plots of predicted average marginal effects of the different independent variables in the models, and fitted values of predicted probabilities of selected variables. Full model and AME tables can be seen at the Appendix.

4.4 Descriptive statistics

A full table at Appendix 4.1 provides a cross-tabulation of ethnic change between 2001 and 2011 for eight ethnic categories, which replicates the cross-tabulation of the same data in Simpson et.al. (2015) but excludes imputed ethnic group. This results in slightly higher ethnic 'stability' for all minority groups, but substantively the same overall picture.

Of the total 404,404 LS members in the cross-tabulation, only 1.6 per cent changed ethnic category 2001-2011, but of the 5,744 who ever chose a mixed category, 49.4 per cent changed ethnic category. Of all 'changers', 41.1 per cent left or entered mixed categories. As observed by Simpson et.al (2015) and Aspinall (2017), and as detailed at Appendix 4.1, the White/Black Caribbean group is the most stable mixed group, reflecting popular understandings of who is 'mixed race' in the UK. The White/Asian group has fairly high instability, possibly due to the UK's unique and administratively inconsistent approach to who qualifies as 'Asian' (see Figure 1-1 for the changes in ethnic group categories across the censuses). The residual 'Other mixed' category had the highest instability, and increased in size by 11 per cent between 2001 and 2011, mostly due to a large net increase from the White group.

Figure 4-1 below shows the 'churn' in and out of the mixed categories from the data in the full table, grouped by top-level ethnic category, with, overall, a shift from White identification into mixed identification between 2001 and 2011.

Figure 4-2: Ethnic 'churn' in and out of the mixed categories 2001-2011, ONS LS

(n=6214)

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study
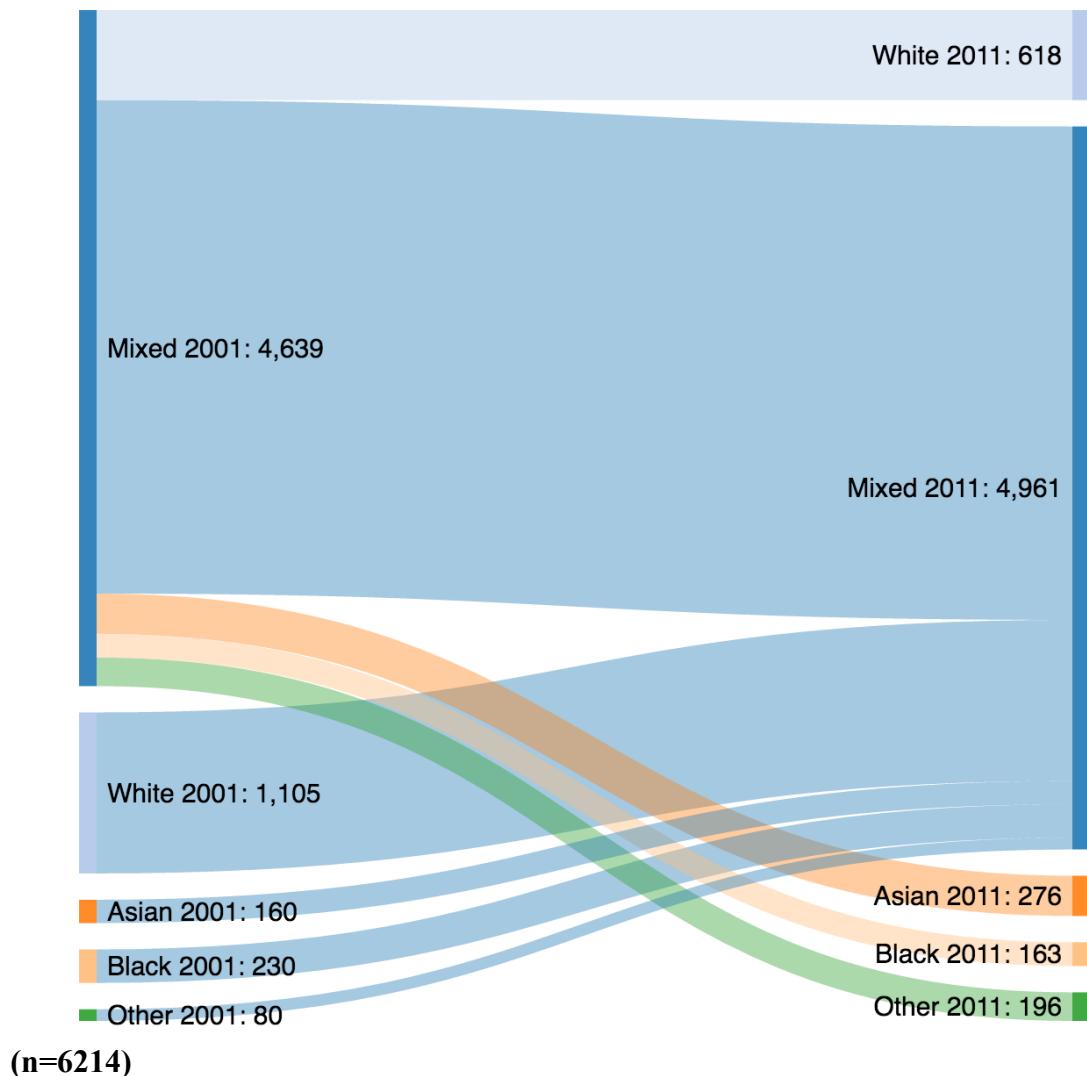
The increase in the numbers in the 2011 mixed groups relative to 2001, were primarily due to net gains from the White category. That is, more 'White' people became 'Mixed' in 2011 than vice versa. This seems to support the idea of a trend away from the stigmatisation of non-White identity, and a period or cohort effect related to increasing cultural acceptance of mixed and minority identities, and/or an accompanying decrease in the attractiveness of the 'White' category. Furthermore in 2011 a national identity

question was introduced sequentially before the ethnic group question, providing options for not only 'British' but also regional identities affiliated with the constituent nations of the UK (i.e. Welsh, Scottish, etc). This aimed to improve the acceptability of the ethnic group question, (Office for National Statistics, 2009), and may have had some impact here in providing an outlet to express 'British' identity before ethnic group. Table 4.2 summarises the characteristics of those within the categories of the three dependent variables considered in the following analysis. It also includes information on the characteristics of the stable White majority and non-mixed minorities, for the purposes of comparison. An additional table at Appendix 4.G. also provides descriptive data for 'switching monoracials' who may be mixed, but who we cannot assume to be. We can see overall that 'changers' tend to have substantially different characteristics from the 'stable Mixed' group. In particular, 'changers' are older and more socioeconomically deprived. However, descriptive differences are not so marked between different types of changers (in and out of mixed, towards or away from White).

Table 4.2: Descriptive statistics for groups with stable and changing ethnic group, no data missing on demographic, socioeconomic and occupational covariates, aged 16+

	Monoethnic		Model 1: Any change		Model 2: 'Whitening'			Model 3: In/out of mixed		
	Stable White	Stable minority (excl. 'Other')	Stable specific mixed	Any mixed change	Stable mixed - White ancestry	Change towards White	Change away from White	Stable in mixed category	Changed into mixed	Changed out of mixed
n - no missing on covariates	283226	20293	1207	1918	1236	592	885	1394	977	754
Mean age in years 2011	54.29	49.66	41.26	47.81	41.21	48.45	48.07	41.46	48.39	48.32
Female 2011 %	52.84%	53.33%	59.00%	53.81%	57.36%	53.72%	53.22%	57.89%	52.61%	54.51%
Black descent ever indicated	N/A	22.26%	54.43%	38.06%	61.08%	43.07%	38.42%	54.16%	39.51%	32.63%
Asian descent ever indicated	N/A	77.74%	32.48%	36.13%	38.92%	36.32%	30.28%	34.51%	29.79%	41.51%
No Black/Asian descent	All	N/A	13.09%	25.81%	N/A	20.61%	31.30%	11.33%	30.71%	25.86%
Not UK-born	4.31%	7.49%	18.31%	42.75%	18.04%	40.20%	36.95%	20.66%	34.60%	55.04%
'Not good' health 2011	7.62%	10.18%	5.47%	9.59%	6.07%	8.61%	10.28%	6.17%	8.29%	11.01%
No change in health 2001-2011	91.19%	88.40%	93.04%	89.21%	92.96%	88.34%	89.60%	92.83%	89.66%	88.06%
Improved health 2001-2011	4.53%	5.89%	4.14%	5.89%	4.13%	7.09%	5.31%	4.02%	5.83%	6.63%
Health declined 2001-2011	4.28%	5.71%	2.82%	4.90%	2.91%	4.56%	5.08%	3.16%	4.50%	5.31%
No quals	25.21%	27.30%	10.77%	23.51%	11.57%	24.16%	26.44%	11.19%	25.90%	22.81%
Non-degree quals	46.92%	41.97%	48.47%	43.38%	49.35%	44.43%	43.95%	47.56%	43.71%	43.37%
Degree-level quals	27.87%	30.73%	40.76%	33.11%	39.08%	31.42%	29.60%	41.25%	30.40%	33.82%
Non-working	3.76%	17.47%	8.53%	11.26%	9.87%	12.16%	10.28%	9.33%	8.39%	14.19%
Routine/semi-routine	27.38%	25.51%	19.14%	26.28%	19.26%	25.68%	28.59%	19.37%	28.97%	24.14%

Intermediate occ & self-empl	33.82%	29.47%	30.49%	29.56%	30.58%	31.93%	29.94%	29.63%	30.30%	29.97%
Prof/managerial	35.04%	27.55%	41.84%	32.90%	40.29%	30.24%	31.19%	41.68%	32.34%	31.70%
Occ status same 2000-2001	58.61%	55.56%	47.39%	49.95%	48.46%	48.65%	50.51%	47.42%	49.95%	50.53%
Went up occupational scale	24.72%	28.84%	35.96%	32.06%	34.95%	31.25%	32.32%	35.87%	32.14%	31.17%
Went down occupational scale	16.67%	15.60%	16.65%	17.99%	16.59%	20.10%	17.18%	16.71%	17.91%	18.30%
Sole-parented 1971-2011	6.70%	5.45%	28.67%	13.66%	29.61%	13.18%	13.45%	27.91%	13.00%	12.20%
Partner gone by 2011	10.20%	8.60%	6.30%	11.78%	6.96%	13.01%	12.43%	6.67%	12.90%	11.01%
Average no. of HH dep indicators	1.990	2.117	1.956	2.150	2.002	2.206	2.193	1.960	2.141	2.203
no change	49.43%	41.22%	46.06%	42.13%	44.66%	41.05%	42.15%	45.55%	42.78%	41.25%
improved	31.58%	32.08%	34.88%	34.88%	35.68%	37.33%	34.24%	34.58%	32.96	37.93%
got worse	18.99%	26.69%	19.06%	22.99%	19.66%	21.62%	23.62%	19.87%	24.26%	20.82%
Carstairs ward dep quint (1-5)	3.18	4.24	3.72	3.77	3.766	3.720	3.801	3.73	3.746	3.788
no change	55.44%	72.90%	54.35%	60.32%	54.45%	59.46%	61.13%	54.30%	58.96%	63.66%
improved	22.81%	16.38%	28.42%	21.17%	27.59%	20.95%	21.36%	27.62%	22.42%	19.23%
got worse	21.76%	10.73%	17.23%	18.51%	17.96%	19.59%	17.51%	18.08%	18.63%	17.11%
mixed density quintile (1-5)	3.202	4.672	4.241	4.179	4.253	4.152	4.104	4.240	4.103	4.264
no change	51.63%	82.69%	66.86%	69.45%	66.42%	70.61%	67.46%	66.57%	67.96%	72.55%
got relatively less mixed	26.70%	11.49%	20.30%	18.04%	20.47%	18.24%	18.42%	20.44%	17.30%	18.17%
got relatively more mixed	21.67%	5.81%	12.8%)	12.51%	13.11%	11.15%	14.12%	12.98%	14.74%	9.28%
Moved areas 2001-2011	41.47%	39.45%	60.56%	51.72%	60.92%	50.84%	50.96%	60.62%	51.28%	50.00%
Ward pop density score (1-14)	4.03	6.37	5.52	5.73	5.60	5.47	5.69	5.58	5.59	5.82

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

4.5 Findings

4.5.1 Personal instability and ethnic change

Figure 4-2 illustrates the average marginal effects of the independent variables from the first binary logistic regression model of ethnic change (Appendix 4.C provides the odds ratios from the model). This first model predicts the odds of any change – whether in or out of mixed categories – compared with being 'stable' mixed from 2001 to 2011. This model of change assumes that the direction or kind of change is not as relevant as the fact that there has been instability in self-categorization. The key questions that this model addresses are whether characteristics indicating instability and insecurity (such as lower status, or decline in conditions) are associated with ethnic change, and whether ethnic instability is lower for older age groups when controlling for other factors.

In contrast with research from other national contexts, the results do not support the 'stabilisation over time' hypothesis. Although I focus on adults (16+) who have left full-time education rather than adolescents and young adults in education, if ethnic stabilisation has a positive linear relationship with age, I would still expect to see higher instability for the younger age group in the sample. However, older age is associated with significantly higher odds of being a 'changer' in the UK ceteris paribus, whether comparing age group categories or examining age as a continuous variable.

This finding therefore supports H1b rather than H1a. The reason for this may lie in the contextual cohort experiences of ethnic measurement and 'mixed' category acceptance in the UK, as well as the limitations and changeableness of measurement technique.

Other findings broadly support the 'instability/insecurity' hypothesis. As will be discussed further below, characteristics related to lower status or socioeconomic insecurity at the 2001 baseline were significantly associated with greater probabilities of change.

Figure 4-3: Model 1 'Any change' - Average marginal effects of structural factors on probability of any ethnic change, ONS LS, n=3088, binary logistic regression
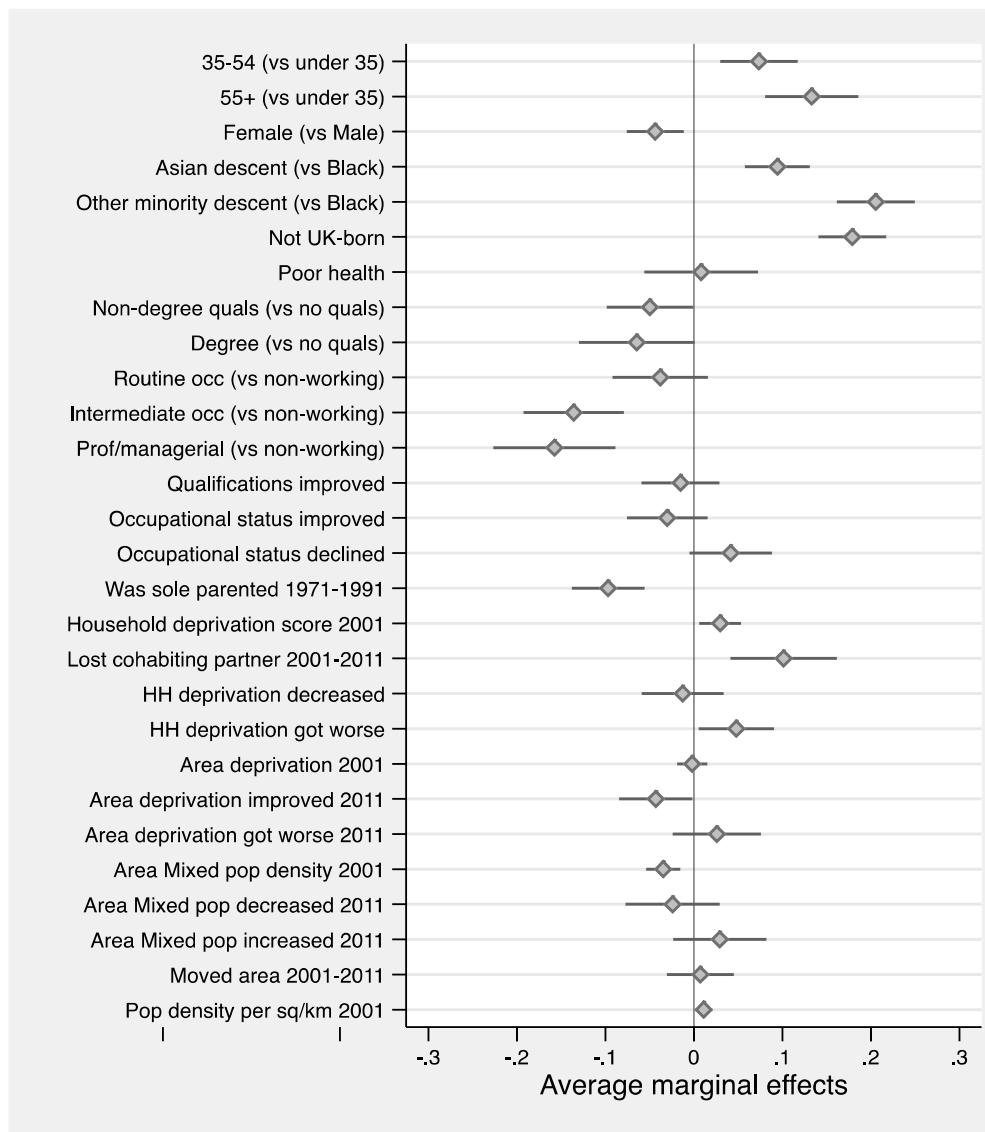
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study. Estimates for variables specified in Table 4.2.

4.5.2 Family & relationships

As can be seen in Figure 4-2, those who had a cohabiting partner at 2001 but not in 2011 were significantly more likely to be 'changers' than everyone else. The effect size was substantially larger for the under-40 age group in subsidiary models (see Appendix 4.I and 4.J). Another check using a related subsample model that included ethnic group

data for spouses/partners at 2001 and 2011,[9] indicated that change in partnering is significantly associated with change away from the ethnic group of the former partner (see Appendix 4.H). These findings were both relatively intuitive, and supported by social psychological theories and the evidence about identity, ethnic change and intimate relationships discussed earlier. Findings also support the notion in the literature of ethnic identity being more subject to influence by intimate and family relationships at younger ages.

Having grown up in a sole parent household was not associated with ethnic 'instability', but rather was significantly associated with being stable mixed. This could be related to qualitative UK evidence which suggests that mixed children of White sole parents will be more consistently ascribed, perceived or described as mixed, due to a physical contrast with their White parent that would not be noted if they were raised by a sole ethnic minority parent (Caballero et al., 2008; Twine, 2010). As noted, a lack of data about the ethnic group of parents absent from the households of participants in the ONS LS has limited the possibilities of analysis in this area.

4.5.3 Socioeconomic status

As see in Figure 4-2, ethnic change was associated with indicators of deprivation or low status, supporting H2a that materially insecure conditions are related to unstable ethnic identification in the Census. Those with no qualifications were significantly more likely to change, though the amount or level of qualifications did not seem to make much difference as long as there were some. This may suggest that an absolute lack of qualifications predicts lower engagement with the UK's long and relatively complex list of ethnic options.

Similarly to education, those with lower occupational status according to the NS-SEC were also more likely to be changers, even when controlling for all other variables. Decline in occupational status 2001-2011 was also associated with ethnic change, supporting H2b (See Figure 4-3Figure 4-4 below).

---

[9] A better sequential measure would have been 1991-2001 partner ethnic change, but sample sizes were too small to model this robustly for those who switched from non-White to White partners.

Figure 4-4: Predicted probabilities of ethnic change 2001-2011 for mixed people, by occupational class 2001
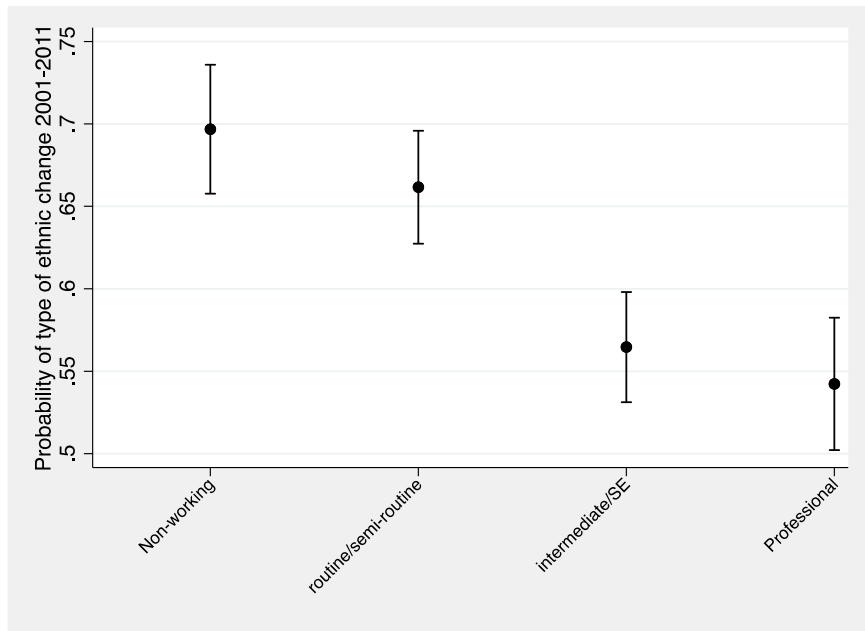
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study. Estimates controlling for variables specified in Table 4.2

When controlling for specific forms of household deprivation in supplementary models, improvement in tenure status was associated with ethnic change, suggesting that improving conditions can also be associated with ethnic change (Appendix 4.J). However, when considered together in the main model (see Figure 4-4 below), a higher number of household deprivation indicators (comprising employment, tenure, education and health/disability deprivation) were significantly associated with a higher probability of ethnic change, ceteris paribus. An increase in the number of types of household deprivation 2001-2011 was also significantly associated with a higher probability of ethnic change (see Figure 4-5 below).

In summary, this model did not provide evidence for ethnic identity (as proxied by reported ethnic group) being a conventionally linear life-journey towards stable 'achieved identity' for mixed people. However, overall, the model provides fairly good evidence that worse conditions at baseline, and decline in social conditions, are associated with a higher probability of reported ethnic change.

Figure 4-5: Predicted probabilities of ethnic change 2001-2011 for mixed people, by number of 2001 household deprivation indicators
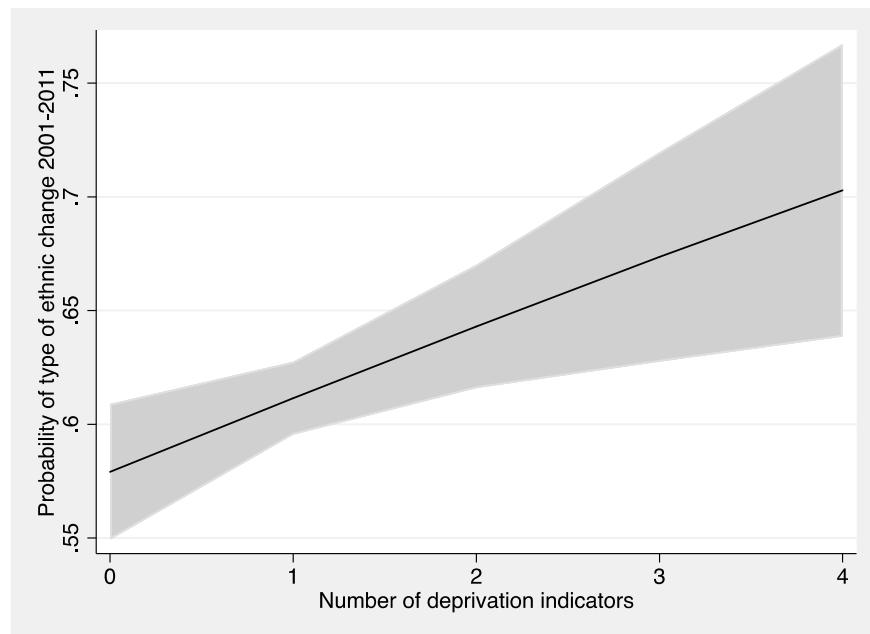
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study. Estimates controlling for variables specified in Table 4.2

Figure 4-6: Predicted probabilities of ethnic change 2001-2011 for mixed people, by change in numbers of household deprivation indicators 2001-2011
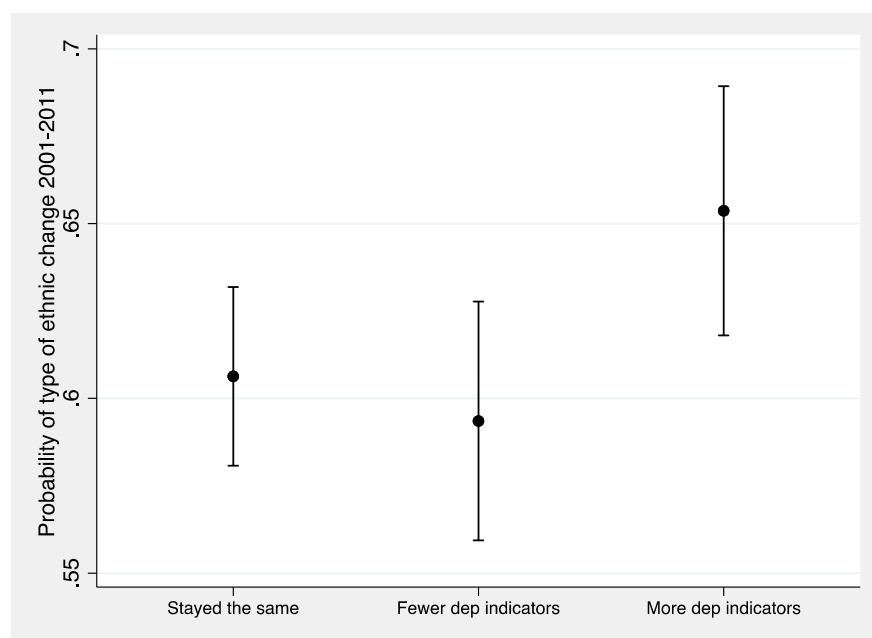
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study. Estimates controlling for variables specified in Table 4.2.

4.5.4 Strategic change: Racial ladder vs mixed privilege

The findings from the first model of overall ethnic change did not suggest that success in life predicts either Whitening or moving into mixed identities overall. Rather, 'success' predicted a lack of ethnic change. However, in order to answer the question of whether relatively better or worse conditions, or better or worse kinds of change, predict particular kinds of ethnic change for people who *do* change their ethnic group, two further multinomial models were estimated. Each employed a three-category dependent variables with 'stable Mixed' as the reference category.

We look again at the characteristics that predicted change in the first model, and whether the change goes in any 'direction' that supports theories about racialised social stratification or post-materialist middle class individualism. One multinomial model examined potential 'Whitening'; while the other examined 'mixed privilege' by estimating factors associated with moves 'in' and 'out' of mixed categories relative to no change. Figure 4-6 and Figure 4-7 plot the average marginal effects from the 'Whitening' and the 'mixed privilege' models, respectively (full tables of model coefficients and AMEs are provided in Appendix 4.D and 4.E). Statistically significant variables from the two models are reported and discussed together.

To interpret the results, I compare the black and white markers in the two plots. If they are near each other but significantly different from the 'stable Mixed' grey marker, this indicates that these factors are associated with change, but not any particular kind of change. For example, although the black and white markers for household deprivation, or age, in Figure 4-6, are both significantly different from the grey marker, they are not significantly different from each other, showing that they represent seemingly 'random' or non-directional change. These 'random' forms of change could be more related to how socioeconomic conditions impacts cognitive interaction with questionnaires and the importance placed on ethnic identification and form-filling – for example for those with stresses in the home or family, or for older people who have been subjected to several decades of changes in the ethnic question. The theorisation of ethnic identity as contextual, in flux, and constructed at the site of representation, takes a quite literal form here in respondents' approach (or lack of approach) to the Census page.

However, several socioeconomic variables have significantly contrasting effects on types of ethnic change, and they have some relevance to the two hypotheses about social hierarchies. Higher levels of education in 2001 compared with having no

qualifications was significantly associated with moving towards White rather than away from White. In the 'mixed privileged' model (Figure 4-7) higher 2001 education was significantly associated with moving out of mixed. At first sight, this appears to be a potential 'aspirational Whitening' effect among 'changers' at higher levels of 2001 education. However, we can see from predicted probability plots (Figure 4-8 to Figure 4-12), that the likelihood of moving 'into mixed' and 'away from White' was not lower with higher status. The overall context is that more people are already predicted to be 'stable Mixed' at higher status bands and thus there is a smaller relative pool of people to potentially move 'into mixed'. The probability of 'moving towards White' remains consistently low at all levels of education, ceteris paribus.

There was also a transition towards the mixed category associated with change in individual socioeconomic circumstances. Not only did higher 2001 occupational status significantly predict moving into mixed categories (see Figure 4-11) improved occupational class 2001-2011 also marginally significantly predicted moving into mixed categories (see Figure 4-12) Decline in occupational class 2001-2011 was associated with lowered probabilities of being stable mixed, as found in the main change model (see Figure 4-2). It also significantly predicted movement out of the mixed category, and 'towards White' compared with if there had been no change in status (see Figure 4-12).

Thus, overall it appears that change in socioeconomic status is not only associated with change in ethnic category, but that the pattern in the UK is of improved status being reflected in increased confidence and stability in mixed identification; while decline in status is associated with movement out of mixed categories and towards White categories. These findings align with the 'mixed privilege' hypothesis: that the mixed choice for those of multiple ethnic ancestry is associated with achieving socioeconomic security or confidence. It also aligns with the previous chapter's findings that the 'mixed privilege' effect and the 'lower status Whitening' effect are two sides of the same coin in the UK.

Figure 4-7: Model 2 'Whitening' - Average marginal effects of structural factors on predicted probability of changing towards or away from White, or being stable mixed with White ancestry indicated – multinomial logistic regression, n=2679
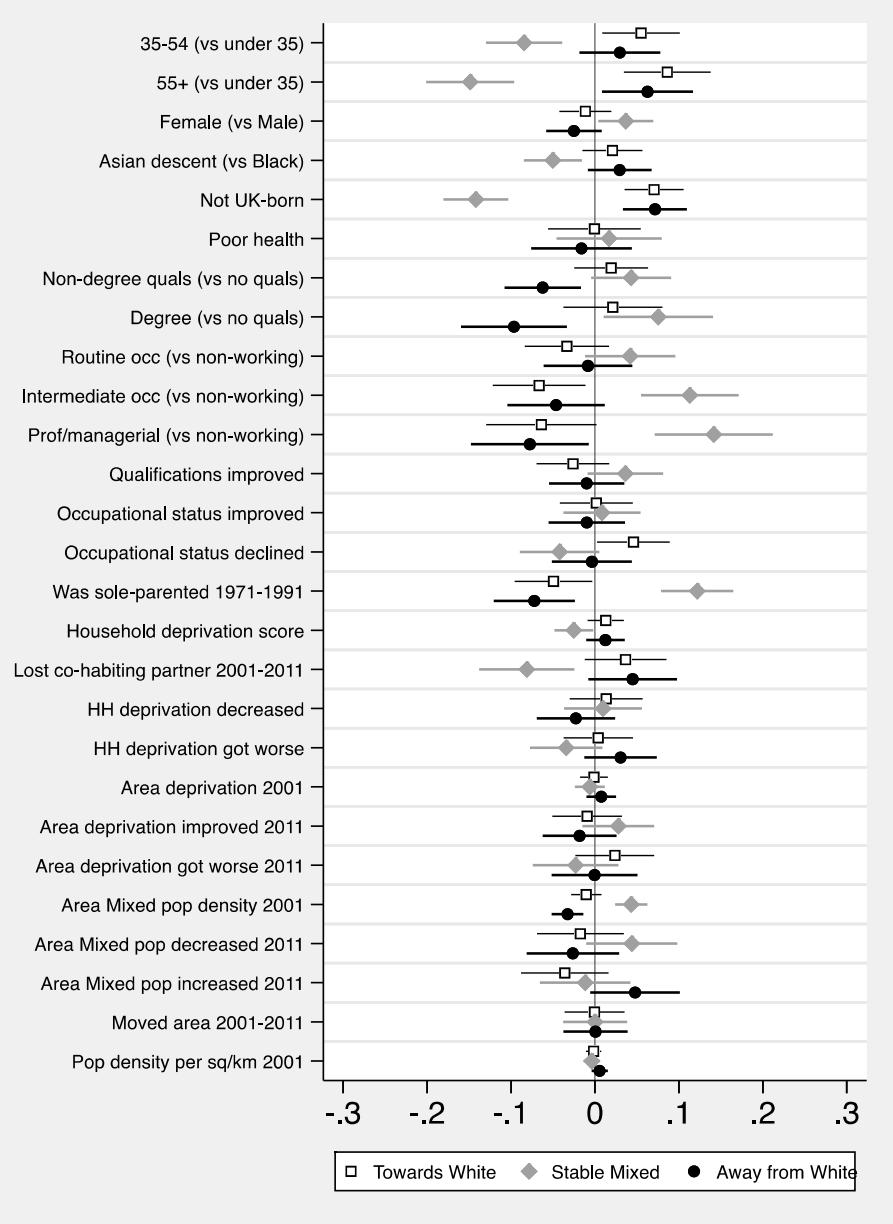
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study. Estimates controlling for variables specified in Table 4.2.

Figure 4-8: Model 3 'mixed privilege' – Average marginal effects of structural factors on predicted probability of changing in or out of mixed, or being stable mixed – multinomial logistic regression, n=3088
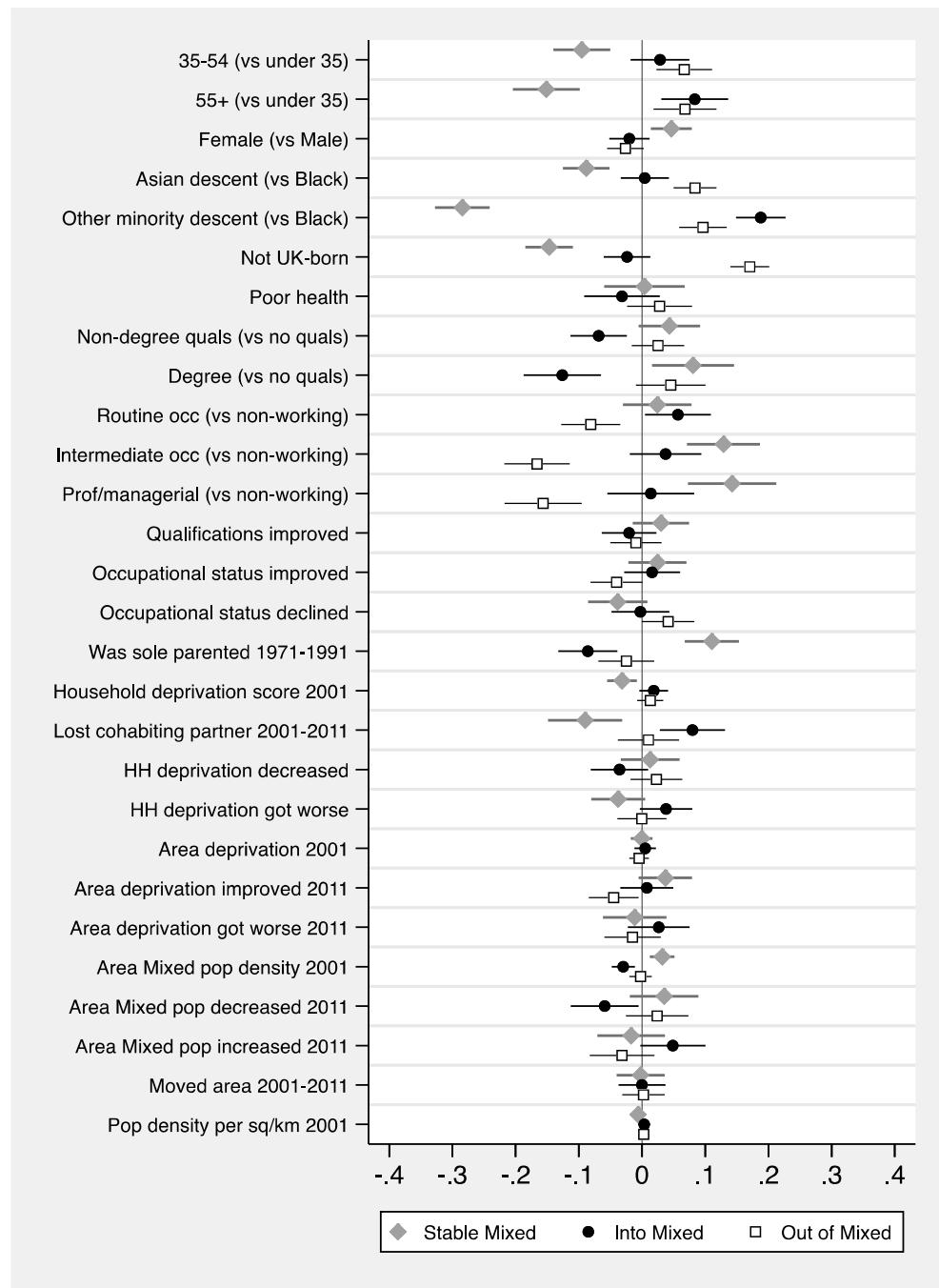
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study. Estimates controlling for variables specified in Table 4.2.

Figure 4-9: Predicted probabilities of 'Whitening', by 2001 education
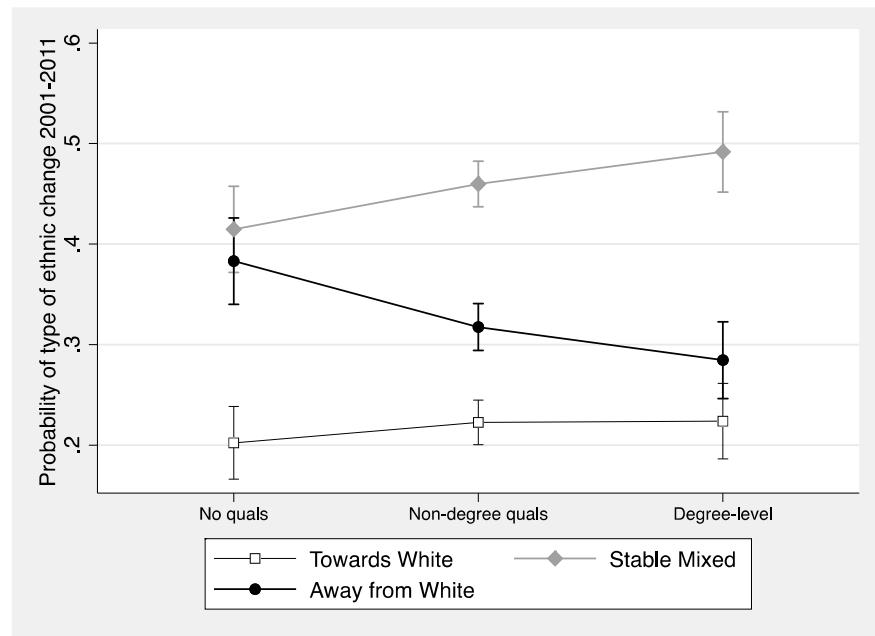
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study. Estimates controlling for variables specified in Table 4.2.

Figure 4-10: Predicted probabilities of moving in or out of mixed, by 2001 education
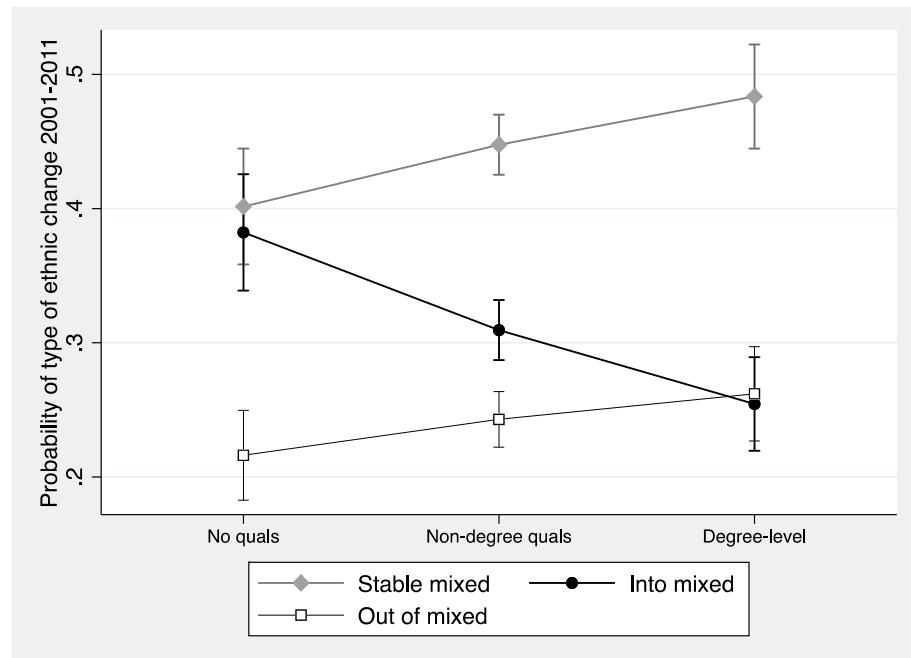
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study. Estimates controlling for variables specified in Table 4.2.

172

Figure 4-11: Predicted probabilities of changing towards or away from White, or being stable mixed, by 2001 occupational class
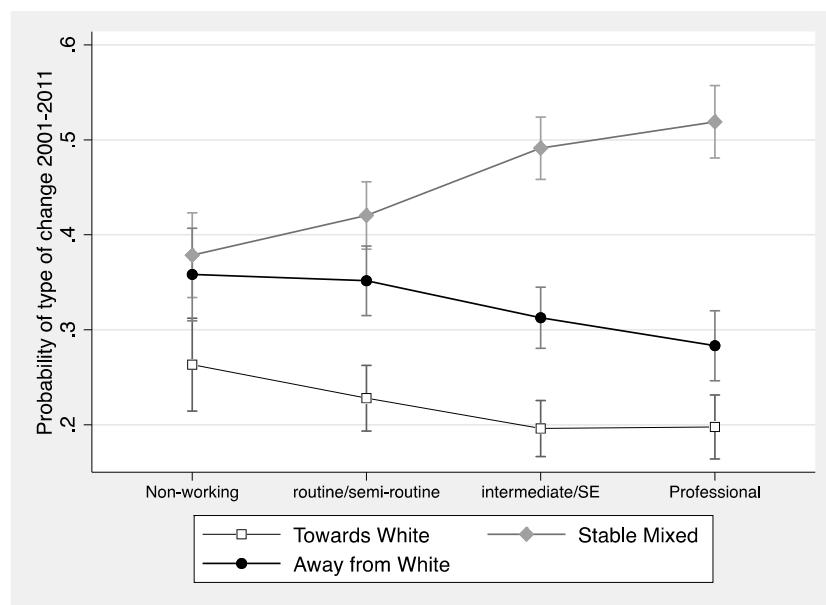
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study. Estimates controlling for variables specified in Table 4.2.

Figure 4-12: Predicted probabilities of moving in or out of mixed, or being stable mixed, by 2001 occupational class
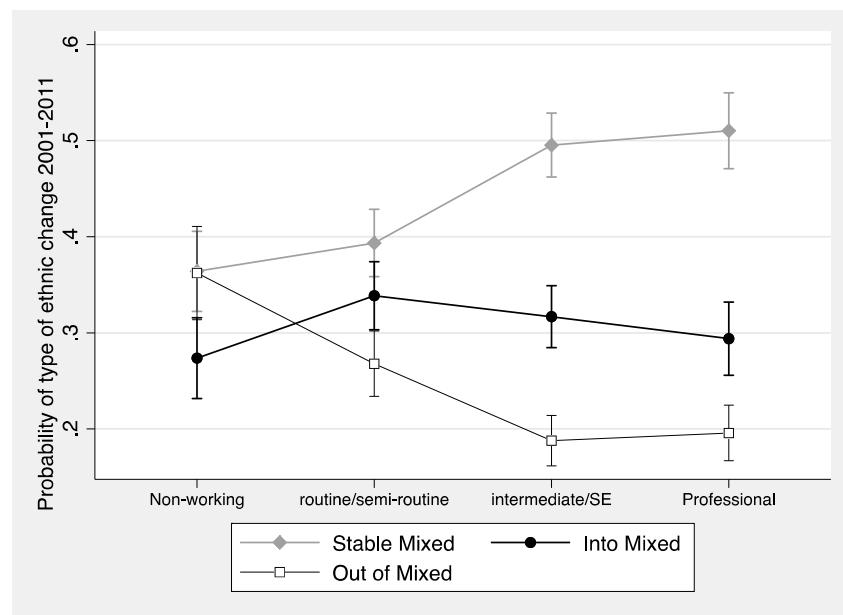
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study. Estimates controlling for variables specified in Table 4.2.

Figure 4-13: Predicted probabilities of ethnic change towards or away from White 2001-2011, by change in categorical occupational class 2001-2011
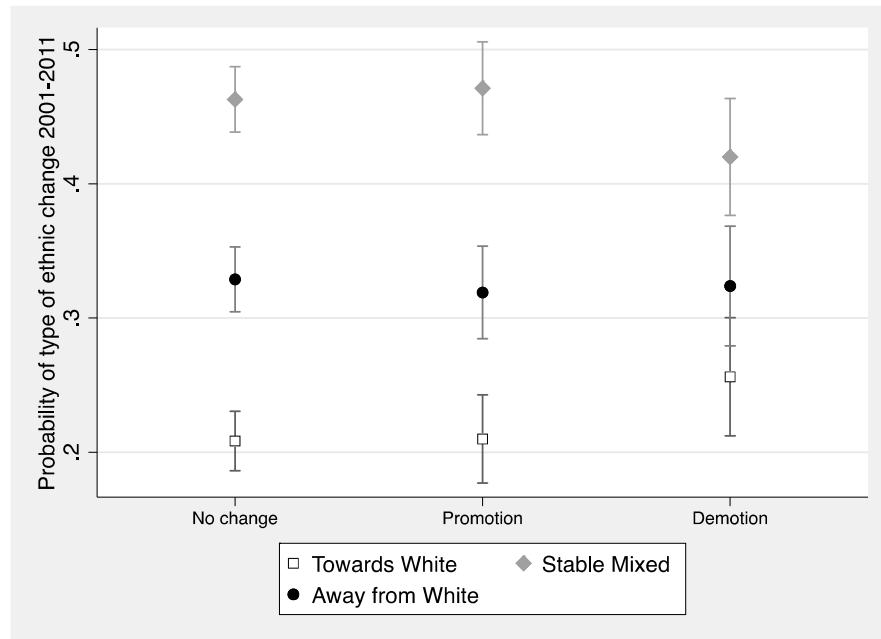
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study. Estimates controlling for variables specified in Table 4.2.

Figure 4-14: Predicted probabilities of ethnic change in or out of mixed 2001-2011, by change in categorical occupational class 2001-2011
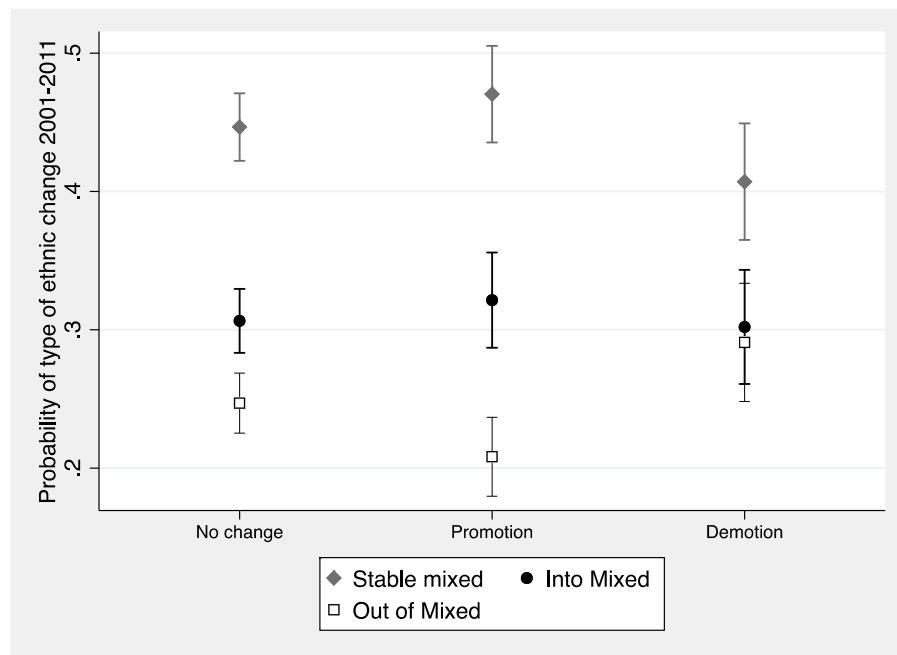
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study. Estimates controlling for variables specified in Table 4.2.

4.5.5 Contextual change: Exceptional groups

Ethnic group was a consistent predictor of ethnic change and type of change, with large effect sizes. As reflected in the previous two chapters, and the first model predicting any ethnic change, those who had ever stated that they belonged to a Black ethnic group or a mixed White/Black ethnic group were significantly more likely to be ethnically 'stable' than those with Asian and Other mixed ancestry (see Figure 4-2). This reinforces the picture that national-level discourses governing who is supposed to be included in the 'Mixed' or 'mixed race' category has a strong impact on ethnic choices.

For the 'directional' models, the 'Any other mixed' with no Black or Asian ancestry indicated were significantly associated with moving 'away from White' compared with the Black-descended baseline (see Figure 4-6). The specification of an 'Arab' category in the 'Other' section of the ethnic question in 2011 (see Figure 1-1) has likely contributed to this shift. Previous chapters suggested that those with a Middle Eastern/North African parent are the largest identifiable subgroup in the White-identified mixed population, meaning that there is a larger possible base of White identification for them to move 'away' from. It is also possible that increasing racialization of Middle Eastern people and people assumed to be Muslim could have contributed to this relative shift away from White categories 2001-2011 (Garner & Selod, 2015; Moosavi, 2015).

The Asian-related group was significantly associated with moving away from the mixed category compared with the Black-related group, reflecting relatively lower acceptance of the mixed White/Asian term compared with those of Black descent (see Figure 4-7). Notably, descriptive statistics show that 57 per cent of 'switching monoracials' switched between a White and an Asian category, reinforcing this picture of lower acceptability of the 'mixed' category for people with White and Asian ancestry.

Importantly, being born outside the UK had one of the strongest associations with ethnic change (see Figure 4-2, and Appendix 4.C) This reinforces the perspective that certain groups have been less likely to adopt uniquely British social and cultural conventions or understandings about what a mixed person is supposed to be; or may not adhere to barely settled British understandings of the difference between national, ethnic, cultural and 'racial' identity. This is again reinforced by the descriptive data on 'switching monoracials', which shows that they are more likely than the other 'mixed' categories considered to have been born outside the UK (Appendix 4.F).

Unlike age and household deprivation or instability, being born outside of the UK was associated with particular kinds of ethnic change. In supplementary analysis, for under-40s born outside the UK, the change is a move towards Whiteness (see Appendix 4.I.), and as seen in Figure 4-7, away from being mixed. It may reflect that those not born in the UK are not as effectively captured by the trend towards celebration of mixed identity compared with the British-born baseline. Alternatively, migrants who initially considered themselves ethnically, racially or culturally mixed may find that British society does not view them as fitting the dominant definition of 'mixed race'.

4.6 Discussion

Overall, the findings from this analysis of change in ethnic identification supported the main plank of the 'instability' theory discussed at outset. That is, worse material, social or personal conditions tended to predict more ethnic change; while worsening socioeconomic conditions also predicted ethnic change. It seems that life transitions that imply personal or household destabilisation, may result in revision of ethnic identification, as some previous studies have suggested (Didham, 2017). For the mixed sample at the focus of this chapter, this process may be ongoing throughout the life-course to an extent not previously revealed by quantitative studies of adult ethnic change that cover the entire population, i.e whether mixed or not (Carter et al., 2009; Didham, 2017).

The first hypothesis advanced the concept of ethnic identity stabilising over time for a) individuals as they get older, and alternately b) as a function of a generational or cohort effect in that younger mixed people would have more stable identification. The results of the analysis indicated that older mixed adults in the UK were more likely to change their reported ethnic group, which runs counter to a large body of research and theory on ethnic identity stabilisation over time, but which met some local expectations about cohort and period effects, and the unique context of the very new and fluctuating UK approach to ethnic enumeration in the Census.

The ethnic question has changed in every Census since it was introduced in 1991 (see Figure 1-1), and administrative ethnic group data collection in other areas of government can reflect any of the three Census waves, or an imperfect approximation of them (e.g. see Appendix 1.A). Older mixed people in the UK will have lived through more of this inconsistency, as well as experienced more change in social norms. Meanwhile, younger mixed people will have grown up experiencing more consistent

mixed options in data collection, as well as potentially less stigmatisation of mixed people to start with. The qualitative research of Chapters 5 and 6 will investigate these possible cohort differences in attitudes towards acceptability of the mixed label, as well as possibilities of path-dependency or mismeasurement out of habit among older people after a lifetime of restricted mono-ethnic options.

This does not necessarily mean that there are no partial effects of ethnic stabilisation over time for older individuals, especially given the limited waves of data available. However, the cohort effect of greater incidence of being 'stable Mixed' for younger people may currently be masking any such effect in the ONS LS data.

Ethnic transitions as far as they were observed in this data, did not stop at young adulthood, as would be expected from qualitative research about ongoing revision of mixed identities at older ages (Tashiro, 2015). However, there are some indications that at younger ages, family, household, and intimate relationships have more of an impact (See Appendix 4.I, 4.J). This accords with the implications of empirical evidence on ethnic change from New Zealand (Carter et al., 2009; Didham, 2017), and the context of social psychological theories about the sources of influence on identity-development for younger people (Aron et al., 1995; Phinney, 1990; Syed et al., 2007).

My second hypothesis suggested that ethnic identification change is associated with material and personal insecurity, which overall is the case. For the most part, good conditions or improvement in conditions were associated with a lack of ethnic change, i.e. they were associated with a high degree of stable mixed identification in the data analysed. This suggests that we cannot view reported ethnic change as 'aspirational' on average for mixed people in the UK.

However, tests of the third and fourth hypotheses examined whether particular types of change are associated with material conditions. The two hypotheses were framed in contrast with each other, in that they test the 'Whitening' effect of whether success is associated with climbing a racial ladder; or whether it predicts change into 'Mixed' as part of a 'mixed privilege' effect. Individual-level socioeconomic indicators were associated with the direction of change. Findings allowed us to reject the classic Brazilian hypothesis that higher status in the UK would 'Whiten' our mixed sample. Rather, findings support the 'mixed privilege'/'lower status White' dynamic revealed in the cross-sectional analysis of the previous two chapters, which found that lower household income independently predicts the White choice and higher income the

mixed choice. Moreover, it supports the idea that mixed identification may reflect socioeconomic and cultural security; while changes towards Whiteness in times of socioeconomic decline may be a way of seeking safety within identities seen as more socially powerful.

Overall, the more country-specific and group-specific expectations at outset about how varied experiences of racialization, cultural ideologies, migrant status and generational cohort will predict ethnic change for individuals, resulted in findings that were theoretically consistent and had the largest effect sizes, even as they were context-specific. For example, migrants appeared to have substantially different reporting patterns compared to the UK-born, resisting the apparent cohort trend towards mixedness.

This chapter presented some contrasts between seemingly 'random' non-directional ethnic change, and 'directional' ethnic change that appears to have clearer sociological implications. However, quantitative analysis is only able to present findings about identification change. It cannot explicitly differentiate between straightforward cognitive measurement problems, substantive 'identity change', strategic 'identification change' or the phenomenon of contextual flux in identification or identity. The following qualitative chapters take up these issues by qualitatively researching the experience of the range of mixed respondents found in this analysis.

This and the previous chapter also highlight broader sociological questions. Quantitative analysis has not shown that kinds of individual ethnic change for mixed people in the UK follow a simple racial hierarchical logic, or that the tripartite racial hierarchy is directly reproduced via observable ethnic attrition patterns. However, the quantitative findings have converged to suggest that the existing hierarchies are being interpreted and deployed as ways to symbolically affiliate with more powerful groups by those with lower or declining status.

Ultimately, this chapter has shed light on reasons for ethnic change, and for types of ethnic change, that go beyond random preference or error. In particular, it appears that more frequent exercise of one's 'freedom to change' ethnic or racial identification (Root, 1994) is not, in the quantitative analysis, a reflection of privilege. Rather, privilege is reflected in ethnic stability. Greater resources and security appear to provide 'freedom from' change, evasion or strategic redefinition.

5 'I WANTED TO BE WITH THE MAJORITY': MIXED PEOPLE EXPLAIN ETHNIC CHOICES

5.1 Introduction

Quantitative analysis in the last several chapters has revealed a pattern in the UK of lower status White and minority choices for mixed people, compared with higher status mixed choices. While there are a number of theories that may explain this pattern, most of this research is not UK based, while the qualitative research into mixed people's ethnic choices in the UK is limited by its sampling. This chapter aims to explore potential explanations for the quantitative findings, drawing on 30 qualitative interviews. It explores connections between physical appearance, family, class, neighbourhood, security, confidence, and identity that have been suggested by the quantitative findings, but which the interview data can engage with more directly. The entry-point to answering these questions is to look at what mixed people's own explanations for what their choices mean to them. Findings elaborate the drivers and mechanisms of choice, and to a lesser extent ethnic change, as explored quantitatively in the previous two chapters.

5.2 Literature

As discussed in Chapter 1, the conceptual framework for this study broadly characterises ethnic choice and change as acts of: relational social self-positioning ('horizontal' choices); hierarchical social placement ('vertical' choices); and contingent or performative representation ('contextual' choices) (see Figure 1-3).

The 'horizontal' conceptualisation of choice is the choice of a specific ethnic group or race, among or amid other groups, particularly as characterised by social psychology literature on social identity. Social identity research examines how ethnic identity forms and solidifies in the context of relationships with others, including relations within groups, intergroup relations, and the tension between the desire for cultural distinctiveness and for inclusion within majority culture (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Berry, 1995, 1997, 2005; Phinney, 1990; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996; Syed et al., 2007; Tajfel, 1974, 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Ethnic identity change is understood in this body of research in terms of evolving lived identity over time in processes of integration or assimilation, in which one might leave a group and join another, or reconceptualise one's identity in terms of one's relationships with others. Relevant research from this field that focuses on ethnic identification for mixed or multiracial people has focused on adolescence as the most crucial period of ethnic identity formation, and has often been qualitative (Meeus, 2011; Phinney, 1990; Syed et al., 2007).

The 'vertical' conceptualisation of placement introduces more overtly the idea of power relations, or a racialised social hierarchy (Song, 2004), including whether to accept or reject the hierarchy altogether. This includes the more sociological literature of 'aspirational Whitening' which often focuses on quantitative data analysis, (Alba, 2016; Carvalho et al., 2004; Saperstein & Gullickson, 2013; Saperstein & Penner, 2012; Saperstein et al., n.d.), and a competing quantitative literature that associates mixed or multiracial identification with class privilege, which is all US-based (Davenport, 2016; Stephens et al., 2007; Townsend et al., 2012). Evidence from the quantitative analysis in Chapters 3 and 4 supported the latter research, indicating a pattern of higher status being associated with mixed identification, and lower status with White British identification. Improvements in status were associated with higher levels of stable mixed identification; while lower and worsening socioeconomic status were associated with White choices and with Whitening. This might suggest that making or moving towards White choices reflects aspirations towards a compensatory White privilege, rather than reflecting existing privilege.

The 'contextual' choices refer to contingent or performative representation of ethnicity as examined in literature, which is largely qualitative, philosophical, or rooted in cultural studies and related disciplines (S. Ahmed, 2014b; Bhabha, 1984, 1994; Hall, 1996b, 1996a; Mahtani, 2002). It emphasises the way in which people's choices may be seen as conduits through which agency is exercised amid constrained structural circumstances.

These theories set up broad expectations for the quantitative analysis in Chapter 3; by analysing qualitative data, I will be able to more directly differentiate between these different types of choice, and the contexts in which they are deployed.

5.2.1 Qualitative evidence on class and ethnic choice in the UK

Qualitative research into mixed identity choice in the UK has played an important role in highlighting the multi-dimensional, contextual and fluid nature of ethnicity for mixed people, and how they and their families navigate the three types of identity expression or deployment discussed above (A. Ahmed, 2009; Ali, 2012; Aspinall & Song, 2013b; Aspinall et al., 2008; Caballero, 2012; Caballero et al., 2008; Edwards & Caballero, 2008; Ifekwunigwe, 1999; Joseph-Salisbury, 2018; Olumide, 2002; Platt, 2012a; Song, 2017; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002; Twine, 2010). I explore in more detail here the degree to which several large UK studies about class, area and family previously discussed, can explain some of the new quantitative findings of the last three chapters, and where more exploration might be needed.

As discussed in Chapter 1 and more extensively in Chapter 3, a range of UK qualitative research into ethnic choices made by mixed people (as distinct from categories assigned by parents (Caballero et al., 2008; Twine, 2010)) have examined relationships between class and identity. Systematic examination of these issues, including research on those identifying as White, has been hampered by limitations largely related to technical sampling obstacles, such as a lack of prior existing data analysis about the distribution of mixed ancestry and mixed identified people in the wider UK population (Aspinall & Song, 2013b; Aspinall et al., 2008; Caballero et al., 2008; Edwards & Caballero, 2008; Song & Hashem, 2010).

I suggested in Chapter 3 that the middle class 'mixed' outcome in that chapter's data analysis could be a reflection of, variously, individualist and utopian-nationalist post-racial approaches to mixed identity; or community-embedded critical race-consciousness, according to a range of evidence or suggestions in both international and

UK qualitative research. Missing from the UK picture were clearer theories and more evidence on the 'low status White' choice.

The quantitative analysis has allowed us to reject the concept of 'aspirational Whitening' in ethnic choices as having broad applicability in the UK – but it has been complex to explain this with existing UK qualitative studies, particularly due to the difficulties in explaining ethnic area effects independent of class, and vice versa.

For example, one of the first large-scale mixed-methods studies on mixed identities in the UK was Tizard & Phoenix's work conducted with mixed youth in London in the 1990s, which sampled high school students in London with a Black and a White parent. This took place before data was available in the Census about the more diverse class, ethnic and geographic distribution of mixed people in the UK. Tizard & Phoenix's finding that working class multi-ethnic neighbourhoods were associated with Blacker choices for mixed youth due to their contact with Black communities, was usefully contrasted with the privately-educated students from middle class White suburbs who had no contact with minority communities – but not with findings about White working class neighbourhoods.

Aspinall & Song's large qualitative study on 'ethnic options', which interviewed a range of mixed university students, seemed to have a similar limitation. However, when examined together with Tizard & Phoenix's findings on area effects, their study may provide some clues as to the mechanisms of the 'low status White' effect revealed in the last few chapters, and provide context for the qualitative data presented in this chapter.

Aspinall & Song's study included examination of cases who had identified themselves as White British at some point. White choices were associated with national belonging (i.e. the top-level 'White' category was conflated with being culturally English or British), and White identification also appeared to be associated with a relative lack of racialization or discrimination (Aspinall & Song, 2013b, pp. 63–64). The study also revealed a phenomenon of 'de-Whitening' experiences for this group, due to encountering minority peers for the first time while away at university in multi-ethnic urban centres (Aspinall & Song, 2013b, pp. 42–44). This group may spring from a similar context as Tizard & Phoenix's privately-schooled cases from the middle class White suburbs. If 'de-Whitening' for young middle class mixed people occurred after shifting from White neighbourhoods to multi-ethnic progressive university environments, we could infer that the large population of those with 'hidden' mixed parentage, who we now know are more likely to be White-identified, working class and

in White areas, were less likely to be subjected to a similar environmental shift at a formative age – because they were less likely to go away to university at all. The experiences of those from White working-class neighbourhoods will be of particular interest in the next few chapters.

Independently from pre-existing area effects, Twine examined how household resources and composition were not direct causes of forms of 'racial literacy' that might influence a mixed child's identity, but found that they mediated the extent to which a household is pushed into leaning on social networks embedded in either the majority or minority culture (Twine, 2010). For example, a key finding was that reliance on minority resources and connection to 'ethnic capital' was a survival strategy and pathway to 'racial literacy' for some working class White mothers of mixed children whose access to White resources and the status of White womanhood had been withdrawn by their White families due to racism (Twine, 2010). As discussed in Chapter 3, the role of access to minority or majority social and cultural resources could key to broader theoretical explanations of how class status in the UK might indirectly cause different kinds of ethnic choice and change.

Qualitative UK studies have helped direct, explain and validate some elements of the quantitative findings of this thesis. However, we are still are faced with some gaps in our ability to directly explain the role of class and social stratification in ethnic choices of mixed people that have been revealed in the past few chapters. This chapter's more comprehensive sampling approach will expand the potential for explanatory theories and include under-researched groups, including those who have grown up in White working class neighbourhoods, and those who are White identified. It also allows for a small comparator group of 'switching monoracials', that is, non-mixed minorities who at some point made 'White' choices in data collection. A natural tendency in the research on mixed experiences is to stake out the uniqueness of those experiences, which has meant that there has been little use of comparator groups to examine common experiences with those making similar choices, for example, non-mixed minorities who report their ethnic group as White British, or who attempt to adopt or affiliate with White identity (see Walker, 2018).

5.3 Methods

5.3.1 Data

The data comprise 30 semi-structured in-depth qualitative interviews which were conducted over the phone (see Chapter 1, Section 1.7.1 for rationale behind interview mode). Of these interviews, 27 were with people whose parents were from different ethnic groups, including those who did and did not identify as mixed, and including those whose parents were themselves mixed but whose ethnic group was not accurately captured in Understanding Society data. A further three interviews were with non-mixed minorities whose parents were both from the same minority group but who had selected White British as their ethnic group at some point. These three were sampled in order to compare their experiences with the large and under-researched group of White-identified mixed respondents.

I carried out semi-structured in-depth phone interviews that lasted between 45 minutes and one hour. These included questions on life history and identity, elements of cognitive questionnaire testing (the use of cognitive probes), and discussion of appearance and ethnic 'identifiability'. While not directly using the narrative method, interviews followed a broadly linear narrative biographical structure such as the context of the respondent's home and school life growing up, their neighbourhoods, work and relationships. They then included a discussion of ethnic reporting, self-presentation, and social or physical ascription or identification by others. The Understanding Society Wave 1 showcards (see Figure 3-1 and 3-2 in Chapter 3) used for the ethnic group questions were either posted or sent via email and used as elicitation devices for discussion of choices made when reporting ethnic group. Elements of the showcards were cognitively tested using cognitive probes around the perceived meaning, order or grouping of phrases and definitions (Collins, 2014).

It should be kept in mind that the interviews themselves consisted of nearly an hour of 'priming' respondents to think about their identity, after which it can be expected that answers about ethnic group might be different from when they tick a box in time-limited circumstances. However, interviews attempted to account for this by directly exploring different contexts of answering questions, with respondents reporting on contrasts between what their answers would be in different circumstances. The interview schedule is available at Appendix 5.B.

Transcripts have been anonymised, and redacted for disclosive information. In numerous cases the ethnic profile of respondents may be fairly unusual in their geographical location, so the level of biographical detail given in different cases varies. Names have been changed.

5.3.2 Sample

Understanding Society, the data source analysed in Chapters 2 and 3, was used as a sample frame for recruiting 26 of the interviewees. Understanding Society is a large-scale, high quality, stratified national probability sample survey with multi-dimensional ethnicity questions that include reported respondent ethnic group and reported parental ethnic group. In a first for the UK, this means previously 'hidden' and under-researched mixed populations could be appropriately targeted for qualitative interview recruitment, based on population proportions estimated from the survey data (as per the descriptive statistics in Chapter 2).

A further four interviews were purposively sampled. Two were the pilot interviews (after which the interview schedule did not change significantly, and so the interviews were retained for the analysis), and two were male participants recruited to even the gender balance towards the end of the study. These four participants were recruited via personal networks and local social housing networks. They were all based in London, but given the wide geographic distribution of the participants already sampled from the main sample frame, with a majority from outside London even upon inclusion of the purposively sampled cases, I considered this to be an acceptable level of bias to the sample.

Different subgroups were targeted for recruitment, with the proportion of invitations aligned with their weighted proportions in the sample frame. These subgroups were defined according to reported ethnic group and reported parental ethnic groups at Wave 1 of Understanding Society (2009-2010), as per the table below, and were all the groups that could potentially be categorized as 'mixed', as identified in Chapter 2. Additionally, a small number of a comparator group of the White-identified with two minority parents of the same ethnic group were added.

Invitations were sent to 470 Understanding Society participants who were still part of the study at the current wave as of 2016, and with current addresses. This was most of the eligible sample. The number of invitees was arrived at by estimating expected response and completion rates of 5-7 per cent against the sample available for different

subgroups as outlined in Table 5.1 below, and the desired target of 25-30 interviews. Where there was extra eligible sample in larger subgroups, invitees were selected at random.

Table 5.1: Recruitment targeting and initial response rate

mixed 'Type'	Number invited to participate	Consent forms returned
White-identified: one White and one non-White parent	Invited most in sample frame (n=approx 120)	Approx 14%
Mixed-identified: two White parents	Invited all in sample frame (n=approx. 25)	0%
Mixed-identified: one White and one non-White parent	Invited less than half in sample frame, due to oversample of this group in Understanding Society (n=approx. 100)	Approx 13%
Mixed-identified: no White parents	Sent to most in sample frame (n=approx. 110)	Approx 4%
Minority- & Other-identified: one White and one non-White parent	Sent to all in sample frame (n=approx. 45)	Approx 12%
(Comparators) White-identified: parents from same non-White ethnic group	Sent to most in sample frame (n=approx. 70)	Approx 6%

Note: Approximations provided, as the body administering the Understanding Society data (ISER, Essex University), removed sampled cases without valid contact details before confidentially posting recruitment materials on behalf of the researcher to the sample, but did not disclose to the researcher how many from each group were removed.

Following the mailout, 48 consent forms were received at a response rate of 10.2 per cent. Interviews were completed with 26 eligible participants from this pool. The ultimate completion rate from the mailout was 5.5 per cent (see Appendix 5.A for the full response data at different stages of recruitment). This met recruitment expectations, as more interviewees could have been recruited from those who returned consent forms, but the decision was made to 'top up' the interviews from outside the survey sample due to the need to recruit male respondents for a better gender balance. As mentioned, four purposive interviews were added to the corpus to make 30 – the two pilot interviews, plus two sampled later in the study to include more male participants.

The White-identified group had the highest rate of sending back signed consent forms following the mail-out, which fit expectations that the group's behaviour (even for participants already involved in an associated study) would mirror to an extent that of White-identified people with two White parents, who opt-into research at higher rates than minority-identified people (Ahlmark et al., 2014; Feskens, 2006; Griffin, 2002;

Oropesa & Landale, 2002; Sykes, Walker, Ngwakongnwi, & Quan, 2010). There was also a similarly high response rate from the group most commonly thought of as the subject of the 'Mixed' category – the mixed-identified with one White and one non-White parent. There was also a fairly high response rate from those who identified as a non-mixed minority or as an 'Other ethnic group' rather than mixed, but who had one White and one non-White parent.

This contrasted with the low response from those who identified as either White or as mixed, but who had two non-White minority parents. This potentially reflected the generally lower response to research participation from those embedded in minority communities; just as the higher response for the White-identified with one White parent may have reflected the typically higher response to research participation among White people.

The mixed-identified group with two White parents, whom I have suggested may be dominated by transracial adoptees who chose not to acknowledge their birth parents in Understanding Society, provided no responses following the mailout. This was likely impacted by the very small number in this group, but may have also reflected reluctance to participate for other reasons. However, interviews did include a participant who is a transracial adoptee with two White adopted parents, but who had reported the ethnic groups of his birth parents in Understanding Society.

The 30 completed interviews included types of participants that have been previously under-researched or less researched in the UK, specifically:

- White-identified people with mixed parentage.
- People with mixed parentage who identified as non-mixed minorities.
- Older mixed people.
- Non tertiary-educated or working class mixed people.
- Those not born in the UK
- Those from outside London and the Southeast of England, and from places that are not urban centres.

When categorizing the participants according to their stated ethnic group at Wave 1 of Understanding Society (White, mixed or non-mixed minority/Other), and comparing the sample with the weighted proportions of these groups in the Understanding Society data, we see that the sample is reasonably well matched to the estimated represented population proportions, with an oversample of the 'minority/Other' category.

Figure 5-1: Reported ethnic group of mixed qualitative interviewees compared with Understanding Society weighted population sample
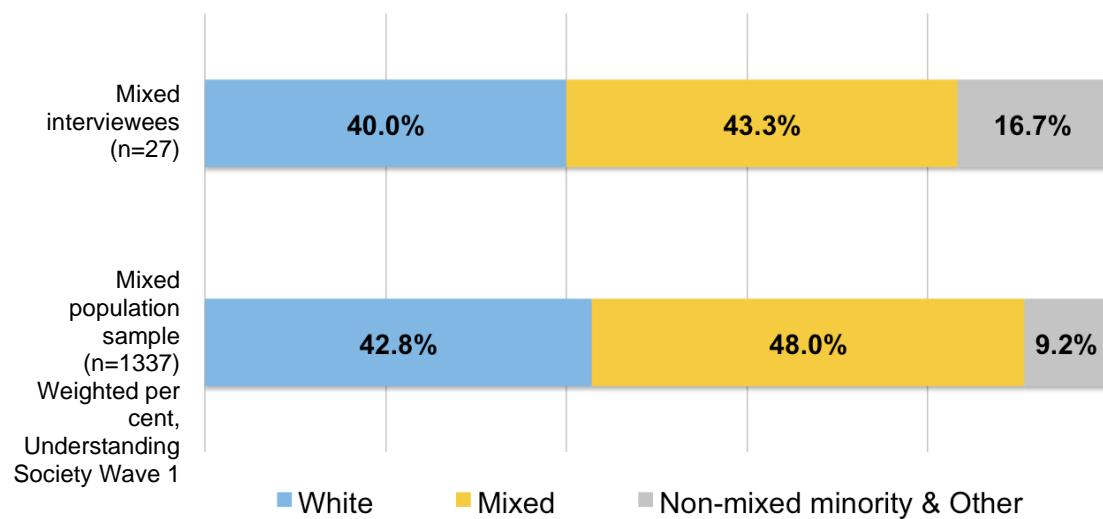
5.3.2.1 <u>Summary of interviewee characteristics</u>

Interviewees had all been at least 16 at their Wave 1 Understanding Society interview, so were aged at least 24 and over when they were interviewed for the present study. The majority were over 40 years old, with very few in higher education at the time of interview. Eighteen respondents identified as women, 12 identified as men. Three indicated that they were LGBTQ either during interview or screening. More than half were not living in the Southeast of England, including participants in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.

Over two thirds of the respondents had working class or lower-middle class backgrounds in childhood, although there had been upward social mobility during respondents' lives, with around half entering middle class or professional occupations. Follow-up after initial contact or screening with those who consented to participate was less successful with respondents who appeared to have more chaotic households, poor health, or were recent migrants, reflecting typical patterns in survey nonresponse, and replicating Understanding Society survey's own attrition bias. The loss of these kinds of respondents from the sample may mean that the data is selectively biased 'upwards' slightly towards those with a greater sense of socioeconomic and personal security.

The mixed-identified qualitative respondents all either grew up in two-parent households, or had substantial contact with their minority parent, while most of the White-identified respondents were not raised by both parents. There was some contrast with the quantitative sample frame, where there was not a significant difference between the two groups in terms of rates of having an absent father or mother at the age

of 14 (see Chapter 2). There may have been self-selection in responses to the recruitment materials, i.e. it is possible that those who do report as mixed but have low connection to their ethnic minority parent or culture, may not have wanted to select into the study. I discuss the likely gap in sampling in the main analysis, with reference to previous studies that have sampled this group well via school-based targeting (Tizard & Phoenix, 2002), and other literature.

Fewer than half of the respondents had a consistent ethnic identity and identification over their lifetime (not counting incidences of change in ethnic reporting due to introduction of new mixed categories). Eight changed their ethnic reporting, identification or self-presentation depending on context, and a further eight appeared to have undergone substantive identity change over their life that was reflected in their ethnic identification. While we cannot generalise these proportions to the mixed population, this is consistent with the high level of ethnic fluidity among mixed people observed in both qualitative and quantitative studies as discussed in Chapter 4.[10] Types of ethnic change are examined in greater depth in Chapter 6, but are touched on in this chapter, in the context of different types of ethnic choice being associated with particular kinds of ethnic change.

5.3.3 Analytical approach

A combination of thematic and critical discourse analysis was used to initially code and sort the interview data. The qualitative thematic codeframe for the interview content was developed using a combination of inductive and deductive coding and theme development (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). After close reading and immersion in transcripts and fieldnotes, a sample of interviews was inductively coded in Nvivo, using an open, grounded and iterative approach. The resulting range of codes were discursively analysed and organised into a codeframe through which key elements of

---

[10] Note that I cannot compare this directly to the analysis of ethnic change in Chapter 4, as the sampling approach is different. The analysis of longitudinal Census data in Chapter 4 includes only those who ever chose 'Mixed' in either 2001 or 2011; therefore excluding consistently White or non-mixed minority-identified. From this, I may have expected that the qualitative sample would show less change by comparison; however the proportion of the qualitative sample reporting ethnic change is in fact higher than in the Census data, likely because qualitative interviews can measure lifetime change, and also fluctuation or change in any context or form, rather than just two Census measurements 10 years apart.

the conceptual and theoretical framework that was developed in previous chapters emerged.

Following this, a framework approach was used to further deductively code and analyse the data (NatCen, 2012), which essentially collates and categorises themes according to case characteristics, which can then be sorted, summarised, and analysed in a manner similar to content analysis. This analysis was carried out in Nvivo, assisted by manual sorting exercises. From this, I was able to generate a descriptive typology of particular ethnic choices, and identified potential explanations for the associations between particular characteristics and ethnic choices.

I treat all incidences of ethnic group reporting or self-presentation described during interviews (including Wave 1 reported ethnic group) as individual moments of ethnic choice (analogous to the 'outcome variable'). Thematic analysis of the 'White choice', the mixed choice, and the non-mixed minority choice thus may include data from the same case if that respondent's reported ethnic group has fluctuated or changed over time.

5.3.3.1 Codeframe

Codes fell into three broad categories: experiences, attitudes, and outcomes. Experiences were divided into experiences of exclusion and experiences of inclusion (whether they be racialisation, othering, awareness of difference, or 'race neutral' negative experiences) as manifested at the different 'scales of identity' discussed in Chapter 1 and in the quantitative analysis: i.e. the body, the family or household, in neighbourhood and educational settings, in the workplace or social settings, and at the level of national discourse.

'Attitudes' were coded separately because I am interested in analysing attitudes as foundations for outcomes, that is, the ethnic choices. They can also be read as arising out of experiences, but they are not treated as 'independent' variables per se, in that exclusive coding was not used (i.e. some content was coded to both 'Attitude' and 'Experience' codes). Attitude codes included connection to or rejection of minority identity, complex/ambivalent vs comfortable attitudes to 'mixed' identity, connection to or rejection of White and British identities, and the desire for vs avoidance of self-definition.

There was also face-value coding of 'Outcomes' – respondent's direct explanations of their ethnic choices and ethnic changes, including their interpretation of the meaning of

categories and terms in the ethnic options list; (some of which is also represented in reduced form as case classification characteristics, or overlapping with 'Attitudes' codes). Only minor sub-category additions were necessary when proceeding to coding of the entire corpus. A screenshot of the final codeframe that emerged from inductive coding is below, with some menus expanded to provide examples of sub-themes.

Figure 5-2: The qualitative codeframe in NVivo

▼ ◯ 1.Experiences
  ▼ ◯ 1.1.Inclusion
    ▶ ◯ 1.1.1.The Body
    ▶ ◯ 1.1.2.The Family_Household
    ▶ ◯ 1.1.3.School_education_settings
    ▶ ◯ 1.1.4.The Neighbourhood
    ▶ ◯ 1.1.5.Social circle
    ◯ 1.1.6.Workplace
    ▶ ◯ 1.1.7.The Nation
  ▼ ◯ 1.2.Exclusion
    ▶ ◯ 1.2.1.The Body
    ▶ ◯ 1.2.2.The Family_Household
    ▶ ◯ 1.2.3.School_education_settings
    ▶ ◯ 1.2.4.The Neighbourhood
    ▶ ◯ 1.2.5.Social circle
    ◯ 1.2.6.Workplace
    ▶ ◯ 1.2.7.The Nation
▼ ◯ 2.Attitudes
  ▶ ◯ 2.1.Discomfort with identity
  ▼ ◯ 2.2.Comfort with identity
    ◯ 2.2.1.Connection to minority identity
    ▶ ◯ 2.2.2.Comfort with 'Mixed' identity
    ◯ 2.2.3.Connection to White and_or British identity
  ▶ ◯ 2.3.Desire to self-define
  ▶ ◯ 2.4.Avoiding self-definition
  ◯ 2.5.Trust or distrust in data collection
▼ ◯ 3.Outcomes
  ▶ ◯ 3.1.Explanation of Ethnic Choice
  ▶ ◯ 3.2.Explanation of Ethnic Change
  ▶ ◯ 3.3.Cognitive-forms

Characteristics used to sort and analyse cases using classification sheets were based on some existing linked case data from Understanding Society used in sampling (e.g. age, sex, reported ethnic group at Wave 1), with other categorical data that I derived from the interviews. Some characteristics were similar to multidimensional ethnicity and identity variables in the Understanding Society data, but a limitation of the quantitative data was that many of these questions were not asked of those who were reported White

ethnic group at Wave 1. The qualitative data also provided a clearer picture of other 'unobservables' such as how participants described their perceived racial appearance, presence of minority parents when young, and type of neighbourhood they grew up in. Below is the full list of the characteristics used in the classification sheet.

Table 5.2: Characteristics of interviewees

Age at interview	In years
Gender	M/F
Perceived class of family when growing up	Working class/Lower middle class/Middle class professional
Class now (based on occupation)	Working class/Lower middle class/Middle class professional
Parented by:	Sole parent/two biological parents/one biological and one step-parent/adopted
Had substantive identity change	Y/N
Had fluctuation	Y/N
Changed category for any reason	Y/N
Strategic/instrumental change	Y/N
Mother Wave 1 ethnic group	(Understanding Society data)
Father Wave 1 ethnic group	(Understanding Society data)
Own Wave 1 ethnic group	(Understanding Society data)
Contact with minority parent	None/Rare/Regular
Minority parent	Father/Mother/Both
Contact with minority extended family	None/Rare/Regular
Any White parent in home	Y/N
White neighbourhood growing up	Y/N
Type of neighbourhood growing up	Urban/Suburban/Rural
Self-described racial appearance	White passing/Ambiguous/Visible minority
Strong memory of racism as a child	Y/N
Experiences racism as adult	Y/N
Assimilationist attitude	Y/N
Anti-race/'colourblind' attitude	Y/N
Warm to minority culture	Y/N
Knowledgeable of minority culture	Y/N

5.4 Findings

An overarching discursive structure emerged through the initial use of open coding. Likely prompted by the explicit purpose of the interviews as examinations of ethnic identity, interviewees' explanations of their ethnic choices were embedded in discourses of inclusion and exclusion, whether in relation to White or minority communities and

institutions. Forms of familial, cultural, economic or other social capital appeared as sources of resilience that supported secure ethnic choices in the face of ethnic or social exclusion. The absence of those forms of social capital were often accompanied by, or were the basis of, explanations of less secure or confident choices, or of affinities with the 'default' of the nearest available dominant cultural identity.

At the broadest level of analysis, six main types of ethnic choices made by respondents are summarised below: Secure and insecure White choices, secure and insecure mixed choices, and secure and insecure non-mixed minority choices.

Figure 5-3: Secure and insecure ethnic choices, and changes between them, as spoken of by mixed participants

Secure choices

Secure White
- Confident British identity or unreflective Whiteness
- Fluctuation may occur due to low consequences of choice

Secure mixed
- Embedded in minority community or individualistic/family-based identity
- Fluctuation may occur due to low consquences or active politicisation

Secure non-mixed minority
- Minority community-embedded
- Critical views on White supremacy
- May fluctuate in and out of secure mixed

Insecure choices

Insecure White
- Defensive, ambivalent, instrumental or evasive
- Fluctuation may occur for reasons of adaptation, survival/hypervigilance

Insecure mixed
- Similar to Insecure White
- May fluctuate between Insecure Mixed and Insecure White

Insecure non-mixed minority
- Fatalistic, isolated
- Similar to insecure minority & insecure White, but least ability to 'pass' as White

Secure or confident ethnic choices were associated with experiences of inclusion, no matter whether these experiences were with White or minority communities and institutions. Secure choices seemed on the whole more stable, but were also associated

with forms of ethnic fluctuation that indicated a low 'cost' to whatever category they chose, due to secure and inclusive experiences.

Meanwhile, insecure, ambivalent or instrumental choices were associated with experiences of exclusion, and were sometimes driven by an instinctive threat-avoidance. Insecure choices were also associated with overall fluctuating choices from moment to moment or in different contexts, similarly motivated by threat-avoidance, or avoidance of being Othered, indicating a much higher perceived 'cost' to ethnic choice.

I have conceptualised this dynamic of inclusion or exclusion affecting these six main types, and their related access or barriers to resources supporting cultural resilience, via the following axis.

Figure 5-4: Inclusion/Resources axis
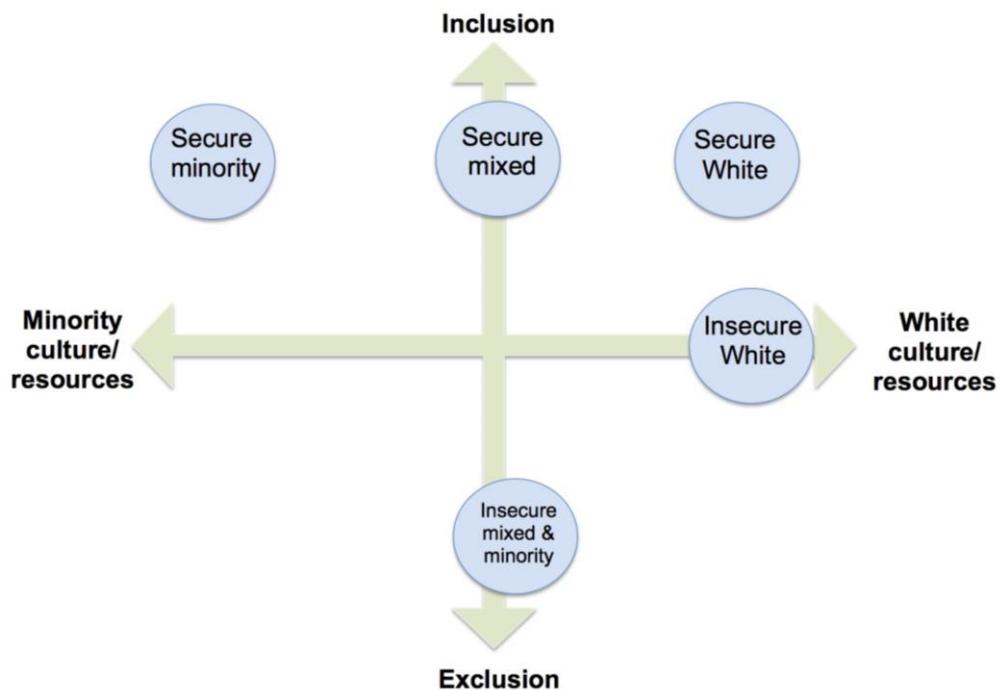
This axis plot of Inclusion/Resources bears some partial similarities to Berry's original model of 'acculturation strategies' (Berry, 1995, 1997). However, Berry's notion of acculturation examines social encounters between two cultures in the context of immigration; whereas the phenomenon being examined here is how individuals establish, locate or develop their own cultural identity from a starting point of theoretically being born with dual cultural heritage. Berry's is also a model of intersecting values of cultural distinctness and the 'value of maintaining relationships with wider society' (Berry, 1997) to express discrete acculturation strategies that could

194

be taken by migrants. The present study's typology describes strategies actually taken by participants in the context of their structural experiences. The impact of racialised social power on ethnic choice is explicit in my typology, as expressed by *abilities* to access resources and security, rather than desires for particular kinds of acculturation.

As dicussed previously, Twine, and Tizard & Phoenix's UK research looked particularly at area-based access to community resources, with Twine elaborating how structural limitations to that access could potentially affect ethnic choice. For example, in her study of White mothers with biracial children, their original access to social support and resources of White communities was something that could be withdrawn, depending on the dynamics of racist exclusion and stigma in their families; providing an impetus for seeking resources and support for their child's identity in Black communities. The framework of this 'push/pull' dynamic as it affects a wider range of mixed individuals themselves and their ethnic choices, is something I seek to elaborate more fully in my analysis. More detailed descriptions of participants' experiences and choices follow below, and each main choice type is then summarised using the axis plot.

5.4.1 Secure White British choices

The interviews revealed that White choices – whether consistent, occasional or temporary – were typically associated with White or fairer appearance, cultural upbringing in or assimilation into White communities, and cultural distance from minority descent-communities, for example due to an absent minority parent. Despite these overlapping factors, the only common trait among all who made secure White choices was a sense of inclusion into White British 'mainstream' society. White choices overall (whether secure or insecure) were embedded in wider cultural and discursive attitudes privileging the status of the White British identity as emblematic of the mainstream, and as a protected and protective identity.

5.4.1.1 <u>Whiteness as physical appearance</u>

Some White British choices were the product of being very White in appearance, and reflected a straightforward social ascription as 'White' that had never or rarely been challenged by others. Rather than identifying 'White' as a being a biological 'race' or a cultural identity group, respondents sometimes spoke of being white-coloured, i.e. 'White' meaning simply, pale-skinned – a lower-case white, perhaps. This lower-case choice has been used in the quotes below, as an example.

Resp: To look at me they wouldn't know, because I'm white. I'm white. I just look English.
- Larry, mixed White and Bangladeshi mother and White father, working class[11], 40s

Resp: If you tell them you're White British they'll just believe you. It's just thinking I've a slight tan. […] I'm kind of, probably – white.
- Dwayne, Black Caribbean father, White parents, working class, 50s

Social ascription based on skin colour was seen as a test of who was White or not. When speaking of being white-coloured, participants framed it in the context of encountering White British people who would be the arbiters of whether they were included in the White in-group. That is, appraisal of skin colour or appearance was spoken of as something that others do to you.

Resp: […] like white basically, is your skin lighter than a certain shade sort of thing. Or potentially if you asked someone 'Am I white?' and they said 'Yes'.
- Edward, Chinese mother, White father, middle class, 30s

5.4.1.2 *White British choices as statements of national inclusion*

Regardless of appearance, confident White British choices included emphasis on the 'British' or other constituent nation identities that are part of the 'White British' category. There was a sense of inclusion into a national and mainstream cultural discourse and community, associated with inclusive experiences at an area or neighbourhood level. Statements expressed secure British identity, even if participants found it hard to specify what White British culture was comprised of.

[…] It was just my upbringing, getting brought up like any other person. […] my culture was White British.
Intvr: Can you tell me about some of the things that make your culture White British…?
Resp: …The food for one. Maybe the TV as well, you know, sat around watching programmes like Eastenders, Coronation Street, things like that. Other than that, I'm not too sure.
- Larry: Always taken for White, mixed Bangladeshi/White Mother, White British father, working class, 40s

Intvr: what does it mean to you to be 'White British'?
Resp: Eh – I don't think I can define it, it's just something that I've grown up with and as. […] I've always just been associated with White people […] I've always just considered myself White British and I think everyone around me was the same and it didn't seem any different, you know, that was the norm, and it didn't seem any different from anyone else.

---

[11] Where class is mentioned in interviewee quote titles without further explanation, this refers to class background, i.e. class of household the participant was raised in.

- Matthew: Always taken for White, Anglo-Indian Father, White British mother, working class, early 60s

Despite indications in Chapter 3 that the bulk of White choices are likely determined by the parameters of colour and phenotype, some secure White British choices were also being made by visible minorities, or those with ambiguous appearance. Like White-passing respondents who made White choices, they described the feeling of affinity to the White British category as about feeling 'mainstream' and not different from their peers.

Ethnic group reporting was sometimes interpreted as national identity or citizenship reporting, with references to passports and citizenship. In a cognitive sense, the fact that the top-level category is 'White' appeared to be sometimes overlooked by respondents whose focus was more drawn to the 'British' at the end of the line of options naming constituent nation identities (English, Scottish, etc) in the Census standard (see Figure 1-1).

> Resp: The wording makes it feel like: Where did you grow up? What is your mainstream cultural background? I would definitely put British.'
> *- Edward, Chinese mother, White British father, middle class, 30s*

> Resp: [Begins talking spontaneously about how the ethnic group question is not relevant to him before the recorder starts] […] The top one, I always regard [myself] British Indian Irish [chuckles] Northern Irish.
> *- Moe, parents both Indian, first-generation migrant, 'White British' at Wave 1, middle class, late 70s (non-mixed comparator group)*

The qualitative interviews confirm that 'Britishness' is often perceived by participants as an inclusive and non-racial identity. This appeared to enable them to fudge or avoid questions about race, when they perceived such questions as attempting to separate them from their mainstream identity. Making the 'White British' selection was internalised as a British choice (which was secondarily White). These choices reflected experiences or aspirations of inclusion on a national cultural level, and a statement of ethnic identity *as* national identity, separate from ethnic ancestry.

For those who had had more contact with their minority culture, some White British choices expressed a conscious preference, rather than an unconscious conflation of ethnicity with nationality. This was sometimes specifically an attempt to dissociate themselves from what they felt were negative traits within their minority communities or culture.

> Resp: It was all sort of brought up strict Turkish, you know what I mean, proper Muslim like, no eating pork, no doing this, it's like, I just couldn't get with that. […] I

didn't accept their way of life.
Intvr: Why did you go to the extent of doing it all [changing your name] legally and everything?
Resp: So I could get rid of it. […] Because it was Turkish. It put me in that group of being a Turkish person [laughs].
- *Slim, Both parents Turkish (comparator group), London-born, working class, 50s*

The key elements of secure White choices can be mapped out descriptively on the inclusion-resources axis below. Those making secure White choices mainly spoke of their inclusive experiences in White British communities. They sometimes referred to the barriers they experienced accessing minority community culture – although without any particular need or desire for such access.

Figure 5-5: Secure White
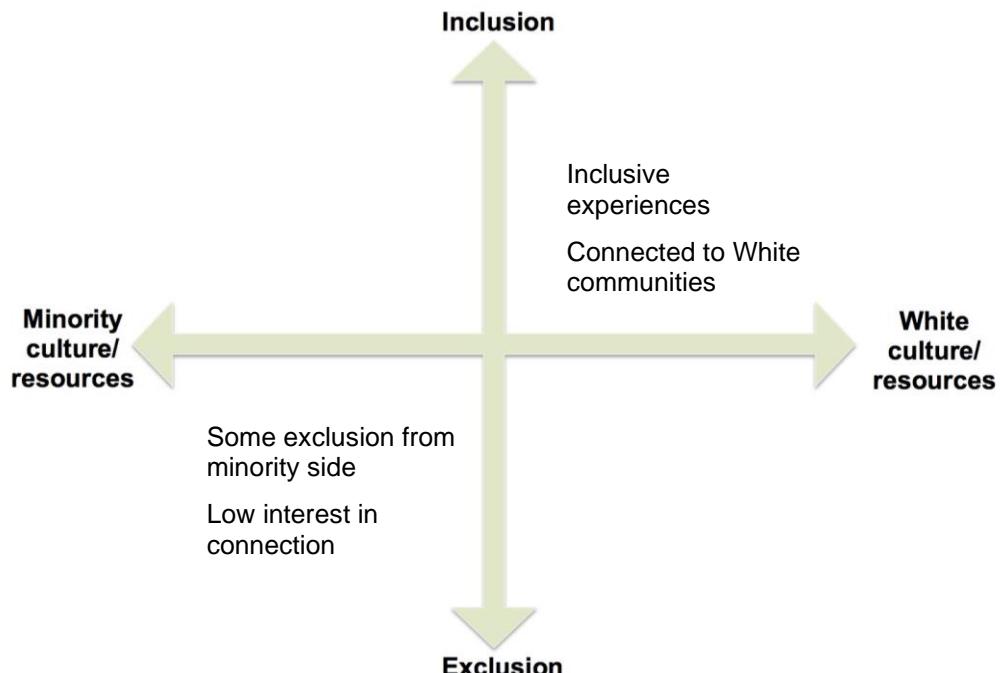
5.4.2 Insecure White choices

There were also several subtypes of insecure White choices. Although there were common aspects across most cases with regard to White appearance and low contact with minority culture (as per the secure White choices), the only truly common experience across all insecure White cases was the fear of racism due to past experiences.

5.4.2.1 <u>Fantasy-aspirational White choices</u>

A form of culturally aspirational 'White choices' emerged as statements of those who tried, wished for, but were unable to pass as White British in person, even if at times they may have ticked or wanted to tick 'White British' on paper if they felt they could

'get away with it'. They expressed a desire to benefit from inclusion in that national mainstream identity.

> It was a face-to-face interview so I know that I couldn't have lied [laughed] and said British, because they would have looked at me and said 'No, there's no way you're White'.
> - *Cassandra, Pakistani father, White mother, working class, 50s*

There were repeated mentions of wishing to be White in childhood among visible minority participants. Rather than overtly seeking socioeconomic or other instrumental advantage (as these desires were ultimately in the realm of fantasy), a recurring theme was the idea of wanting to be part of 'the majority' where things were better, idealized, and inclusive.

> I can remember as a very young child, like – early school, infant school – er, I can remember wishing I was White because it just seemed like White kids just had a better life?
> - *Maxine, Black Caribbean father, White British mother, working class, 40s*

> […] everyone else was Welsh, the teachers were Welsh, everybody was Welsh, so I wanted to be with the majority, not the minority.
> - *Nahla, Arab father, White British mother, working class, 70s*

5.4.2.2 Defensive, ambivalent or instrumental White British choices

A key finding that emerged from the data was the prevalence of White choices associated with ambivalent and self-protective attitudes to the White British mainstream. As well as or instead of expressing desires for inclusion into an idealized mainstream, some White choices were described as attempts to specifically 'get away' from potential racialization, discrimination and Othering by White people. Particular risks were perceived by male respondents who grew up in White working class communities. The physical or persistent nature of threats from peers when young in these contexts may present a partial mechanism for the quantitative association between lower status, insecurity and Whiter choices. This could not necessarily be captured in the quantitative analysis of Chapters 3 or 4 given that data on the area ethnic density of where respondents lived *when they were young* was not available.

Rather than being simply driven by 'aspirations' to ascend racial hierarchies per se, respondent strategies emphasized evasion, avoidance, self-protection, refusal, negotiation, and solidarity within the context of a racialised social hierarchy.

A straightforward reading of the axes might suggest that anxiety caused by experiences of exclusion from White society could result in moves towards mixed or other minority

choices. However, options could be limited by the unavailability of minority communities in which to seek protection when young. For many, a minority culture or community was not available as a resource to draw on as a source of resilience when encountering exclusion, for example, due to geographic isolation of family, absence of the minority parent, or lack of cultural transmission of customs, language and ethnic identity by the minority parent even if present in the home.

The resource-base theory that sought to explain 'mixed privilege' discussed in previous chapters (Fhagen-Smith, 2010; Stephens et al., 2007; Townsend et al., 2012) should by extension suggest that in the absence of a minority community as an available cultural or economic resource, protection from perceived threats can only be sought by more deeply affiliating with the nearest available dominant group – i.e. the White majority. This is essentially a 'classic' assimilation strategy as envisaged by Berry (1992).

Within this general type of insecure White British choices, was a subtype of instrumental aspiration towards mainstream inclusion, but without any personal loyalty towards that the ideological status of that identity. These choices worked under the same assumed hegemonic social structure of mainstream White Britishness, but were framed as – in some cases – 'lying', or 'hiding'. Rather than being aspirational acts to 'get ahead' or utopian expressions of race-blind (but still White) British identity, they were all identities presented in response to perceived threats, including fear of discrimination over resource distribution. In other words, they were attempts at hiding or 'passing', to avoid being punitively Othered. This appeared particularly so among the young or less confident, for example those who reported denying minority status during school days.

> Growing up, my mum was quite worried that em, that I would suffer kind of racism […] And she always told me when I was growing up, if people asked, to tell them that uh, my dad was White, and that I was English […] And um, I never used to get why my mum told me to say that, and then once, this, this boy at school, maybe I was only about ten, em, and he called me a Paki? […] Em, and then I kind of understood […] my features are quite typical […] so as I grew into my looks and I started saying no, I'm fully English, I'm fully English, everyone knew that I was lying.
> - *Zahra, Indian father, White British mother, lower middle class, 20s*

> I was aware of my ethnicity from then. Um, but also from the shit you got at school. Not that I cry-cried myself to sleep or anything [pause -indrawn breath]. I know, I remember when I went to boarding school, I denied my Chinese ancestry for a while, and they must have thought I was bonkers, but I said oh, I'm from North Wales.
> - *Gary, Chinese father, White British mother, lower middle class, 40s*

One respondent with Pakistani heritage, whose family suffered violent racism, has a daughter who denies any non-White ancestry, including in all administrative or survey data collection.

> My daughter, who's incredibly brown, she lets everyone think she's Italian… she's told her fiancé that she's of Italian heritage, and that I can cook pasta, because I'm an Italian mamma. And I can't cook pasta. And I've got to pretend when he meets me whenever he sees me, that I'm some sort of big-bosomed Italian mamma, off the Dolmio advert.
> […]
> She was very young when we went through all this, with the firebomb scare, and having to move house, and being stoned all these things, so she went through all that. So she's had a hideous childhood and was bullied quite badly […] She's just had nothing but bad, and now the good bits are here for her, she's completely closed herself off to it, because she just feels she'll be hurt if she admits – that she is – from an ethnic persuasion.
> - *Cassandra, Pakistani father, White British mother, working class, 50s*

There was a widespread awareness of how identifying as 'Whiter' was associated with social advantage.

> I just ticked White British. […] I guess there was always a suspicion of me that, I know they're doing this to say they're equal- they're doing equality, but – would I be better off just ticking White British? Probably. [small chuckle]
> - *Terrence, mixed Indian/White mother, White British father, working class, 50s*

The respondents who discussed the instrumental advantages of choosing Whiteness tended to be mixed or minority identified on a personal level, and highlighted barriers to identifying personally as White British even if they wanted to. The main barriers were: Having recognisably Black or South Asian features; racist exclusion from White communities that reinforced feelings that they would never be accepted as White; and strong connection to or a good relationship with minority culture and family, meaning that White identification would be considered disrespectful or disloyal in some way.

For others, barriers to claiming Whiteness didn't stop them reporting identity as 'Whiter' than actual lived identity.

> [W]hen it came to job applications, when it came to housing forms and things that I deem to be extremely important for an overall end, I would put mixed race […] to get something decent. Rather than just putting maybe Black African.
> - *Priscilla, mixed Black African/White father, Black African mother, working class, 30s*

In sum, the insecure White choice was associated with ideas of inclusion into notions of a White British community, but also with fears of racist exclusion, sometimes based on past experiences. This contrasts with how I have categorised secure White choices, which by definition either had no memorable experiences of racism, or if any

experiences were mentioned, they were considered so minor as to not have contributed to feelings of exclusion, and hence to fear or anxieties around ethnic presentation or ethnic choices. As in secure White choices, discussion of contact with minority culture or communities sometimes dealt with their inability to access that culture or those resources, or discussed an aversion to them, or a wish not to be associated with that culture – i.e. this was rejection or exclusion that was on the part of the respondent.

Figure 5-6: Insecure White
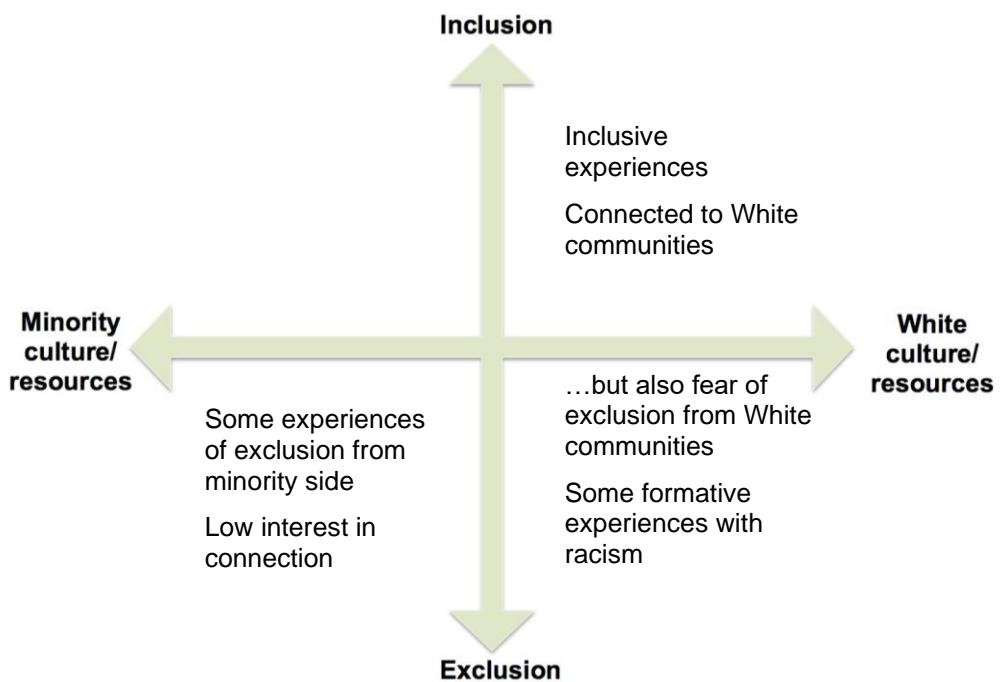
5.4.3 Secure mixed choices

Confident mixed choices were characterised by a lack of fear or need to hide or protect oneself from being Othered. This appeared to be enabled by security of cultural identity within their family and/or within the wider ethnic minority community with which they were connected.

Those who had grown up in diverse or minority neighbourhoods in major urban metropolitan areas generally spoke of the mixed choice in matter-of-fact ways, especially among the younger interviewees. Being mixed was perceived to be reasonably common and not something for which they had received damaging negative attention during childhood.

> Resp: [We] started secondary school, it was sort of a big secondary school …and there were loads of kids from India and Africa and Persia and you know, it was very multicultural you know, even in the 70s it was very multicultural, so there was absolutely no problem, in fact nobody, there was never any kind of racial tension in

our school, it was amazing! For the 70s, you know, considering that there were so many as well, it was absolutely fine. Lucky, yeah, lucky!
Intvr: Do you think it was just that school, or do you think it was the neighbourhood?
Resp: I think it was the neighbourhood, I think it was very – even by then, it was pretty multicultural you know. My best friends, one was Persian, one was Indian and one was half black. They were our kind of best friends, you know? And then later on, another English girl as well, but you know we were all kind of mixed up together really, you know, it was amazing.
- *Shireen, Indian father, White British mother, moved to London from New Delhi aged 10, upper middle class, 50s.*

Confident mixed choices were also associated with inclusive experiences with 'both sides' of their family culture. This was commonly the case among middle class interviewees who grew up in two-parent households, but secure or positive cultural connectedness was present also in working class sole parent households headed by White mothers. There was a recurring theme of White working-class mothers with mixed children consistently re-partnering with non-White men. This provided for some interviewees a sense of minority cultural connection in the absence of their minority birth parent, and an environment that normalised mixed or minority identities within the family.

Resp: I'm incredibly proud of me mum, for bringing home – I mean she was only 19 in 1958, and it was a huge social stigma to be an unmarried mother, and especially to a mixed race baby. And I think I admire her and it's a testament to her really. If she was proud of me then, I was going to tell the whole world that I'm proud as well. I think that's what it means to me.
[…] there is a kind of a mystique attached to [my birth father] and his family. I mean I don't even know his surname.
Intvr: …you also had [an Indian] step-father Did you get to know anything about [his] Indian culture, did that ever interest you?
Resp: Yeah, I did, he, because he was a Hindu, he used to go to the temple – not very often, but if it was special festivals, and he made a point of taking me with him. And I found that absolutely fascinating.
- *Tracey, Indian father, White British mother, Indian stepfather, working class, 50s*

So my mum married three times …my brother's father is from Jamaica, but my sister's father is actually English, so my sister is White… We always used to joke that actually if like the United Nations wants to take a holiday on the weekend, we could cover for it basically.
- *Darryl, Black Caribbean father, White European mother, working class, 50s*

Just as the secure White choices were associated with a strongly British identity, secure mixed choices also often were associated with strong British and also strong city-based identities, such as being a Londoner. In the 'axis' model, the experiences associated with secure mixed identities are not confined to the one corner where Berry's ideal of 'integration' sits, but indicate the same thing – enabled by 'mutual acculturation', whereby the mixed subjects imposed their concept of Britishness upon the mainstream

discourse, defining it as one that specifically includes them – i.e. as a modern, multicultural society. Secure mixed choices did not preclude having experiences of exclusion from either White or minority communities; but their specific forms of connectedness to their minority cultures, community or family, and to their conception of inclusive British culture, were sources of resilience and confidence.

Connectedness to cultural resources varied across those who made secure mixed choices, ranging from those who described their identities in very individualistic ways, to those of Black descent who envisaged their mixed identity as a subset of the broader Black community.

The 'individualist' confident mixed cases may have had good connections to their minority parent as individuals, and have other mixed friends with whom they shared a 'mixed' bond, but relationships with specific traditional minority *communities* were either weak, inconsistent, or far from dominant of their social world. For example, their minority parent may have avoided minority community institutions – potentially because of the stigma of having partnered 'out' – or because they had committed to cultural assimilation as a migrant due to fear of standing out and being made a target. In the case of minority fathers such as this, the lack of transference of minority culture through food and family practices was notable.

Two 'individualist' confident mixed cases who grew up in relatively Black neighbourhoods with an Afro-Caribbean father and White mother had adult peer groups that were very diverse and international rather than predominantly Black. They attributed this in part to having been very committed when teenagers to sporting activities that were not typically 'Black' sports, but through which they experienced a strong sense of social inclusion. Though in many ways proud of their Caribbean heritage, it was not at the front of their minds with regard to their in-group identity. These cases were also 'ambiguous'-looking, in that they described themselves as 'brown' or 'Brazilian'-looking with not a clearly Black phenotype, and they reported less awareness or impact of racism from White people compared with other cases.

At the other end of the spectrum, the 'community embedded' secure mixed choice was typified by politically conscious Blackness, wherein the mixed identity was envisaged as a subset of Blackness in the UK, particularly for visibly Black-descended mixed people who came of age during the Black consciousness movements of the 1980s. This is discussed further in the section on non-mixed minority choices.

The dominant themes and characteristics associated with the confident mixed type are mapped out on the axis plot below. Confident mixed choices were associated with access to both minority and mainstream culture, specifically the idea of 'British' culture being not necessarily exclusively 'White British' culture. That is, they were confident in acting upon and asserting their identity over the 'mainstream'. Experiences of exclusion from both White and minority communities were commonly mentioned, but access to personal, cultural, familial, nationally-discursive and community resources appeared to be sources of resilience, so that exclusion (usually based on colour/racialization from both White and Black communities; and on language or religious community barriers with Asian and MENA communities) did not result in insecurity of identity.

Figure 5-7: Secure mixed
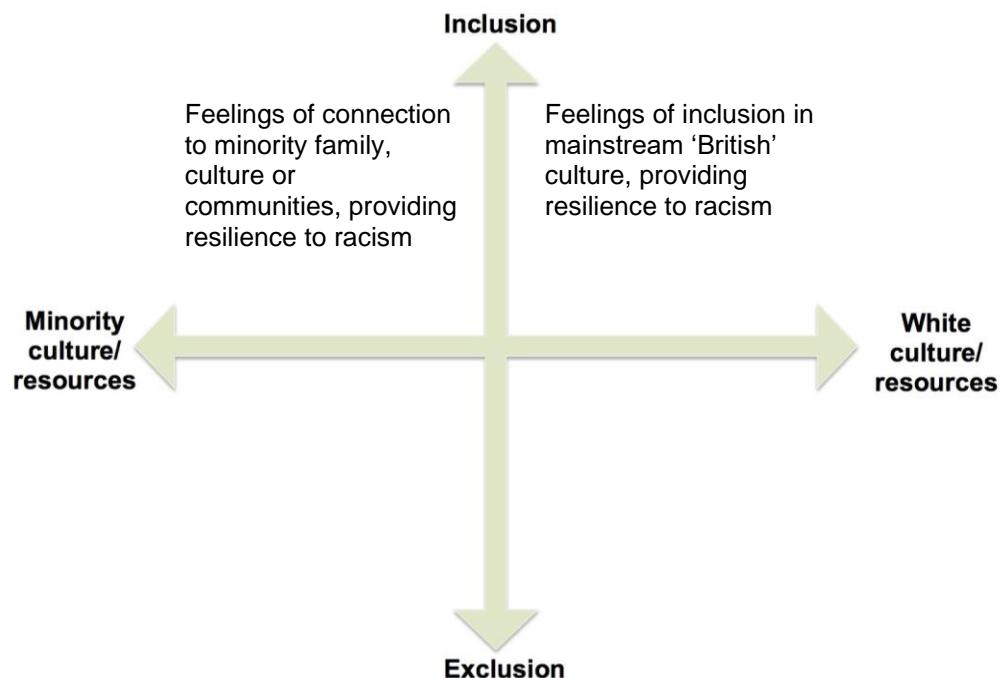
5.4.4 Insecure mixed choices

5.4.4.1 <u>Instrumental mixed choices</u>

Two participants spoke of making mixed choices due to perceptions of potential benefits. Both were from working class backgrounds and still living in multi-ethnic working class neighourhoods, and neither identified 'as mixed' personally. Their aims of 'survival' were the same in making these choices, which is why I have classed them within the broad category of 'insecure mixed' choices, though they are not exemplars of the 'type'.

Their rationales for gaining advantage by choosing 'mixed' were the mirror images of each other. Priscilla, who identified personally as Black African, spoke of making a 'Whiter' choice of 'mixed White/Black African' when applying for social housing or on equalities monitoring forms, in the hope of accessing a sliver of White privilege. Meanwhile Larry, who was White-passing and White-identified, thought that perhaps being perceived as a minority rather than White could improve his chances at employment in equalities monitoring forms due to affirmative action policies.

However, Larry had also started stating mixed ancestry for 'medical' reasons in an acknowledgement of family history and biological makeup.

> I always tend to tick the White English. But recently I would actually change it now, and I would tick mixed race now […] I've got a grandfather from Bangladesh. The reason I'd change it now is my sister was very ill previously with [name of illness], and with her being mixed race she couldn't find a donor… So it was impossible to find a donor for her. So she passed away unfortunately, uh, recently. So, for that reason now I guess I'd pick the mixed race, for medical reasons I guess unfortunately, mixed race.
> - *Larry, mixed Bangladeshi/White mother, White British father, 40s*

While bearing some similarity to instrumental insecure White choices that were consciously considered 'lying', these examples of instrumental choices were not expressions of identity, whether secure or insecure identity. But they were expressions of insecurity of socioeconomic or cultural position.

5.4.4.2 The 'Marginal' type

Insecure mixed choices were typically associated with ethnic fluctuation, cultural discomfort, experiences of racism, and also with being visibly or undeniably non-White while lacking security within either White or minority culture. Cases who made these choices were essentially very similar to the insecure White, but were more visible as minorities. Tizard and Phoenix refer to this as the 'classic marginal' identity type long associated with portrayals of the mixed experience (Stonequist, 1937; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002) – of which the 'tragic mulatto' trope or stereotype is a part. This 'type' was present in the sample, although not as many as might be expected from previous studies. For example, Tizard and Phoenix reported that 'marginal' identities comprised around one fifth of their London youth sample taken around 30 years ago, in an age cohort that would be around the median age of the sample interviewed in this thesis, i.e. in their 40s.

As touched on earlier, mixed-identified interviewees who were sole-parented when young appear to be under-represented in the qualitative sample. It is possible that this

group is more likely to have 'insecure mixed' characteristics, in that they report as mixed in surveys but may have negative or unresolved feelings about identity issues, which could be associated with selecting out of the study. While likely not reaching saturation, there was still substantial data in the corpus about this more ambivalent mixed choice. This included comments such as the one below, from confident mixed participants talking about the experiences of what they saw as typical traits of their mixed peers, in comparison with their own two-parent interracial households.

> For myself I was raised in a home with my birth mother and my birth father. And that in itself, being mixed of my generation, makes me kind of unique [laughs] because I didn't see that; I have a lot of mixed friends and none of them were raised in a household with their biological parents. So for the most part, mixed women, children, have been raised by White parents because it's in my generation at least, it was always Black father, White mother. So if the father was absent, you were being raised by a White woman who couldn't necessarily raise you as a Black child.
> - *Maxine, Black Caribbean father, White British mother, lower middle class, 40s*

> Intvr: And [your parents are] still together?
> Resp: Yeah, yeah, they are. Which also feels quite rare in, like, for dual heritage? Like, all the dual heritage-mixed race girls that were in my school, they, generally their parents weren't together.
> Intvr: What was usually the situation, were they with their mums?
> Resp; Yeah, yeah. With a White mother generally. Yeah.
> […]
> There was quite a lot of conflicts [at school] as we got to 15, 16, between Nigerians and like, everyone else? [laughs] [to] mixed race-dual heritage em, kids, they go, oh, why you tryin' like, they'd be like, oh, you're, you're like, you're like a White person? Or you're like a Black person? There's this type of silly conversation? …I just found it really offensive, 'cos [emphatically] I know where my dad's from. And I know where my mum's from.
> - *Britney, Black Caribbean father, White British mother, lower middle class/skilled working class, 30s*

For the less secure, at times the act of having to make ethnic choices in surveys caused cognitive discomfort, difficulties, and resentment due to requirement of self-examination of identity or confession of ethnic group, something that was usually avoided. These avoidant tendencies included references to ethnic group being something to 'admit' to, and feeling being pinned down and being unable to 'hide' when required to fill in the ethnic question.

> I think it's difficult because you're forced to pigeonhole into something that you're not comfortable with. And because you're not comfortable anyway because of the way you've been or are being treated in reality, you've then got to be even more uncomfortable on paper.
> - *Cassandra, Pakistani father, White British mother, working class, 50s - sometimes reports as mixed, sometimes Asian*

Figure 5-8: Insecure mixed

Inclusion

Minority culture/ resources ← → **White culture/ resources**

Lack of ability to access protections of minority culture or communities

Experiences of exclusion from White communities/resources, including racism
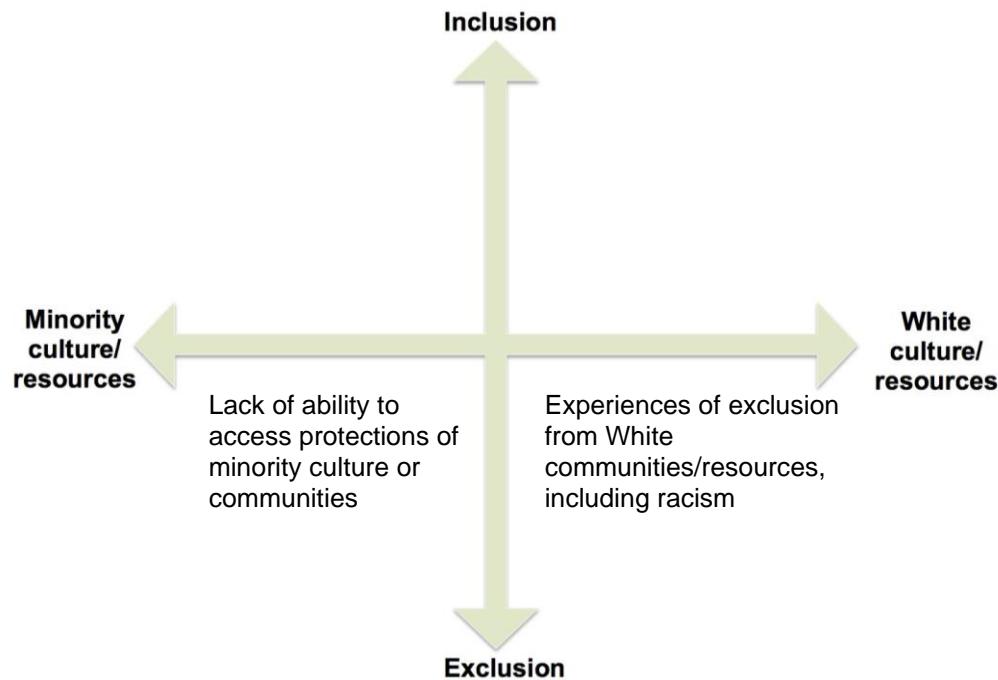
Exclusion

5.4.5 Secure non-mixed minority choices – visible, embedded and political

Secure Black, Asian or Arab choices, like secure White choices, were sometimes an unconscious reflection of inclusion in a community.

> I thought I was Black [laughs]. In my mind I thought I was Black… [T]he area that I lived in, it was a lot of Black people who lived there, and most of my friends were Black. And because my parents came from the Caribbean. I thought I was Black.
> *- Elizabeth, Indian Caribbean father, Black Caribbean mother from the same island, working class, 50s*

While the term 'Caribbean' in the UK is often used as shorthand for Black Caribbean, being mixed is far from unusual within Caribbean communities, given longstanding multi-ethnic populations due to generations of colonialism, indenture and slavery.

Confident Black choices were a strong statement of inclusion, community-connectedness and solidarity. As a kind of counterpart to the Confident White British choice that focused on the *non*-racial aspect of 'Britishness', 'Conscious Blackness' was typified by a critical awareness of race issues and experience of racism.

> I saw my father gettin' beaten up by a Teddy Boy when I was younger. I seen him got arrested, you know, and put into a police cell, and my son got the same treatment, and I seen my uncles get the same treatment, and I see my Black fellows get the same treatment. So I got an allegiance to what is Black, you know what I'm saying?
> *- Edwina, Caribbean parents, both with a mix of Black and non-Black ancestry, working class, 50s*

Figure 5-9: Secure non-mixed minority

Inclusion

Strong connections to minority culture, family or communities, providing resilience to racism

Minority culture/ resources

White culture/ resources

Exclusion
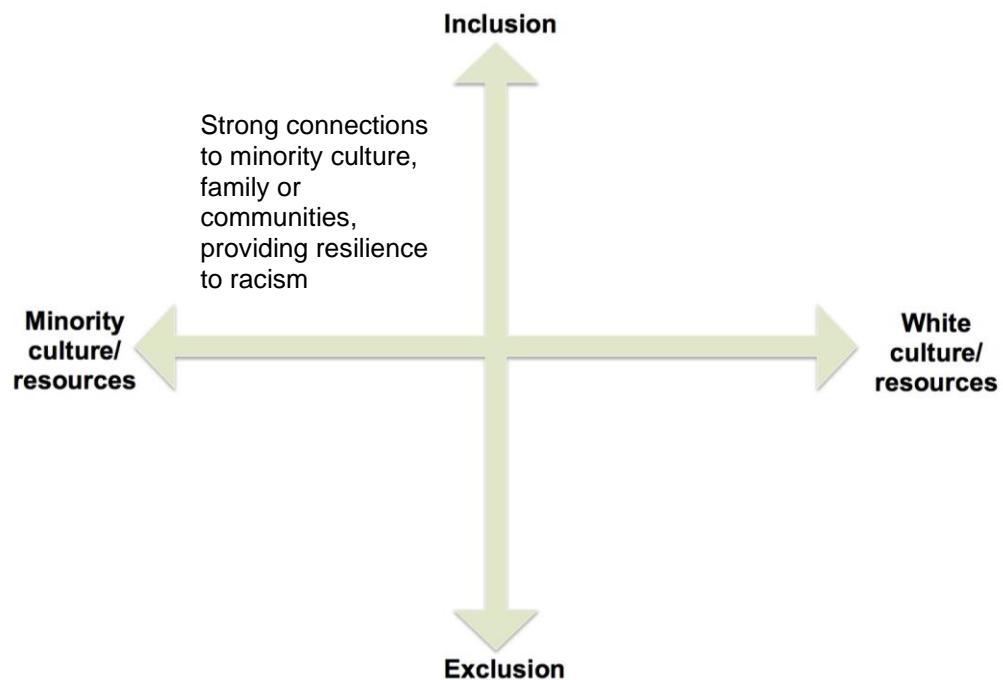
As discussed above, a particular phenomenon of the Black-descended participants was the embedding of a confident mixed identity within a confident Black identity – where the former is viewed as a subset of the latter, with people moving in and out of the two choices depending on context.

5.4.6 Insecure minority choice – visible, isolated and fatalistic

Ascriptive minority identity as a product of or response to racism was spoken of in fatalistic rather than comfortable or confident terms. The discursive context was usually that of being Othered rather than included.

> I think that's going to be on my gravestone: "She lived a full life but she was the only Paki in the village" [laughs]. That'll be me, that's all I'm gonna be remembered for, being the Paki. [clears throat] Oh dear.
> - *Cassandra, Pakistani father, White British mother, working class, 50s*

> I'm nearer to Black than I am White in complexion, and it's about what people see coming towards you, isn't it?
> - *Rebecca, Black Caribbean father, White Jewish mother, lower middle class, 50s*

What made these choices insecure in the context of other participant characteristics, was the isolation from ethnic minority community support. Unlike the insecure mixed choices, it was more typical for participants to have cultural connection to minority identity, but for there to be obstacles to accessing community protections. Cassandra for example identified as culturally Asian as well as physically brown – but was unable to

draw on a physically present Asian community in her White neighbourhoods for protection from violent racism.

Where there was a lack of cultural connection, something that set insecure non-mixed minority choices apart from insecure mixed choices, was being readily socially ascribed as Black due to appearance and thus acquiescing to the label. It is unsurprising that skin colour and phenotype appears to be the key factor that distinguishes between insecure White choices on one hand (where 'passing' allows for a degree of inclusion), and insecure mixed and non-mixed minority choices on the other, for people with otherwise similar experiences of being isolated from minority culture.

A number of older Asian and Arab-descended respondents referred to themselves or their parents as 'Black'; or discussed being referred to (or not referred to) as 'Black', in the context of skin-colour being dark, or being identified by others as such, as distinct from ethnic or cultural identity as an Afro-descendant. Older respondents also used the term 'Black' to refer to others in the same way. This usage was not aligned with the sense of being 'politically Black', as per the politicized minority solidarity movement active in urban centres in the 1970s and 1980s (Chakrabortty, 2014). Rather, it was reproduced as vocabulary common to that age cohort.

> I've gotten on with everybody. *Nobody* [respondent emphasis] has accused me of being Black or – whatever – uh or – any other [clears throat].
> - *Jack, Indian father, White British mother, working class, 70s.*

Rather than 'politically Black', the self-applied label could be described as 'fatalistically Black' at times. This was reflected in the level of retrospective humour and self-effacement when the term was deployed, gesturing towards the fact that speakers were ironically replicating what others called them or how they were physically described, but without overtly 'reclaiming' or being empowered by it.

> If I showed you photographs of when I was born, I was *bull-lack* [respondent emphasis]. I was really dark.
> - *Nahla, Arab father, White British mother, working class, 70s*

This tone of ironic self-effacement was similar to that used when respondents sometimes described themselves as 'a Paki'. Its use was also notable for the way in which it expressed participants' acceptance of having no claim on White British identity.

> We were completely completely unusual to have a White parent and as I would call it, a Black parent. […] we were bullied for being Black, or Asian or Wogs, Pakis, that's the sort of thing we got, and we were the only Asian family if that makes sense in the small places that we lived […] Not only were you Black, but you were weird and

Black. And so nobody wanted to play with you.
- *Cassandra, Pakistani father, White British mother, working class background, 50s*

Figure 5-10: Insecure non-mixed minority
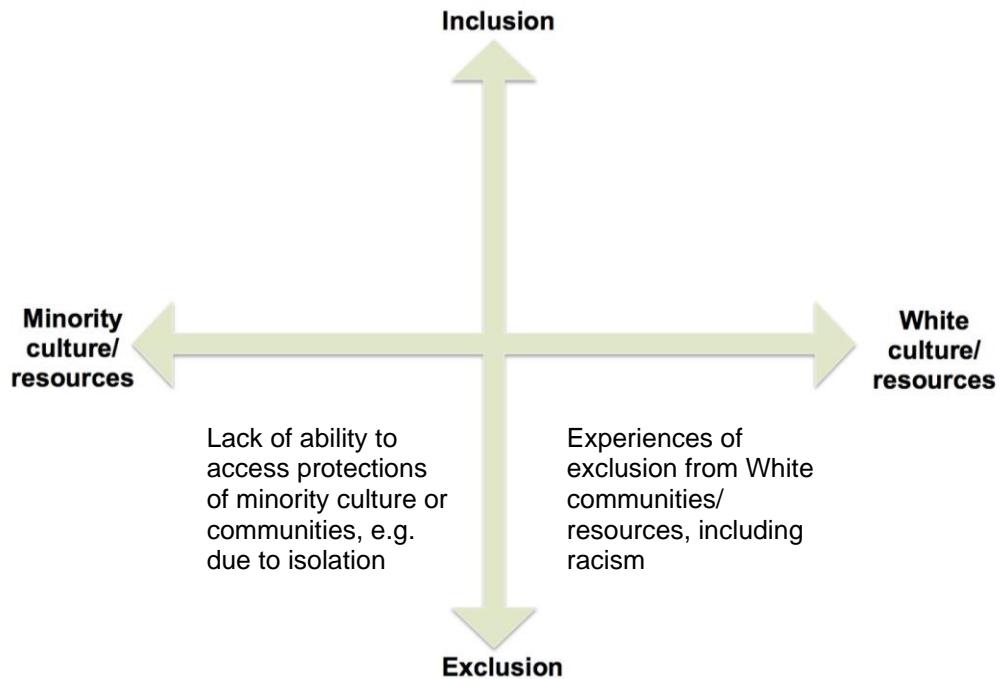
5.5 Discussion

This research casts new light on the previous UK qualitative studies into ethnic choices for mixed people, particularly in the gaps around White choices. White identification was described as an "identity problem" by Tizard & Phoenix in their study of a 1990s cohort of Black-descended mixed youth in London, although this was not closely examined or explained. This chapter's in-depth analysis of not only the motives behind, but the meanings of White choices among the wider mixed population, opens up the dimensions of this 'problem'. White choices – when available – were often perceived as a rational survival strategy in the absence of other available sources of cultural community support, resilience or identity. If given the choice to assimilate into the White majority due to appearance and cultural affinity, and in the absence of any other group to blend into or cultural supports in the home, then there was strong motivation to adopt White British presentation and identification. Cultural resources and supports that would have provided alternatives to seeking safety in White identification, were at times partially proxied by higher socioeconomic class.

However, White choices were not always defensive or self-protective choices. For the more secure, they were also unreflective expressions of being socially accepted and ascribed as White or as 'British', being culturally White British, and were described by a number of participants in 'unproblematic' or conceptually consistent terms with regard to how they experienced and rationalised their lives, how they viewed group identities to be constructed, and how they related to their families. This study did not, however, encounter any Black-descended White-identified participants who made these forms of secure White choices – only people with South Asian, East Asian and Middle Eastern/North African descent who had very White appearance from their youth, or who had experienced tight social inclusion in small communities even if visible minorities.

This chapter has also extended on findings of previous qualitative studies, due to its ability to sample from a nationally representative mixed population and hence examine experiences for mixed people in White working-class areas. For example, those from such backgrounds who made early White choices, and who continued making White choices into later life had generally not connected with culturally-conscious minority peer-groups, such as in a university environment as mentioned in Aspinall & Song's research (Aspinall & Song, 2013b).

In general, the wide range of backgrounds and ages in the present study's sample revealed that transitions into different social environments at different stages of life appeared to impact ethnic choices, whether moving towards or away from environments of racist hostility. These included simply leaving for a new school, neighbourhood, city or country. This highlights the importance of area effects on minority ethnic identity (Bécares, Nazroo, & Stafford, 2009; Holloway et al., 2005, 2012; Wright, Holloway, & Ellis, 2013), which will be explored more in depth in the next chapter on ethnic change.

The present study also provided potential explanations of the 'mixed privilege'/'low status White' dynamic discussed in the quantitative chapters, which I had broadly theorised in the US literature (Davenport, 2016; Fhagen-Smith, 2010; Stephens et al., 2007; Townsend et al., 2012) and attempted to explain further using available UK literature (Ali, 2003; Aspinall & Song, 2013b; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002; Twine, 2010). Those from two-parent families or from sole-parent families where there was a continued relationship with a minority parent and minority communities, appeared to have the most consistently 'secure mixed' identities due to availability of a minority cultural touchstone. This is consistent with typical past findings. These types of families were certainly not exclusively middle class, as previously pointed out in UK research,

but families that were not able to maintain any quality of contact between children and both parents or both cultures seemed less likely to be middle class.

Lending more weight to one side of the complex findings in Ali's study (2003), Middle-class participants in the present study described their parents' attitudes in ways that seemed less overtly assimilationist, when compared with the parents of working-class participants in the study. This seemed influenced by higher education (including among White partners about their minority partner's culture), parental experiences in in multi-ethnic 'expat' communities in other cosmopolitan centres overseas, and a physical environment of safety in middle class neighbourhoods where there was a low perceived risk to displaying cultural difference. By contrast, a repeated theme was the particular physical risk of cultural non-conformity and visibility for men of minority descent while growing up or living in White working class areas, whether it be for respondents themselves, or for their Black or Asian fathers and male relatives.

Ethnic change was only briefly explored in this chapter in the context of particular patterns of change among different mixed 'types'. What has been highlighted is that even contextual and contingent 'fluctuation' occurs for substantive and meaningful social reasons. Ethnic change is not necessarily a challenge to 'reliability' of a measure, but is indeed a phenomenon worth analysing in itself. This chapter's division of types of ethnic choice into 'secure' and 'insecure' types will be a key concept used for explaining some types of ethnic change or fluctuation in the following chapter, particularly in light of Chapter 4 findings about fluctuation being associated with socioeconomic insecurity.

In this chapter, the organising principles of the inclusion/resources axis and the secure/insecure identity choice were used to generate a descriptive typology for categorising the choices and themes that arose from the interviews. However, the typology may also serve as a theoretical model of mixed ethnic choices that could potentially be tested or validated, and the following chapter undertakes further qualitative exploration of the parameters of this typology using case selection comparison methods.

5.6 Conclusions

The thematic analysis of ethnic choices in this chapter has supported past research that a combination of experiences of being Othered as non-White, and resilience to racism through cultural support within the family and wider community, contribute to secure

mixed or minority ethnic choices. Conversely, it has also found that the combination of inclusive experiences or lack of Othering in White British communities, and the absence of minority cultural presence in their lives, are likely to contribute to secure White British choices and White identities.

This chapter contributes greater texture to theories of resource-based ethnic choices that have highlighted the more middle class bent of those who choose multiracial or biracial categories in the US. Rather than mixed choices simply being a sign of post-materialist individualism, I have suggested that there are a range of mediated partial causal mechanisms that explain the lower status White/higher status mixed findings of the quantitative analysis in Chapters 3 and 4. These findings imply that security in experiencing and performing ethnic identity is a form of privilege, like so many other forms of security.

6 "I COULD GET AWAY WITH IT" – CASES OF ETHNIC CHANGE AND STABILITY

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines and compares a set of case studies that belong to the key archetypes outlined in the Chapter 5 typology of mixed ethnic choices (e.g. secure and insecure White, mixed, or non-mixed minority), with particular focus on the characteristics associated with changes between the types of choice. I use these case studies to elaborate the different kinds of ethnic stability, fluctuation, or long-term ethnic change revealed in the interviews. I explore the characteristics that can be seen as defining the types of choice summarised in Chapter 5, and examine whether changes in these conditions, or the presence or absence of them, can help to explain changes in identification or identity. Changes of conditions include changes in physical appearance, in relationships with minority family and communities, in neighbourhoods of residence, and in the overarching national and political discourse. This enables me to explore potential causal mechanisms for the associations found in chapters 3 and 4 between different conditions and types of ethnic choice or change.

Examining cases in this chapter as whole life stories or narratives provides a richer picture of the personhood behind personal ethnic choices analysed in the previous chapter. I explore the 'longitudinal' dimension within the narrative journeys presented

in the qualitative data, in which the respondents themselves compare past and current contexts.

I focus in this chapter on the sociological contrast between contextual 'fluctuation' in identity or identification, and identity change over time. I treat both as meaningful, either in terms of the evolution of identity, drawing on social psychological theories, or as representing the contingent and relational nature of identity as it responds to different social spaces. This contrasts with viewing fluctuation of reported ethnic group as 'measurement error', that is as stemming from problems with survey instruments (e.g. imprecision due to options being inadequate, not mutually exclusive, or geographically confusing).

6.2 Methods

Whereas Chapter 5 may be viewed as the qualitative version of a 'cross-sectional' analysis (analogous to Chapter 3's analysis of ethnic choices), this chapter's comparative case study approach focusing on narrative may be seen as more analogous to the 'longitudinal analysis' of Chapter 4. Of course, unlike qualitative longitudinal studies, I use only one moment of qualitative measurement, with information on ethnic choice and change reported retrospectively by interviewees and likely subject to some degree of recall bias and post-hoc rationalisation, which is taken into account in the analysis. These issues are also considered and analysed briefly in one case that I link to the respondent's Understanding Society main survey responses.

I use the same qualitative data gathered and analysed in Chapter 5; but instead of breaking apart interviewees' narratives into different moments of ethnic choices to analyse thematically, in this chapter I examine cases as a whole, with an emphasis on how choices have formed and changed over a single lifetime. I first describe and thematically categorise the types of change found throughout the cases, expanding on the summary of types of ethnic change mentioned in Chapter 5. I then turn to a comparative case approach to elaborate certain types of change, drawing on the full life-course information from the selected cases.

My series of cases studies are predominantly samples of paired cases, selected on both 'dependent' and 'independent' variables, for example differing on one characteristic (e.g. family context) and/or on the outcome (nature of ethnic change). Selecting the cases involved iterative analysis and data reduction of case characteristics, then selection via content analysis of this data, informed by approaches to case selection in

Multi-value Qualitative Case Analysis used in larger qualitative samples (Rihoux, 2006).

I use a 'most similar case' comparative approach for a number of examples, where case characteristics of two interviewees are as similar as possible, but which differ on one particular case characteristic, and on the nature of their 'outcome' or ethnic choice. The purpose of choosing pairs for comparison can be seen as analogous to comparator groups in a quantitative analysis. That is, the aim is to identify causal mechanisms or pathways that may explain different outcomes, but under the assumption that there are likely to be numerous different causal pathways to the same outcome or ethnic choice (Gerring, 2006; Rihoux, 2006). It enables me to explore how specifically different characteristics may have caused their different types of ethnic choices and changes, and how they may work as causal mechanisms. As noted, we must take care in attributing causal effects to specific differences between cases, since the recall or not of specific elements of a life story may differ according to other unobserved factors that affect both retrospective construction and narration of present identity.

In some of the examples, the 'most similar case' approach moves towards a 'diverse case' approach. To use a quantitative analogy, while the 'most similar case' approach examines a particular characteristic as a binary variable that is present or absent in two cases, the 'diverse case' approach treats the characteristic of interest as a continuous variable, and selects two cases at the extreme ends of the continuum as encompassing the fullest range possible in the corpus. For example, for the 'diverse case' comparison, I examine two cases with comparable ethnic backgrounds but whose relationships with their male minority family members over time go in opposite directions over their lifetime, from good to bad; and from bad to good.

In addition, I examine a set of 'deviant cases' that provide clearer understanding of the likely causal mechanisms underlying more typical cases, in the way that stress reveals structure (Charmaz, 1983, 1996; Gerring, 2006, 2011; Seawright & Gerring, 2008; Weller & Barnes, 2014, 2016). That is, a 'deviant case' contradicts the majority of the evidence, and the need to explain its position in the corpus results in the revision, expansion or refinement of theories about causal mechanisms. This can result in a more rigorously tested and nuanced approach to generating causal hypotheses from qualitative data.

6.3 Typology of ethnic change

A majority of the cases interviewed in this study exhibited some kind of ethnic change; these cases gave rise to a descriptive typology. Cases that exhibited change were categorised into broadly two types: fluctuation, which was typically associated with contextual identity responses; and more persistent or 'sticky' forms of change that occurred over time and were more often a sign of substantive reorientation of identity. Within these two broader categories of change, I identified different types associated with how respondents characterised their social identities.

6.3.1 Types of fluctuators

- *Secure/Low thought fluctuators:* Those with secure personal identities who gave questions of ethnic identity little thought due to a perception of low consequences to revealing ethnic ancestry. Because of the <u>low attention</u> paid to the issue, they would fluctuate in ethnic choices – typically in and out of secure White and secure mixed choices.

- *Insecure/hypervigilant fluctuators:* Those with insecure identities who were <u>hypervigilant</u> about how they were ethnically perceived or how they should express their ethnic group, due to anxieties over the likely consequences. This was typified by fluctuating between insecure White, insecure mixed and insecure Other choices. A related variant or extension of this type, were cases that presented themselves as cognitively <u>avoidant</u> about ethnic questions.

- *Politicised resisters:* Those with secure identities who fluctuated in reported ethnicity due to active resistance to administrative categories and their political implications.

6.3.2 Types of change over time

- *From secure identities to insecure identities*, usually in childhood due to the transition from home life to school, prompted by first experiences of racism, and the adoption of hypervigilant strategic identification.

- *From insecure to secure identities*, typified by increasing confidence and moving from insecure White to secure mixed as an adult, but also from insecure mixed to secure Black - i.e. away from instrumentally White or Whiter choices.

- *From secure identities of one kind to secure identities of another*, due to re-evaluation of family relationships and their meaning to the individual. This

included fluctuating but secure White choices changing over time to secure

mixed choices, or from secure minority choices to secure mixed choices.

The main elements of the ethnic change typology are descriptively summarised in the

axis plot below, along an axis of 'thought level' and one of 'security level'. The blue

arrows are illustrative examples of movement over time between the different categories

of change or fluctuation. For example, one of the main shifts among interviewees was

towards more conscious and secure/stable identities. The different types are discussed in

more detail below.

Figure 6-1: Thought level/security level axis
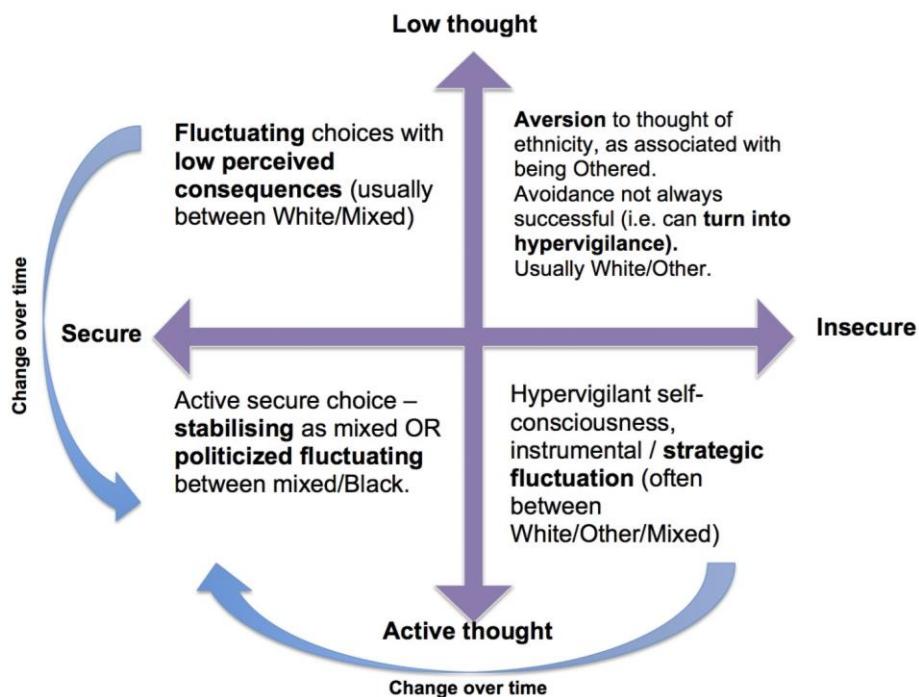
6.3.3 Fluctuation

The types of contextual fluctuation revealed in interviews are linked to the choice

typology discussed in Chapter 5. In Chapter 4 I used the term 'random change' in

describing the regression models, when referring to change that was not predicted to be

in a particular 'direction' in association with various demographic characteristics.

However, some of this kind of change is likely not truly 'random', but is a result of

specific social processes, some of which may be legible in qualitative data.

In interviews, identification and ethnic presentation often depended variously on 'who's

asking', the context of the question, the purpose of the information being provided,

'how I'm feeling on the day', whether there had been any recent reminders of or connections with family origins or cultural identity, and changing relationships with parents and partners.

Fluctuating choices that included making secure White choices, appeared to be due to low thought or attention paid to the ethnic question generally, because of how little it impacted on the participant's life or experiences. Little thought was usually put into how ethnic presentation or perception may impact upon the subject, because there generally *was* little impact, due to being White-passing, or being confidently assimilated into White communities. Additionally, a non-racial perception of the word 'British' was conflated with the White British category as discussed previously.

> I think I've put mixed once or twice in the past five years, but I don't fill these things in very often, and sometimes I just tick White British and it's probably just how do I feel on the day. And not a lot of thought goes into it.
> - *Terrence, mixed Indian/White mother, White British father, working class background, 50s*

The second main form of fluctuation was present among those who made insecure choices or who had insecure identities. It was defined by vigilance and strategic thinking about ethnic questions and ethnic self-presentation, including discomfort, indecision and cognitive difficulties.

There was a distinction between the 'low thought'/low consequences feature of secure fluctuation; and the range between hypervigilance and active avoidance of thought among insecure fluctuators. Active avoidance of thought about race and ethnicity generally seemed to be an extension of avoidance of public discussion, which was a potentially risky activity that may have caused anxieties. Avoidant thought and behaviour was also clearly an internalised coping mechanism for some. This avoidance could be characterised as an extension of an original hypervigilance, and is not clearly distinct from it in some cases. However, there were cases where this avoidance seemed more successful as a cognitive habit.

For example, Arjun dealt with the persistent racial victimisation in his childhood by constructing a life for himself where he did not have to confront those issues. He left his London neighbourhood as soon as he was old enough, travelling the world (though failing to find connection with his 'Indian side'), and eventually moving far away from where he grew up and secluding himself in his small business so as not to have to deal with racism in large organisations and hence, with race. Filling in the ethnic question was a difficult cognitive process for him, opening up old wounds by making him

confront the very issue of race, ethnicity and identity that he had put so much effort into avoiding:

> Race doesn't exist for me. It's far too painful […] I don't necessarily feel at home in India, and I don't feel at home in England […] But it's not a, it's not something that I end up having to deal with on a day to day. Because I am who I am. But when you try to put me into a box, then suddenly I've gotta deal with it.
> - *Arjun, Indian father, White British mother, lower middle class background, 40s - insecure mixed/Insecure Other*

For those of South Asian or Middle Eastern descent, the geopolitical circumstances were pertinent. 'How I'm feeling on the day' included whether participants were feeling more sensitive to being Othered by the context or format of the ethnic question.

> Er yeah, when 9/11 happened obviously, there was people quite erm, because they were saying it was Muslims that did it, and em, and supposedly, allegedly, it was Algerians, […] around that time when people were saying oh what – at that time people were saying, what's your background, I was a bit reluctant to say oh, my dad's Algerian… even now, I try to avoid saying my dad's Muslim because people are, you know Islamophobes and things like that, I try to avoid the subject.
> - *Laila, Arab father, White British mother, working class background, 30s - insecure White at interview, reported Other at Wave 1*

A third form of fluctuation was 'thoughtful' fluctuation that was more associated with confident or secure identity. This tended to be due to resentment of or active resistance to the racial-hierarchical implications of the question list, mainly present in those with confident Black or Black-embedded mixed identities.

> It depends how I feel on the day. […] You know, some days I feel more cantankerous than others, let me put it that way, […] I am offended when I see that the categories are all listed in the same order, in the same racist order of life. […] I'm not White first, I'm Black first, but that doesn't make me less mixed.
> - *Maxine, Black Caribbean father, White British mother, lower middle class background, 50s. Confident mixed/Confident Black*

6.3.4 Identity change over time

The changes in ethnic reporting or presentation that accompanied identity journeys were a 'stickier' form of identity change. These appeared to be journeys from insecure and fluctuating ethnic identity and identification, to a more secure identity, as per Phinney et. al.'s discussion of a linear process towards 'achieved identity' (Phinney, 1990). In the present study, rather than these journeys all being completed in adolescence or even early adulthood, processes of ethnic identity change occurred throughout life courses, including into old age, as suggested by quantitative analysis in Chapter 4.

The interviews do not support the phenomenon of 'aspirational Whitening' discussed in US literature (Saperstein & Penner, 2012; Saperstein et al., n.d.), in that respondents

were not making Whiter choices as their social status improved. Although social status in the population does not necessarily advance with age, as noted in the previous chapter there was a fairly high level of upward social mobility over the life course among interview participants who had working class childhoods. Insecure White choices or 'Whiter' choices that had been made out of defensive or instrumental concerns about discrimination, tended actually to reduce with participants' age, life experience and career advancement in a 'de-Whitening' effect. Greater confidence, gained over a lifetime, was associated with making choices that felt 'truer' to lived identity.

> [P]reviously it was always about what people thought. And that's the way I got to pick and choose. Because what did the employer think or what did the housing officer think, or what did this person think. Whereas now it's wherever I am, I make my own decisions. I think what I think and that's that. And that's where that confidence has come from, it's just the maturity. […] I do cringe as I'm saying these things out - as I look back and I'm thinking about some of the decisions I've, I've made or some of the things I've put down. Some of the things I've even denied. You know? Just so that someone didn't have a [negative] connotation of me. […] I think I flat out said I've got no connection to Africa.
> *- Priscilla, mixed Black African/White father, Black African mother, working class, 30s - Changed from reporting as mixed to consolidating an African identity*

This type of journey towards a confident identity in older age seemed to be the case even in the rarer cases where choices moved towards White identities. In the case of an older mixed person with a strongly assimilated identity, becoming more stable in their reported White choice seemed a consolidation of their affinity with and acceptance among White British communities, even if they had previously assigned themselves as a minority on occasion.

> Whether I put Asian or Asian British, I've ticked number 9, Indian, but I'm English. And any forms I've filled in and I can't remember, the NHS forms I've filled in, and I've put English… I'm 78 years old and consider myself as, you know, British English.
> *- Jack, Indian father, White mother, working class background, 70s*

As well as increasing confidence with age, re-evaluation of identity in the context of changes in long-term relationships with family members, ethnic communities or religious communities, was also explicitly associated with identity change.

> As my, my relationship with my dad deteriorated, it made me move away from my, from that strong kind of Arab, Middle Eastern identity that I had. […] I started to get annoyed at people saying 'oh, you know, if your dad is Egyptian then you're Arab' […] 'stop dismissing my mum'? Like I would actually say that.
> *- Fatima, Arab father, White European mother, working class background, 30s*

This kind of change was causally similar to the contextual flux of the 'fluctuators' – reaction to context – but with more long-term changes in conditions and thus, stable

effects. Cultural knowledge could in fact be purposefully sought out in order to resolve insecure identities.

> I've had to learn it, to go out of my way to learn it. It wasn't anything that came naturally to me, or any of my siblings obviously […] And I went backwards and forward to [location of extended family] for about ten years really. Erm, you know, just learning things, and becoming Caribbean, becoming Jamaican.
> - *Rebecca, Black Caribbean father, White Jewish mother, lower middle class, 50s*

There were also cases where having children with a Black partner – present or absent – led to increased commitment to Black identity for the sake of the child, and to greater acceptance by Black communities.

> I think really the biggest turning point was when I had my son. Which wasn't that long ago. Because he was a Black Afro-Caribbean male, and I didn't want him to see me trying to change myself to be anything else. Hence, I stopped kind of relaxing my hair, I'm trying to let my natural hair grow. I also want dreadlocks, I might start that in September. Yeah, go that way. Yeah, and because I wanted him to have a proud heritage, and not have to be a chameleon like I am. I'm not going to say 'I was', like I am. Um, to get through life.
> - *Priscilla, mixed Black African/White father, Black African mother, working class, 30s - Changed from reporting as mixed to consolidating an African identity*

I turn now to more in-depth comparison of selected cases, to illustrate and explore what appear to be causal mechanisms that result in different kinds of choices, or that result in ethnic change.

6.4 Comparative cases

Comparative case selection method has been used to explore characteristics associated with ethnic change at different sites and 'scales' of identity construction, as broadly followed throughout the previous chapters – at the level of the body, the family, the community or neighbourhood, socioeconomic class, and the level of the national discourse. Although not all the discussion of cases fits so neatly into this concentric order, the cases were broadly selected in order to pinpoint how changes in these kinds of characteristics, or the presence or absence of them, may cause different kinds of ethnic choices or outcomes.

A key entry-point for this comparative journey through 'scales' of identity is the examination of physical White-passing privilege, requiring comparison of cases with a greater range of potential ethnic 'choices' in society. Because of this, the discussion leads with mostly White-identified and male cases, before moving onto a series of more visible minorities and women. While a generally overstudied demographic, White-identified male subjects are under-studied in this research area. Study of minority

groups is usually constructed as a study of difference in relation to the White male 'norm'. For this reason, this group could be of particular interest for understanding the meaning behind constructions of this 'norm'.

6.4.1 Changing faces: How appearance affected 'most similar' cases

6.4.1.1 *Dwayne and Gary*

As pointed out in Chapter 5, a White appearance was not always necessary nor sufficient for making White choices across the cases, as some visible minorities also made White choices. However, there were no cases in my sample who described themselves as having a White appearance who had never at some point made a White choice.

I discuss here two cases that were the 'most similar' on key demographic characteristics in the corpus. Their families had working class backgrounds, and they grew up in two-parent White households in White neighbourhoods with no contact with their minority father, nor any substantive contact with minority culture. They were visible minorities as young children, and were persistently bullied or teased by White peers during this time. Interestingly however, one of the cases described a natural change in his appearance that meant he looked identifiably Black-descended as a young child, but Whiter as he grew up; while the other looked identifiably East Asian throughout his life.

Interviewees describing change in their racial appearance over their lifetime was not uncommon. A number of interviewees spoke of becoming Whiter-looking as they grew older (this included becoming paler with age, losing hair, or hair going grey), or the reverse happening, with non-White appearance becoming more noticeable as people 'grew into their features' after early childhood. Becoming Whiter-looking or more minority-looking was also associated with changing self-presentation, such as hairstyle, clothing, and cultural behaviour.

In the case of Dwayne and Gary, both were visible minorities as young children, but Dwayne described himself as becoming more White-looking over time, while Gary did not. By the time of interview, with both in their 50s, Dwayne consistently ticked White British on forms while Gary went "straight to Mixed". On the face of it, this seems to present a clear contrast that we might explore as a potential causal mechanism, including the nuance to the types of White or mixed choices they were making, contextual change, change over time in their identities, and the ways in which they understood Whiteness or non-Whiteness.

It is likely that both had spent time identifying as insecure non-mixed minorities or as insecure mixed as children, due to the constant racial harassment and Othering as 'non-White' that they experienced. However, they both identified with White British culture more than anything else due to their upbringings in White families and communities. Dwayne was raised by his White birth mother and step-father. His birth father, who had left before he could remember, was Black, and was assumed by Dwayne to be Afro-Caribbean although he had literally never asked his mother about it. At interview, Dwayne had no interest, and had never had any interest, in finding out more about his birth father. Gary was adopted as a newborn baby by White parents. His birth father had been Chinese and his birth mother White.

Their first experiences with life outside the home was attending primary school in White working-class environments. They both suffered constant racist harassment at this age due to their minority appearance. Dwayne, though fairly light-skinned, had a curly Afro when first starting school and would be taunted and called a 'golliwog'. However, his hair became more "straight and wavy" as he got older, and he commented that bullying decreased when he was about 12. He attributed this to his peers becoming "more mature" at school by that point. He said that he had a White appearance as an adult, and that his skin just looked 'tan'. Dwayne described himself as White British on the grounds of physical appearance, and British culture, and that the assumption from White people is that he is just White. He noted that mixed people "always know" so there is no use denying it with them if they ask, but that he consistently chose 'White British' on forms out of an instinctive dislike of the rationale of the question as being premised on identifying 'Others'.

However, Gary who would regularly be called "Ching-chong Chinaman" at primary school (based only on his appearance, as he bore the Welsh last name of his adopted family), remained a visible minority as he passed through the rest of his schooling. Upon transition to a new secondary school, for a period he denied his minority ancestry and called himself Welsh, but says "they must've thought I was mad". Although bullying also decreased as his peers matured, he remained identifiably East Asian. His nickname at high school was "Kawasaki" (a brand of Japanese motorcycle), and he was once told off by a teacher who expected him to do better as he was of a "hardworking race". He does not remember selecting any ethnic category other than a mixed one – "I go straight to Mixed" – although it is likely given his age that he would have in the past filled forms that did not have mixed categories.

There were some potentially mediating variables in Gary's case other than appearance that contrasted with Dwayne's case. Gary was adopted, and solving the mystery of his birth parents seemed to be a latent desire that blossomed into action after seeing the movie 'Secrets and Lies' as an adult.[12] Gary successfully traced his birth parents, with ultimately disappointing results, but in the process gained an understanding of his father's family history, and along with this, a greater knowledge of Chinese culture and history in the UK. By contrast, Dwayne lacked any interest in seeking out his birth father. He had this in common with other male cases in the study who were raised by their birth mothers, whose fathers had left them when they were very young.

Unlike Dwayne, Gary spoke of other people in his life who had prompted him in memorable ways to reflect on and value his minority Chinese ancestry when he was young, as a way of helping him deal with racist bullying or cultural discomfort. One was a Chinese woman in the neighbourhood who was married to a White British serviceman, and who would try to connect him with his Chinese heritage by giving him small trinkets and encouragement. Another was a "lovely couple" who lived next door, who would try to help him deal with bullies. Although they were both White, he recalls the husband telling him "when China awakens they won't be laughing so much then... *He gave me strength* [my emphasis]." Gary also mentioned sharing some camaraderie with another transracially-adopted classmate at high school, who was also disconnected from the culture of his birth parents while remaining a very visible minority. (This Black friend's nickname at the school was 'Choccie'.)

By contrast, Dwayne not only had no interest in his absent Black father, he believed in hindsight that he would have been worse off if his father had been around when he was young, as this would have exposed his racial background and made him more of a target. This highlights the fact that he missed out on any awareness of the possibility that having Black role models or support could have provided him with sources of cultural resilience, rather than simply mark him out for harassment. Unlike Gary, he did not bring up any incidental examples of support for his Black or Caribbean cultural roots in his childhood neighbourhood. He had Black friends as an adult, but said their

---

[12] 'Secrets and Lies' was a critically acclaimed British film released in the 1990s about a White working-class mother who is contacted by her mixed (but very Black-presenting) middle class daughter whom she gave up for adoption at birth.

relationship was "not like that", meaning that he did not consider that he had cultural connection to them as a Black-descended person. He emphasised his social approach to individuals 'as' individuals, making it clear that he wasn't interested in identity-politics. He did not speak like Gary of having even one minority friend who he felt shared his experiences of being minority-descended but culturally White British.

Gary's mention of his similarly unfortunately nicknamed and transracially adopted schoolmate "Choccie" was similar to comments by other interviewees, particularly the women, of their bonds with friends either at school or later in life who were also mixed. There seemed to be an instinctive urge to locate others with common experience, even if the experience was never directly discussed. Physical identifiability played a role in locating such allies.

The fact that Dwayne was consistently identified as mixed by other "mixed race" people (in his context generally referring to those of Black and White descent) suggested that he had some subtly recognisable Black features despite his fair skin, that mixed people of his generation were good at spotting in their search for connection. But Dwayne seemed to be averse to such identity-based approaches. After a lengthy discussion about his non-racial, colourblind approach to people as individuals, Dwayne finally added that he would not want his own children to partner with Black people, out of concern for how his grandchildren would be treated, because of what had happened to him as a young child. He was aware that his feelings were not entirely consistent or rational, as he knew that times had changed and that mixed children would not necessarily experience the hardships he had.

Although there are some simple conclusions about social ascription to be drawn from this comparison about skin colour and appearance, we also learn from this comparison how early social racialization and victimisation affects people's social survival strategies. We also see how much of an impact the less obvious or more subtle sources of positive cultural reinforcement in the immediate community can have to cultural identity and resilience, as well as the importance of even knowing whether you need that kind of support. A measure of 'skin colour' or phenotype itself can generally only answer the question of whether such support is needed in a particular type of community in the first place.

However, as this case comparison has also shown, such measures of appearance themselves are also subject to change, or are even contextually subjective. Dwayne's

experiences with racism due to his visibility at a young age, in the absence of any support for his mixed identity, were a clear motivating factor to assimilate into White communities. Unlike other visible minorities who made insecure White choices, or wished to 'pass', Dwayne actually got to 'become' White due to his change in appearance as he grew older. His ability to present as increasingly White was accompanied by increasing assimilation into White institutions and communities as his career progressed, without needing to seek out or connect with minority sources of community and resilience. However, his original insecurity about being 'Othered' – and even fears on behalf of his hypothetical grandchildren specifically due to his *previous* appearance – remained. This case underlines the abiding affect of being racially Othered at an early age.

6.4.2 How quality, not quantity of partial contact with minority parents, affected 'most similar' cases.

6.4.2.1.1 *Matthew and Terrence*

In this case comparison, I highlight how contact with a minority parent does not have a simple effect on ethnic identity and choices. While no contact with a minority parent when young, combined with fair or White appearance, was clearly associated with White choices in the qualitative corpus, as would be expected, the quality of the relationship with the minority parent had a crucial impact on how identity was formed and expressed for mixed people with White appearance.

As well as using these two cases to illustrate the impact of the quality of relationships with minority parents, the cases are also examples of the effect of White working class neighbourhoods on ethnic self-presentation among participants. Building on the previous example, their stories also expand on the concept of socioeconomic and cultural resources as sources of resilience, which was raised in Chapter 5 and touched on in Gary's case above.

Matthew and Terrence were demographically similar to each other, with a close match on most characteristics. They had both selected "White British" at Wave 1 of Understanding Society. Both now in their 50s, they grew up in White working class neighbourhoods at around the same time period, and describe themselves as having a

White appearance, but with a 'sun-tan' or a Mediterranean look. They also had first and last names that did not mark them out as minorities. Matthew's mother was White British, and his father was Anglo-Indian[13] with an English name. Terrence's mother was from a similar background, as a Burma-born Indian with some European ancestry, and his father was White British.

They both had some regular contact with their minority parent, but were substantially raised by their White British parent. They both recalled isolated incidents where their minority parent's ethnicity had been exposed, due to their parent actually being seen, or due to disclosure, underlining the fact that people generally thought of them as White unless otherwise informed.

The key difference between them was the quality of their relationships with their minority parents, which determined the nature of their allegiances to their minority ethnic group. This can be summarised by the difference between spending one's first decade with a caring minority mother in the home; versus the same amount of time with an abusive and unpredictable minority father. As would be expected, this appeared to result in different kinds of ethnic choices.

Matthew had traumatic experiences with his father, who had recurring bouts of mental illness and would be regularly confined to a psychiatric hospital throughout Matthew's childhood. When his father was in the family home, he would be abusive. "At the end of the day he was still my father, but I had um – uh – a very rough time at his hands shall we say." His younger siblings have had more interest than Matthew in their Indian ancestry and family history, due to less abusive relationships with their father: "I know they think of my father a lot differently than I do but then they didn't have the experiences that I did." Matthew's father died when Matthew was 13, although he was persistently absent from around the age of 11. After his father's death, Matthew dropped out of school in order to work and try to support his mother. He never completed his education, which he regrets, and remained in working-class occupations.

Matthew described himself as consistently and securely White British, with no interest in his minority side. He had no feeling of conflict, or absence, or mystery associated

---

[13] 'Anglo-Indian' in this context refers to the community of mixed descent, also referred to historically as 'Eurasian', who occupied key administrative roles in the colonial hierarchy of the British Raj in India.

with that part of his ancestry or culture. He had made a clear break from anything associated with his father. Matthew also had very little contact with his Indian grandparents and family in the UK, who had disapproved of his parents' marriage. His father had been meant to enter the Church as a priest, but ended up having to marry Matthew's pregnant mother. "My father's parents were very resentful of my mother, they thought she'd trapped him into getting married and blah blah blah and they resented her and the rest of the family." After his father died, Matthew and his mother had almost no contact with his Indian grandparents. The family was also not part of any local Indian community associations, nor did they have a circle of Indian friends. They lived in a very White area, where it was a memorable event when the very first Chinese restaurant opened in town.

Matthew spoke of his Indian ethnic ancestry as "just something that happened in my past. Um - to be all intents and purposes, it's a closed chapter". This frames it as an event rather than an ongoing part of him, which can therefore be left behind. As an identity, it is not present or felt in his life, with no meaningful connection to Indian extended family or community.

By comparison, although Terrence's time with his minority parent in the home was also brief, it was happy and consistent by comparison. Terrence was more of a contextual fluctuator in his ethnic choices, and seemed to have shifted over time from secure mixed choices as a young child, to insecure White choices in adolescence and early adulthood, to secure White choices during working life, to more recently fluctuating between secure mixed and secure White choices. He had a good relationship with his minority mother, and his changing ethnic choices appeared to be a result of survival strategies in changing circumstances after he was no longer living under her protection. His ongoing fluctuation, including secure mixed choices, appeared to be a result of increased confidence in less risky circumstances, and an uncomplicated allegiance to his Burmese 'side' when he happened to think about it.

Terrence's parents divorced early and he remained with his mother until he was around ten. She had mostly Indian ancestry with some European descent, but she identified distinctly as Burmese having grown up there. Her Indian father had been part of the professional elite class of colonial Burma, and the cultural traits around food and customs that Terrence recalls within the home as being part of his 'Burmese' heritage were in fact specifically Indian. For the period that he lived with his mother, his household was also embedded within a wider Burmese migrant community. As a child,

he remembered occasional but regular gatherings in his home of old family friends from Burma who came to the UK around the same time as his mother's family, from a mix of different ethnic groups. His mother's siblings were also in the UK, and there was some influence from his grandparents. During this time in his childhood, he would proudly introduce himself as 'half Burmese' to people, as he thought it was special and interesting. Essentially, he had a secure mixed identity during this period, and his relationship with Indo-Burmese identity and culture was uncomplicated and positive.

His mother struggled financially as a sole parent, and Terrence moved in with his White dad when he was about ten, as his other siblings had done the same and he was lonely. His father had remarried while his mother had not. Terrence moved into a White working-class estate, [14] and quickly discovered that there were different consequences to telling people you were "half Burmese" in this new environment.

"I was just chatting to [a classmate] at school one day, and I must've said oh yeah, I'm half Burmese. And then just the next day I was playing in the garden… [his] dad from next door was sitting there… 'Go home Paki'. It was just like – it was my first real experience of racism that day, I had no concept of it at that age, it wasn't something that we'd ever discussed as an issue that would affect us. Uh, but it made me more conscious at the time about saying what is my identity. And it made me reluctant for a long time to say I was part Burmese, cos I could get away with it because I looked non-descript, you can't readily identify me."

As discussed in Chapter 5, the common and defining characteristic for those making insecure White choices among the present study's White-identifying interviewees, were fears or anxieties over racist exclusion. In Terrence's case, as with others, 'secret' allegiances and cultural connections established by good relationships with a minority parent, relatives and a wider community, were being covered up out of pragmatism in a potentially hostile new environment. There were no cultural protections available for him on "the estate", away from his mother and her community.

A pattern of 'insecure White' choices was set. "Before then I'd just volunteer information, I thought it was an interesting quirk shall we say, something different,

---

[14] 'Estate' in the contemporary UK context does not refer to a rural property and stately home belonging to aristocrats, but to high-density urban social housing for the working class.

unique about me. Uh, afterwards I didn't consider it that quite as well." He began to identify defensively as White, and from the time he was required to from the end of his schooling, he ticked 'White British' on administrative and equalities forms. This pattern became automatic, even after the sense of insecurity eventually faded once he became more personally secure in professional middle class adulthood, far away from the estate.

He said of administrative forms when first encountering them in young adulthood, "…there was always a suspicion… I know they're doing this to say they're equal- they're doing equality, but – would I be better off just ticking White British? Probably [small chuckle]. And now I don't feel that way anymore." Although he no longer felt the insecurity, risk, or concern about discrimination, he still automatically ticked White British "out of habit more than anything else."

As noted in Chapter 5, a higher level of trust in others and in official data collection, was seen in those with middle class upbringings or who had ascended to middle class status. This trust in data collection seemed due to perceived understanding of motives behind it, as well as general trust in government. This level of trust or perceived understanding was largely absent in those with working class upbringings who had remained working class. In Terrence's case, he started out with low trust in ethnic data collection, and ended up with high trust, which he explained as being caused specifically by his career ascent that led him to understand what the forms were for and how they were used within large organisations. It also reflected an increase in confidence due to a reduction of time spent in the type of White working-class environment where he felt at risk of racial targeting. As discussed above, increased confidence was a factor common across cases that moved away from insecure choices and towards secure choices, and was usually from an insecure Whiter choice to a more secure and less White choice – a process of 'revealing' hidden ethnic identity.

"I think when I went to university obviously, I'd left – I'd stopped living on council estates in poor White neighbourhoods shall we say. And I experienced a wider view of the world… oh, it's not all like it is in [name of town north of London]. Uh, I'll go elsewhere. And I think that's just what gave me the confidence. […] Uh, I find now it's me bringing it up more than other people. It's more likely now that I'd bring it up."

However, in Terrence's case, this increased confidence and openness about his ethnic background face to face, did not translate to consistently making mixed choices on forms. Indeed, Terrence said at different points during the interview that these days he 'consistently' ticked White British, but that sometimes he ticked 'Mixed'.

While fluctuating, both his White and his mixed choices now fall into the 'secure' category, as discussed above. His White choices were essentially free of concern about disadvantage, and now are simply associated with automatic habit, and 'low thought' due to low consequences attached to the choice. His occasional fluctuations to mixed were influenced by environmental factors free of considerations about risk and advantage – for example, times when he happened to be thinking more about his family history - "looking at the old photos of Rangoon, the paperwork from that time. My grandpa's books and that. That's probably when I think about it more, and I think yeah, I'll tick that."

Because making the mixed choice was associated with *active* thought, rather than automatic habit, the process of the interview itself may change Terrence's choices in the immediate future towards more frequent mixed choices. During the interview, Terrence became aware of this contrast between his appreciation of his family history and his box-ticking habits "because we've been talking about it. And I've processed the thoughts in my brains about it, and gone back through all the – well – gone back through all those events in my life and thought through 'why did they impact', why did I make those choices, and they don't seem to add up as sort of things to carry on doing."

The interview seemed to have undermined the security of his unthinking White choices, by connecting them to his previous vigilant and insecure White choices. This underlines not only the need for reflexivity about interviewer effects in this study, but also the relationship between opportunities for cognitive reflection on identity and allegiances, and reported ethnic change.

Meanwhile, in Matthew's case, an absence of those three factors of reasonably good relationships with a) a minority parent, b) relatives and c) a wider minority community meant that there was no allegiance being covered up by identifying as White. Contact with his father resulted only in a 'push factor' rather than a 'pull factor' into minority or mixed identity.

The lack of *personal internal conflict* about loyalties, and a lack of vigilance due to low personal risk, resulted in secure White identity choices. This was the case for Matthew, with no internal ethnic identity conflicts in terms of how he felt about himself, and no external conflicts in how he managed his public ethnicity. His substantially negative associations with and experiences of his father's side seemed to mean that he could feel satisfied in constructing his identity as separate from any Indian identity. This aspect of

a lack of personal internal conflict over White choices will be compared with two other secure White cases later in this chapter, who also both had very White appearance, experienced cultural barriers to identifying with their minority side's community, but who actually had warm relations with their minority parents in the home.

6.4.3 Where changing relationships to minority family causes identity change: Two 'diverse' cases moving in opposite directions

6.4.3.1.1 *Fatima and Nahla*

Following on from this examination of relationships with minority parents, I now briefly examine two cases where familial relationships with the 'minority 'side' substantially changed over time, leading to direct and explicit changes in ethnic identity and reporting. Both are women with Arab fathers and White mothers, who grew up working class in multi-ethnic urban areas, with their fathers in the home. We can view them as similar cases to an extent, who differed in their relationships with their fathers, and also in the substantial age and generational difference between them. It is helpful to frame the comparison as a 'diverse case' comparison on the characteristic of changes in warmth towards minority figures in their family orbit, that represent their relationship with that ethnic identity.

The contrast between the cases consists of the direction of the change in their key relationships with minority family figures. Fatima moved from a close relationship with her Arab father to no relationship; while Nahla moved from hating "the whole Arab nation" as symbolised by her abusive father, to becoming very close to a newfound 'adopted' Arab family late in life, primarily through the fathers in those families. Both talked about these changing relationships as directly affecting their changes in ethnic identity.

Fatima was 29 when interviewed. Her mother is European and her father Egyptian, and she had been ascribed as Arab for most of her life. This was due to her Arabic first and last names, the fact that she wore a hijab from a fairly young age, and that she fell in early on with a group of Arab girls at her school who defined her as Arab because "if you're father's Arab, you're Arab". At that time, she accepted this ascribed identity as a 'secure minority' choice.

However, over the past decade, a family history project conducted by her sister into their mother's refugee background and extended family had made her feel increasingly proud of and connected to her mother, and more interested in her mother's country of

origin in Europe. She stated that this resulted in a stronger pull towards identifying as mixed. Simultaneously, her previously close and warm relationship with her father began to deteriorate, seemingly spurred by her coming to adulthood and wanting to gain more independence. He became increasingly unreasonable and controlling of her and her sister, even though the siblings did not have a wild lifestyle by any means. Again, she herself described this as pushing her away from the 'Arab only' identity.

At the time of interview she was nearly 30 and had only recently moved out of her parents' home. She now identified squarely as 'mixed', and found being socially ascribed by others as purely 'Arab' to be dismissive of her mother. She is still a practising Muslim and wears a hijab, and is aware that she is immediately racialised as Muslim and therefore non-White in any face-to-face social interaction despite what she describes as "quite soft, rounded" European features. Because of these assumptions, and her changed allegiances, when she is asked her ethnic background she always 'leads' with her mother's European ethnic group first, and then will say that her father is Egyptian. At interview she reflected upon how although the change in her relationship with her father made her look negatively upon the Egyptian part of her identity for some time, she was realising that she did still have fond memories and connections with Egypt which would always be a part of her identity, separate from her father. However, she stated that she would never go back to being 'just' an Arab again.

Nahla is of a different generation. Now in her 70s, she grew up in poverty in a traumatically abusive household in Wales with her Arab father and White step-mother: "I can't even go into details how I was brought up, because it's horrible. And I've never [voice descends to a whisper] told anybody." At the same time, she also experienced severe racism outside the home as a visible "Black" minority from a "no-go" minority neighbourhood. She narrowly escaped being sent back to her father's home country to be forced into marriage, and left home as soon as she could, choosing to be a domestic worker for – specifically – a Jewish family, just to show her anti-Semitic father that "he didn't have the upper hand." She soon married the White son of a vicar, and subsequently another White man.

Throughout most of her life she had immense self-hatred for her Arab roots. "I was ashamed of it. I was ashamed, I lived on the docks with all these people and nobody likes them. I really did want to be on the side of the - 'nice' people, the Welsh ones," and mourned that she "never had a sausage" growing up, just Arab food. She said in those days she would identify defensively as "Welsh first" where she could, but was too

dark when younger to be accepted as such. She held a grudge against Arab men for nearly her whole life.

In her older age, she began taking in international student boarders, but would refuse to take Arab men, because she hated "the whole Arab nation", until a friend finally convinced her to give one of them a chance. What happened next was a revelation, as she bonded closely with her "little man" whom she treated as a son. She realised for the first time that her experiences with her father were not representative of Arab families or men. She took in more and more Arab families, and became very close to them, identifying them as her 'family', and seeing in the loving and indulgent relationships between the fathers, wives and children, the kind of relationships that she had never experienced in her childhood. They too, treated her as an adopted elder, and she began taking trips to the Middle East to visit her host 'children'. Eventually, she began to identify as "Arab first" and converted to Islam of her own accord in Wales within the last decade. After a difficult life suffused with anger, she spoke of finally achieving spiritual peace and contentedness in her identity. She reported only "Arab" as her ethnic group in Understanding Society Wave 1.

As mentioned above in this chapter, these kinds of changes in very meaningful relationships can contribute to change in deeply felt ethnic identity, which is likely more of a stable or consistent 'sticky' change compared with short-lived reactive fluctuation based on context.

These kinds of changing relationships are not easily observed in available quantitative data, but as noted, this does not mean that the ethnic change associated with relationships changes are random or without meaning. In terms of the data that we do have, these two cases help to illuminate some of the Chapter 4 findings, which showed that ethnic changers who appear to have lost a cohabiting partner between Censuses, were significantly more likely to have changed their ethnic group away from the ex-partner's ethnic group. In addition, what may appear as 'random' change in those analyses, may be partially explained by specific changes in relationships with parents or other family members that cannot be observed in the available Census data.

6.4.4 Latent allegiances and class contrasts: Why make secure White choices alongside stable relationships with minority family?

6.4.4.1.1 *Edward, Larry and Slim*

We continue the discussion of the sources of loyalty and cultural resilience by examining here three arguably 'deviant' cases who made secure White choices while having regular and warm contact with their minority parents in the home (more 'typical' secure White cases had no contact, little contact or troubled contact with a minority parent). All also had White appearance, which was a common feature of those who made both secure and insecure White choices. Edward and Larry are from the main mixed sample and eventually ended up making secure mixed choices of different kinds. Slim is a mono-ethnic comparator case.

The two mixed cases, Edward and Larry, are compared as 'Most similar cases' who variously differ on the characteristics of class background and area ethnic diversity. They both reported as 'White British' at Wave 1 of Understanding Society, and have both changed at different points in their lives to secure mixed choices, but their rationales, identities and pathways have proved very different.

Slim, the mono-ethnic comparator case was consistently White British, and is compared mostly to Larry, also as a 'most similar' case. His case helps us examine our assumptions around how appearance, class, culture in the home, and multi-cultural environments might mediate how people express or think of loyalty to their family (as first raised in the case of Matthew who felt no conflict in loyalty because he was able to psychologically categorise his father as simply something that "happened in my past.")

As discussed in Chapter 5, across those making secure White choices, distance from minority communities was a necessary factor. The 'deviant cases' of Edward, Larry and Slim demonstrated that this did not always mean being estranged or distant from one's minority parent as a child or in the present. While other secure White-identified cases interviewed had either not grown up with their minority parent or had negative relationships with their minority parent, Edward and Larry were secure White cases who had good relationships with their minority parents within the home environment. However, their parents were not embedded in their minority ethnic *community* in their local area (even if practicing elements of minority culture in the home); which meant that respondents also were not embedded in those communities. Minority characteristics were thus confined to the home, were not expressed as group membership, and did not

impact on respondents' identities outside the home where their ethnicity was mainly 'measured' by others as White due to their appearance.

Edward's Chinese Malaysian mother did not have Malaysian community networks in their very White suburban area. Larry's mixed-Bangladeshi/White mother and her other mixed siblings lived nearby but were not religious, had all partnered with White people, and therefore did not interact with the wider Asian Muslim community in their diverse neighbourhood via the local mosques or social networks based on religion. Neither mother spoke their minority language in the home, as they had White partners. Thus, while the culture of their minority mothers was an element of home life, usually expressed through aspects of food culture, it was perceived as more a part of their mother's identity than their own.

Both of these cases did, however, eventually move towards mixed identification of different kinds. Edward transitioned from a secure White identity to a Secure mixed identity some time after the completion of his university education. By the time of interview, his consistently mixed ethnic choice contrasted with his Understanding Society Wave 1 selection of 'White British' from eight years previously. He said that a key reason for his change in attitude towards mixed visibility was his response to what he perceived as Britain's increasingly xenophobic political climate and how it had personally affected his mother – for example receiving racist abuse that she had never experienced in the past – even though it was something that did not impact him personally in daily life. His loyalty to his mother in the face of outside attack recontextualised his ethnic identity from a detail of the home, to something that impacts those close to you when they are outside the home and which therefore becomes an identity that is activated in wider society.

By contrast, Larry had been aware throughout his life of some of the racism and exclusion faced by his darker cousins and his brother. While he was "not impressed" by the racism they faced, he himself did not experience the same racism, and thus it did not result in a non-White identity for himself in his diverse working class neighbourhood and school.

A key difference between the effect of Larry's working class multi-ethnic environment, and Edward's middle class White suburban upbringing, was that Larry was aware of racist incidents affecting his family members from an early age, and Edward was not. This reflects the pattern in the corpus of interviewees from working class neighbourhoods being more vulnerable to particular kinds of aggressive racism from

White people, particularly if male, but also that the multicultural values of multi-ethnic or diverse neighbourhoods provide some social protection or resilience from this. Larry did not perceive that the racism which sometimes affected his family members, to reflect the overall values of his multi-ethnic neighbourhood or schools. Despite these experiences, he did not perceive his neighbourhood to be racially divided, and his friendship group generally reflected the makeup of his schools, which had substantial Asian and Black populations, including a reasonable number of mixed Black/White children. He did not mention racism being an issue with social inclusion in the school environment. Although it is possible that he was simply less aware of it as someone with White appearance, we could also conclude that the multicultural norms of the school meant that racial tensions were not at a level that would require him to publicly declare ethnic affiliation or loyalties.

The class difference between Edward and Larry is further emphasised by how Edward's experiences in higher education and a left-wing friendship group based on arts and culture projects, has meant an immersion in critical social perspectives, identity politics and intersectional theory. He states that he has "White-passing privilege", and is currently trying to become more "visible" as a minority in the way he presents and styles himself. In this sense, Edward is a typical case of the 'mixed privilege' theory that mixed identity is associated with greater resources. He has the cultural capital, socioeconomic resources, politicised motives, and familial cultural resilience, to self-define as he wishes, crucially aided by his White appearance.

The working class cases – particularly those who made White choices while growing up in White working class neighbourhoods, such as Terrence – fit the 'mixed privilege/low status White' theory. However, Larry's multiethnic environment yet again breaks the mould. It is helpful here to contrast his concept of ethnicity with Edward's. While Edward feels he needs to represent his non-visible ethnicity in a tribute to his family, Larry has a more rigid and straightforwardly structural approach to his ethnic identity. He states that he presents as racially White, and considers himself not culturally part of the traditional Asian community, therefore he is White British. In his discussions of the local Asian community, it seemed to him to be clear what the rules of being "Asian" were – to be part of a large and visible community centred on specific cultural and religious *practices*, with networks that his family and even his extended family was not part of. His family culture within the home, and his mother's own identity and culture was not traditionally Bengali and he felt he was "brought up like any other person" who

was White and British. Identifying as White British was therefore not something that personally undermined his mother. Unlike Edward – whose mother had more of a non-White culture – there was no cultural division between home life and the outside world.

Even so, like Edward, a specific familial connection has also resulted in Larry moving towards a mixed identification on forms, although not in his personally felt identity. Larry's sister, who was always proudly 'Mixed' on forms, died for want of a medical donor due to a rarer blood type associated with Asian populations. He now marks 'Mixed' in official forms due to this connection, "for medical reasons", having previously stated 'White British'.

Larry also says that he thinks it could sometimes benefit him to state 'Mixed' on job forms, in direct contrast with Terrence above – raised in a very White neighbourhood who made insecure White choices on job forms because he thought it would benefit him. It is interesting that these two opposite assumptions of instrumental advantage go with cases that grew up in opposite kinds of working class neighbourhood: Terrence from a very White neighbourhood where he felt self-conscious about being visible; Larry from a very multi-ethnic neighbourhood where he felt no self-consciousness about himself or his association with his darker family members.

We can categorise Larry's switch on paper as a secure mixed choice, even though his lived and felt identity – as secure White British – has not changed. But as he says, being mixed is "just what I am I suppose". Although the choices are instrumental, they also reflect a candid understanding of his personal family history that he did not appear to be conflicted about. "Just what I am" is a world away from "something that happened to me in my past," as in Matthew's case.

Although their pathways and rationales towards making mixed choices seem quite different, the overall link between Edward and Larry as 'deviant cases' is the question of when family history and loyalties start to matter or have a personal impact. They are cases where unthinking Whiteness lasts until a latent personal allegiance is called upon and activated, due to changing family circumstances or unexpected life events. We can thus see that *stable* or consistent secure White choices over a lifetime may require a level of consistent distance from the minority parent, and from minority or mixed-identified family members, not just from minority communities. Over time and life experience, the social impact of racial visibility or ethnic origin may become more personally felt as experiences accumulate, and perspectives on one's parents and family change (including coming to terms with family experiences via co-ethnic friends

becoming 'adopted family' in the case of Nahla). Familial links may therefore 'destabilise' secure White cases towards mixed identities over time.

I use the case of mono-ethnic Turkish Slim as a comparator and another 'deviant' case. He has ongoing, regular and warm contact with his family members, is familiar with traditional cultural practices, and understands Turkish fluently. Unlike Larry, his parents were first-generation immigrants and his family very traditional due to the conservative influence of his step-father (also Turkish), with whom he clashed. However, his mother "accepted that I didn't wanna go that way …she never really pestered me to be Turkish as such."

During the interview, his reaction against Turkish identity repeatedly circled back to his despised step-father who forced Slim's half-sister into a disastrous arranged marriage. His empathy for her, and proud comments about being "raised by women" – his Turkish aunts and grandmothers (including the mother of his biological Turkish father) – speak to a warmth for and loyalty to his female family members as individuals, contrasting with the resentment of the patriarchal practices that have limited them.

Unlike insecure White cases where attempts to blend into White British society are prompted by fears of being singled out or Othered, Slim's explanation of his formal name change by deed poll is rooted in his rejection of what he perceives as Turkish cultural practices, not because of any fears of not fitting into White British society. He changed his name "[b]ecause it was Turkish. It put me in that group of being a Turkish person [laughs]" and "*I don't like the way it's done*" (my emphasis).

His identity as White British is not only a reaction against his perceptions of traditional Turkish culture; but also due to the active embrace of his perceptions of diverse and multicultural British society. Like Larry, Slim had a racially diverse social circle, was disapproving of racism, and felt that racist values were not dominant in his social environment while growing up. Slim grew up feeling an accepted member of a very multicultural, working class inner-city neighbourhood, and reported no experiences of racism in his school years when he still had a very obviously Turkish Muslim name – "it was proper mixed… everyone got on pukka-ly". He spoke of a strong and organic appreciation of diversity and anti-racism, in which football played a key role. He described his outdoorsy and cosmopolitan childhood to be in direct opposition to a cloistered and restrictive indoor culture of his family. "I can't think of many Turkish

bods who've sort of gone the sporting route," he commented, "Maybe Fatima Whitbread, I'm not sure what she is, she might be Greek though [laughs]."[15]

Like Larry, he identified himself as physically and therefore racially White. Unlike Larry, this classification extended to his other family members. The 'racial' status of ethnic Turkish people in the UK is an ambiguous one but tends towards a White self-identification. In the overall weighted Understanding Society dataset, an estimated 49 per cent of those who report two Turkish parents classified themselves as "other White", while an estimated 13 per cent classified themselves as "White British" like Slim. A further 23 per cent classified themselves as "other ethnic group", and 8 per cent as "Any other Asian background" (See Appendix 6.B).

As Slim viewed it, he and other fair-skinned Turks were "White-bods", as opposed to "Black-bods". "You're either White or you're Black", was his belief, reflecting the common racial discourse of working class interviewees who were in their 50s or older.

Slim did not have loyalty conflicts between the strongly Turkish family identity in his mother's household and his White British identity. We can see that in a practical sense, he did remain loyal to his family through good personal relationships in spite of cultural disagreements. Rather than engaging in subterfuge about his lifestyle to maintain relationships with his traditionally-minded parents (a phenomenon discussed by other interviewees who are children of migrants), Slim openly refused to play the game, and his mother appeared to accept this in the household. "She's safe" he said. "I still see my mum every weekend."

Larry and Slim's secure White British identity was enabled by their existence as "White-bods" in diverse working class neighbourhoods with large established minority communities. In their neighbourhoods, well-demarcated ethnic communities and identities co-existed in environments tolerant enough not to push Larry or Slim personally into loyalty tests of having to 'take sides' outside the home for or against their families.

---

[15] Fatima Whitbread is a British Olympic medalist in javelin, whose birth mother was Turkish Cypriot and her birth father Greek Cypriot. She was adopted as a teenager by her White British javelin coach.

6.4.5 Acculturation effects of home life versus neighbourhood: 'Most similar' cases of mixed women in Black communities

6.4.5.1 *Maxine and Rebecca*

The numerous cases of White-identifying men with White appearance above support the overall evidence that White appearance provides scope for ethnic options. For many in this group, their social ascription as White and lack of discriminatory experiences due to physical appearance, allows for the White choice to be something of an unconscious default. Meanwhile choices that deviate from Whiteness are heavily influenced by relationships within their families.

Overall, it was more rare for Black-descended cases to fall within the secure or insecure White group, as they were less likely to have White appearance or to be consistently ascribed as White socially, compared with those with an Asian or Middle-Eastern parent. Black-descended mixed people, and mixed people who were visible minorities in general, thus have less freedom to conceptualise their identity through their relationships with their family alone, as we might expect.

In the cases of Black-descended mixed people with clearly Black phenotype, it was far more likely that they were racialised and ascribed as Black by society and institutions, and that their own allegiances to Black identity went beyond isolated links to parents.

I examine another pair of 'most similar cases' that differed on one characteristic, which can be persuasively argued to have caused their different approaches to ethnic choice. Maxine and Rebecca were both women in their 50s who had White British mothers and Black Caribbean fathers. Both were visibly Black-descended, and both accepted that they were perceived by most people as Black women, albeit with lighter, or brown, skin rather than "dark-skinned". This distinctively Black appearance is what determined their salient social category. As Rebecca said: "in this White country, I have to be Black".

They both started out life in two-parent households in very White urban neighbourhoods, in which they and their households experienced racist incidents. They both became immersed in diverse neighbourhoods with substantial Black populations in their early teens. They also both arrived at secure mixed identities as conceptualised or embedded in the concept of the wider Black community, but had very different journeys to this destination.

Maxine was one of the secure fluctuators mentioned above in the discussion about fluctuator 'types'. She made both secure Black and secure mixed choices depending on

context. She perceived her mixed identity as a subset of her dominant Black identity, "but that doesn't make me any less mixed".

By comparison, Rebecca was for many years a classic insecure mixed 'marginal' type who felt immense discomfort in both White and Black worlds, and who spent many years trying to find a 'tribe' that she could belong to. She eventually got tired of the search and settled into a relatively secure mixed identity, feeling now that she had bigger things to worry about, "the menopause" for one, "I don't need to be worried about – that man looking at me and thinking ooh, she's White, she's Black, she's mixed Race…" Previously she would report or identify as Black, but with great insecurity about it; and only began settling into her 'mixed' identity when the category was introduced "about ten years ago" as she recalls, which finally gave her "a place to be".

The key difference between their situations were the different approaches to race and cultural education within their interracial households growing up, which appeared to be self-selectively associated with the different relative class position or educational level of their White mothers. This affected the different ways in which Black culture was or was not passed onto them, which had a clear impact on their ability to seek comfort and respite from racism as adolescents, through contact with Black communities.

Maxine's White mother was from a middle class background, and worked as a teacher. Though the family lived in a White neighbourhood, her mother chose to teach in a very diverse school in a nearby neighbourhood where she was especially appreciated for her empowering approach to Black children. Maxine's White mother – not her Black father – was the one primarily responsible for passing on a sense of Black identity, pride and culture, including awareness of history and Black liberation struggles, and practical material culture such as how to do hair, and cook Caribbean food. Their mother also emphasised pride in being mixed. "Mum, although she was White, was the one who made us understand about our culture, our history, our value generally. You know, she educated herself to educate us."

Maxine described her father as "laid back" about identity politics compared with her mother. He did not speak patois in the home or encourage any particular connection with Jamaica, but was "culturally conscious of course".

She describes her two-parent household situation as fairly unique, as she noted that of her generation, mixed people were usually raised by a White mother, often as a sole parent, "and if the father was absent, you were being raised by a White woman who couldn't necessarily raise you as a Black child." She talked about how – because of this

well-known phenomenon – that there were expectations from Black men, based on their experiences, that mixed women could not cook, dance, or understand Black culture and history.

Rebecca's parents' relative class situation was the opposite – her White mother was described as "very working class" while her Jamaican immigrant father was "very middle class". Like Maxine's mother, Rebecca's mother was also staunchly anti-racist in her attitudes, which we might expect to be a self-selective trait for White women in long-term interracial relationships or marriages at that time. One of the first stories Rebecca told was about her mother being arrested in the local Sainsbury's (a supermarket chain) when Rebecca was a young child: "… [T]he woman that was having a go at me, turned to my mum and said 'these bloody wog children, they shouldn't be let loose, they should all be killed' and my mum said 'oh, is it? Is that what wog people are like is it?' and she punched her in the face."

While Rebecca's mother fiercely protected her from racism in their White neighbourhood, she never understood the difficulty Rebecca had in integrating her White and Black *cultures* and was "no use" with regard to her problems with her mixed identity and cultural integration when they moved to a Black-dominated neighbourhood. Similarly, Rebecca had a very positive and close relationship with her White working class grandparents but "[t]hey didn't really understand prejudice and things so they'd tell me to just ignore it". Her mother's and grandparents' approach was essentially 'colourblindness' rather than cultural support.

Despite living with her Black father until she was 13, and then moving into a household with a Black stepfather, Rebecca ultimately was left in a similar position to that of the mixed people that Maxine spoke of, whose sole White mothers could not raise them as a "Black child". Her father was even more reticent about Caribbean or Black identity than Maxine's. He had a strong desire to assimilate into English culture. He specifically refused to speak patois in the house and "wanted us to be as White as possible… our Caribbean side was hidden away from us, with my father, because he went through so much racism he didn't want that to happen to us."

Her parents had a long marriage and four children together, but split up when Rebecca was 11. Her mother, who "always goes out with Black men", moved to a diverse neighbourhood elsewhere in London with a substantial Black population. Rebecca remained with her father for a few years, and then moved to live with her mother when

she was around 13. In contrast with Maxine who specifically sought out "my people" in Black communities in a spurt of political consciousness at a similar age, Rebecca experienced severe cultural discomfort in her new diverse neighbourhood. She felt so culturally illiterate and uncomfortable that she continued commuting to her old school in East London for a year. However, due to the ongoing severe racism from White people she experienced there, she spent most of the time 'bunking off' and visiting with her White grandmother, with whom she felt safe. Rebecca eventually changed schools to the new neighbourhood, but remained so uncomfortable in the school environment that she dropped out. "I remember my first day at school in [area 2] and I walked in and all the Black children were sitting on one side of the classroom, and all the White children were sitting on the other side? And it was, it was terrifying for me. Because I didn't know – you know – I didn't know where to sit. […] I wasn't Black enough… I didn't eat Caribbean food, I didn't speak patois, I didn't enjoy a Caribbean lifestyle… I couldn't assimilate with either and I couldn't identify with either the Blacks or the Whites, so I stopped going to school. Yeah, I just stopped going to school because I couldn't cope with it."

By contrast, Rebecca's younger sister had left with their mother to the new neighbourhood when she was six, and went through all her schooling there. By the time Rebecca arrived, her younger sister was fully integrated into and comfortable with a Black cultural identity at a school with a diverse mix of Black, White and Asian children, and living in a majority Black household with their mother's new Black partner and his children. She said, "my sister is very fair-skinned and she looks mixed race, but she is way Blacker than me."

Meanwhile, when Maxine began spending as much time as possible of her own accord in a "notorious" neighbourhood not far from her house that had been a centre of riots against police brutality, and where she still lives, her mixed background made "no iota difference whatsoever. I fully blend in. …It is so mixed, I love it. It's so mixed, like pick a country and you'll find it represented here… Everybody blends in because everybody is different." Unlike Rebecca, she had already made a friend with one of the only other Black students at her school, who had social connections to other Black friends over on "the dark side" of town. Due to her mother's efforts to make her comfortable with Black culture, she had no lack of cultural confidence about seeking out "my people".

Rebecca only made her first Black friend after dropping out of school. She lied about her age and got a job at Tesco, and began attempting to integrate into local Black social life via a friend she met at work, which was easier than in the pressured environment of school. Mixing with a much older crowd at nightclubs, she very quickly became pregnant and had a baby as a sole parent at 16. Surprisingly for her, this helped integrate her into the Black community. First, she was surprised to find that Black men would still want to be in a relationship with her. "You know, I was only 16 and I've got a child that's severely disabled, that's it for me, that's it for life. And I kind of realised, oh, hang on a minute, Black men are not like that!" She also felt more accepted within the Black community, because "when you see me with my son coming towards you, you see my son as Black so then you see me as Black… I felt like it was for them, it was proof – so she is Black then."

Rebecca then began to travel to visit her father's female relatives in another country, who gave her support and training in Caribbean culture. As discussed above in the previous section on types of ethnic identity change, she described this period of her life as dedicated study of how to be Black Caribbean – including things like haircare and cooking that Maxine talked about her White Mother educating her in as a child.

Maxine spoke of how surprised people would be, especially men, to find that she was culturally competent as a Black woman despite being mixed. "You know, men are shocked to find out you [as a mixed woman] can cook, you know [laughs] …I think that expectation, you know, for some, is the reality. […] Mum, although she was White, was the one who made us understand about our culture, our history, our value generally... as a child you didn't realise that that's what was going on." The result was that she became culturally confident as a Black woman, but remained proud of specifically being mixed, as taught by her mother and also in a tribute to her mother.

For Rebecca, her lack of acceptance from White peers in her first neighbourhood other than her immediate family, and with cultural barriers and insecurities remaining about accessing the Black community, until quite recently still manifested classic 'marginal' identity traits as outlined in the Chapter 5 findings and in the literature on mixed identities generally. Over the years "I've tried on so many different cultures," she says, "I've been through so many different experiences trying to fit in?" She spent time in different identity tribes such as New Age hippies, a biker gang, and "my last thing was Rastafarianism… I've given that up as well… none of them kind of worked for me", until finally, quite recently, she told herself to give up and "just be." The reason for this,

she says, was simply "age". "I just felt like – I'm 52, stop now. Stop. […] I've gotten to the stage where I just can't be arsed… And you know what, I'm quite happy with myself… I'm quite comfortable with my mixed race self."

Her identity as mixed is not as easily embedded within Black identity as Maxine's. While Maxine's mother emphasized Maxine's mixedness as well as her Blackness, Rebecca's mother could not provide cultural support for a 'mixed' identity for any of her children. Although Rebecca looks more Black than her "way Blacker" sister who grew up immersed in Black environments from the age of six, Rebecca identifies as mixed because she will always feel a degree of cultural 'Whiteness' in Black Caribbean contexts. Although she has had relationships and children with Black men, her husband is White, and "my two best friends, two out of three best friends, are White, White women. And that's where I felt safer, as a child, to be with my nan and my mum." Rebecca's elder brother was even older when he moved in with their mother, and she reports that he adjusted even less and never transferred schools.

Rebecca always ticks the Mixed box, because it is a place of security after a lifetime of insecurity. Whereas Maxine varies in her ethnic tick box selection precisely because she is secure and confident in her identity, and has the autonomy and confidence to speak back to the form, effectively re-writing it at times. In Wave 1 of Understanding Society she actually put "Any Other mixed Background" in protest at what she perceived to be the racism inherent in putting "White first" in "mixed – White/Black Caribbean".

We can see that these two cases are another example of how broadly similar home circumstances or contact with minority parents did not predict similar experiences, identities or ethnic form-filling behaviour. The quality of their relationships with their minority parent was similar, and almost a minor issue. It is interesting that in all the cases interviewed who grew up in interracial two-parent households with a Black father, the father was quite reticent or 'laid back' in terms of promoting Black or Caribbean culture within or outside the home. This was potentially a self-protective trait within an older generation of Afro-Caribbean men who established long-term interracial households with White women in the UK, perhaps affected by the need or desire to fit into White neighbourhoods or communities associated with their spouse, and given the potential risk of becoming a target.

Indeed, the defining difference between Maxine and Rebecca's experience was the content of the cultural support and connection they received as both Black-descended and 'as' mixed from their primary caregiver – their mothers. This lends an interesting

perspective on quantitative findings in Chapter 3 (which highlighted a potential 'homolineal' effect of Black-only identity being passed down more significantly via a same-gendered parent, compared with respondents with an Asian parent). I discussed in Chapter 3 how this potentially spoke to the strength of intersectionally gendered racialization of Black bodies in White-majority countries. Rebecca and Maxine's cases highlight that the way in which Black Caribbean cultural identity may be passed down within the home is also highly gendered with a particular focus for women on the body, such as through self-care, dance and food culture.

6.4.6 Changing ethnicity in reaction to changing social and national norms: Two typical cases moving in opposite directions

6.4.6.1.1 _Zahra and Laila_

Many of the cases interviewed spoke of how 'times have changed' and how things were different now from when they were growing up, in that the population of mixed people had increased, and stigma attached to mixed and minority identity had decreased. As discussed in the previous quantitative chapters, there was evidence of a period and cohort effect supporting these observations, but which did not explain all trends. There were indications in the qualitative data that despite this overall period trend, there were also countervailing trends sparked in particular by geopolitics and Islamophobia that may be contributing to an increasing reluctance for mixed people of Middle Eastern and Asian descent from exposing themselves to risk.

I examine now the cases of Zahra and Laila, as an example of responses to contrasting changes in community norms. Zahra, still in her 20s at interview, changed from an insecure White choice when young, to a secure mixed choice during high school. Laila, in her late 30s at interview, reported Other Ethnic Group at Wave 1 of Understanding Society, but appears to now make insecure White choices when reporting ethnic group and in social interaction.

Zahra, who grew up during what is seen as a relatively progressive period for mixed people, is an example of how even when social norms change on average, there is still a lagged impact of values or anxieties passed down from previous generations through the family. Zahra grew up in a fairly diverse urban centre, but her mother grew up in a small White exurb or "village", and faced severe exclusion and negativity from her own parents for her interracial partnership. Zahra's parents divorced early and she was raised

by her mother, but she grew up in regular and happy contact with her UK-born Parsi Indian father and his family. However, her mother coached her from young to say she was White and to deny any non-English ancestry. She remembered being called a 'Paki' at primary school by a White boy, which reinforced the correctness of her mother's rationale. This early experience was comparable to Terrence's 'Paki' moment as discussed above – a very clear and shocking moment that abides in the memory, and which set the path for insecure White choices.

At the point of reporting her ethnic group for Understanding Society Wave 1, at 16 years of age, Zahra was still reporting as White British. However, around that time, at her very multicultural and mixed high school, and at an age when her appearance became less White – "I started to grow into my features" – she came to realise that her peers were far more upset with her for "lying" to them for so long about her background than they would ever have been about the fact of her being mixed and not "totally English" as she claimed. The social consequences were now the reverse from what her mother had expected, and Zahra finally admitted her ethnic background to the bemusement of those who always assumed it to be the case anyway. She was however, certain during the interview that her mother would continue to report her as White British if she could.

What this shows in the context of insecure White British identity choices, is how contextual social fears can be inherited and reproduced, including into contexts where those fears may no longer be valid (we may recall here, Dwayne's preference not to have visibly Black-descended grandchildren as he feared they could be targeted by racists at school as he was in the 1960s). As the rationale for insecure White British choices is a pragmatic response to context (which relates to the instability of the choice), choices may change in reduced-risk environments. However, in the case of Zahra, the pragmatic choice was one she 'inherited'. As such, it seemed to take longer than she was happy about, for her to come to realise the context no longer supported that rationale.

When social contexts change, those with insecure and unstable ethnic identification appear to have been the most influenced. Sometimes the choice moves away from insecure White, sometimes not. While the phenomenon of changing social norms may be underpinning the shift away from White identification seen in Chapter 4, the increased Islamophobia in the political climate of the UK may also be a particular motivator for those with MENA or South Asian parentage to move towards more

consistent (but still insecure) White choices out of clear defensive motivations, as in the case of Laila.

At Wave 1 of Understanding Society Laila reported 'Other Ethnic Group', but at interview claimed to have never chosen anything but White British for her ethnic group. Upon consideration of the evidence, it seemed unlikely that her Wave 1 ethnic group had been a miscode or input error on the part of the survey-taker. As well as the dissimilarity between the code entered for 'Other ethnic group' (97) and adjacent codes, her other answers given in the survey seem to support the likelihood of her ethnic choice as not having been White British at the time of the survey – e.g. not just her stated parental ethnic groups, but the answer that she identified 50 per cent with her mother's culture and 50 per cent with her father's, and that she reported having very warm feelings towards others from her father's nationality when meeting them. During the qualitative interview for the present study, Laila also exhibited a range of fluctuating or inconsistent approaches to describing or reporting her ethnic group.

In the interview, she described warm memories and connections to her Arab cultural experiences in her childhood household, and stated that she had ongoing connections to her Arab or mixed family members. She said that talking about her ethnic background did not "bother" her when asked. However, she also stated at interview that she avoided the issue of her ethnic group in conversation, was wary of getting "grief" from "Islamophobes", never brought up her Arab heritage unless asked directly, and never ticked anything other than 'White British'. She said she was never targeted for racial harassment in her area, and that people never saw her as anything but English. At the same time, she also stated that people frequently asked her about her ethnic background based on her looks.

From her seemingly inconsistent or contradictory statements, the comparison with her Understanding Society data, and her specific mention of the 9/11 attacks, it seemed possible that she had increasingly obscured her Arab ethnic origins in social interactions in response to the development of Islamophobic political tensions. It was likely also easier for her to distance herself psychologically from what her father represented, because he had moved back to his country of birth not long before she was first surveyed for Understanding Society. Their relationship had also become strained by his late-in-life adoption of strict religiosity, though the relationship had not been damaged to the same degree as in Fatima's example in Section 4.3.

Fitting her fluctuating profile, towards the end of the interview, she began to reappraise her approach to the ethnic question, likely due to the self-reflection and 'priming' that had occurred during the interview in the exploration of her childhood experiences and her very happy and secure relationship with her father at that time. She asked whether she would get in trouble for changing to another ethnic category in data collection, clearly now considering the mixed option. It is interesting that her first thought upon considering a change in category, was a vigilant and risk-averse one.

When examining Laila's linked Understanding Society data, her sensitivity to risk and her lack of trust was high, compared with the average in the overall survey dataset, and also when compared to secure White or Secure mixed cases interviewed for this research. We can theorise that these characteristics would contribute to hypervigilant ethnic fluctuation, and to the 'necessary and sufficient' trait of anxieties over the risk of being racially Othered. Despite having higher education, Laila also reported a low income and very low life satisfaction in Wave 1 of Understanding Society, and said at interview that she worked at a supermarket.

Typical cases of insecure White choices in the corpus were accompanied by strategic survival strategies to deal with physical risks within White-dominated working class neighbourhoods, which as previously discussed, appeared to be an important, though partial explanation for the associations between low status, ethnic fluctuation, and White choices found in the quantitative analysis.

The linked Understanding Society data in Laila's case helps us theorise the mechanism at a more granular level. As would be expected from the large body of existing research on determinants of trust, in the Understanding Society dataset low trust in others was independently associated with having a low socioeconomic status and lower education. These were also two factors found in Chapter 4 to be significant and independent predictors of ethnic change. Laila's low trust in strangers, high risk-aversion, low socioeconomic and personal resources (including emotional resources), low cultural identity resilience, and increasing isolation from her minority family seemed here to be mutually reinforcing, and contributed to a hypervigilant and 'survivalist' approach to self-presentation. In the context of fears of Islamophobic backlash following Islamist terrorist attacks, or fears of incitement or copy-cat incidents following far-right terrorist attacks, we can see how an individual sense of identity can be very vulnerable without specific protections amid what seem to be vast social forces.

6.5 Discussion

These comparative explorations of how different conditions at concentric sites and scales of identity impact on ethnic change, have provided more insight into the mechanisms behind the quantitative findings on ethnic choice and change in previous chapters.

In Chapter 4, theorisation of linear ethnic identity journeys towards "achieved identity" (Phinney, 1990) and the broader literature on identity formation, acculturation and assimilation (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Berry, 1995, 1997, 2005; Meeus, 2011), were linked with what I earlier termed a 'horizontal' notion of ethnic choices (see Figure 1-3). This was the idea of ethnic change that was less self-consciously about power structures and more about feelings and personal journeys of belonging and integration. Chapter 4's hypotheses about ethnic change decreasing in probability at older ages was related to this idea of stabilisation of identity over time. But both quantitative and qualitative findings in this thesis have highlighted ethnic change at ages older than those suggested in international quantitative studies (Carter et al., 2009; Didham, 2017; Hitlin et al., 2006; Meeus, 2011), sometimes reflecting the sensitivity to current events found in Tashiro's study of older mixed Americans (Tashiro, 2015).

In terms of long-term ethnic change rather than contextual fluctuation, interviewees described journeys of gradually consolidating confidence and increasing security. This was particularly so in the 'confident de-Whitening' trends of those turning towards either mixed or minority identity, enabled by wider life-experience, greater connection over time with minority culture, having children, acclimatization over time to new ethnic options appearing in forms, and also crucially, a period effect evidenced by comments that 'times have changed' with regard to stigmatisation of mixed or minority identities.

At the same time, there were also signs of countervailing period trends with regard to some interviewees with Arab or South Asian descent becoming less confident about exposing their ancestry when already adults, due to increasingly Islamophobic social attitudes and public discourse, and growing risk of attacks on those perceived to be Muslim. This highlights the sensitivity of choices and reported ethnic change to national discursive conditions (or even global conditions) that affect particular racialised groups (Tashiro, 2015).

My findings had particular relevance to the literature associated with more strategic identity management (Barth, 1969; Ellemers, 1993; Goffman, 2009; Roberts et al., 2008), and 'vertical' or hierarchical choices, often linked to 'passing' and 'aspirational Whitening' literarature (Burma, 1946; Carvalho et al., 2004; Eckard, 1947; Ianni, 1960; Saperstein & Gullickson, 2013). Case studies have illustrated how insecure fluctuation of ethnic choices may be proxied by measures of low socioeconomic status as per the quantitative analysis of Chapter 4. This chapter also revealed that the relationship between socioeconomic advancement and higher levels of social trust in institutions could in turn be supporting more stable ethnic choices, or increased confidence in social presentation of authentically felt identity.

Extending beyond instrumental or strategic identity management is the body of theory discussed in previous chapters that deals with identity as positional, iterative and performative, allowing for the tactical and strategic reinscribing of meaning (S. Ahmed, 1999, 2006; Ali, 2003; Hall, 1973, 1985, 1996a; Haraway, 1991; Mahtani, 2002; Nishime, 2005; Pravaz, 2003). This is a useful lens through which to view not only the cases of insecure fluctuation, but also of secure fluctuation. In particular, they explain notions of encoding and re-encoding meaning in response to ethnic questions on forms. Ethnic change – including contextual fluctuation – is not just associated with 'identity problems' or insecurity, self-protection, or looking for a place to belong. Just as Chapter 5 illustrated that not all White choices are signs of 'identity problems', fluctuation in reported ethnic group was also revealed as sometimes a sign of a lack of insecurity, or even a sign of overt confidence in interacting with the officialdom represented by ethnic data collection. Moreover, changes from one secure identity to another secure identity, as allegiances or affiliations or circumstances change, can be viewed as expansion of identity, of cultural resources gained rather than lost.

This chapter's findings illustrate potential causal mechanisms that support the previous chapters' conclusions, particularly the slight trend away from White choices in the Census for England and Wales in Chapter 4. Also, the wide age-range of the interviewees have offered insights into the higher level of ethnic change for older people as revealed in Chapter 4 analysis. The potential explanation of cognitive lag in noticing new 'Mixed' options on survey forms may be valid, given the UK's lack of consistency in its ethnic question between Censuses. However, it can only be a partial explanation of the degree of change. The cases discussed suggest that there may also have been a lag in adjusting to social norms accepting mixed identity; but that also older

age may mean an increased ability to assess and reappraise one's identity in light of a lifetime of experiences, increased confidence in social identities, and reduced concern about what other people think.

This chapter has been able to build on the choice typology established in Chapter 5, by applying it to elaborate a change typology through comparative case selection. The in-depth case study analysis provided further depth to potential mechanisms underlying the connection between a particular type of fluctuating insecure ethnic choice (particularly fluctuating in and out of White choices), and low resources or socioeconomic status.

For example, the cases of change and stability in secure and insecure White identity choices illustrated how White appearance – while the most consistent predictor of White choices – is not always determinative. Secure and persistent White choices over time among interviewees required both a lack of vigilance over external presentation of identity and a lack of personal internal conflict about loyalties. This lack of a loyalty conflict appeared to be the most crucial condition of secure and *consistent* White choices. For the more typical cases of secure White identity, 'loyalty' was not an issue mostly because of an absent minority parent, little to no contact with minority family members, or compartmentalisation of minority identity to the home, in the absence of family embeddedness in local minority communities. However, in the cases of 'home compartmentalisation' of minority culture, family loyalties surfaced in unexpected ways, including fairly late in life.

It is here that we can see that the social identity in-group literature I previously characterised as 'horizontal choices' from social psychology (Berry, 1997; Phinney, 1990; Tajfel, 2010) meets the sociological theories of 'vertical choices' or racialised hierarchies (Alba, 2016; Bonilla-Silva, 2002, 2004; Carvalho et al., 2004; Saperstein et al., n.d.). People may try to pass or aspirationally 'become' White to seek safety within a dominant group because of their sense of vulnerability within a racialised social hierarchy. But they will be unlikely to be secure or consistent in this choice if they feel their choice makes them disloyal to their family or communities. Without such loyalties to our cultural in-groups, whether to communities or individuals, one would think that in a White dominated society everyone who has White enough appearance would say that they are White, as Americans policing 'the colour line' feared a century ago (Burma, 1946; Eckard, 1947).

Related to these findings about how personal loyalty may play out over a lifetime, cases demonstrated intuitive findings about how the quality of relationships with minority parents are a major factor in ethnic self-concept, and that changes in those relationships also precipitated changes in ethnic choices and identities. The educational cultural influence of mothers was particularly important. As the corpus was on average middle-aged, there was a generational bias towards having been raised in a home with traditional patriarchal gender roles in the home, and also towards a period in which interracial partnerships were mostly between minority men and White British women. If fathers had been in the home, they were more likely to have been less involved in child-rearing and home life meaning that that minimal structured cultural influence from a minority parent was the norm among mixed people of that generation. Complementing Twine's examination of White mothers only, in cases where minority culture was systematically passed on in the home, it was the mothers doing it whether White or not (Twine, 2010).

Beyond the home, area effects emerged as a key explanatory factor in this chapter in terms of their formative influence on psychological responses to social context. Nesting case studies in their Understanding Society data highlighted how low social trust may be a crucial part of the mechanism producing a particular type of insecure identity fluctuation; while cases highlighted the high degree of threat-perception associated with being an identifiable minority in White working-class communities in 1970s and 1980s Britain. An existing body of social psychological theory sets out how low social class produces low social trust and a higher sense of vulnerability (Hamamura, 2012; Kraus, Horberg, Goetz, & Keltner, 2011; Li, Pickles, & Savage, 2005), which I would argue is deeply connected to contextual hypervigilance, ethnic fluctuation, and security-seeking through making White choices. This would explain the findings in this chapter and the previous chapter about the association between White working class neighbourhoods and insecure White choices.

This phenomenon of 'Whitening to survive' in White working class contexts is a counterweight to classic theories from the Americas that propose that 'money Whitens', premised upon an idea of middle class or elite Whiteness (Alba, 2016; Ianni, 1960; Saperstein & Gullickson, 2013; Schwartzman, 2007). In the present study's typical cases, a White working-class neighbourhood incentivised White choices. Meanwhile, both diverse working class neighbourhoods and middle class family context enabled mixed choices, a pattern that was indicated in quantitative analysis in Chapters 3 and 4.

Among my interviewees, vigilance and risk-averse ethnic identification was associated with very White working class areas where expressions of racism were described as more openly hostile or physically aggressive among young peers, particularly boys and young men. Experiences with racism in White middle class areas were less physical or overtly aggressive even if similar attitudes were held. Literature on the cultural communication styles of working class and middle class people in the UK is relevant here (Mills, 2017; Skeggs, 1997; Watt, 2006), and the classed and gendered nature of these modes of racism towards mixed people has also been observed in other UK research (Olumide, 2002). Particular kinds of White-dominated working class spaces exclude minorities in a way that is different to how White-dominated middle class spaces exclude minorities. This has resulted in different types of identity journeys among participants.

For example, in Aspinall & Song's study that focused on university students in the South of England (Aspinall & Song, 2013b), a typical identity journey was similar to the case of Edward discussed in this chapter who grew up in the White exurbs in a middle class professional family not being treated 'any differently' from other White people, and identifying as White British. He then experienced a cultural or ethnic awakening at university in the cosmopolitan city centre, coinciding with becoming aware of systemic and institutional racism that he had never personally noticed before. This presents quite a contrast with being raised in deprived White neighbourhoods in a state of heightened awareness of how to present and manage oneself in order to avoid potential violence or hostility, as was the case with Terrence and Arjun. It appears that there is nothing like the pervasive risk of violence – experienced more commonly as children by the male interviewees – to alert people early to systemic and institutional racism, and the need for survival, with low initial trust and high vigilance being an established technique for that survival.

This finding should not be seen as an indictment of working class neighbourhoods. Indeed, working class bottom-up multiculturalism as distinct from middle class multiculturalism in the UK is a well-documented phenomenon (Amin, 2002; Ong & Nonini, 1996; Watt, 2006; Wise & Velayutham, 2009), and multicultural working-class neighbourhoods discussed in this corpus are particularly interesting examples of how the availability of sources of cultural resilience, and the relative absence of specifically racial hostility or threats from peers, allows for class-and area-specific ethnic choices and changes. From the interviews, working class multicultural neighbourhoods certainly

did experience race-based conflict, but provided more sources of cultural resilience or community protection to those with minority descent.

This did not necessarily result in mixed choices for very White-looking cases, but their identities were still more secure. For example, in the cases of Larry and Slim, their diverse working class neighbourhoods enabled White choices for those with White appearance and less than full adherence to minority community practices, due to more rigid, embodied and community-defined notions of racial and ethnic community identity.

The case of Maxine, Rebecca and Rebecca's siblings had particularly interesting implications for self-selection and age-exposure to neighbourhood 'area effects'. Maxine was taught to value her Black and mixed identity in a White neighbourhood, which eventually caused her to "pick up two foot and go looking" elsewhere for her Black community. Rebecca was raised 'White' but ended up living in a Black neighbourhood where she was a fish out of water, which resulted in two years of "bunking off" and hiding. As well as complementing key research on the parenting of mixed children (Caballero & Edwards, 2010; Caballero et al., 2008; Song, 2017; Twine, 2010), this pair of cases reinforces existing qualitative literature on the importance of the early adolescent period for learning social, behavioural and spatial rules of a neighbourhood in order to survive (Clampet-Lundquist, Kling, Edin, & Duncan, 2011). It also dovetails with the theorisation of the same period as that of a crucial first staging-ground for ethnic identity in-group formation (Phinney, 1990).

The analysis of changing contexts and even changing appearance in these case studies has shown how neighbourhood experiences of hostility or exclusion based on appearance are difficult to leave behind, and are indeed 'formative' as proposed in the literature on youth ethnic identity formation (Herman, 2004; Hitlin et al., 2006; Meeus, 2011; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). Insecurities or the choices formed through such insecurities, linger throughout lives or even generations. However, they are also subject to change. For the interviewees in the present study, the effects of those early formative experiences – especially the traumatic or negative ones – do not produce consistent results over time, and the meanings of those early experiences are not fixed in amber, but are subject to reflection and reappraisal over people's lives. They can also ebb and flow with the socio-political climate, and can be deepened by more vulnerable socioeconomic circumstances, exacerbating insecure and vigilant fluctuation of ethnic reporting.

Secure choices either required the lack of fear or anxiety about exclusionary racism that defines the 'insecure White choice', or the ability to draw on cultural resilience to deal with such exclusion. This cultural resilience, rooted in personal confidence in family connections or community identity, was a defining element of secure mixed and secure minority choices. For those with non-White appearance, case histories revealed that sources of cultural support and resilience for mixed and non-White identities went beyond simple presence of a minority parent in the home, and pointed to specific forms of support and acculturation that had been delivered by neighbours, relatives, friends, or White parents. Gaining knowledge of or pride in the history of a nation or community, connection to others with similar minority or cross-cultural experiences, understanding of food and material culture, and cultural knowledge of how to construct and maintain specific social identities, were all things that helped cases shift between insecure and secure ethnic choices; or to establish secure identities. It is particularly interesting that in several cases (not all discussed in the case studies above), White mothers did better jobs of providing support for their mixed children's minority cultural education than their minority fathers, which seemed related to maternal education and gendered divisions of labour within the household.

6.6 Conclusions

More than half of all 27 mixed interviewees in the study reported forms of ethnic change, and the analysis demonstrated that much of this occurred for substantive sociological reasons. Particular drivers of change appeared to be related to concern for self-protection or in response to changing family and wider relationships. The findings suggest that change in choice of ethnic categories among mixed respondents should not be reduced to the idea of 'just' measurement error requiring a clearer ethnic question, or basic coding errors, but is part of a performance and enactment of personal identity that can often express tensions between in-group loyalties and adhering to racialised social hierarchies.

The comparative case selection allowed for the pinpointing of mechanisms beneath broadly observed characteristics, in particular, the sources of security and insecurity in White choices, and the sources of cultural resilience and security for non-White choices, taking advantage of the typology of ethnic choices established in Chapter 5. It has contributed to the picture by defining and elaborating a typology through which we can understand ethnic change as combinations of the following: as contextual fluctuation

versus long-term persistent identity change; as secure versus insecure, and as attentive versus inattentive or avoidant.

This research has shown the value of taking the long view by interviewing people whose average age is far older than the school and university students who typically form the focus in much qualitative research on mixed ethnic options (Ali, 2003; Aspinall et al., 2008; Charmaraman et al., 2014; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996; Tizard & Phoenix, 2002). The cases presented here have offered insights into the ongoing process of ethnic identity development and change for people throughout their lives. Although identities are indeed crucially impacted at younger ages, the results of those early experiences can fluctuate and evolve, playing out over a lifetime.

In line with the main findings of previous chapters about mixed privilege and low status White choices, I find that privilege and status (measured in the quantitative chapters by socioeconomic resources) were significant factors in security of mixed ethnic identity due to being rough proxies for (or indicators of) cultural resources, cultural resilience, physical safety, social trust, and psychological security. The chapter has also brought to light richer evidence about the nature of insecure and fluctuating White choices associated with lower resources and growing up in White working class areas as theorised in the previous quantitative and qualitative chapters. Through the comparative case method, potential explanations have emerged for how secure White identities of working class people with minority ancestry may be reinforced in *multicultural* working class neighbourhoods, via more rigid views of how racial appearance and established community-based in-group behaviour denote ethnicity. Viewed together, we can see why generational ethnic attrition of mixed people to the 'White British' category may ultimately be more weighted towards those with lower socioeconomic status.

7 Conclusions – Out of the Melting Pot

7.1 Introduction

In this thesis I aimed to find out why mixed people in the UK make the ethnic choices that they do, including changing their reported ethnic group or their ethnic identity. This is not simply a technical puzzle for survey methodologists and census-takers, but something needed in order to understand whether ethnic enumeration is reproducing or masking structural racism in British society, even as counting ethnic minorities is meant to act as a foundation of equalities policy.

7.2 Summary of findings

This study has described to the fullest extent possible the characteristics and ethnic choices of the UK population with mixed or multiple ethnic ancestry; first by drawing on two UK datasets to look at who among the population with mixed ancestry identify as 'White', mixed or as non-mixed minorities, their patterns of ethnic change, their group characteristics, where they 'sit' in terms of social status, and what structural circumstances predict different kinds of choice and change. In my analysis of this quantitative data, I isolated the impact of relevant factors at different 'scales' or sites where ethnicity and race are constructed, enacted, encoded and recoded. Specifically, I focused on the body, the family, the neighbourhood, socioeconomic status, and the level of national discourse (see Figure 1-3).

Descriptive summary statistics and multiple regression analysis provided a list of significant though partial 'effects' or potential answers, which had the effect of illustrating the picture in bits and pieces. Building on these insights, I then recruited qualitative interview participants by sampling from one of the quantitative datasets, to explore the experiences of a full range of mixed adults, including groups previously under-researched. This allowed me to contextualise partial effects within life stories, revealing the meaning of patterns in the quantitative data. I was able to situate discrete 'factors' within an overarching relationship between experiences of inclusion, and access to resources. What emerged was that the scales of identity identified at the outset (to inform statistical models) were not only sites of construction and expression of personal ethnic identities, but also sites where inclusion or exclusion were experienced, and where mixed participants were able or unable to access cultural or socioeconomic resources that were sources of resilience against fears of racism. This interplay between inclusion and resources defined the types of choices and changes made – whether secure, insecure, or towards Whiteness, mixedness, or minority communities.

As expected, identification was heavily influenced by a combination of physical appearance (being excluded from or included into ethnic communities via the scale of 'the body') and cultural upbringing, neither of which were clearly or directly observable using quantitative data alone. A combination of White appearance and a lack of influence from any minority cultural community or peer groups whether this be through the neighbourhood, schools, or the workplace, appeared, unsurprisingly, to be strong predictors of White choices. Visibly Black or Asian appearance, combined with experiences of racism and exclusion, and belonging to an older age cohort for whom 'you're either Black or you're White', tended to be an indicator of non-mixed minority identity.

In the quantitative analysis, counter to expectations, I identified a significantly higher probability of ethnic change among older people. This may have been affected by the limited number of repeated measurements (only two, ten years apart) and lack of consistency in ethnic categories provided by the Census in the UK during the lifetime of older people. However, qualitative interviews indicated that ethnic change – whether contextual fluctuation, strategic choice, or evolving identity – occurs at ages well beyond the youth and young adult periods focused upon in most previous UK studies of mixed people's ethnic choices.

I found that there was a crucial distinction between ethnic fluctuation, and identity change towards secure identities. Although there were types of secure as well as insecure fluctuation, 'random' change was consistently associated with lower status, deprivation, and worsening socioeconomic conditions in the quantitative analysis. In the qualitative data, ethnic change over a lifetime seemed associated with becoming more sure of oneself with age and upward social mobility, having gained life experience, resources, and confidence, and was part of a trend away from previously insecure White choices.

While my research was wide-ranging in its scope, I was particularly interested in whether socioeconomic status predicted ethnic choice or change, and what this implied for questions of racialised social hierarchy, and the social justice aims of ethnic enumeration. In Chapter 2 I found that the tripartite social stratification discussed in the sociological literature on racial hierarchies (Bonilla-Silva, 2002, 2004), where Black people are at the bottom, White people are at the top, and increasingly, mixed people and some other minority groups are in the middle, was reflected in the contrasting social status of mixed-identified people with two White parents (better off) or with two minority parents (worse off).

However, for those with one White and one non-White parent, the tripartite hierarchy was not reproduced by ethnic choices between White, mixed or non-White minority ethnic groups. Contrary to theories from some parts of the Americas about White identification being associated with climbing a racial ladder of status (Alba, 2016; Saperstein et al., n.d.; Schwartzman, 2007; Telles & Paschel, 2014), Chapter 3 showed that White identification for mixed people in the UK was more of a working-class phenomenon on average, even when controlling for other factors. Furthermore, Chapter 4 indicated that changing out of the mixed category and towards White identification was associated with socioeconomic decline in status. At the same time, non-mixed minority identification for those with one White parent was associated with signs of socioeconomic and political marginalisation, even when holding other factors constant.

As the flipside to this, Chapters 3 and 4 found that mixed identification, including being stably and consistently mixed-identified and moving into mixed categories, was associated with higher status and education, and, as mentioned above, with improving socioeconomic status. The 'racial ladder' when it comes to ethnic choices for 'biracial' mixed people in the UK, functions differently to what could have been expected.

The qualitative data suggested several separate mechanisms contributing to the significant associations between lower status and White identification. Making the White choice was often an insecure act of 'passing' or overt signalling of allegiances due to heightened risks or fears of racism and exclusion in White working class neighbourhoods. Rather than 'aspirational Whitening', we could term this 'survival Whitening' or 'defensive Whitening'. There were also suggestions that socioeconomic deprivation contributed to a lack of security, low social trust, and thus higher sensitivity to risk and context, which was a potential explanatory mechanism for the connection between 'random' ethnic fluctuation and low socioeconomic status in the quantitative analysis.

White identification among mixed people was not always defensive or 'problematic' as designated by Tizard and Phoenix (2002), but it was reinforced in several different ways via working class environments. For example, in multicultural working class areas and among some older people with very low contact with minority cultures, the White choice was a less-complicated expression of fairer skin colour and more European phenotype, attributable to racial discourses taking precedence over 'ethnicity' or mixedness, as well as a conflation between Whiteness and Britishness. Some of those with White appearance in multi-ethnic working class neighbourhoods, while not harbouring fear of being Othered, or aversion to their minority family members, considered themselves 'racially' White due to appearance and accepted that they did not have the racialised experiences of their less fair relatives.

The qualitative findings also suggested multiple mechanisms behind those with better-off backgrounds making mixed choices and being more stable in their mixed choices.

With middle class people more protected or 'buffered' from violent racism, and with higher trust in state institutions and administrative data-gathering, it is likely that they feel relatively less need to protect themselves through claiming White identity or by fluctuating in their self-representation depending on context. Reflecting the same mechanism, 'coming out' as mixed after previously having made insecure White choices, was associated with transitions into that state of security through increasing confidence. Those gains in confidence resulted from gains in life experience 'with age', and also due to upward social mobility over time.

Moreover, consistent access to sources of cultural identity, loyalty and resilience from both parents' cultures or personal histories was present among confident mixed choices

across the corpus. Those from middle class households were more likely to have had two parents and both cultures present in the home.

Furthermore, the mechanism of having a 'racially literate' parent and strong cultural support for understanding and responding to everyday racism, as found in my cases and as so described by Twine (2010), appeared to support confident mixed choices rather than solely the politicised monoracial identities some parents may have been trying to promote. Ali noted the promotion of this 'politics of singularity' among some middle class parents of mixed children; while Twine found that the 'racially literate' White mothers she located through her snowball sampling in Leicester were more likely to be working class, and/or to be highly educated in sociological disciplines, and/or be to working in community-based professions. The second two traits, in terms of how they are reflected in quantitative data (i.e. education and occupational level) are in fact considered middle class characteristics even if they do not reflect the original class background of individuals. Thus, in terms of the overall picture of the quantitative findings about ethnic choices of their children as adults, the impact of 'racial literacy' as mediated by the medium of higher education and occupational class of their mothers could also be contributing to the 'mixed privileged' effect.

7.3 Discussion

7.3.1 Practical implications for future ethnic measurement research

As Morning and Saperstein note, "we cannot fully understand the mixed race population – or the processes that shape it – until we recognize the legacy and heterogeneity of its generational depth" (Morning & Saperstein, 2018, pp. 65–66).

Currently for the UK, available large-scale data on 'generational depth', i.e. the point at which the first interracial or inter-ethnic union occurred in a person's genealogy, is very shallow indeed. We know that a portion of Understanding Society sample are likely 'second generation' mixed (given the 'hidden' proportions of this group that were revealed in the ONS LS sample in Chapter 2, and from the qualitative interviews that were drawn from Understanding Society sample) but not what portion exactly, due to questionnaire limitations.

We do know from historical accounts of longstanding mixed populations in the UK (Caballero & Aspinall, 2018) that non-White populations and their descendants have been assimilating into White communities for centuries, and any visibly or culturally

different characteristics of many of those descended from these populations have been rendered invisible throughout the generations. Moreover, mixed populations in source-countries of migration to the UK are also substantial and longstanding as a legacy of colonialism, and this has often been overlooked in previous assumptions about the UK mixed population being UK-born and the product of post-war interracial integration. While there is a mixed baby-boom occurring, a large proportion of the current adult population of mixed people are migrants, as seen in Chapter 2.

My analysis enters this history of assimilation only within a very recent timeframe, but provides examples of how it can occur very quickly – within two generations. Notions of blood quantum and fears of ethnic or racial 'dilution' in the second and third generation are persistently a part of mixed people's own narratives of personal and family identity (Caballero, 2014; Song, 2017), but the experience of this second and third generation of mixed people is seen as "a new story that we have barely begun to discuss" in the UK (Song, 2017; Song & Gutierrez, 2015). A substantial proportion of people with minority descent will become, or have already become, for all practical and meaningful purposes for them, White. This poses a problem for data collection as their ancestral links to non-White communities, however irrelevant to their lived identities, are still important to the historical analysis of social integration versus assimilation of non-White migrants in Western societies.

Similarly, my findings suggest that mixed people are also assimilating into non-mixed minority identities and communities, being absorbed into Black communities in particular. The phenomenon of Black communities and individuals identifying as *racially* mixed but no less Black (Pabst, 2003) has a long history in the UK, due to colonial histories of interracial partnering, and conventions around social ascription and hypodescent that may be less distinct than in the US but are nevertheless present. There is likely an 'invisible' mixed population within Black or Asian communities who have mixed ancestry that goes several generations back, but simply report within the Black or Asian categories. Again, however, we have no way of estimating the size of this population based on current data.

The UK will be unable to arrive at a better estimate of the numbers of the larger 'hidden' populations with mixed ethnic ancestry beyond the groups detected and analysed in this thesis, unless large-scale surveys attempt to ask detailed mixed/multiple ancestry-questions that request generational specificity, as per that conducted by the private research company Pew in the US. The Pew survey has become a key data source

for academics working on ethnic choice and change in the US (Alba, 2016; Morning & Saperstein, 2018; Parker et al., 2015).

For the UK, it is not currently possible to show the true extent of ethnic attrition. We also cannot predict accurately how attrition is likely to work in the future – beyond broad suggestions. We could assume at this point that ethnic attrition to White and minority working-class categories, in a form of downward segmented assimilation, may continue to push mixed-identified outcomes upwards by comparison.

However, my research has also suggested that period-effects on national discourse are profoundly unpredictable. Political and reactionary discourse around current events affect different groups differently. At this stage of history with the precipitous decline of the post-war consensus in the last ten years, and the rise of nativist, populist and racist politics potentially increasing the threat perceived by ethnic minorities in the West, there can be no assumption of an undisturbed progression towards a postracial, mixed race utopian Britain that provides protection for mixed and non-White identities. In particular, while there has been evidence of the gradual destigmatisation of Black and mixed Black and White identities in much research, including my own, interviewees also spoke of the increasing stigmatisation of Muslims, the Muslim-imputed (e.g. any South Asian or Middle Eastern person), Jewish people, and any immigrant person in their lifetime.

Against this backdrop, my findings would suggest that access to communities of ethnic minority support, proxied by patterns of area ethnic density, are likely to drive localised phenomena. For example, socially and culturally divided local areas may not be decreasing in physical risk perception for those imputed to be Muslim in particular, given that violent Islamophobia is the most prominent plank of new far right movements in the UK and Europe. Defensive White identification among mixed people is likely to continue as a phenomenon of some White-majority areas where political and social threats to ethnic minorities and Muslims are perceived to be the most acute.

For the UK to address issues of 'generational locus' and the class implications of ethnic attrition and inequalities more comprehensively, requires a revised and more direct approach to gathering large scale data on ethnic identity, ethnic ancestry, and the cultural resources and capabilities available to people of minority descent in the UK. There is a need to gather data about salient group membership, including perceptions of racial appearance, but also about ancestral descent, for different reasons. One measures

ethnic and racial inequalities affecting individuals under current conditions; the other provides information about the historical changes (if any) in the status of groups in the UK over time, whether 'progress' is being made, and if so, 'progress' for whom. This requires making measures of personal identity, physical appearance, and ethnic ancestry, more explicit and distinct in UK research approaches, as recommended below.

Although reporting parental and grandparental ethnic group, and external perceptions of appearance, bring their own problems with accuracy, recall, reliability, acceptability, and respondent lack of knowledge, these gaps in knowledge could provide a clearer picture of how much ancestry data respondents base their own ethnic choices on, and how much of a role social ascription may play in ethnic identity. For example, to a great degree self-reported ethnicity in this study has come across as 'attitudinal' for mixed people in the UK, and is subject to a high degree of fluidity. By comparison, parental ethnic group tends to be more consistently interpreted as ancestry-based by study participants. Respondents may see their own contextual ethnic choices as unwritten, but view parental ethnicity as relatively unchanging facts of "the past" as one participant described it. Although participants made a wide range of ethnic choices, as the saying goes, 'you can't choose your family'. Identifying the ethnic group of one's parents and grandparents is an act of social categorisation, whereby subjects apply external, dominant understandings of those categories onto others. Respondents describing other people's assumptions about their ethnicity or race based on appearance bears some similarities to this kind of thought process. This approach to respondents describing their racial or ethnic appearance is effectively used in data gathering in other countries (Growing Up in New Zealand, 2009; Morton et al., 2010).

Another key implication for measurement, and ultimately for policy, is that the dynamic between inclusion and resources that appears to shape individual ethnic choices, relies on resources that may not often be measured well. Community-based, social-network-based and family-based cultural resilience are not always well-observed in quantitative measures. Even area ethnic density can be limited as a predictor, as it does not always capture the cultural environment a respondent lived in at formative ages – usually only the one that respondents live in now.

Area effects merit further attention for their role in shaping ethnic choices or providing resources. For example, related analysis of the secure geocoded data in Understanding Society could better establish how well the conclusions from the qualitative data can be

'nested' in the quantitative data, with regard to comparing childhood neighbourhoods to current neighbourhoods.

Ultimately, a capabilities model of resilience to racism could be explored further in data gathering and analysis. Crucially, where measures of minority social and cultural connectedness already exist, such as in Understanding Society, the questions cannot be limited to only those reporting directly as ethnic minorities.

7.3.1.1 Recommendations for the UK

I summarise again the three material purposes of different types of ethnic and racial questions in surveys, the Census, or in administrative data collection that I discussed in Chapter 1. They are: 1) To measure personal expressions of ethnic and cultural identity, because they relate to holistic and material wellbeing for individuals as part of communities with a particular history and experience; 2) to measure external perceptions of respondent race and ethnicity because it predicts experiences of direct racism for the individual and the effects of racism in society in aggregate now; and 3) to measure the extent of integration and structural racism over generations, because this tells us how racist our society is over time.

While much of the analysis of this thesis rests on exploiting the useful inadequacies of the UK's Mixed categories, by examining the meaningfully ambivalent or fluctuating responses that mixed people have to them, this is not an argument for keeping them in continuing use as direct measurement of anything. With the 'Any Other Mixed Background' group currently outnumbering two of the other specific sub-categories of the Mixed population, the categories if kept as they are, will likely only become ever less meaningful over time.

In terms of the first purpose – measuring personal ethnic identity – this study recommends that the Census for England and Wales transition to a multi-coded ethnic question, i.e. a 'multi-ticking' system. This will accommodate the expression of multiple ethnic group in more acceptable and flexible ways for respondents, as per Census questions in New Zealand, Canada, Australia and the US. The main multi-coded ethnic question could be used in combination with a range of other multidimensional ethnic identity measures in either Census or survey data, including for example self-reported single-coded 'primary' or 'main' ethnic identification (if there is one), which would serve a complementary purpose. This will allow for more robust and specific measures of multiple ethnic allegiances and identity. In terms of its use, multi-coded

ethnic data can result in figures for either 'total' or 'prioritised' ethnicity depending on the purpose of the data, as in other countries.

For the second purpose, I recommend that UK surveys that gather ethnic data for the purpose of socioeconomic analysis, begin to adopt measures of how respondents report being ethnically or racially perceived by strangers. These would function as an indirect measure of racial appearance based on skin colour, phenotype or attire and other forms of self-presentation. The absolute lack of direct or indirect measures of racial appearance in UK research means that there is a huge gap in measurements of direct personal racism as an explanation for ethnic inequalities. Distinguishing between personal ethnic identity connections and lived experience of racialization and racism due to appearance, will be ever more important as potentially more people seek to express their connections to increasingly distant ancestry through the ethnic question (Morning, 2018).

In terms of the third purpose, and most directly leading on from the discussion in the previous section, this thesis recommends that large-scale surveys in the UK begin to more frequently include questions on parental and grandparental ethnic group and countries of birth, to allow for better examination of ongoing patterns of any 'ethnic attrition', segmented assimilation, and intergenerational affects of structural racism.

7.3.2 Theoretical contributions on the construction of mixed race and ethnicity

The overall empirically descriptive model of the 'axis' of inclusion and resources that arose from this research offers an interdisciplinary contribution to theories of ethnic identity formation and representation in social psychology, sociology and critical race studies. The 'axis' can serve as a theoretical framework to be tested in future quantitative research, for example through validation of latent variable constructs.

My findings confirmed the relevance of the three types of theory about ethnic choices and changes identified in Chapter 1 (see Figure 1-3) in that they *all* were observed in the data: namely – 'horizontal' choices or changes 'among' or 'amid' groups to do with lived identity journeys and cultural relationships (Berry, 1995, 1997; Meeus, 2011; Phinney, 1990; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996); 'vertical' choices or changes that were about strategically finding a position in a social hierarchy (Bonilla-Silva, 2002, 2004; Carvalho et al., 2004; Ianni, 1960; Saperstein et al., n.d.; Telles & Paschel, 2014); and 'contextual' or fluctuating choices that reacted to circumstances, and could serve to

reinforce or to undermine hierarchical structures or social order (S. Ahmed, 1999, 2006, 2014b; Bhabha, 1994, 1997; Hall, 1973, 1985).

The main theoretical contributions of this thesis coalesce around the 'vertical' or class implications. For example, I defined 'horizontal' choices as those affected particularly by relationships with communities, family and intimate relationships, including changes in those relationships, rather than in the context of social threats, hierarchies or negotiating with social power structures in wider society. However, the choices that emerged in the qualitative data were still ultimately a product of power relations and social structures, often patriarchal or gendered power. It is difficult to find space where power can be escaped, which is why, when inductively coding the qualitative themes, the schema that emerged had similar dimensions to Berry's acculturation model, but with structural factors made explicit. That is, interviewees were responding to the hands they were dealt, rather than simply choosing from a suite of ethnic options, not all of which were available to them in practice. My findings specifically contribute to the ongoing reappraisals of the classic 'money Whitens' theory; providing a UK example for further international comparisons (Schwartzman, 2007; Telles, 2014; Telles et al., 2015).

This research is also a contribution to Critical Whiteness Studies, offering the perspectives of those desiring Whiteness and then, to an extent, achieving it. In examining the underexplored phenomenon of White identification by those of mixed ancestry, my empirical evidence has coalesced around the stories of White-identified people assimilating to White working class norms. Overall findings on 'Whitening' for those interviewed appeared to be more similar to segmented assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997) into the White working class, rather than an ascension to the White middle class or professional class as suggested is happening for some populations in the US (Alba, 2016).

By contrast, my participants who were middle class were more likely to be making mixed choices even from within culturally White environments. Writings on how the 'moral economy' of British Whiteness is constructed and fragmented by class has particular relevance here. As Garner observes, "[t]he White middle classes often Whiten themselves by reference to a less sophisticated and excessively White working class… actively seek[ing] multicultural capital through education, while devaluing White working-classness" (Garner, 2012, p. 453). To some, this may seem a conundrum: what does Whiteness mean if not racially, or visibly, White?

This modern concept of 'cosmopolitan' Whiteness has as its heritage the explicitly colonial history of elite rather than working class British Whiteness, where Whiteness was a civilizing force that walked among the natives of the Empire. Garner in particular elaborates on the need for middle class Whiteness to demonstrate 'mastery' of other cultures through consumption and commodification, transforming knowledge of Others into cultural capital (Bonnett, 1998; Garner, 2012, p. 453; Olumide, 2002). This kind of middle class Whiteness may form part of the enabling environment for many 'cosmopolitan' middle class *mixed* choices in the UK. It also dovetails with theories of post-materialist urges for mixed 'uniqueness' (Fhagen-Smith, 2010; Stephens et al., 2007; Townsend et al., 2012), that allow for a person's mixedness to be a signal of cultural capital premised on their separation from, or lack of need for, minority community resources or identity – as evidenced by my more 'individualistic' mixed interviewees.

However, other findings on confident working class mixed identities in this thesis functioned differently. The cultural capital gained from mixed choices was not signalling a lack of need for resources, but was an expression of the expansiveness of resources available to them, as they could access all the communities – more notable among the 'community-embedded' mixed interviewees who affiliated with Black communities but who were also comfortable with White family members. It was an inclusive rather than exclusive identity (i.e. not premised on excluding working-class Whiteness or working-class culture), and future-focused, recalling the Latin American examples of hegemonic 'mestizaje' or mixedness as central to narratives of national identity (Telles, 2014; Wade, 2004, 2005). My interviews suggest that confident mixed identity in the UK (regardless of how middle class Whiteness functions), bases its confidence on an expanded notion of British identity beyond Whiteness, in both working class and also middle class multicultural contexts.

Thus, mixedness does not have to subsume itself to Whiteness in the UK. And mixedness can be embedded in or viewed as part of Blackness – historically and now mixed can mean Black in the UK (Pabst, 2003). Some kinds of Whiteness are able to appropriate mixedness. But can mixed actually mean White? Findings have included persistent declarations of mixedness from those who otherwise identify from within a Black context. But the findings also suggest that the UK discourse is limited in its ability to incorporate visibly 'mixed race' people as a 'subset' of the White group itself, despite Garner's theory about the de-Whitening of middle class White habitus.

Even as Whiteness has historically expanded to include groups previously not considered White (Ajrouch & Jamal, 2007; Bonnett, 1998; Brodkin, 1998; Gualtieri, 2001; Guglielmo & Salerno, 2012; Ignatiev, 2009),, there did not appear to be any available traditions for my mixed interviewees to draw on that allowed for explicitly and visibly mixed people to be genuinely included as a subset of White people, seemingly due to racial conventions of hypodescent. Those with White identities interviewed in this research appeared to struggle to find a historical narrative that situates the visible signs of their mixedness – their colour, or their parentage – as valid parts *of* Whiteness. Rather, they were likely to obfuscate those signs by using the concept of Britishness, which *can* accommodate mixedness, just as it accommodates other non-White minority identities, as shown by work on minority 'identity assimilation' into Britishness (Nandi & Platt, 2013). This 'colour-line' will likely remain a strong limit on ethnic fluidity and ethnic attrition in the UK.

By comparison, mixed can mean physically or visibly White in New Zealand for example, in part because of the reduced dominance of embodied 'racial' concepts within the public discourse. Ethnicity is often divorced from physically or visibly racial concepts, and strong ethnic affiliation to Māori and Pacific identities by people of White appearance is increasingly common, due to rejection of blood quantum as a colonial concept in favour of the indigenous concept of whakapapa, or ancestral lineage connections (Jackson, 2003; Kukutai, 2004, 2011; Pihama, 2010). Historically, blood quantum has been deployed to minimise indigenous populations and maximise the White population for the purposes of assimilation and land seizure; while hypodescent maximises the size of Black populations for the purposes of slave economies. While the 'colour line' certainly exists in New Zealand, its use is more contextual, and it can and often is superseded by cultural and whakapapa claims – including with the express purpose of reversing the undercount of Māori to counter colonial policies of reducing or eliminating the indigenous population through assimilation (Wolfe, 2006).

Meanwhile, as this research and other studies have shown, the 'colour line' of Whiteness in the UK is drawn at those with visible Black descent who have historically been subjected to policies of hypodescent, not assimilation. Furthermore, the UK does not have an institutional indigenous decolonising force within it to force a reappraisal of racial discourses towards a truly 'ethnic' framework. Indeed, I have reinforced the UK's racial discourse of hypodescent in this thesis myself by classifying mixed people as

'non-White', when they have legitimate claims to White British culture according to the practices of my own country.

What does this mean for utopian and redemptive visions of a 'melting pot' Britain becoming 'more relaxed on race' (Ford et al., 2012)? Will demography inevitably 'mix' the country away from racism and racialization? Signs point to no. Lines around ethnic communities, racial definitions, and the structure of racial hierarchies are slow to change. Reactionary political trends at a global, national and local level can be quick to impact on the self-protective behaviour of minority groups. Mixed race populations have existed for hundreds of years in the UK without racial and social hierarchies being dismantled. I have found that patterns of segmented assimilation and ethnic attrition are largely reproducing ideologies of White superiority, even if the class distribution of ethnic choices do not reflect a straightforward hierarchy, and despite a growing mixed-identified population. British racial hierarchies or how they are expressed through class and social mobility are not being melted away through the magic of interracial partnerships and demography.

According to my research, the confident mixed identity does have the discursive power to remake what it means to be British. However, this confidence depends upon mixed people gaining cultural capital and resilience via contact with minority communities. It is those minority communities who have been doing exactly the same thing with British identity – who were doing it first, in fact. It should not be forgotten that the resilience I have spoken of in this thesis is resilience *in the face of racism*.

These positive examples of resilience arise through connection to histories of familial, symbolic, collective and sometimes political responses to oppressive structures, rather than being a reflection of a 'natural' progression or inevitable maturing of a discourse. Unfortunately, the melting pot alone will not save us – the hard work of anti-racist struggle, at personal, social and institutional levels, continues.

8 REFERENCES

Abdulrahim, S. (2008). Whiteness and the Arab immigrant experience. *Race and Arab Americans before and after 9/11: From Invisible Citizens to Visible Subjects*, 131–146.

Abrams, D. E., & Hogg, M. A. (1990). *Social identity theory: Constructive and critical advances.* Springer-Verlag Publishing.

Ahlmark, N., Algren, M. H., Holmberg, T., Norredam, M. L., Nielsen, S. S., Blom, A. B., … Juel, K. (2014). Survey nonresponse among ethnic minorities in a national health survey - a mixed-method study of participation, barriers, and potentials. *Ethnicity & Health*, *7858*(December), 1–22.

Ahmed, A. (2009). *Home and identity for young men of mixed descent* (Queen Mary, University of London). Queen Mary, University of London.

Ahmed, S. (1999). "She'll Wake Up One of These Days and Find She's Turned into a Nigger" - Passing through Hybridity. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *16*(2), 87–106.

Ahmed, S. (2004). Declarations of Whiteness: The Non-Performativity of Anti-Racism. *Borderlands*, *3*(2), 1–12.

Ahmed, S. (2006). *Queer phenomenology: Orientations, objects, others*. Duke University Press.

Ahmed, S. (2007). A phenomenology of whiteness. *Feminist Theory*, *8*(2), 149–167.

Ahmed, S. (2014a). Black British feminism, it is collective and collaborative. *Media Diversified*, 4–9.

Ahmed, S. (2014b). Mixed orientations. *Subjectivity*, *7*(1), 92–109.

Ahmed, S., & Swan, E. (2006). Doing Diversity. *Policy Futures in Education*, *4*(2), 96.

Ajrouch, K. J., & Jamal, A. (2007). Assimilating to a white identity: The case of Arab Americans. *International Migration Review*, *41*(4), 860–879.

Alba, R. (2016). The Likely Persistence of a White Majority. *The American Prospect Magazine*.

Alba, R., & Islam, T. (2009). The case of the disappearing Mexican Americans: An ethnic-identity mystery. *Population Research and Policy Review*, *28*(2), 109–121.

Ali, S. (2003). *Mixed-Race, Post-Race: Gender, New Ethnicities and Cultural Practices*. Berg.

Ali, S. (2007). Gendering mixed-race - deconstructing mixedness. In *Mixed Heritage: Identity, Policy and Practice*. Runnymede Trust.

Ali, S. (2011). Mixed race politics. *Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies: Series Historia et Sociologia*, *21*(2), 237–248.

Ali, S. (2012). Situating mixed race politics. In R. Edwards, S. Ali, C. Caballero, & M. Song (Eds.), *International perspectives on racial and ethnic mixedness and mixing* (pp. 169–183). Routledge.

Alibhai-Brown, Y. (2001). *Mixed feelings: The complex lives of mixed race Britons*. Women's Press.

Alibhai-Brown, Y., & Montague, A. (1992). *The colour of love: Mixed race relationships*. Virago.

Althusser, L. (1971). Ideology and ideological state apparatuses (notes towards an investigation). *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, 1127–1971.

Amin, A. (2002). Ethnicity and the multicultural city: Living with diversity. *Environment and Planning A*, *34*(6), 959–980.

An, W., & Winship, C. (2017). Causal Inference in Panel Data With Application to Estimating Race-of-Interviewer Effects in the General Social Survey. *Sociological Methods and Research*, *46*(1), 68–102.

Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined Communities, London and New York*. Verso.

Anthias, F. (2001a). The Concept of Social Division and Theorising Social Stratification: Looking at Ethnicity and Class. *Sociology*, *35*(4), 835–854.

Anthias, F. (2001b). The material and the symbolic in theorizing social stratification: issues of gender, ethnicity and class. *The British Journal of Sociology*, *52*(3), 367–

390.

Aron, A., Paris, M., & Aron, E. N. (1995). Falling in love: Prospective studies of self-concept change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *69*(6), 1102.

Aspinall, P. J. (2017). What kind of mixed race/ethnicity data is needed for the 2020/21 global population census round: the cases of the UK, USA, and Canada. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *0*(0), 1–19.

Aspinall, P. J., & Song, M. (2013a). Is race a "salient…" or "dominant identity" in the early 21st century: The evidence of UK survey data on respondents' sense of who they are. *Social Science Research*, *42*(2), 547–561.

Aspinall, P. J., & Song, M. (2013b). *Mixed race identities*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Aspinall, P. J., & Song, M. (2014). Capturing "Mixed Race" in the UK Censuses. In Rebecca Chiyoko King-O'Riain, S. Small, M. Mahtani, M. Song, & P. Spickard (Eds.), *Global Mixed Race*. NYU Press.

Aspinall, P. J., Song, M., & Hashem, F. (2008). The ethnic options of "mixed race" people in Britain: Full Research Report. *ESRC Society Today*, 20–28.

Bailey, S. R. (2006). Multiracial versus Collective Black Categories: Examining Census Classification Debates in Brazil. *Ethnicities*, *6*(1), 74–101.

Balibar, É., & Wallerstein, I. (1991). *Race, nation, class: ambiguous identities*. Verso.

Ballard, R. (1996). Negotiating Race and Ethnicity: exploring the implications of the1991 Census. *Patterns of Prejudice*, *30*(3), Pg 3-33.

Banton, M. (1983). *Racial and ethnic competition*. CUP Archive.

Banton, M. (1998). *Racial theories*. Cambridge University Press.

Barth, F. (1969). Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, 9–38.

Bashi, V., & McDaniel, A. (1997). A theory of immigration and racial stratification. *Journal of Black Studies*, *27*(5), 668–682.

Bastos, J. L., Dumith, S. C., Santos, R. V., Barros, A. J. D., Del Duca, G. F., Gonçalves, H., & Nunes, A. P. (2009). Does the way I see you affect the way I see myself? Associations between interviewers' and interviewees'" color/race" in southern Brazil. *Cadernos de Saúde Pública*, *25*(10), 2111–2124.

Bécares, L., Nazroo, J., & Stafford, M. (2009). The buffering effects of ethnic density on experienced racism and health. *Health & Place*, *15*(3), 670–678.

Bell, D. A. (1995). Who's afraid of critical race theory. *U. Ill. L. Rev.*, 893.

Berry, J. W. (1995). Psychology of Acculturation. In *The culture and psychology reader* (p. 457). NYU Press.

Berry, J. W. (1997). *Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation*. *46*(1), 5–34.

Berry, J. W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *29*(6 SPEC. ISS.), 697–712.

Bhabha, H. K. (1984). Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse. *October*, *28*, 125–133.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The location of culture*. Psychology Press.

Bhabha, H. K. (1997). Of mimicry and man. *Tensions of Empire, University of California Press, Berkeley*, 152–160.

Bogle, D. (2001). *Toms, coons, mulattoes, mammies, and bucks: An interpretive history of Blacks in American films*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Bolatagici, T. (2004). Claiming the (n)either/(n)or of 'third space': (re)presenting hybrid identity and the embodiment of mixed race. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *25*(1), 75–85.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2002). We are all Americans!: the Latin Americanization of racial stratification in the USA. *Race and Society*, *5*(1), 3–16.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2004). From bi-racial to tri-racial: Towards a new system of racial stratification in the USA. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *27*(6), 931–950.

Bonnett, A. (1998). How the British working class became white: The symbolic (re)formation of racialized capitalism. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, *11*(3), 316–340.

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. University of Chicago Press.

Brodkin, K. (1998). *How Jews became white folks and what that says about race in America*. Rutgers University Press.

Brown, J. S., Hitlin, S., & Elder Jr., G. H. (2007). The importance of being "other": A natural experiment about lived race over time. *Social Science Research*, *36*(1),

159–174.

Bulmer, M. (1986). A controversial census topic: race and ethnicity in the British Census. *Journal of Official Statistics*, *2*(4), 471.

Burma, J. H. (1946). The Measurement of Negro "Passing." *American Journal of Sociology*, *52*(1), 18–22.

Burton, J., Nandi, A., & Platt, L. (2010). Measuring ethnicity: challenges and opportunities for survey research. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *33*(8), 1332–1349.

Caballero, C. (2012). From "draughtboard alley" to "brown Britain": the "ordinariness" of racial mixing and mixedness in British society. *International Perspectives on Racial and Ethnic Mixedness and Mixing, London: Routledge*.

Caballero, C. (2014). Mixed emotions: Reflections on researching racial mixing and mixedness. *Emotion, Space and Society*, *11*, 79–88.

Caballero, C., & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). *Mixed Race Britain in The Twentieth Century*. Springer.

Caballero, C., & Edwards, R. (2010). *Lone mothers of mixed racial and ethnic children: Then and now*.

Caballero, C., Edwards, R., & Puthussery, S. (2008). *Parenting 'mixed' children: negotiating difference and belonging in mixed race, ethnicity and faith families*.

Callister, P., Didham, R., & Potter, D. (2007). Ethnic intermarriage in New Zealand. *Official Statistics Research Series*, *1*(September), 1–73.

Campbell, M. E. (2007). Thinking outside the (black) box: Measuring black and multiracial identification on surveys. *Social Science Research*, *36*, 921–944.

Campbell, M. E. (2009). Multiracial Groups and Educational Inequality: A Rainbow or a Divide? *Social Problems*, *56*(3), 425–446.

Campbell, M. E. (2010). Social class and multiracial groups: What can we learn from large surveys? In *Multiracial Americans and Social Class: The Influence of Social Class on Racial Identity* (p. 165). Routledge.

Carter, K., Hayward, M., Blakely, T., & Shaw, C. (2009). How much and for whom does self-identified ethnicity change over time in New Zealand? Results from a Longitudinal study. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, (36), 32–45.

Carvalho, J. A. M. de, Wood, C. H., & Andrade, F. C. D. (2004). Estimating the stability of census-based racial/ethnic classifications: The case of Brazil. *Population Studies*, *58*(3), 331–343.

Chakrabortty, A. (2014, October 30). I'm Bengali and I'm black – in the same way that my parents were. *The Guardian*.

Charmaraman, L., Woo, M., Quach, A., & Erkut, S. (2014). How have researchers studied multiracial populations? A content and methodological review of 20 years of research. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*.

Charmaz, K. (1983). Loss of self: a fundamental form of suffering in the chronically ill. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, *5*(2), 168–195.

Charmaz, K. (1996). The Search for Meanings—Grounded Theory. *Rethinking Methods in Psychology*, 27–49.

Clampet-Lundquist, S., Kling, J. R., Edin, K., & Duncan, G. J. (2011). Moving teenagers out of high-risk neighborhoods: how girls fare better than boys. *AJS; American Journal of Sociology*, *116*(4), 1154–1189.

Clark, A. (2014). Thanks, Belle, it's nice to see a face like mine on screen. *The Guardian*.

Coleman, D. (2010). Projections of the ethnic minority populations of the United Kingdom 2006-2056. *Population and Development Review*, *36*(3), 441–486.

Coleman, D., Salt, J., Peach, C., & Britain, G. (1996). *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census*.

Collins, D. (2014). *Cognitive interviewing practice*. Sage.

Conrad, F., Schober, M., Nielsen, D., & Reichert, H. (2019). *Race-of-Virtual-Interviewer Effects Race of Virtual Interviewer Effects*.

Cotter, P. R., Cohen, J., & Coulter, P. B. (1982). Race-of-Interviewer Effects in Telephone Interviews. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *46*(2), 278–284.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, *43*(6), 1241–1299.

Crenshaw, K. (2015). *Race, Reform and the New Retrenchment: Intersectional Invisibility in the Post-Racial World*.

DaCosta, K. M. (2006). Selling Mixedness: Marketing with Multiracial Identities. In D. L. Brunsma (Ed.), *Mixed Messages: Multiracial Identities in the "Color-Blind"*

Era (pp. 183–199). Lynne Rienner Publishers.

DaCosta, K. M. (2007). *Making multiracials: State, family, and market in the redrawing of the color line*. Stanford University Press.

Davenport, L. D. (2016). The Role of Gender, Class, and Religion in Biracial Americans Racial Labeling Decisions. *American Sociological Review*, *81*(1), 57–84.

Davis, D. W. (1997). The Direction of Race of Interviewer Effects among African-Americans: Donning the Black Mask. *American Journal of Political Science*, *41*(1), 309–322.

Didham, R. (2017). Reflections of identity: Ethnicity, ethnic recording and ethnic mobility. In Z. L. Rocha & M. Webber (Eds.), *Mana Tangatarua: Mixed heritages, ethnic identity and biculturalism in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (pp. 32–51). Routledge.

Dineen-Wimberly, I., & Spickard, P. (2010). "It's not that simple": multiraciality, models, and social hierarchy. In K. O. Korgen (Ed.), *Multiracial Americans and Social Class: The Influence of Social Class on Racial Identity, edited by Kathleen Korgen. New York: Routledge* (pp. 205–221). na.

Duncan, B., & Trejo, S. (2007). Ethnic identification, intermarriage, and unmeasured progress by Mexican Americans. In *Mexican immigration to the United States*.

Duncan, B., & Trejo, S. J. (2011). Tracking intergenerational progress for immigrant groups: The problem of ethnic attrition. *American Economic Review*, *101*(3), 603–608.

Duncan, B., & Trejo, S. J. (2018). Identifying the Later- Generation Descendants of U.S. Immigrants: Issues Arising from Selective Ethnic Attrition. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *677*(1), 131–138.

Eccles, L. (2012). Britain's mixed race population leaps over one million as research reveals prejudices have sharply dropped. *The Daily Mail*.

Eckard, E. W. (1947). How Many Negroes "Pass"? *American Journal of Sociology*, *52*(6), 498–500.

Edwards, R., & Caballero, C. (2008). What's in a name? An exploration of the significance of personal naming of 'mixed' children for parents from different racial, ethnic and faith backgrounds. *The Sociological Review*, *56*(1), 39–60.

Ellemers, N. (1993). The Influence of Socio-structural Variables on Identity Management Strategies. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *4*(1), 27–57.

Emeka, A., & Vallejo, J. A. (2011). Non-Hispanics with Latin American ancestry: Assimilation, race, and identity among Latin American descendants in the US. *Social Science Research*, *40*(6), 1547–1563.

Eriksen, T. H. (1991). The cultural contexts of ethnic differences. *Man*, 127–144.

Fanon, F. (1967). Black skin, white masks. In *Black Skin, White Masks*. Paladin London.

Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating Rigor Using Thematic Analysis: A Hybrid Approach of Inductive and Deductive Coding and Theme Development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *5*(1), 80–92.

Feskens, R. (2006). Collecting Data among Ethnic Minorities in an International Perspective. *Field Methods*, *18*(3), 284–304.

Fhagen-Smith, P. (2010). Social class, racial/ethnic identity, and the psychology of "choice." In *Multiracial Americans and Social Class: The Influence of Social Class on Racial Identity, edited by Kathleen Korgen. New York: Routledge* (pp. 30–38).

Ford, R., Jolley, R., Katwala, S., & Mehta, B. (2012). *The melting pot generation: How Britain became more relaxed on race*.

Fox, C., & Guglielmo, T. a. (2012). Defining America's Racial Boundaries: Blacks, Mexicans, and European Immigrants, 1890-1945. *American Journal of Sociology*, *118*(2), 327–379.

Francis, A. M., & Tannuri-Pianto, M. (2013). Endogenous Race in Brazil: Affirmative Action and the Construction of Racial Identity among Young Adults. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, *61*(4), 731–753.

Fredrickson, G. M. (2002). *Racism: A Short History*. Princeton University Press.

Furedi, F. (2001). How Sociology Imagined 'Mixed Race.' *Rethinking "Mixed Race", Pluto Press, London*.

Gardener, D., & Connolly, H. (2005). *Who are the 'Other' ethnic groups?*

Garner, S. (2007). *Whiteness: An introduction*. Routledge.

Garner, S. (2009). Empirical Research into White Racialized Identities in Britain.

Sociology Compass, *3*(5), 789–802.

Garner, S. (2012). A moral economy of whiteness: Behaviours, belonging and Britishness. *Ethnicities*, *12*(4), 445–464.

Garner, S., & Selod, S. (2015). The Racialization of Muslims : Empirical Studies of Islamophobia. *Critical Sociology*, *41*(1), 9–19.

Gellner, E., & Breuilly, J. (2008). *Nations and nationalism*. Cornell University Press.

Gerring, J. (2006). *Case study research: Principles and practices*. Cambridge University Press.

Gerring, J. (2011). The Case Study: What it is and What it Does. In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science* (pp. 1–43).

Giddens, A. (1993). *New rules of sociological method: A positive critique of interpretative sociologies*. Stanford University Press.

Gilroy, P. (1987). There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack. *The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*.

Gilroy, P. (1993). *The black Atlantic: Modernity and double consciousness*. Verso.

Goffman, E. (2009). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Simon and Schuster.

Griffin, D. H. (2002). *Measuring Survey Nonresponse by Race and Ethnicity*.

Growing Up in New Zealand. (2009). *Growing Up in New Zealand: Antenatal Data Collection Wave: Main Cohort Mother Questionnaire*. University of Auckland.

Gualtieri, S. (2001). Becoming "White": Race, Religion and the Foundations of Syrian/Lebanese Ethnicity in the United States. *Journal of American Ethnic History*, *20*(4), 29–58.

Gualtieri, S. (2009). *Between Arab and White: Race and ethnicity in the early Syrian American diaspora* (Vol. 26). Univ of California Press.

Guglielmo, J., & Salerno, S. (2012). *Are Italians white?: How race is made in America*. Routledge.

Hall, S. (1973). Encoding/decoding. In *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79* (pp. 128–138).

Hall, S. (1985). Signification, representation, ideology: Althusser and the post-

structuralist debates. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, *2*(2), 91–114.

Hall, S. (1996a). Cultural studies and its theoretical legacies. In *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (pp. 261–274).

Hall, S. (1996b). New ethnicities. *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, 441–449.

Hamamura, T. (2012). Social class predicts generalized trust but only in wealthy societies. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *43*(3), 498–509.

Haraway, D. (1991). A cyborg manifesto: science, technology, and socialist-feminism in the late twentieth century. *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, 149–182.

Harris, D. R., & Sim, J. J. (2002). Who Is Multiracial? Assessing the Complexity of Lived Race. *American Sociological Review*, *67*(4), 614.

Heath, A., & Cheung, S. Y. (2006). *Ethnic penalties in the labour market: Employers and discrimination*.

Herman, M. (2004). Forced to choose: Some determinants of racial identification in multiracial adolescents. *Child Development*, *75*(3), 730–748.

Hitlin, S., Brown, J. S., & Elder, G. H. (2006). Racial self-categorization in adolescence: Multiracial development and social pathways. *Child Development*, *77*(5), 1298–1308.

Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Levin, D. T., & Banaji, M. R. (2011). Evidence for hypodescent and racial hierarchy in the categorization and perception of biracial individuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *100*(3), 492–506.

Holloway, S. R., Ellis, M., Wright, R., & Hudson, M. (2005). Partnering 'out' and fitting in: residential segregation and the neighbourhood contexts of mixed-race households. *Population, Space and Place*, *11*(4), 299–324.

Holloway, S. R., Wright, R., & Ellis, M. (2012). Constructing multiraciality in US families and neighborhoods. *International Perspectives on Racial and Ethnic Mixedness and Mixing*, 73.

Holloway, S. R., Wright, R., Ellis, M., & East, M. (2009). Place, scale and the racial claims made for multiracial children in the 1990 US Census. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *32*(3), 522–547.

Howard, S., & Didham, R. (2003). *Ethnic intermarriage and ethnic transference amongst the Maori population: implications for the measurement and definition of ethnicity*.

Ianni, O. (1960). Segunda parte. In F. H. Cardoso & O. Ianni (Eds.), *Côr e mobilidade social em Florianópolis* (p. Pp. 153–226). Companhia Editora Nacional São Paulo, Brazil.

Ifekwunigwe, J. O. (1999). *Scattered belongings: Cultural paradoxes of race, nation and gender*. Routledge.

Ignatiev, N. (2009). *How the Irish became white*. Routledge.

Jackson, M. (2003). The part-Māori syndrome. *Mana*, *52*, 62.

James, A. (2008). Making Sense of Race and Racial Classification. In T. Zuberi & E. Bonilla-Silva (Eds.), *White logic, white methods: Racism and methodology*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Joseph-Salisbury, R. (2018). *Black mixed-race men: Transatlanticity, hybridity and 'post-racial' resilience*. Emerald Publishing Limited.

Karlsen, S., & Nazroo, J. Y. (2002). Agency and structure: the impact of ethnic identity and racism on the health of ethnic minority people. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, *24*(1), 1–20.

Kim, C., Laroche, M., & Tomiuk, M. a. (2004). The Chinese in Canada: a study in ethnic change with emphasis on gender roles. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *144*(1), 5–29.

Knies, G. (2015). *Understanding Society: The UK Household Longitudinal Study Waves 1-5 User Manual*.

Knies, G., Nandi, A., & Platt, L. (2014). *Life satisfaction, ethnicity and neighbourhoods: is there an effect of neighbourhood ethnic composition on life satisfaction?*

Korgen, K. O. (2010). *Multiracial Americans and social class : the influence of social class on racial identity*. London: Routledge.

Kraus, M. W., Horberg, E. J., Goetz, J. L., & Keltner, D. (2011). Social class rank, threat vigilance, and hostile reactivity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *37*(10), 1376–1388.

Kukutai, T. (2004). The Problem of Defining an Ethnic Group for Public Policy: who is maori and why does it matter? *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, *December*(23), 86–108.

Kukutai, T. (2007). White Mothers, Brown Children: Ethnic Identification of Maori-European Children in New Zealand. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *69*(December), 1150–1161.

Kukutai, T. (2008). *Ethnic Self-prioritisation of Dual and Multi-ethnic Youth in New Zealand A discussion paper prepared for Statistics New Zealand*. (October).

Kukutai, T. (2011). Building ethnic boundaries in New Zealand: Representations of Maori identity in the census. *Indigenous Peoples and Demography: The Complex Relation between Identity and Statistics*, 33–54.

Kukutai, T., & Didham, R. (2009). In Search of Ethnic New Zealanders: National Naming in the 2006 Census. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, *2006*(36), 46–62.

Laroche, M., Kim, C., Hui, M. K., & Joy, A. (1996). An Empirical Study of Multidimensional Ethnic Change. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *27*(1), 114–131.

Larsen, N. (1929). *Passing*. Alfred A. Knopf.

Lewandowski, G. W., Aron, A., Bassis, S., & Kunak, J. (2006). Losing a self-expanding relationship: Implications for the self-concept. *Personal Relationships*, *13*(3), 317–331.

Li, Y., Pickles, A., & Savage, M. (2005). Social capital and social trust in Britain. *European Sociological Review*, *21*(2), 109–123.

Liebler, C. A., Rastogi, S., Fernandez, L., Noon, J., & Ennis, S. R. (2014). America's churning races: Race and ethnic response changes between Census 2000 and the 2010 Census. *CARRA Working Paper Series*, 259–284.

Lynn, P., Nandi, A., Parutis, V., & Platt, L. (2018). Design and implementation of a high-quality probability sample of immigrants and ethnic minorities: Lessons learnt. *Demographic Research*, *38*(1), 513–548.

Mahtani, M. (2002). Tricking the border guards: Performing race. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *20*(4), 425–440.

McClain, C. S. (2004). Black by Choice: Identity Preferences of Americans of Black/White Parentage. *The Black Scholar*, *34*(October), 43–54.

McFall, S., Buck, N., Laurie, H., Garrington, C., & Nolan, V. (2012). *Understanding Society: Findings 2012* (S. L. McFall, Ed.). Colchester.

McFall, S., Nandi, A., & Platt, L. (2014). *Understanding Society: UK Household Longitudinal Study: User Guide to Ethnicity Research*.

Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self and society*. Chicago University of Chicago Press.

Meeus, W. (2011). The study of adolescent identity formation 2000-2010: A review of longitudinal research. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *21*(1), 75–94.

Mihoko Doyle, J., & Kao, G. (2007). Are Racial Identities of Multiracials Stable? Changing Self-Identification Among Single and Multiple Race Individuals. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *70*(4), 405–423.

Mills, S. (2017). *English politeness and class*. Cambridge University Press.

Miranda-Ribeiro, P., & Junqueira Caetano, A. (2005). *Como eu me vejo e como ela me vê: um estudo exploratório sobre a consistência das declarações de raça/cor entre as mulheres de 15 a 59 anos no Recife, 2002*.

Mitchell-Walthour, G., & Darity, W. (2015). Choosing Blackness in Brazil's Racialized Democracy: The Endogeneity of Race in Salvador and São Paulo. *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, *9*(3), 318–348.

Mok, T. M. (2019). Lost in the forest. In C. McDowall & T. Denee (Eds.), *We Are Here: An Atlas of Aotearoa* (pp. 116–117).

Moosavi, L. (2015). The Racialization of Muslim Converts in Britain and Their Experiences of Islamophobia. *Critical Sociology*, *41*(1), 41–56.

Morning, A. (2011). *The nature of race: How scientists think and teach about human difference*. Univ of California Press.

Morning, A. (2014). Multiraciality and Census classification. In Rebecca C. King-O'Riain, S. Small, M. Mahtani, M. Song, & P. Spickard (Eds.), *Global Mixed Race* (pp. 1–15). NYU Press.

Morning, A. (2018). Kaleidoscope: contested identities and new forms of race membership. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *41*(6), 1055–1073.

Morning, A., & Saperstein, A. (2018). The Generational Locus of Multiraciality and Its Implications for Racial Self-Identification. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *677*(1), 57–68.

Morton, S. M. B., Carr, P. E. A., Bandara, D. K., Grant, C. C., Ivory, V. C., Kingi, T. K. R., … Waldie, K. E. (2010). *Growing Up in New Zealand. Report 1: Before we are born*.

Nagel, C. R., & Staeheli, L. A. (2005). "We're just like the Irish": Narratives of assimilation, belonging and citizenship amongst Arab-American activists. *Citizenship Studies*, *9*(5), 485–498.

Nandi, A., & Platt, L. (2012). How Diverse is the UK? In S. McFall, N. Buck, H. Laurie, C. Garrington, & V. Nolan (Eds.), *Understanding Society: Findings 2012* (pp. 13–14). Colchester: Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Essex.

Nandi, A., & Platt, L. (2013). *Britishness and Identity Assimilation among the UK's Minority and Majority ethnic groups*.

Nandi, A., & Platt, L. (2014a). *A note on ethnicity and identity among the UK born population in Understanding Society*.

Nandi, A., & Platt, L. (2014b). *Britishness and identity assimilation among the UK's minority and majority ethnic groups*. ISER Working Paper Series.

Nandi, A., & Platt, L. (2015). Patterns of minority and majority identification in a multicultural society. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *38*(15), 2615–2634.

Nazroo, J., Zilanawala, A., Chen, M., Bécares, L., Davis-Kean, P., Jackson, J. S., … Sacker, A. (2018). Socioemotional wellbeing of mixed race/ethnicity children in the UK and US: Patterns and mechanisms. *SSM - Population Health*, *5*(December 2017), 147–159.

Newton, V. L. (2017). 'It's good to be able to talk': An exploration of the complexities of participant and researcher relationships when conducting sensitive research. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *61*, 93–99.

NIDEA. (2013). Ethnicity Counts? Census forms.

Nishime, L. (2005). The Mulatto Cyborg: Imagining a Multiracial Future. *Cinema Journal*, *44*(2), 34–49.

Nix, E., & Qian, N. (2015). *The Fluidity of Race : "Passing''' in the United States, 1880-1940."*

Nott, J. C., & Gliddon, G. R. (1854). Hybridity of animals, viewed in connection with the natural history of mankind. *Types of Mankind*, 372–410.

Ochieng, B. M. N. (2010). "You Know What I Mean"; The Ethical and Methodological Dilemmas and Challenges for Black Researchers Interviewing Black Families. *Qualitative Health Research*, *20*(12), 1725–1735.

Office for National Statistics. (2009). *Final recommended questions for the 2011 Census in England and Wales National identity*.

Office for National Statistics. (2010). *Standard Occupational Classification 2010 Volume 3 The National Statistics Socio-economic Classification: (Rebased on the SOC2010) User Manual* (Vol. 3).

Office for National Statistics. (2011). *Regional ethnic diversity*.

Office for National Statistics. (2018). *The National Statistics Socio-economic classification (NS-SEC)*.

Olumide, J. (2002). *Raiding the gene pool: The social construction of mixed race*. Pluto Press.

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1994). Racial Formation in the United States. In *Pmla Publications Of The Modern Language Association Of America* (Vol. 123).

Ong, A., & Nonini, D. (1996). *Ungrounded empires: The cultural politics of modern Chinese transnationalism*. Routledge.

Oropesa, R. S., & Landale, N. S. (2002). Nonresponse in follow-back surveys of ethnic minority groups: an analysis of the Puerto Rican Maternal and Infant Health Study. *Maternal and Child Health Journal*, *6*(1), 49–58.

Pabst, N. (2003). Blackness/mixedness: Contestations over crossing signs. *Cultural Critique*, *54*, 178–212.

Page, T. (2017). Vulnerable writing as a feminist methodological practice. *Feminist Review*, *115*(1), 13–29.

Panico, L., & Nazroo, J. Y. (2011). The social and economic circumstances of mixed ethnicity children in the UK: findings from the Millennium Cohort Study. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *34*(9), 1421–1444.

Park, R. E. (1928). Human migration and the marginal man. *American Journal of Sociology*, 881–893.

Parker, K., Morin, R., Menasce Horowitz, J., & Lopez, M. H. (2015). Multiracial in America: Proud, Diverse and Growing in Numbers. In *Pew Research Center*.

Penner, A. M., & Saperstein, A. (2013). Engendering Racial Perceptions: An Intersectional Analysis of How Social Status Shapes Race. *Gender & Society*, *27*(3), 319–344.

Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: review of research. *Psychological Bulletin*.

Phinney, J. S., & Alipuria, L. L. (1996). At the interface of cultures: Multiethnic/multiracial high school and college students. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *136*(2), 139–158.

Pihama, L. (2010). Kaupapa Māori Theory: Transforming Theory in Aotearoa. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, *9*(2), 5–14.

Pilgrim, D. (2000). The tragic mulatto myth.

Pillow, W. (2003). Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *16*(2), 175–196.

Platt, L. (2012a). A descriptive account of those self-identifying as of mixed ethnicity in Great Britain. In R. Edwards, S. Ali, C. Caballero, & M. Song (Eds.), *International perspectives on racial and ethnic mixedness and mixing* (pp. 108–124). Routledge.

Platt, L. (2012b). How Do Children of Mixed Partnerships Fare in the United Kingdom? Understanding the Implications for Children of Parental Ethnic Homogamy and Heterogamy. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *643*(1), 239–266.

Platt, L. (2018). Royal wedding: The UK's rapidly changing mixed-race population. *BBC News*.

Platt, L., Simpson, L., & Akinwale, B. (2005). Stability and change in ethnic groups in England and Wales. *POPULATION TRENDS-LONDON-*.

Porter, S. R., Liebler, C. A., & Noon, J. (n.d.). *Race and Socioeconomic Milieu and the Permeability of Group Boundaries: How Place Shapes Race*.

Portes, A., & Zhou, M. (1993). The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *530*(1), 74–96.

Potter-Collins, A. (2011). *Measuring Equality: A guide for the collection and classification of ethnic group, national identity and religion data in the UK*.

Pravaz, N. (2003). Brazilian Mulatice: Performing Race, Gender, and the Nation. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*, *8*(1), 116–146.

Prince, R. (2012). London 2012 : what a difference a year makes – from riots to gold medals in 12 months. *The Telegraph*, pp. 3–6.

Qian, Z. (2004). Options: Racial/Ethnic Identification of Children of Intermarried Couples*. *Social Science Quarterly*, *85*(3), 746–766.

Rees, P., Wohland, P., Clark, S., Lomax, N., & Norman, P. (2016). The future is diversity: New forecasts for the UK's ethnic groups. *Paper for the European Population Conference, 31 August to 3 September, 2016, Mainz, Germany*.

Rihoux, B. (2006). Qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) and related systematic comparative methods: Recent advances and remaining challenges for social science research. *International Sociology*, *21*(5), 679–706.

Roberts, L. M., Settles, I. H., & Jellison, W. A. (2008). Predicting the Strategic Identity Management of Gender and Race. In *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research* (Vol. 8).

Robson, C. (1997). *Real world research*. Blackwell Oxford.

Roediger, D. R. (1999). *The wages of whiteness: Race and the making of the American working class*. Verso.

Roediger, D. R. (2006). *Working toward whiteness: How America's immigrants became white: The strange journey from Ellis Island to the suburbs*. Basic Books.

Root, M. (1993). *Bill of Rights for People of Mixed Heritage*.

Root, M. (2002). *Methodological issues in multiracial research.*

Ropp, S. M. (1997). Do Multiracial Subjects Really Challenge Race?: Mixed-Race Asians in the United States and the Caribbean. *Amerasia Journal*, *23*(1), 1–16.

Roth, W. D. (2018). Establishing the Denominator: The Challenges of Measuring

Multiracial, Hispanic, and Native American Populations. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *677*(1), 48–56.

Ryder, M. (2019). What does Archie tell us about mixed race Britain? *Observer*.

Saperstein, A., & Gullickson, A. (2013). A "Mulatto Escape Hatch" in the United States? Examining Evidence of Racial and Social Mobility During the Jim Crow Era. *Demography*, *50*(5), 1921–1942.

Saperstein, A., & Penner, A. M. (2012). Racial Fluidity and Inequality in the United States. *American Journal of Sociology*, *118*(3), 676–727.

Saperstein, A., & Penner, A. M. (2016). Still Searching for a True Race? Reply to Kramer et al. and Alba et al. *American Journal of Sociology*, *122*(1), 263–285.

Saperstein, A., Porter, S. R., & Noon, J. (n.d.). *Reinforcing Inequality : The Relationship between Racial Mobility and Employment and Occupational Transitions: Proposal for the 2017 annual meetings of the Population Association of America*.

Schwartzman, L. F. (2007). Does Money Whiten? Intergenerational Changes in Racial Classification in Brazil. *American Sociological Review*, *72*(6), 940–963.

Seawright, J., & Gerring, J. (2008). Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options. *Political Research Quarterly*, (1975), 294–308.

Selod, S. (2015). Citizenship Denied: The Racialization of Muslim American Men and Women post-9/11. *Critical Sociology*, *41*(1).

Seshadri-Crooks, K. (2000). *Desiring Whiteness: A Lacanian Analysis of Race*. Routledge.

Silver, B. D., & State, M. (2003). Stereotype Threat and Race of Interviewer Effects in a Survey on Political Knowledge. *Political Science*, *47*(1), 33–45.

Simpson, L. (2014). *How have people's ethnic identities changed in England and Wales?*

Simpson, L., Jivraj, S., & Warren, J. (2014). The stability of ethnic group and religion in the Censuses of England and Wales 2001-2011. *CODE Working Paper*, (March), 1–28.

Skeggs, B. (1997). *Formations of class & gender: Becoming respectable* (Vol. 51).

Sage.

Small, S. (1994). *Racialised barriers: The black experience in the United States and England in the 1980's*. Routledge.

Smith, A. D. (1986). *The ethnic origins of nations*. Basil Blackwell Oxford.

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. Zed books.

Song, M. (2004). Introduction: Who's at the bottom? Examining claims about racial hierarchy. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *27*(6), 859–877.

Song, M. (2012). Making sense of 'mixture': states and the classification of ' mixed ' people. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *35*(4), 565–574.

Song, M. (2017). *Multiracial parents: Mixed families, generational change, and the future of race*. NYU Press.

Song, M., & Gutierrez, C. O. N. (2015). "Keeping the story alive": Is ethnic and racial dilution inevitable for multiracial people and their children? *Sociological Review*, *63*(3), 680–698.

Song, M., & Hashem, F. (2010). What does "White" Mean? Interpreting the choice of "Race" by mixed race young people in Britain. *Sociological Perspectives*, *53*, 287–292.

Spickard, P. R. (1992). The illogic of American racial categories. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), *Racially mixed people in America*. Sage Publications, Inc.

Spickard, P. R. (1996). Mapping race: Multiracial people and racial category construction in the United States and Britain. *Immigrants and Minorities*, *15*(2), 107–119.

Statistics New Zealand. (2013). *Census: 1871-1916*.

Stephens, N. M., Markus, H. R., & Townsend, S. S. M. (2007). Choice as an act of meaning: the case of social class. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *93*(5), 814.

Stonequist, E. V. (1937). *The marginal man: a study in personality and culture conflict*.

Storrs, D. (2008). Whiteness as Stigma: Essentialist Identity Work by Mixed-Race Women. *Symbolic Interaction*, *22*(3), 187–212.

Syed, M., Azmitia, M., & Phinney, J. S. (2007). Stability and Change in Ethnic Identity among Latino Emerging Adults in Two Contexts. *Identity*, *7*(2), 155–178.

Sykes, L. L., Walker, R. L., Ngwakongnwi, E., & Quan, H. (2010). A systematic literature review on response rates across racial and ethnic populations. *Canadian Journal of Public Health. Revue Canadienne de Santé Publique*, *101*(3), 213–219.

Tajfel, H. (1974). Social identity and intergroup behaviour. *Information (International Social Science Council)*, *13*(2), 65–93.

Tajfel, H. (2010). *Social identity and intergroup relations*. Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, *33*(47), 74.

Tashiro, C. J. (2015). *Standing on Both Feet: Voices of Older Mixed Race Americans*. Routledge.

Telles, E. (2014). *Pigmentocracies: Ethnicity, race, and color in Latin America*. UNC Press Books.

Telles, E., Flores, R. D., & Urrea-Giraldo, F. (2015). Pigmentocracies: Educational inequality, skin color and census ethnoracial identification in eight Latin American countries. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, *40*, 39–58.

Telles, E., & Paschel, T. (2014). Who Is Black, White, or Mixed Race? How Skin Color, Status, and Nation Shape Racial Classification in Latin America. *American Journal of Sociology*, *120*(3), 864–907.

Tesler, M., & Sears, D. O. (2010). *Obama's race: The 2008 election and the dream of a post-racial America*. University of Chicago Press.

The Economist. (2014). Into the melting pot. *The Economist*, 1–5.

Tizard, B., & Phoenix, A. (2002). *Black, white or mixed race?: race and racism in the lives of young people of mixed parentage*. Psychology Press.

Townsend, S. S. M., Fryberg, S. a., Wilkins, C. L., & Markus, H. R. (2012). Being mixed: Who claims a biracial identity? *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *18*(1), 91–96.

Travellers as an ethnic minority under the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. (2004).

Twine, F. W. (2010). *A white side of black Britain: Interracial intimacy and racial*

literacy. Duke University Press.

Wade, P. (2004). Images of Latin American mestizaje and the politics of comparison. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, *23*(3), 355–366.

Wade, P. (2005). Rethinking mestizaje: Ideology and lived experience. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *37*(2), 239–257.

Walker, C. (2018). "I didn't know if I wanted to be black or white": my life between worlds. *The Guardian*.

Watt, P. (2006). Respectability, roughness and "race": Neighbourhood place images and the making of working-class social distinctions in London. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *30*(4), 776–797.

Weller, N., & Barnes, J. (2014). Pathway Analysis and the Search for Causal Mechanisms. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 1–34.

Weller, N., & Barnes, J. (2016). Pathway Analysis and the Search for Causal Mechanisms. *Sociological Methods & Research*, *45*(3), 424–457.

West, B. T., & Blom, A. G. (2017). Explaining interviewer effects: A research synthesis. *Journal of Survey Statistics and Methodology*, *5*(2), 175–211.

Wilkinson, R., & Pickett, K. (2010). *The spirit level: Why equality is better for everyone*. Penguin UK.

Wilkinson, R., & Pickett, K. (2018). *The Inner Level: How More Equal Societies Reduce Stress, Restore Sanity and Improve Everyone's Well-being*. London: Penguin.

Winant, H. (2000). Race and Race Theory. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *26*(2000), 169–185.

Wise, A., & Velayutham, S. (2009). *Everyday Multiculturalism*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Wohland, P., Rees, P., Norman, P., Boden, P., & Jasinska, M. (2010). *Ethnic population projections for the UK and local areas, 2001-2051* (No. 10/02).

Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native. *Journal of Genocide Research*, *8*(4), 387–409.

Wright, R., Holloway, S., & Ellis, M. (2013). Gender and the Neighborhood Location of Mixed-Race Couples. *Demography*, *50*(2), 393–420.

Zhou, M. (2013). *Segmented Assimilation: Issues , Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation Author (s): Min Zhou Reviewed work (s): Source : International Migration Review , Vol . 31 , No . 4 , Special Issue : Immigrant Adaptation and Native-Bo*. 31(4), 975–1008.

Zuberi, T., & Bonilla-Silva, E. (2008). *White logic, white methods: Racism and methodology*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

9 APPENDICES

1.A. TYPICAL EXAMPLE OF ETHNIC GROUP CODE-SHEET FOR THE COLLECTION OF ADMINISTRATIVE DATA IN THE UK PUBLIC HEALTH SYSTEM

ETHNIC CODING GROUPS

A	BRITISH
B	IRISH
C	WHITE: ANY OTHER
D	MIXED WHITE/BLACK; CARIBBEAN
E	MIXED WHITE/BALCK: AFRICAN
F	MIXED WHIT/ASIAN
G	MIXED ANY OTHER MIXED BACKGROUND
H	ASIAN OR ASIAN BRITISH: INDIAN
J	ASIAN OR ASIAN BRITISH: BANGLADESH
L	ASIAN OR ASIAN BRITISH: ANY OTHER BACKGROUND
M	BLACK OR BLACK BRITISH: CARIBBEAN
N	BLACK OR BLACK BRITISH: AFRICAN
P	BLACK OR BLACK BRITISH: ANY OTHER
R	OTHER ETHNIC GROUP: CHINESE
S	OTHER ETHNIC GROUP: ANY OTHER
Z	NOT STATED

Taped to the reception desk of a South London NHS outpatient clinic to assist patients filling in forms. Photo taken with permission in 2017, although list appears based on the 2001 Census standard, with 'Pakistani' omitted – possibly in error.

2.A. DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF 12 GROUPS DEFINED BY STATED ETHNIC GROUP AND PARENTAL ETHNIC GROUP, UNDERSTANDING SOCIETY

	n if different from total	1. WID/ 2WP	2. WID/ 1WP	3. WID/ 2MinP	4. MixID/ 2WP	5. MixID/ 1WP	6. MixID/ 2MinP	7. MinID/ 2WP	8. MinID/ 1WP	9. MInID/ 2MinP	10. OID/ 2WP	11. OID/ 1WP	12. OID/ 2MinP
n	46,426	37097	371	311	52	512	249	29	92	7992	49	62	623
Weighted per cent		89.2	0.82	0.56	0.07	0.6	0.24	0.06	0.09	7.43	0.08	0.09	0.75
Mean age in 2009		47.62 (19.07)	39.87 (18.26)	37.74 (14.80)	39.57 (19.06)	31.8 (12.97)	39.09 (15.79)	41.26 (17.48)	37.13 (16.46)	37.44 (14.82)	45.88 (19.51)	37.57 (15.72)	39.28 (15.72)
Median age in 2009		47	36	34	37	29	37	38	33	35	40	38	38
Percent female		51.54	50.74	47.56	53.6	56.86	46.3	22.53	54.29	46.3	64.36	56.2	47.99
Imp. of skin colour	7,729	2.48	NES	NES	NES	2.40	1.98	NES	1.84	1.93	NES	2.62	2.23
% w/ Black parent		0	8.79	10.88	0	43.84	51.26	0	34.49	27.46	0	2.78	6.61
% w/ Asian parent		0	11.64	22.17	0	21.44	16.59	0	39.74	63.32	0	15.77	7.5
% w/ MENA parent		0	32.15	15.85	0	8.20	12.33	0	15.13	3.86	0	14.80	9.09
% w/ 'Other' parent		0	46.73	51.72	0	24.6	37.46	0	10.64	7.45	0	66.64	79.9
% Muslim	47,412	.33	1.59	24.64	1.56	3.24	13.18	0	15.92	32.91	1.02	4.04	25.50
% minority father		0	55.58	100	0	67.96	100	0	61.28	100	0	55.6	100
Father absent at 14	46,188	3.93	10.33	6.16	4.03	13.48	9.61	7.50	4.75	3.23	0	3.59	4.43
Mother absent at 14	46,258	.90	1.20	1.06	.82	2.49	.51	0	5.04	.54	1.06	5.50	1.12
% Prof parent at 14	38,241	15.00	18.57	26.61	34.75	20.44	19.05	17.58	25.17	25.97	16.41	18.21	21.94
% Father tertiary ed.	10,083	26.07	23.10	15.43	NES	32.61	14.43	NES	NES	20.18	NES	NES	18.24
% Mother tertiary ed.	10,462	15.63	21.88	13.14	NES	33.35	11.98	NES	NES	13.22	NES	NES	14.50

	N												
% v. white area		64.97	47.37	18.12	52.91	34.18	19.50	75.68	24.24	11.21	74.37	40.69	34.41
% ethnic boost sample (unweighted)		1.30	1.30	14.02	39.55	26.92	50.20	55.82	24.14	66.30	65.35	0	39.34
% rural		23.92	16.06	6.78	12.76	7.06	4.06	15.13	11.26	2.04	25.17	18.00	8.45
% tertiary quals	46,407	31.35	34.74	40.53	30.31	38.35	42.05	33.53	29.80	45.84	35.46	41.94	45.78
% secondary quals	46,407	40.59	45.14	33.96	67.72	50.46	41.16	45.76	41.26	33.10	36.48	41.65	26.05
% no school quals	46,407	28.06	20.12	25.51	1.97	11.18	16.79	20.71	28.94	21.06	28.07	16.41	28.17
Mean equiv. HH income (GBP pcm)	46,395	1541.17 (1158.57)	1417.39 (1011.08)	1343.69 (1187.90)	1527.74 (833.65)	1608.64 (1356.04)	1343.29 (1015.32)	1565.37 (782.01)	1483.54 (1999.38)	1333.13 (1092.91)	1263.92 (710.26)	1572.26 (1144.21)	1281.59 (959.14)
Median equiv HH income (GBP pcm)	46,395	1308.92	1245.22	1194.99	1332.21	1330.81	1142.98	1481.76	1140.82	1117.18	1172.44	1194.86	1142.33
% in household income poverty	46,395	15.67	17.64	23.68	4.14	16.44	24.88	5.77	27.49	25.79	17.66	16.35	30.47
Mean subjective financial hardship	46,269	2.24	2.23	2.60	2.16	2.54	2.87	1.89	2.59	2.61	2.16	2.33	2.76
Strength of British identity	16,728	7.13	NES	NES	6.75	6.46	5.88	NES	5.92	7.20	5.18	5.00	6.33
% born outside UK	46,420	6.00	21.80	67.51	27.95	21.93	68.65	25.07	43.80	71.21	36.01	43.68	83.50

2.B. CROSS-TABULATION OF PARENTAL ETHNIC GROUP COMBINATION AND LS MEMBER ETHNIC GROUP, FOR THOSE WITH TWO PARENTS IN THE HOUSEHOLD AT 2001, RAW COUNTS, ONS LS

Parents 2001	White	mixed	Non-mixed minority	Other	Total
2W 2001	154772	795	546	321	156434
Row %	98.94	0.51	.35	.21	100.00
Col %	97.74	23.89	2.57	34.70	85.10
1W/1Mix	1306	852	546	49	2753
Row %	47.44	30.95	19.83	1.78	100.00
Col %	0.82	25.6	2.57	5.30	1.50
1W/1Min	839	673	763	36	2311
Row %	36.3	29.12	33.02	1.56	100.00
Col %	0.53	20.22	3.59	3.89	1.26
2Mix	645	432	441	42	1560
Row %	41.35	27.69	28.27	2.69	100.00
Col %	0.41	12.98	2.08	4.54	.85
1Mix/1Min	537	392	454	21	1404
Row %	38.25	27.92	32.34	1.50	100.00
Col %	0.34	11.78	2.14	2.27	.76
2Min	250	184	18475	456	19365
Row %	1.29	0.95	95.40	2.35	100.00
Col %	0.16	5.53	87.04	49.3	10.53
Total	158349	3,328	21225	925	183827
Row %	86.14	1.81	11.55	.50	100.00
Col %	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

2.C. Age distribution of the six mixed groups and two mono-ethnic comparator groups, Understanding Society
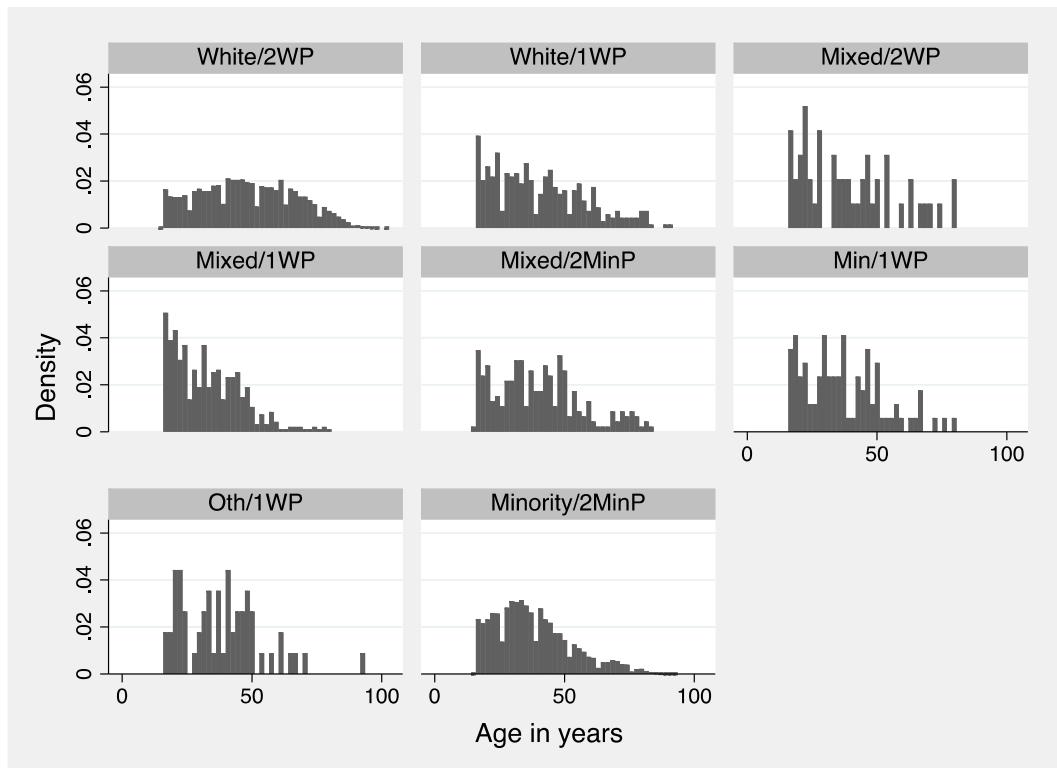
2.D. DETAILED SELF-REPORTED ETHNIC GROUP OF MIXED TYPES

9.1 Group 1: White identified

Ethnic group of non-White parent	Mother	Father	Total	Percent	Grouped percent
"Other"	92	77	169	45.55%	45.55%
Middle East/North Africa					31.27%
Turkish	42	52	94	25.34%	
Middle Eastern/Iranian	6	8	14	3.77%	
North African	0	8	8	2.16%	
Black					11.86%
Caribbean	10	25	35	9.43%	
Black African	0	9	9	2.43%	
Asian					11.32%
Indian	6	12	18	4.85%	
Pakistani	2	8	10	2.70%	
Bangladeshi	3	2	5	1.35%	
Sri Lankan	1	1	2	0.54%	
African Asian	1	1	2	0.54%	
Chinese	2	3	5	1.35%	
Total	165	206	371	100	100

9.2 Group 3: mixed-identified with two White parents

Self-identified ethnicity	n	Percent
White and black caribbean	19	36.54
White and black african	6	11.54
White and asian	9	17.31
any other mixed background	18	34.62
Total	52	100

9.3   Group 4: 'mixed' with one White and one minority parent

Non-White parent	Mother	Father	Total	Percent	Grouped percent
Black					
Caribbean	43	174	217	42.38%	53.52%
Black African	21	36	57	11.13%	
Asian					19.53%
Indian	14	37	51	9.96%	
Pakistani	0	16	16	3.13%	
Bangladeshi	0	8	8	1.56%	
Sri Lankan	4	6	10	1.95%	
African Asian	2	5	7	1.37%	
Chinese	3	5	8	1.56%	
Mid-East/North Africa					7.62%
Turkish	1	6	7	1.37%	
Middle Eastern/Iranian	6	13	19	3.71%	
North African	2	11	13	2.54%	
Unknown					19.34%
"Other"	54	45	99	19.34%	
Total	150	362	512	100.00%	100%

9.4   Group 5: 'mixed' with 2 minority parents

White and Black Caribbean	**72**	**28.92**
White and Black African	66	26.51
White and Asian	44	17.67
Any other mixed background	67	26.91
Total	249	100

For White/Black Caribbean with two minority parents, 65 per cent report two Caribbean parents. A few report one Caribbean parent and one parent who is Middle Eastern/North African, and 15 per cent have one Caribbean parent and one 'Other ethnic group'

parent. It is possible that respondents they have designated MENA/Other parents as 'White' in the respondent ethnic group question.

For White and Black African with two minority parents, 68 per cent report two Black African parents, and a few more report two Caribbean or two North African parents.

For White and Asian with two minority parents, 25 per cent report both their parents are the same Asian ethnicity, 34 per cent report both their parents are an 'other' ethnicity, and a further 22.72 per cent report that their parents are both Turkish or Middle Eastern.

Those stating 'any other mixed background mostly had parents from different non-White minority groups.

9.5 Group 6: 'Non-mixed' ethnic group with 1 White and 1 minority parent

The small numbers of each single ethnic group largely had one parent from that ethnic group, so this 'made sense', although the large 'any Other ethnic group' category remains ambiguous. Self-reported ethnicities for this group are below.

Indian	**18**	**11.76**
Pakistani	5	3.27
Bangladeshi	7	4.58
Chinese	5	3.27
Other Asian background	7	4.58
Caribbean	23	15.03
African	15	9.8
Other black background	4	2.61
Arab	8	5.23
Any other ethnic group	61	39.87
Total	153	100

3.A. CHARACTERISTICS OF WHITE-IDENTIFIED MISSING FROM ANALYSIS DUE TO ZERO-WEIGHTING, COMPARED WITH WHITE-IDENTIFIED INCLUDED IN ANALYSIS, UNDERSTANDING SOCIETY

		Main analysis sample, weighted statistics (none zero-weighted)	Zero-weighted in main sample, unweighted statistics	Zero-weighted in extra-five minutes Wave 2 sample, unweighted statistics
N		319	52	53
Mean age Wave 1		39.87	33.32	33.42
% female		50.74	50.94	51.92
% lived w/ both parents at 16		65.21	42.31	30.19
% minority mother		44.42	44.23	33.96
% Black parent		8.79	28.85	16.98
% Asian parent		12.34	5.77	9.43
% 'Other ethnic group' parent		78.87	65.38	73.59
Education (3-category variable)*	No quals	20.12	25.00	16.98
	Secondary	48.14	40.38	58.49
	Tertiary	34.74	34.62	24.53
Mean equiv HH income		1417.37	1807.38	1191.70
% in very white area		47.79	100.00	60.38
% born outside UK		21.80	19.23	22.64

3.B. AVERAGE MARGINAL EFFECTS CHAPTER 3 MAIN MODEL

Main sample		AME	p
Age (per 10 yrs)	Mixed	-0.054	-4.01**
	White	0.053	3.75**
	Non-mixed minority	0.000	0.03
Female	Mixed	0.030	0.77
(vs Male)	White	-0.021	-0.53
	Non-mixed minority	-0.009	-0.45
Asian parent	Mixed	-0.210	-3.05**
(vs Black)	White	0.165	2.51*
	Non-mixed minority	0.044	0.89
'Other' parent	Mixed	-0.453	-8.25**
(vs Black)	White	0.521	8.91**
	Non-mixed minority	-0.068	-3.15**
Minority mother	Mixed	-0.037	-0.80
(vs Father)	White	0.037	0.84
	Non-mixed minority	-0.000	-0.01
Not with both parents	Mixed	0.040	0.77
at 16yrs	White	-0.020	-0.41
	Non-mixed minority	-0.019	-0.73
High school quals	Mixed	0.044	0.77
(vs no quals)	White	0.011	0.18
	Non-mixed minority	-0.055	-1.61
Tertiary quals	Mixed	0.110	2.07*
(vs no quals)	White	-0.051	-0.87
	Non-mixed minority	-0.059	-1.61
Log equivalised	Mixed	0.077	2.15*
HH income	White	-0.060	-1.69†
	Non-mixed minority	-0.018	-1.05
Lives in very White area	Mixed	-0.036	-0.92
	White	0.074	1.84†
	Non-mixed minority	-0.038	-1.46
Born outside UK	Mixed	0.057	0.75
	White	-0.122	-1.83†
	Non-mixed minority	0.065	2.80**
N		942	

*†p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01*

3.C. Average Marginal Effects for Chapter 3 model, those with a Black and a White parent

Black and White	Ethnic choice	AME	p
Age (per 10 yrs)	Mixed	-0.049	-2.39*
	White	0.042	1.90†
	Black	0.007	1.54
Female	Mixed	0.095	1.91†
(vs Male)	White	-0.075	-1.55
	Black	-0.019	-0.89
Minority mother	Mixed	0.045	0.62
(vs Father)	White	-0.060	-0.96
	Black	0.015	0.64
Not with both parents	Mixed	-0.071	-1.41
at 16yrs	White	0.067	1.43
	Black	0.004	0.17
High school quals	Mixed	-0.105	-1.75†
(vs no quals)	White	0.148	2.51*
	Black	-0.044	-1.60
Tertiary quals	Mixed	-0.002	-0.03
(vs no quals)	White	0.006	0.11
	Black	-0.004	-0.09
Log equivalised	Mixed	0.136	4.18**
HH income	White	-0.072	-2.71**
	Black	-0.064	-5.25**
Lives in very	Mixed	-0.073	-1.89†
White area	White	0.114	3.36**
	Black	-0.040	-2.60*
Born outside UK	Mixed	-0.229	-5.71**
	White	0.103	2.66*
	Black	0.126	4.67**
N		350	

*+ p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01*

3.D. CHAPTER 3 BLACK & WHITE PARENTS + INTERACTION NESTED REGRESSION MODELS, ODDS RATIOS, UNDERSTANDING SOCIETY

	Nested (from Chapter 3)	Full (+interaction)
White choice vs Mixed choice		
Age in years	1.031	1.031
	(1.78)	(1.72)
Female	0.564	0.640
	(-1.62)	(-1.10)
Black mother	0.647	0.858
	(-0.75)	(-0.18)
Secondary quals (v none)	2.901	2.804
	(1.90)	(1.74)
Tertiary quals (v none)	1.041	1.002
	(0.06)	(0.00)
Not with parents at 16	1.663	1.694
	(1.52)	(1.55)
Log equiv HH income	0.543*	0.558*
	(-2.57)	(-2.60)
Very white area	2.127*	2.179*
	(2.31)	(2.43)
Migrant	2.688**	2.745**
	(3.00)	(3.30)
Female (vs Male)*Black dad		1
		(.)
Female (vs Male)*Black mum		0.524
		(-0.92)
Non_mixed_minority_choice vs mixed choice		
Age in years	1.018*	1.021*
	(2.55)	(2.68)
Female	0.647	0.259**
	(-1.61)	(-3.38)
Black mother	1.133	0.166***
	(0.30)	(-4.83)
Secondary quals (v none)	0.684	0.661
	(-0.96)	(-0.79)

Tertiary quals (v none)	0.943	0.948
	(-0.11)	(-0.09)
Not with parents at 16	1.207	1.005
	(0.57)	(0.01)
Log equiv HH income	0.340***	0.354***
	(-4.95)	(-3.86)
Very white area	0.667	0.555*
	(-1.89)	(-2.16)
Migrant	8.194***	8.796***
	(4.57)	(4.30)
Female*Black dad		1
		(.)
Female (vs Male)*Black mum		19.26***
		(5.13)
N	342	342

3.E. Predicted probability plot and AME table of interaction between respondent gender and having a Black mother for those with a Black and a White parent, Understanding Society Wave 1

Sex & Black mother interaction: Black/White subsample
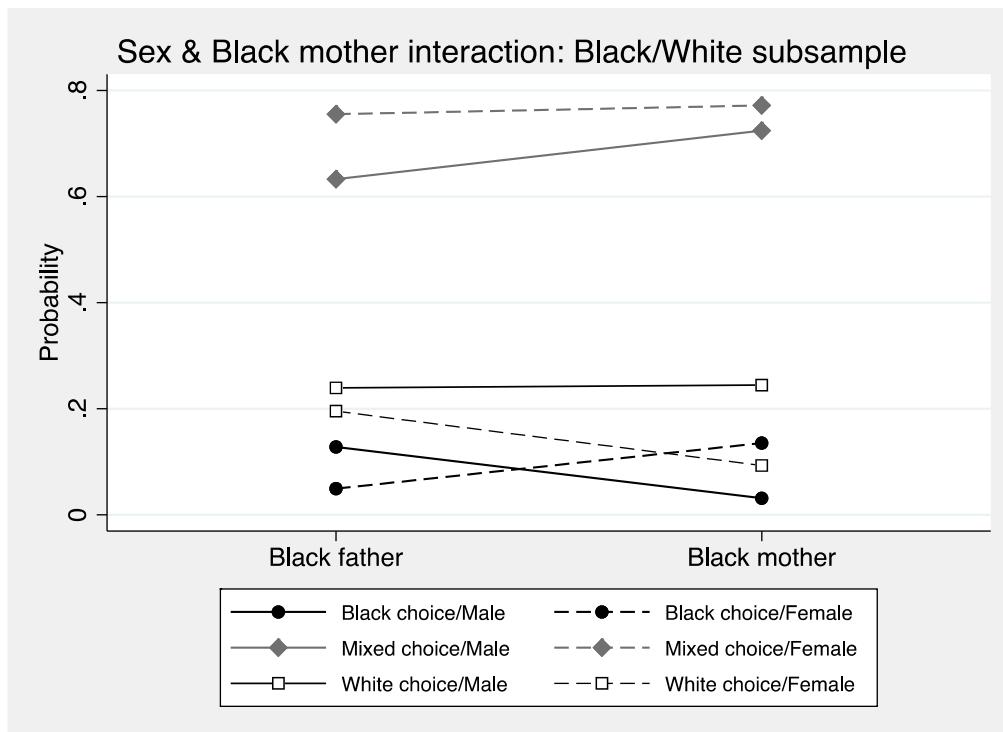
Black choice	Black dad*Male	0.128	5.26**
	Black dad*Female	0.049	3.17**
	Black mum*Male	0.031	5.57**
	Black mum*Female	0.135	3.71**
Mixed choice	Black dad*Male	0.633	12.92**
	Black dad*Female	0.755	24.79**
	Black mum*Male	0.724	6.64**
	Black mum*Female	0.772	15.74**
White choice	Black dad*Male	0.239	5.13**
	Black dad*Female	0.195	6.92**
	Black mum*Male	0.245	2.20*
	Black mum*Female	0.093	5.31**
	N	357	

3.F. Average Marginal Effects: Those with an Asian and a White parent

Asian and White	Ethnic choices	AME	p
Age (per 10 yrs)	Mixed	-0.031	-0.96
	White	0.060	1.79†
	Non-mixed minority	-0.030	-1.54
Female	Mixed	-0.115	-1.38
(vs Male)	White	0.097	1.02
	Non-mixed minority	0.017	0.29
Minority mother	Mixed	-0.166	-1.44
(vs Father)	White	0.105	1.09
	Non-mixed minority	0.061	0.95
Not with both parents	Mixed	0.127	0.96
at 16yrs	White	0.070	0.59
	Non-mixed minority	-0.197	-2.42*
High school quals	Mixed	0.056	0.24
(vs no quals)	White	0.062	0.24
	Non-mixed minority	-0.117	-0.92
Tertiary quals	Mixed	0.019	0.09
(vs no quals)	White	0.113	0.54
	Non-mixed minority	-0.132	-0.98
Log equivalised	Mixed	0.103	0.92
HH income	White	-0.109	-0.94
	Non-mixed minority	0.006	0.08
Lives in very	Mixed	-0.018	-0.28
White area	White	0.108	2.52*
	Non-mixed minority	-0.089	-1.82†
Born outside UK	Mixed	0.273	2.32*
	White	-0.380	-3.37**
	Non-mixed minority	0.108	2.22*
N		176	

*† p<0.1; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01*

3.G. Average Marginal Effects: Those with an 'Other ethnic group' and a White parent

'Other' and White	Ethnic choices	AME	p
Age (per 10 yrs)	Mixed	-0.064	-3.00**
	White	0.062	2.66*
	Non-mixed minority	0.002	0.26
Female	Mixed	0.061	0.89
(vs Male)	White	-0.050	-0.71
	Non-mixed minority	-0.011	-0.50
Minority mother	Mixed	-0.014	-0.28
(vs Father)	White	0.041	0.76
	Non-mixed minority	-0.027	-1.02
Not with both parents	Mixed	0.124	1.83†
at 16yrs	White	-0.085	-1.02
	Non-mixed minority	-0.039	-0.72
High school quals	Mixed	0.207	2.98**
(vs no quals)	White	-0.157	-1.83†
	Non-mixed minority	-0.050	-0.95
Tertiary quals	Mixed	0.069	1.07
(vs no quals)	White	-0.084	-1.18
	Non-mixed minority	0.016	0.59
Log equivalised	Mixed	0.060	1.66
HH income	White	-0.051	-1.42
	Non-mixed minority	-0.009	-1.17
Lives in very	Mixed	-0.029	-0.68
White area	White	0.057	1.25
	Non-mixed minority	-0.028	-1.60
Born outside UK	Mixed	0.087	1.32
	White	-0.119	-1.77†
	Non-mixed minority	0.032	1.87†
N		410	

*† $p<0.10$; * $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$*

3.H. FOUR SUBSIDIARY MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODELS, ODDS RATIOS: AGE-SQUARED (NOT SIGNIFICANT), AND INTERACTIONS (NONE SIGNIFICANT)

	Chapter 3 Main model	1. +Age-squared	2. Age*sex	3. Sex* ethnicity	4. Sex* minority mother
White vs mixed choice					
Age in years	0.033	0.015	0.031	0.033	0.033
	(3.59)**	(0.39)	(2.55)*	(3.58)**	(3.58)**
Age squared	-	0.000	-	-	-
		(0.50)			
Female	-0.156	-0.151	-0.334	-0.404	-0.230
	(0.68)	(0.66)	(0.75)	(0.79)	(0.82)
Age*Female	-	-	0.005	-	-
			(0.38)		
Asian v Black parent	1.045	1.039	1.037	0.526	1.050
	(2.68)**	(2.65)**	(2.65)**	(0.98)	(2.67)**
Other v Black parent	2.538	2.530	2.535	2.529	2.538
	(6.56)**	(6.49)**	(6.57)**	(4.43)**	(6.55)**
Female*Asian parent	-	-	-	1.001	-
				(1.47)	
Female*Other parent	-	-	-	0.020	-
				(0.03)	
Minority mother	0.222	0.218	0.220	0.237	0.107
	(0.87)	(0.84)	(0.86)	(0.92)	(0.24)
Female*minority mum	-	-	-	-	0.211
					(0.36)
Not w/2 parents at 16	-0.158	-0.152	-0.157	-0.162	-0.159
	(0.53)	(0.51)	(0.53)	(0.55)	(0.54)
Secondary quals	-0.076	-0.056	-0.056	-0.038	-0.077
	(0.21)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.22)
Tertiary quals	-0.442	-0.380	-0.419	-0.422	-0.450
	(1.35)	(1.07)	(1.25)	(1.28)	(1.36)
Log equiv. HH income	-0.398	-0.387	-0.399	-0.396	-0.398
	(1.89)†	(1.86)†	(1.90)†	(1.89)†	(1.88)†
Very white area	0.341	0.344	0.343	0.383	0.337
	(1.49)	(1.49)	(1.50)	(1.63)	(1.46)
Born outside UK	-0.555	-0.561	-0.564	-0.541	-0.555
	(1.31)	(1.32)	(1.33)	(1.26)	(1.31)
_cons	0.752	0.955	0.833	0.826	0.797
	(0.41)	(0.50)	(0.46)	(0.45)	(0.44)
Minority v mixed					
Age in years	0.015	0.054	0.030	0.015	0.015
		(0.82)	(1.39)	(1.07)	(1.11)
Age squared	-	-0.000	-	--	-
	(1.08)	(0.54)			
Female	-0.241	-0.267	0.942	-0.143	-0.491
	(0.65)	(0.74)	(0.86)	(0.37)	(0.93)
Age*Female	-	-	-0.033	-	-
			(1.29)		
Asian v Black parent	0.840	0.851	0.903	0.653	0.844
	(1.65)	(1.67)	(1.81)	(0.77)	(1.66)
Other v Black parent	-0.180	-0.172	-0.175	0.169	-0.188
	(0.33)	(0.31)	(0.33)	(0.21)	(0.35)
Female*Asian parent	-	-	-	0.384	-
				(0.40)	
Female*Other parent	-	-	-	-0.680	-

				(0.73)	
Minority mother	0.099	0.104	0.083	0.107	-0.285
	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.18)	(0.23)	(0.45)
Female*minority mum	-	-	-	-	0.689
					(0.91)
Not w/2 parents at 16	-0.447	-0.467	-0.447	-0.453	-0.461
	(0.84)	(0.85)	(0.82)	(0.86)	(0.87)
Secondary quals	-0.885	-0.905	-0.973	-0.901	-0.877
	(1.97)†	(2.03)*	(2.02)*	(2.01)*	(1.94)†
Tertiary quals	-1.133	-1.241	-1.211	-1.157	-1.121
	(2.26)*	(2.43)*	(2.38)*	(2.31)*	(2.25)*
Log equiv. HH income	-0.522	-0.549	-0.530	-0.515	-0.517
	(1.48)	(1.58)	(1.55)	(1.43)	(1.46)
Very white area	-0.585	-0.586	-0.602	-0.564	-0.600
	(1.03)	(1.03)	(1.03)	(1.02)	(1.08)
Born outside UK	1.008	1.012	1.045	1.043	0.998
	(1.93)†	(1.94)†	(2.04)*	(2.01)*	(1.87)†
_cons	2.468	2.012	2.010	2.384	2.567
	(0.94)	(0.82)	(0.78)	(0.88)	(0.98)
	942	942	942	942	942

*† p<0.10; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01*

4.A. ONS Sampling approach

Entrants (1971-2015)

Exits (1971-2015)

1971 Census
530,000 sample members
524,000 traced

New births
(325,000)

Deaths
(281,000)

1981 Census
535,000 sample members
533,000 traced

1991 Census
544,000 sample members
537,000 traced

Embarks
(51,000)*

Enlistments (7,600)

Immigrants
(242,000)*

2001 Census
540,000 sample members
538,000 traced

Birth to sample women
(317,800)

Infant Deaths (2,400)

2011 Census
586,000 sample members
581,000 traced

Widow(er)hoods(96,000)

Cancer Registrations
(161,000)

Re-entries (26,000)*

Linked Events (1971-2015)

Copyright ONS, https://www.ons.gov.uk/aboutus/whatwedo/paidservices/longitudinalstudyls

4.B. CROSS TABULATION OF 8 ETHNIC CATEGORIES FROM THE ONS LS, 2001 AND 2011

2011	White		White/Black Caribbean		White/Black African		White/Asian		Any other mixed		Asian		Black		Other		Total
2001		Col%		Col%		Col %		Col %		Col %		Col%		Col %		Col %	
White	366,382	99.74	349	18.09	58	11.96	267	18.88	431	0.12	291	1.22	87	1.35	618	33.03	368,483
Row %	99.43		0.09		0.02		0.07		38.04		0.08		0.02		0.17		100
White/Black Caribbean	148	0.04	1,357	70.35	17	3.51	X	X	64	3.83	X	X	72	1.12	X	X	1,658
Row %	8.93		81.85		1.03		X		3.86		X		4.34		X		100
White/Black African	48	0.01	22	1.14	339	69.90	X	X	48	8.68	X	X	59	0.92	32	1.71	548
Row %	8.76		4.01		61.86		X		8.76		X		10.77		5.84		100
White/Asian	213	0.06	X	X	X	X	885	62.59	93	6.51	165	0.69	X	X	56	2.99	1,412
Row %	15.08		X		X		62.68		6.59		11.69		X		3.97		100
Any other mixed	209	0.06	82	4.25	30	6.19	122	8.63	327	32.03	111	0.47	32	0.50	108	5.77	1,021
Row %	20.47		8.03		2.94		11.95		32.03		10.87		3.13		10.58		100
Asian	181	0.05	X	X	X	X	103	7.28	57	0.24	22,277	93.72	65	1.01	661	35.33	23,344
Row%	0.78		X		X		0.44		0.24		95.43		0.28		2.83		100
Black	97	0.03	119	6.17	41	8.45	X	X	70	1.06	86	0.36	6,133	95.11	78	4.17	6,624
Row%	1.46		1.80		0.62		X		1.06		1.30		92.59		1.18		100
Other	75	0.02	X	X	X	X	37	2.62	43	3.24	841	3.54	X	X	318	17.00	1,314
Row%	5.71		X		X		2.82		3.27		64.00		X		24.20		100
Total	367,353	100	1,929		485	100	1,414		1,133	100	23,771	100	6,448	100	1,871	100	404,404

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study. In order to minimise the risk of disclosure of personal information, all counts of fewer than ten people are represented by an 'x', and these counts are excluded from the totals of the tables in which they are found.

4.C. MODEL 1: ETHNIC CHANGE 2001-2011, BINARY LOGISTIC REGRESSION, ODDS RATIOS (SE, Z), AMEs (T)

	O.R	S.E	z	AME	T
Under 35	1	(.)	(.)	(base)	(.)
35-54	1.439**	0.16	3.27	0.0735**	3.29
55+	1.934***	0.261	4.89	0.1332***	4.96
Female	0.806**	0.0659	(-2.64)	-0.0437**	-2.65
Black descent	1	(.)	(.)	(base)	(.)
Asian descent	1.595***	0.15	4.97	0.0943***	5.04
Never Black/Asian	2.767***	0.321	8.77	0.2056***	9.17
Not UK-born	2.426***	0.245	8.76	0.1790***	9.15
Poor health	1.042	0.169	0.25	0.0083	0.25
No quals	1	(.)	(.)	(base)	(.)
Non-degree quals	0.782*	0.0966	(-1.99)	-0.0497*	-2
Degree-level quals	0.727†	0.12	(-1.93)	-0.0645†	-1.94
Non-working	1	(.)	(.)	(base)	(.)
Semi/routine	0.829	0.113	(-1.38)	-0.0380	-1.38
Intermediate occ	0.510***	0.074	(-4.64)	-0.1358***	-4.7
Prof/managerial	0.458***	0.0809	(-4.42)	-0.1576***	-4.47
Quals did not improve	1	(.)	(.)	(base)	(.)
Quals improved	0.928	0.103	(-0.67)	-0.0151	-0.67
Occ status same	1	(.)	(.)	(base)	(.)
Occ status improved	0.862	0.0992	(-1.29)	-0.0300	-1.29
Occ status declined	1.229†	0.145	1.74	0.0416†	1.75
Sole-parented	0.619***	0.0651	(-4.56)	-0.0968***	-4.62
HH deprivation score	1.158*	0.0694	2.45	0.0297*	2.46
Lost relationship	1.652**	0.252	3.29	0.1015**	3.31
Deprivation no change	1	(.)	(.)	(base)	(.)
Deprivation decreased	0.939	0.11	(-0.54)	-0.0126	-0.54
Deprivation got worse	1.268*	0.137	2.20	0.0480*	2.21
Ward deprivation	0.991	0.0428	(-0.22)	-0.0019	-0.22
– no change	1	(.)	(.)	(base)	(.)
– improved	0.808*	0.0847	(-2.03)	-0.0430*	-2.04
– got worse	1.137	0.143	1.02	0.0260	1.02
Mixed ethnic density	0.843***	0.0413	(-3.50)	-0.0346***	-3.52
– no change	1	(.)	(.)	(base)	(.)
– decreased	0.888	0.12	(-0.88)	-0.0240	-0.88
– increased	1.156	0.154	1.09	0.0293	1.09
Population density	1.037	0.0989	0.38	0.0074	0.38
– increased	1.057*	0.0258	2.26	0.0111*	2.26
	3088				

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

4.D. MODEL 2 'WHITENING' (N=2769); MODEL 3 'MIXED PRIVILEGE' (N=3088), ODDS RATIOS (SE, Z)

	Whitening						Mixed privilege					
	Towards White vs Stable Mixed			Away from White vs Stable Mixed			Towards White vs Stable Mixed			Away from White vs Stable Mixed		
	O.R.	z	s.e.	O.R.	z	s.e.	O.R.	z	s.e.	O.R.	z	s.e.
Under 35	(base)	-	-	(base)	-	-	(base)	-	-	(base)	-	-
35-54	1.722***	3.39	0.276	1.496**	2.75	0.22	1.453**	2.9	0.187	1.795***	3.98	0.264
55+	2.483***	4.93	0.458	2.106***	4.37	0.359	2.052***	4.77	0.309	2.129***	4.43	0.363
Female	0.834	-1.62	0.093	0.805*	-2.08	0.084	0.817*	-2.21	0.0748	0.774*	-2.55	0.078
Black descent	(base)	-	-	(base)	-	-	(base)	-	-	(base)	-	-
Asian descent	1.310*	-2.22	0.16	1.323*	2.47	0.15	1.315*	2.55	0.141	1.900***	5.53	0.221
Never Black/Asian	319892232.9	0.02	-2.79E+11	587616895.2	0.02	5.127E+11	4.268***	-11.47	0.54	3.584***	8.96	0.51
Not UK-born	2.261***	6.16	0.299	2.120***	5.95	0.268	0.892	-0.65	0.159	1.123	0.63	0.208
Poor health	0.939	-0.31	0.193	0.891	-0.59	0.175	1.426**	3.18	0.159	3.353***	10.44	0.388
No quals	(base)	-	-	(base)	-	-	(base)	-	-	(base)	-	-
Non-degree quals	0.935	-0.42	0.151	0.692*	-2.49	0.102	0.704**	-2.65	0.0933	0.988	-0.08	0.146
Degree-level quals	0.84	-0.8	0.183	0.548**	-2.94	0.112	0.522***	-3.59	0.0944	0.97	-0.16	0.19
Non-working	(base)											
Semi/routine	0.743	-1.63	0.136	0.837	-1.05	0.141	1.121	0.75	0.17	0.643**	-2.68	0.106
Intermediate occ	0.499***	-3.49	0.0995	0.570**	-3.05	0.105	0.773	-1.58	0.126	0.321***	-6.25	0.0584
Prof/managerial	0.456***	-3.29	0.109	0.462***	-3.43	0.104	0.688	-1.88	0.137	0.322***	-5.28	0.0691

Quals not improve	(base)			(base)			(base)			(base)		
Quals improved	0.783	-1.58	0.121	0.85	-1.15	0.12	0.546***	-4.81	0.0688	0.645**	-3.05	0.0927
Occ status same	(base)											
Occ status improved	0.978	-0.14	0.153	0.939	-0.44	0.135	1.166*	2.33	0.0771	1.165*	2.11	0.0844
Occ status declined	1.422*	2.24	0.223	1.147	0.90	0.174	0.857	-1.18	0.112	1.068	0.46	0.152
Sole-parented	0.521***	-4.17	0.0815	0.505***	-4.75	0.0727	1.266*	1.99	0.15	1.116	0.82	0.15
HH deprivation score	1.158	1.88	0.0905	1.142	1.81	0.0835	0.98	-0.16	0.125	0.774	-1.79	0.111
Lost relationship	1.568*	2.43	0.291	1.559*	2.51	0.276	1.111	0.8	0.146	1.352*	2.09	0.195
Depriv. no change												
Depriv. decreased	1.025	0.16	0.16	0.893	-0.77	0.132	0.856	-1.25	0.106	0.876	-0.95	0.122
Depriv. got worse	1.149	0.94	0.17	1.255	1.67	0.171	1.692***	3.34	0.266	1.366	1.75	0.243
Ward deprivation	1.017	0.28	0.0605	1.049	0.85	0.059	1.018	0.38	0.0494	0.981	-0.36	0.0521
- no change	(base)	-	-	(base)	-	-	(base)	-	-	(base)	-	-
- improved	0.869	-0.96	0.127	0.85	-1.19	0.116	0.919	-0.71	0.109	0.731*	-2.33	0.0982
- got worse	1.205	1.1	0.205	1.084	0.5	0.176	1.129	0.86	0.158	0.967	-0.22	0.149
mixed ethnic density	0.819**	-3.03	0.0539	0.766***	-4.38	0.0466	0.826***	-3.58	0.0441	0.901	-1.68	0.0557
- no change	(base)	-	-	(base)	-	-	(base)	-	-	(base)	-	-
- decreased	0.792	-1.26	0.146	0.781	-1.43	0.135	0.743†	-1.95	0.113	1.006	0.04	0.171
- increased	0.889	-0.63	0.166	1.23	1.23	0.207	1.234	1.44	0.18	0.911	-0.53	0.16
Moved area	0.997	-0.02	0.128	1.002	0.02	0.121	1.006	0.06	0.107	1.018	0.15	0.118
Population density	1.007	0.2	0.0332	1.033	1.06	0.0319	1.03	1.09	0.028	1.031	1.03	0.0303
N	2679						3088					

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

4.E. AME TABLES FOR MODEL 2 & MODEL 3

	'Whitening'	AME	t	'Mixed Privilege'	AME	t
35-54 (vs < 35)	Stable Mixed	-0.084524***	-3.66	Stable mixed	-0.0953***	-4.15
	Towards Wh	0.055**	2.32	Into mixed	0.0285	1.20
	Away fr, Wh	0.0296087	1.2	Out of mixed	0.0668**	2.98
55+ (vs < 35)	Stable Mixed	-0.148692***	-5.55	Stable mixed	-0.151***	-5.60
	Towards Wh	0.0861196***	3.27	Into mixed	0.0835***	3.09
	Away fr, Wh	0.062572**	2.26	Out of mixed	0.0680**	2.68
Female	Stable Mixed	0.0366403**	2.19	Stable mixed	0.0464**	2.79
	Towards Wh	-0.0114809	-0.72	Into mixed	-0.0200	-1.23
	Away fr, Wh	-0.0251594	-1.49	Out of mixed	-0.0264+	-1.78
Asian	Stable Mixed	-0.050165***	-2.85	Stable mixed	-0.0882***	-4.68
(vs Black)	Towards Wh	0.0207628	1.14	Into mixed	0.00441	0.23
	Away fr, Wh	0.0294026	1.52	Out of mixed	0.0838***	4.83
Other	Stable Mixed	-3.625864	-0.02	Stable mixed	-0.284***	-12.91
(v Black)	Towards Wh	1.514234	0.02	Into mixed	0.188***	9.37
	Away fr, Wh	2.11163	0.02	Out of mixed	0.0964***	5.02
Not UK-born	Stable Mixed	-0.141874***	-7.19	Stable mixed	-0.147***	-7.64
	Towards Wh	0.0704108***	3.92	Into mixed	-0.0237	-1.26
	Away fr, Wh	0.0714634***	3.67	Out of mixed	0.171***	10.82
Poor self-	Stable Mixed	0.0168132	0.53	Stable mixed	0.00381	0.12
rated health	Towards Wh	-0.0007212	-0.03	Into mixed	-0.0317	-1.04
	Away fr, Wh	-0.016092	-0.53	Out of mixed	0.0279	1.07
Non-degree	Stable Mixed	0.0430173†	1.77	Stable mixed	0.0433+	1.75
quals	Towards Wh	0.0193088	0.86	Into mixed	-0.0686**	-3.01
	Away fr, Wh	-0.062326***	-2.68	Out of mixed	0.0253	1.20
Degree-level	Stable Mixed	0.0753634**	2.27	Stable mixed	0.0807*	2.44
quals	Towards Wh	0.0211975	0.7	Into mixed	-0.126***	-4.05
	Away fr, Wh	-0.096561	-3	Out of mixed	0.0454	1.62
Semi/routine	Stable Mixed	0.0418842	1.52	Stable mixed	0.0242	0.88
occ (v non-	Towards Wh	-0.0335144	-1.31	Into mixed	0.0569**	2.14
working)	Away fr, Wh	-0.0083698	-0.31	Out of mixed	-0.0811***	-3.41
Intermediate	Stable Mixed	0.1129819***	3.81	Stable mixed	0.129***	4.38
occ (vs nw)	Towards Wh	-0.0665451**	-2.36	Into mixed	0.0373	1.29
	Away fr, Wh	-0.0464368	-1.57	Out of mixed	-0.166***	-6.28
Prof/mngrl	Stable Mixed	0.1415516***	3.94	Stable mixed	0.142***	4.00
(vs nw)	Towards Wh	-0.0639195*	-1.91	Into mixed	0.0139	0.40
	Away fr, Wh	-0.0776321**	-2.17	Out of mixed	-0.156***	-5.02
Quals	Stable Mixed	0.0361912	1.58	Stable mixed	0.0300	1.32

improved	Towards Wh	-0.026275	-1.19	Into mixed	-0.0204	-0.92
	Away fr. Wh	-0.0099162	-0.43	Out of mixed	-0.00966	-0.47
Occ status	Stable Mixed	0.0082656	0.35	Stable mixed	0.0244	1.04
improved	Towards Wh	0.0015503	0.07	Into mixed	0.0159	0.70
	Away fr, Wh	-0.0098159	-0.42	Out of mixed	-0.0403†	-1.92
Occ status	Stable Mixed	-0.0421531†	-1.74	Stable mixed	-0.0386	-1.61
declined	Towards Wh	0.0458054*	2.07	Into mixed	-0.00258	-0.11
	Away fr, Wh	-0.0036522	-0.15	Out of mixed	0.0412†	1.94
Sole-parented	Stable Mixed	0.1217894***	5.55	Stable mixed	0.111***	5.06
'71-'91	Towards Wh	-0.0494677*	-2.1	Into mixed	-0.0857***	-3.59
	Away fr, Wh	-0.0723216**	-2.93	Out of mixed	-0.0248	-1.10
HH dep	Stable Mixed	-0.025247**	-2.14	Stable mixed	-0.0316**	-2.62
	Towards Wh	0.0128844	1.17	Into mixed	0.0186	1.60
	Away fr, Wh	0.0123626	1.06	Out of mixed	0.0131	1.24
Lost	Stable Mixed	-0.0812797***	-2.81	Stable mixed	-0.0900***	-3.01
relnship	Towards Wh	0.0364209	1.47	Into mixed	0.0798***	3.04
	Away fr, Wh	0.0448588	1.66	Out of mixed	0.0102	0.41
Deprivation	Stable Mixed	0.0095247	0.4	Stable mixed	0.0129	0.54
decreased	Towards Wh	0.0132712	0.6	Into mixed	-0.0356	-1.54
	Away fr, Wh	-0.0227959	-0.96	Out of mixed	0.0227	1.09
Deprivatiom	Stable Mixed	-0.0343135	-1.56	Stable mixed	-0.0378+	-1.73
increased	Towards Wh	0.003857	0.18	Into mixed	0.0381†	1.80
	Away fr, Wh	0.0304565	1.38	Out of mixed	-0.000296	-0.01
Area dep	Stable Mixed	-0.0061841	-0.68	Stable mixed	-0.000538	-0.06
	Towards Wh	-0.001223	-0.15	Into mixed	0.00511	0.59
	Away fr, Wh	0.0074071	0.82	Out of mixed	-0.00457	-0.58
Area dep	Stable Mixed	0.0278428	1.28	Stable mixed	0.0370†	1.72
decreased	Towards Wh	-0.0094285	-0.45	Into mixed	0.00765	0.36
	Away fr, Wh	-0.0184143	-0.82	Out of mixed	-0.0447*	-2.22
Area dep	Stable Mixed	-0.0231155	-0.89	Stable mixed	-0.0116	-0.45
got worse	Towards Wh	0.023649	0.99	Into mixed	0.0265	1.06
	Away fr, Wh	-0.0005335	-0.02	Out of mixed	-0.0149	-0.66
Area mixed	Stable Mixed	0.0431375***	4.41	Stable mixed	0.0319***	3.22
density	Towards Wh	-0.010437	-1.14	Into mixed	-0.0297***	-3.16
	Away fr, Wh	-0.0327006***	-3.39	Out of mixed	-0.00225	-0.25
Area got	Stable Mixed	0.0438266	1.58	Stable mixed	0.0351	1.27
less mixed	Towards Wh	-0.0174313	-0.66	Into mixed	-0.0592*	-2.17
	Away fr, Wh	-0.0263953	-0.94	Out of mixed	0.0240	0.95
Area got more	Stable Mixed	-0.0117275	-0.43	Stable mixed	-0.0172	-0.63
mixed	Towards Wh	-0.036034	-1.35	Into mixed	0.0488†	1.86

	Away fr, Wh	0.0477616†	1.75	Out of mixed	-0.0315	-1.21
Moved area	Stable Mixed	0.0000251	0	Stable mixed	-0.00230	-0.12
	Towards Wh	-0.0005999	-0.03	Into mixed	-0.000140	-0.01
	Away fr, Wh	0.0005748	0.03	Out of mixed	0.00244	0.14
Pop density 2001	Stable Mixed	-0.0038656	-0.77	Stable mixed	-0.00617	-1.25
	Towards Wh	-0.0016396	-0.35	Into mixed	0.00347	0.72
	Away fr, Wh	0.0055052	1.12	Out of mixed	0.00269	0.63

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

	Away fr, Wh	0.0477616†	1.75
Moved area	Stable Mixed	0.0000251	0

4.F. ADDITIONAL DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR 'SWITCHING MONORACIALS' AND MIXED COMPARATORS

	Any change, Mixed	Switching mono-racials
n - no data missing on covariates	1918	557
Mean age in years 2011	47.81	50.50
Female 2011 %	53.81%	50.27%
Black descent ever indicated	38.06%	22.26%
Asian descent ever indicated	36.13%	56.73%
Black/Asian descent never indicated	25.81%	21.01%
Not UK-born	42.75%	62.12%
Reporting 'not good' health 2011	9.59%	9.52%
No change in health 2001-2011	89.21%	86.00%
Reported improvement in health 2001-2011	5.89%	7.72%
Reported decline in health 2001-2011	4.90%	6.28%
No quals	23.51%	20.47%
Non-degree quals	43.38%	47.76%
Degree-level quals	33.11%	31.78%
Non-working	11.26%	14.90%
Routine/semi-routine	26.28%	22.80%
Intermediate occ & self-empl	29.56%	30.70%
Prof/managerial	32.90%	31.60%
No change in occ status 2000-2001	49.95%	49.91%
went up occupational scale	32.06%	30.16%
went down occupational scale	17.99%	19.93%
Sole-parented 1971-2011	13.66%	7.36%
Lost household partner by 2011	11.78%	9.16%
Average no. of HH deprivation indicators	2.150	2.154
no change	42.13%	40.93%
improved	34.88%	34.11%

got worse	22.99%	24.96%
Average Carstairs ward deprivation quintile (1-5 scale)	3.77	3.90
no change	60.32%	69.12%
improved	21.17%	17.95%
got worse	18.51%	12.93%
Average mixed ethnic ward density quintile (1-5 scale)	4.179	4.354
no change	69.45%	74.87%
got relatively less mixed	18.04%	15.80%
got relatively more mixed	12.51%	9.34%
Moved areas 2001-2011	51.72%	40.93%
Average ward pop density score (1-14)	5.73	5.96

No data missing on demographic, socioeconomic and occupational covariates, aged 16+,
Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

4.G. BINARY LOGISTIC MODELS INCLUDING 'SWITCHING MONORACIALS' AND HRPs ONLY, OR (Z)

	1a) Any change		1b) Inc. sw-mono		1c) HRPs only	
Under 35	1	(.)	1	(.)	1	(.)
35-54	1.292*	(2.36)	1.288*	(2.43)	1.320	(1.40)
55+	1.595***	(3.49)	1.593***	(3.63)	1.831**	(2.68)
Woman	0.823*	(-2.36)	0.800**	(-2.80)	0.758*	(-2.25)
Black descent	1	(.)	1	(.)	1	(.)
Asian descent	1.630***	(5.11)	1.968***	(7.42)	1.780***	(4.25)
Never Black/Asian	2.790***	(8.72)	2.821***	(8.98)	3.727***	(7.16)
Poor health	1.116	(0.43)	1.025	(0.10)	1.027	(0.08)
migrant	2.328***	(8.32)	2.641***	(9.91)	2.961***	(7.81)
No quals	1	(.)	1	(.)	1	(.)
Non-degree quals	0.635**	(-3.21)	0.660**	(-3.03)	0.613*	(-2.49)
Degree-level quals	0.608**	(-2.94)	0.637**	(-2.77)	0.576*	(-2.29)
Non-working	1	(.)	1	(.)	1	(.)
Semi/routine	0.921	(-0.48)	0.924	(-0.48)	1.012	(0.05)
Intermediate occ	0.706*	(-2.01)	0.712*	(-2.04)	0.682	(-1.48)
Prof/managerial	0.604**	(-2.61)	0.618**	(-2.62)	0.508*	(-2.31)
Sole parented	0.602***	(-4.76)	0.577***	(-5.37)	0.639**	(-2.75)
Partner gone	1.640**	(3.23)	1.603**	(3.15)	2.305***	(3.51)
Education dep	1.317	(1.76)	1.280	(1.64)	1.151	(0.66)
Employment dep	1.118	(0.59)	1.124	(0.64)	1.063	(0.21)
Tenure dep	0.941	(-0.47)	0.957	(-0.36)	0.898	(-0.60)
Health/dis dep	1.056	(0.39)	1.064	(0.46)	0.957	(-0.21)
Ed Dep improved	1.320*	(2.15)	1.402**	(2.72)	1.485*	(2.26)
Ed dep worsened	1.335	(1.47)	1.502*	(2.13)	1.496	(1.48)
Emp dep improved	1.254	(1.65)	1.333*	(2.19)	1.673*	(2.37)
Emp dep worsened	0.780	(-1.21)	0.825	(-0.97)	1.016	(0.05)
Tenure dep improved	1.519**	(2.65)	1.483*	(2.57)	1.570	(1.88)
Tenure dep worsened	1.338	(1.48)	1.351	(1.59)	1.189	(0.62)
Health/dis dep improved	0.958	(-0.36)	0.998	(-0.02)	0.991	(-0.04)
Health/dis dep worsened	1.520*	(2.48)	1.467*	(2.35)	1.592	(1.90)
Health improved	0.825	(-0.94)	0.808	(-1.09)	0.756	(-1.00)
Health worsened	0.901	(-0.27)	1.036	(0.09)	1.212	(0.37)
Occ status improved	1.322**	(2.76)	1.354**	(3.12)	1.362*	(2.02)
Occ status worsened	0.914	(-0.74)	0.942	(-0.51)	0.792	(-1.37)
Ward deprivation	0.922	(-1.88)	0.948	(-1.27)	0.948	(-0.82)
- improved	0.753*	(-2.47)	0.753*	(-2.55)	0.812	(-1.24)

- got worse	1.128	(1.04)	1.018	(0.16)	0.988	(-0.07)
mixed ethnic density	0.865**	(-2.91)	0.885*	(-2.55)	0.951	(-0.70)
- decreased	0.921	(-0.61)	0.997	(-0.02)	1.049	(0.24)
- increased	1.057	(0.43)	1.076	(0.59)	1.483	(1.88)
Moved area	0.962	(-0.40)	0.884	(-1.32)	0.920	(-0.61)
Population density	1.062**	(2.65)	1.054*	(2.41)	1.042	(1.29)
N	3125		3682		1757	

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

4.H. BINARY LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODELS OF CHANGE TOWARDS WHITE & BECOMING WHITE, WITH ETHNIC CHANGE OF PARTNER, O.R. (Z)

	2a) Moving towards White		2b) Becoming White	
Age in years	1.00	(0.02)	1.004	(0.28)
Woman	0.923	(-0.39)	0.97	(-0.12)
Black descent	1	(.)	1	(.)
Asian descent	0.613†	(-1.96)	0.725	(-1.00)
Never Black/Asian	0.515*	(-2.37)	1.519	(1.35)
Poor health	0.74	(-0.47)	3.329	(1.55)
Migrant	0.921	(-0.36)	0.348***	(-3.75)
No quals	1	(.)	1	(.)
Non-degree quals	1.19	(0.55)	1.174	(0.41)
Degree-level quals	1.459	(0.95)	1.648	(1.03)
Non-working	1	(.)	1	(.)
Semi/routine	0.931	(-0.15)	0.295*	(-2.09)
Intermediate occ	1.389	(0.71)	0.545	(-1.07)
Prof/managerial	2.115	(1.45)	0.398	(-1.48)
Sole parented	0.632	(-1.03)	0.785	(-0.47)
Partner White then White	1	(.)	1	(.)
Partner White, non-White	0.177***	(-3.67)	0.0952**	(-3.08)
Partner n-Wh, n-Wh	1.179	(0.56)	0.161***	(-3.56)
Partner n-Wh,Wh	27.43***	(4.22)	14.75***	(5.42)
Education deprived	0.896	(-0.29)	0.726	(-0.65)
Employment deprived	1.736	(1.12)	4.595*	(2.42)
Tenure deprived	0.83	(-0.49)	0.628	(-0.94)
Health/disability deprived	1.081	(0.23)	0.316*	(-2.26)
Ed dep improved	1.735†	(1.74)	1.476	(1.02)
Ed dep worsened	2.076	(1.59)	3.414*	(2.20)
Emp dep improved	0.86	(-0.46)	2.119*	(1.95)
Emp dep worsened	1.192	(0.3)	0.632	(-0.65)
Tenure dep improved	0.897	(-0.25)	0.828	(-0.31)
Tenure dep worsened	0.602	(-0.67)	0.346	(-1.14)
Health/dis dep improved	1.789	(1.55)	0.829	(-0.45)
Health/dis dep worsened	0.638	(-1.09)	1.564	(0.77)
Health improved	1.168	(0.29)	0.403	(-1.46)
Health worsened	3.704	(1.35)	1.02	(0.02)
Occ status improved	0.681	(-1.47)	1.245	(0.71)
Occ status worsened	1.312	(0.92)	1.026	(0.07)

Ward deprivation	1.005	(0.05)	0.905	(-0.84)
- improved	0.962	(-0.12)	0.622	(-1.26)
- got worse	1.402	(1.18)	1.243	(0.65)
mixed ethnic density	1.283*	(2.12)	1.02	(0.14)
- decreased	1.227	(0.63)	1.264	(0.63)
- increased	0.702	(-1.08)	0.843	(-0.45)
Moved area	1.051	(0.2)	1.159	(0.49)
Population density	0.882*	(-2.09)	0.974	(-0.34)
N	532		662	

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

4.I. BINARY LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODELS OF BECOMING WHITE, 40+ AND UNDER-40 AGE GROUPS, O.R. (Z)

	1) Becoming White		2) Becoming White 40+yrs		3) Becoming White <40yrs	
Age in years	1.001	(0.26)	1.013	(1.53)	0.957	(-1.48)
Woman	1.038	(0.28)	0.906	(-0.59)	1.498	(1.75)
Black descent	1	(.)	1	(.)	1	(.)
Asian descent	1.173	(0.98)	1.488	(1.82)	0.956	(-0.16)
Never Black/Asian	1.752***	(3.49)	2.993***	(5.32)	0.745	(-1.00)
Poor health	1.025	(0.07)	1.721	(1.31)	0.461	(-0.93)
Migrant	0.545***	(-4.00)	0.361***	(-5.42)	1.554	(1.54)
No quals	1	(.)	1	(.)	1	(.)
Non-degree quals	1.015	(0.08)	0.822	(-0.82)	1.444	(0.91)
Degree-level quals	0.952	(-0.20)	1.019	(0.06)	1.006	(0.01)
Non-working	1	(.)	1	(.)	1	(.)
Semi/routine	0.561*	(-2.46)	0.517*	(-2.06)	0.928	(-0.19)
Intermediate occ	0.72	(-1.35)	0.772	(-0.78)	0.976	(-0.06)
Prof/managerial	0.540*	(-2.22)	0.487	(-1.89)	0.994	(-0.01)
solepnm	1.265	(1.23)	0.911	(-0.30)	1.502	(1.49)
breakup11	1.216	(1.00)	1.611*	(2.14)	0.501	(-1.30)
Education deprived	0.77	(-1.10)	0.618	(-1.66)	1.144	(0.26)
Employment deprived	1.574†	(1.76)	1.394	(0.98)	2.727*	(2.14)
Tenure deprived	1.148	(0.72)	1.174	(0.65)	0.856	(-0.44)
Health/disability deprived	0.789	(-1.06)	0.546*	(-2.05)	1.417	(0.85)
Ed dep improved	1.103	(0.52)	0.974	(-0.11)	1.677	(1.39)
Ed dep worsened	1.084	(0.30)	1.18	(0.48)	0.887	(-0.23)
Emp dep improved	1.611*	(2.48)	1.629	(1.91)	1.481	(1.2)
Emp dep worsened	0.849	(-0.57)	1.163	(0.4)	0.324*	(-2.20)
Tenure dep improved	0.762	(-1.07)	0.476	(-1.93)	0.824	(-0.51)
Tenure dep worsened	0.657	(-1.40)	0.707	(-0.90)	0.435	(-1.52)
Health/dis dep improved	0.861	(-0.75)	0.921	(-0.31)	0.707	(-1.07)
Health/dis dep worsened	1.029	(0.12)	1.372	(1.02)	0.576	(-1.16)
Health improved	0.64	(-1.62)	0.429**	(-2.59)	1.702	(0.74)
Health worsened	0.866	(-0.28)	0.431	(-1.40)	5.258	(1.28)
Occ status improved	1.173	(1.03)	1.515*	(2.0)	0.679	(-1.34)
Occ status worsened	1.088	(0.47)	1.186	(0.76)	1.169	(0.44)
Ward deprivation	0.929	(-1.14)	0.981	(-0.22)	0.906	(-0.84)
- improved	0.757	(-1.49)	0.871	(-0.57)	0.645	(-1.35)
- got worse	1.2	(1.06)	1.359	(1.37)	1.163	(0.52)
mixed ethnic density	0.924	(-1.12)	0.93	(-0.81)	0.911	(-0.68)

- decreased	0.967	(-0.16)	1.139	(0.52)	0.559	(-1.51)
- increased	0.768	(-1.30)	0.76	(-1.03)	0.775	(-0.76)
Moved area	1.166	(1.01)	1.243	(1.12)	0.882	(-0.46)
Population density	0.917*	(-2.39)	0.889*	(-2.34)	0.933	(-1.19)
N	1731		1191		540	

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

4.J. BINARY LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODEL OF ANY ETHNIC CHANGE WITH EXPANDED DEPRIVATION INDICATORS

	(1a) Any change		(1d) 40+		(1e) <40	
Age in years	1.016***	(3.83)	1.012	(1.94)	0.998	(-0.13)
Woman	0.829*	(-2.26)	0.868	(-1.27)	0.766*	(-2.07)
Black descent	1	(.)	1	(.)	1	(.)
Asian descent	1.638***	(5.16)	1.322*	(2.18)	2.315***	(5.56)
Never Black/Asian	2.792***	(8.73)	2.261***	(5.17)	3.754***	(7.27)
Poor health	1.109	(0.40)	0.736	(-1.04)	3.120*	(1.99)
Migrant	2.271***	(8.05)	2.392***	(6.92)	2.363***	(4.63)
No quals	1	(.)	1	(.)	1	(.)
Non-degree quals	0.643**	(-3.11)	0.550***	(-3.35)	0.976	(-0.10)
Degree-level quals	0.611**	(-2.91)	0.526**	(-2.96)	0.910	(-0.32)
Non-working	1	(.)	1	(.)	1	(.)
Semi/routine	0.920	(-0.49)	1.047	(0.19)	0.752	(-1.13)
Intermediate occ	0.701*	(-2.05)	0.730	(-1.26)	0.637	(-1.73)
Prof/managerial	0.603**	(-2.63)	0.620	(-1.71)	0.577	(-1.93)
Sole-parented	0.608***	(-4.67)	0.566***	(-3.36)	0.688**	(-2.58)
Lost relationship	1.629**	(3.19)	1.470*	(2.14)	2.103*	(2.39)
Education deprived	1.246	(1.39)	1.233	(1.06)	1.275	(0.85)
Employment deprived	1.168	(0.82)	1.403	(1.35)	0.870	(-0.44)
Tenure deprived	0.948	(-0.41)	0.904	(-0.59)	0.982	(-0.09)
Health/disability deprived	1.021	(0.15)	1.154	(0.76)	0.821	(-0.83)
Ed dep improved	1.296*	(2.00)	1.237	(1.30)	1.438	(1.59)
Ed dep worsened	1.388	(1.66)	0.995	(-0.02)	2.569**	(2.81)
Emp dep improved	1.257	(1.67)	1.730**	(2.60)	0.965	(-0.19)
Emp dep worsened	0.771	(-1.27)	0.703	(-1.30)	0.850	(-0.48)
Tenure dep improved	1.521**	(2.67)	2.296**	(2.98)	1.236	(1.00)
Tenure dep worsened	1.326	(1.44)	1.427	(1.26)	1.294	(0.88)
Health/dis dep improved	0.947	(-0.45)	0.931	(-0.41)	0.985	(-0.09)
Health/dis dep worsened	1.541*	(2.55)	1.388	(1.49)	1.714	(1.88)
Health improved	0.831	(-0.90)	0.858	(-0.60)	0.966	(-0.09)
Health worsened	0.904	(-0.26)	1.453	(0.79)	0.295	(-1.53)
Occ status improved	1.307**	(2.71)	1.420*	(2.40)	1.157	(0.91)
Occ status worsened	0.915	(-0.72)	0.806	(-1.40)	1.115	(0.50)

Ward deprivation	0.925	(-1.79)	0.907	(-1.72)	0.934	(-0.97)
- improved	0.751*	(-2.48)	0.630**	(-3.00)	0.916	(-0.49)
- got worse	1.127	(1.03)	1.117	(0.69)	1.146	(0.77)
Mixed ethnic density	0.864**	(-2.92)	0.907	(-1.52)	0.784**	(-2.95)
- decreased	0.920	(-0.62)	0.886	(-0.67)	0.926	(-0.37)
- increased	1.045	(0.34)	1.301	(1.41)	0.840	(-0.91)
Moved area	0.980	(-0.21)	1.134	(0.99)	0.733	(-1.91)
Population density	1.060**	(2.60)	1.042	(1.32)	1.101**	(2.78)
N	3125		1892		1233	

Source: ONS Longitudinal Study

5.A. QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWING RESPONSE RATES

Recruitment rates	Total	F	M	Rate from mailout	Rate from contact attempts	Rate after success-ful contact
Posted recruitment materials	472					
Total consent forms received	51	37	14	10.81%		
Included in error, not contacted	3	3	0	0.64%		
Not contacted (gender quota full)	5	5	0	1.06%		
Attempted phone contact	43	29	14	9.11%		
No contact after multiple attempts	8	6	2	1.69%	18.60%	
Successful phone contact	35	23	12	7.42%	81.40%	
Declined interview	1	1	0	0.21%	2.33%	2.86%
Ineligible at screening (coding errors)	3	3	0	0.64%	6.98%	8.57%
Appointments with eligible respondents	31	19	12	6.57%	72.09%	88.57%
No-shows & unresponsive to follow-up	5	3	2	1.06%	11.63%	14.29%
Interviews completed from sample	26	16	10	5.51%	60.47%	74.29%
Additional interviews		F	M			
Purposive - pilots	2	2	0			
Purposive – male top-up	2	0	2			

5.B. QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Introduction [3 mins]

- Introduction, remind about appointment, check time convenient.

- Thank you for agreeing to talk to me about your experiences.

- Reminder of content and confirm consent to participate: ethnicity on forms, family background, general social experiences, thinking about your identity.

- Reminder of anonymity and confidentiality

- Reminder of voluntary participation, breaks

- Any questions?

-Ask permission to record interview.

-Note: You can ask to stop the recording at any time.

[Start recording if permission given]

- Thank them for permission, notify that the recorder is on.

2. Personal details/warmup [4 minutes]

- To start with I'm just going to ask a few quick details about yourself, so we get a good idea of the spread of people taking part.

- Age, where do they live, where born & grew up

- Where schooled, highest qualification.

- Occupation now, brief work history

3. Neighbourhood/community [4 minutes]

- How ethnically diverse was the neighbourhood you grew up in?

Prompt: e.g. very white, or big ethnic minority communities?

- Was your family connected with any ethnic minority associations or groups?

Prompts: associations, clubs, church/mosque, events, mother/father, relationships

- Do you remember whether it was a working class or middle class neighbourhood?

- If you don't mind me asking, how well-off do you think your family was growing up?

Prompts: working class/middle class identity, parental occupation

4. Family in childhood[10 mins]

- Can you tell me a bit about your father/mother's ethnic background?

- Can you tell me about the main cultural influences in your home growing up? Prompt: e.g. was there a dominant 'side'? Probe for details of cultural influences, e.g. knowledge of family history, languages, culture etc.

- How did parents meet? If you don't mind me asking, were they together when you

were growing up?

- What did your father's family think of your mother/mother's family think of your father?

5a) Form-filling [10 mins]

- Can you think of some of the first times you ever filled out forms that asked for your ethnic group, and what you used to put – say, at school or college?

- These days, do you always tick or write the same thing on those forms? How about in the past? Probe: why

IF ANSWERS CHANGE: What do you think makes you change your answer/Why do you think you don't always put the same thing?

Prompts:

- The way you feel about yourself at that time?

- Depend on different options available?

- Do you remember the 'mixed' options coming in, and what you thought of them?

5b) Form-filling/cognitive interviewing/elicitation [10 mins]

Ask respondent to retrieve showcards G2 and G3.

You might remember seeing these showcards at your home at your first Understanding Society interview. [NOTE: NOT A TEST]

Looking at showcard G2:

Which number would you choose for that question now? (What is your ethnic group?)

What do you think first/see first when you look at that list?

Can you describe for me in your own words, what [category name] means?

Probes: White British, Asian, white/Asian

Prompt: Explain it to a foreigner who doesn't know how things work in the UK, what this term means in your country.

Who do you think those 'mixed' categories are trying to count?

Why do you think they are trying to count them?

Any reasons you feel/don't feel part of that group?

[IF IDENTIFIES AS MIXED] What would you do if you were asked to choose just one ethnic group? (and why)

Looking at showcard G3:

Which number would you choose for your mother/father?

[IF THEY HAVE A MIXED PARENT] – probe reaction to forced choice for parent

6. Ascriptive experiences (10-15 mins)

- When people meet you, what ethnic group do they generally assume you belong to? Probe why. Prompts: skin colour/shade; hairstyle/hair texture; way of speaking; culture/clothing; company kept. Probe feelings about these assumptions

- How do family members describe you?

- Have there been any particular parts of your life, or periods of your life, when you've felt more or less conscious of your race or ethnicity? For example, if you compare school/higher education with adult life at work, or work with your social life.

Prompts:

- school
- higher education
- work, including getting jobs
- community/hobby/sport groups
- private family/intimate social life.

Probe details of partnering and child-rearing, identity of children and any cultural transmission.

7. Wrap-up

- That's all the questions I have for you. Do you have any questions?

- Thank for their time. Switch off recording and tell them it is switched off

- Reminder of anonymity, any questions or concerns, including whether if there is any personal issue they discussed that they want 'off the record' or erased from the transcript

- Confirm address for voucher

- Make sure they have contact details for any questions in the future

6.A. QUALITATIVE COMPARATIVE CASE CHARACTERISTICS

	Visibility	Contact with/interest in minority parent/am	Contact with minority community	Area	Class	comparison
Dwayne	Vis=>non vis	No contact, no interest	none	White WC	WC=>MC	Visibility/vs non-visibility.
Gary	Vis=>vis=> less vis	No contact, interest, then some (failed) contact	Some vestigial but memorable support from neighbours	White WC	WC=>MC	Sources of cultural support/resilience & motivators to connect
Matthew	Non-vis	Some regular contact - negative	None	White WC	WC=>WC	Quality of 'low dose' contact with minority parent.
Terrence	Non-vis	Some regular contact - positive	Some in early years	White WC	WC=>MC	
Fatima	Vis	Pos➜negative	Not much, family insular	Diverse WC	WC=>MC	
Nahla	Vis=>vis=> less Vis in old age	Negative➜positive	None when young; very positive and unexpected profound experiences in older age.	Diverse WC	WC=>WC	Changing relationships with minority family figures
Edward	Non-vis	At home – pos	None	White MC	MC=>MC	
Larry	Non-vis	At home – pos, but minimal cultural transfer, mother mixed, Westernized & non-religious	Only relatives, also mixed/Westernized and non-religious; none with the wider 'Asian' community	Diverse WC	WC=>WC	Deviant cases of secure White choices with regular positive contact with minority family Endogenous effects of class
Slim	Non-vis	At home – pos w/ mother, v. negative w/ stepfather	Consistent extended family contact, 'raised by women'	Diverse WC	WC=>WC	

Zahra	Less-vis changed to more vis	Out of home – pos regular	Some consistent family contact.	White WC=> Diverse WC	WC=>MC	
Laila	Ambiguous, sometimes vis	Home regular pos➜distant and negative	Regular pos, changed to irregular/infrequent/ non-existent.	White WC=> even more White WC area, away from family and community connections.	WC=>WC	Typical cases: Endogenous characteristics of class, area, social norms - Low resources/fluctuation theory
Maxine	Vis	In home, White mother emphasised minority culture	None when very young, sought out 'my people' as teen.	White WC => Diverse WC	WC=>MC	
Rebecca	Vis	In home, but assimilated, White mother did not emphasise minority culture	Not until a teen, had to 'learn to be Black'.	White WC => Diverse WC	WC=>MC	How and when accessed cultural resources, and self-selective effects of neighbourhood.

6.B. ETHNIC CHOICES OF THOSE WITH TWO TURKISH PARENTS, WEIGHTED PERCENTAGES

	Weighted per cent
White British	12.66
Other White	48.55
White and Black Caribbean	0.62
White and Black African	0
White and Asian	1.57
Any other Mixed	0.61
Indian	0
Pakistani	0
Bangladeshi	1.18
Chinese	0
Any other Asian	7.88
Black Caribbean	0
Black African	0
Any Other Black	0
Arab	4.11
Any other ethnic group	22.82