BIRACIAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN MALTESE-BLACK LOCAL YOUTH: IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNSELLING

CATHERINE SMITH

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Malta for the degree of Master of Arts in Transcultural Counselling.

Research undertaken in the Department of Counselling, Faculty for Social Wellbeing.

April 2018

University of Malta Library – Electronic Thesis & Dissertations (ETD) Repository

The copyright of this thesis/dissertation belongs to the author. The author's rights in respect of this work are as defined by the Copyright Act (Chapter 415) of the Laws of Malta or as modified by any successive legislation.

Users may access this full-text thesis/dissertation and can make use of the information contained in accordance with the Copyright Act provided that the author must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the prior permission of the copyright holder.

Abstract

This study explored what, according to Maltese-Black biracial youth, helps or hinders the development of a healthy local biracial identity, which is defined as the synchronised development and integration of two distinct racial identities into one. The research question requistioned an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis using individual, semi-structured interviews. Six participants were recruited via snowball sampling. Interviews enabled me to tap the participants' phenomenological data yielding rich descriptions of unique, firsthand, untold lived experiences. My interpretation of the participants' narrated realities materialized the research aims. The participants' voices, processed through the adopted conceptual framework—critical race theory, ecological biracial identity development models, and postcolonial concepts—, guided the elicitation of six themes, namely, biraciality, racialised context, navigating the racialised context, Maltafro/*Maltafrikan(a*) phenomenon, intersectionality, and shared experiences. Each theme, along with respective subthemes, accentuates what helps or hinders biracial identity development in Malta from a social justice advocacy orientation. Two major implications of this study are the current sociopolitical invisibility of this cohort in Malta and the absence of an anti-racism national policy. Another is the need for local counsellors to additionally work with the Maltese-Black biracial community from a social justice advocacy stand. Recommendations, as elicited from participants themselves, include the need for a racially-equitable national approach, as well as counselling research, practice and training.

Keywords: biracial, multiracial, Maltese-Black biracials, African, counselling, social justice advocacy.

Table of Contents

Abstract **1**
Table of Contents **3**
List of Tables **9**
List of Abbreviations **10**
Dedication **11**
Acknowledgements **12**
Declaration of Authenticity for Masters Students **13**
Chapter 1 - Introduction **14**
Inspiration behind the Study 14
Significance of the Study 15
Research Question and Design 15
Conceptual Framework 16
Personal worldview. 16
Theoretical underpinnings of the methodology. 16
Theoretical framework. 17
Operational Definitions 18
Biracial definition. 19
Rationale for term selection. 19
White-Black racial binary. 20
Overview of Dissertation 20
Chapter 2 - Literature Review **22**
Pre-Racial Prejudice 22
Racialism 22
Xenophobia 23
Local context. 23
National Identity and Nationalism 23
Local context. 24
Maltese sociorace consciousness. 24
Maltese racialisation. 26
What shapes Maltese perception of Blacks? 28

Malta’s Simmering Reality 30
Sociorace: A Contemporary Understanding 31
Definition. 32
Function of Racism 32
Racial Identity, Identification and Category 33
Racial identity invalidation. 33
Biracial category in Malta. 34
Racial Identity Models 35
Source. 35
Biracial Identity Models 36
Ecological approaches. 36
Counselling Biracials 40
Competencies. 41
Counselling for biracial identity development. 41
Conclusion 42
Chapter 3 - Research Design 43
Research Question and Rationale 43
Study Rationale 43
Aims 43
My Position: Insider-Outsider Researcher 44
External-insider position. 45
Advantages. 45
Disadvantages. 46
Bracketing and reflexivity. 46
Methodology 47
Critique. 47
Phenomenology. 48
Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). 48
Rationale for IPA selection. 49
IPA critique. 49
High-quality IPA. 50
The Research Process 50
The recruitment process. 50

Inclusion criteria for participants. 51
Choice of pseudonyms. 52
The research tool. 52
Interviews and data collection: strengths and limitations. 53
Pilot testing. 54
Data analysis. 54
Audit trail. 55
Credibility, Dependability, Confirmability, and Transferability 55
Conclusion 56
Chapter 4 - Findings and Discussion 57
Theme 1: Biraciality 58
Becoming racially self-aware. 58
Maltese-primed socialisation. 59
Public biracial identity. 59
Private biracial identity. 60
Racial identity validation. 61
Racial identity invalidation. 62
Self-picked racial descriptors. 63
Theme 2: Racialised Context 64
Racialised unions. 64
Racialised bodies. 65
Racialised spaces. 67
Theme 3: Navigating the Racialised Context 68
Erasure of race. 69
False consciousness. 70
Rage. 71
Social and cultural whitening. 71
Racial identity switching. 72
Support and role models. 73
Rising above. 74
Theme 4: Maltafro/*Maltafrikan(a)* phenomenon 75
Maltese racial-ethnic identity. 75
Black racial identity. 76

African ethnic identity. 77
Theme 5: Intersectionality 78
Education and class. 79
Gender. 79
Ethnicity. 81
Respective African countries. 82
Multiculturalism. 82
Theme 6: Shared Experiences 83
Counselling experience. 83
Sub-Saharan immigration. 84
Local representation. 85
Retrospective recommendations. 86
Comments on this study. 87
A Snapshot of the Voices 88
Reflection 88
Chapter 5 - Conclusion 89
Summary of Key Findings and Implications for the Counselling Profession 89
Hindering factors. 89
Helping factors. 90
Limitations of the Study 91
Recommendations for Policy, Counselling Research, Practice and Training 92
National policy. 92
Research. 93
Practice. 93
Training. 94
Overall Conclusion 95
Appendices 96
Appendix A 97
Racial Microaggressions 97
Appendix B 100
Glossary of Operational Terms 100
Appendix C 106
U.S. Racial Classification 106

Appendix D 108
White-Black U.S. Racial Binary 108
Appendix E........ 109
Sociorace Inception and Impact of Black Racialisation........ 109
Appendix F 111
Discredited Sociorace Theories........ 111
Appendix G 113
Coping Mechanisms and Types of Racism and Racists........ 113
Appendix H 116
Biracial Self-Identification and Bill of Rights 116
Appendix I........ 118
Potential Racial Category Complications 118
Appendix J........ 119
Racial Identity Models Overview and Outlines 119
Appendix K 122
Biracial Identity Models Overview and Outlines........ 122
Appendix L........ 125
Cross-Racial Counselling........ 125
Appendix M........ 127
Personal Journal Snippet 127
Appendix N 128
Gatekeepers' Agreements 128
Appendix O 131
UREC Approval 131
Appendix P........ 132
Information Letter (English and Maltese) 132
Appendix Q 134
Consent Form (English and Maltese)........ 134
Appendix R 136
Demographics Questionnaire 136
Appendix S........ 137
Interview Guide (English and Maltese) 137
Appendix T........ 141

Elicited Themes Supported by Quotes 141
Appendix U 154
Excerpt from Anderson-Cole's Interview 154
Appendix V 155
Excerpt from Samantha's Interview 155
Appendix W 156
Excerpt from Martin's Interview 156
Appendix X 157
Excerpt from Carina's Interview 157
Appendix Y 158
Excerpt from Monica's Interview 158
Appendix Z 159
Excerpt from Legal-Alien's Interview 159
References 160
Copyright Release Form 187

List of Tables

Table 1. Profile of participants……………………………………………………………….50

Table 2. Themes and subthemes……………………………………………..…………57

Table 3. Helping factors…………………………………………………………..……..91

List of Abbreviations

AC	The Black parent's country of birth
BI	Biracial identity
BID	Biracial identity development
CRT	Critical race theory
IPA	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
MACP	Malta Association for the Counselling Profession
M-B	Maltese-Black
M-Bb	Maltese-Black biracial
M-Bbc	Maltese-Black biracial community
M-Bbid	Maltese-Black biracial identity development
M-Bbs	Maltese-Black biracials
MRECC	Multiracial/Multiethnic Counseling Concerns Interest Network of the American Counseling Association
POC	People-of-colour
RI	Racial identity
W-B	White-Black
W-Bb	White-Black biracial
W-Bbs	White-Black biracials
W-Brb	White-Black racial binary

Dedication

Let your struggles empower you.

I dedicate this work to my beloved son, my inspiration, and my husband, my number one supporter and rock. Thank you for putting up with my odd routine and absence from daily family life to complete this research project. Thank you for your endless patience, love, encouragement, and for always believing in my aspirations and me. Still, thank you fades in comparison to all you do for me. I am forever indebted.

Acknowledgements

Sincere thanks go to my supervisor, Dr Ruth Falzon (Ph.D.), for her thorough support and prompt guidance throughout this process. Likewise, I thank Dr Francois Mifsud (Ph.D.), for providing ample content guidance and feedback for aspects of my literature review. Heartfelt thanks further extend to Henry-Franz Gauci, for providing invaluable insight into the local context.

Earnest gratitude also extends to members of the Black and biracial communities in Malta, who believed in this research study, and acted as trusted gatekeepers for potential participants. Without your help, this study would not have been possible.

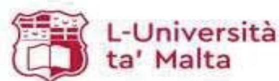
Moreover, thanks go to the six brave participants, who also believed in me, trusted me with their lived experience, shared abundantly and journeyed these uncharted waters with me. I am honoured by your trust, and am extremely appreciative of your time and support. Your voices stayed with me throughout, providing the necessary strength to complete this project.

Equally supportive, patient and encouraging were department staff, and friends and colleagues of the Master in Transcultural Counselling (TCouns.) course. Thank you for your encouragement.

Last but not least come personal friends, who unconditionally heard me go on and on about this research project for months. There are no words to capture my full appreciation and gratitude to each and every one of you.

Privileged and fortunate are words that come to mind when I think about all the people who supported me.

Declaration of Authenticity for Masters Students



FACULTY FOR SOCIAL WELLBEING

DECLARATIONS BY POSTGRADUATE STUDENTS

Student's I.D. /Code	578474M
Student's Name & Surname	CATHERINE SMITH
Course	MASTER IN TRANSCULTURAL COUNSELLING

Title of Dissertation

BIRACIAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN MALTESE-BLACK LOCAL YOUTH: IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNSELLING

(a)Authenticity of Dissertation

I hereby declare that I am the legitimate author of this Dissertation and that it is my original work.

No portion of this work has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or institution of higher education.

I hold the University of Malta harmless against any third party claims with regard to copyright violation, breach of confidentiality, defamation and any other third party right infringement.

(b)Research Code of Practice and Ethics Review Procedures

I declare that I have abided by the University's Research Ethics Review Procedures.

As a Master's student, as per Regulation 58 of the General Regulations for University Postgraduate Awards, I accept that should my dissertation be awarded a Grade A, it will be made publicly available on the University of Malta Institutional Repository.

______________________	CATHERINE SMITH
Signature of Student	Name of Student (in Caps)

Date 01.06.2018

Chapter 1 - Introduction

My racial awakening started on September 15, 2001 before landing at JFK airport, New York. A stewardess handed me the obligatory disembarkation card for all non-U.S. citizens (now replaced by the biometric recording system). On it was a question I had never reflected or asked before: What race are you? After reading the options, my choice narrowed to Caucasian or Other. I ticked Caucasian, notwithstanding feeling offended by the latter.

Nonetheless, going through Customs and Immigration, an officer questioned my choice. In hindsight, I naively and proudly replied, “I am not an Other, and the rest do not apply, so I’ll stick with my choice”. However, her invalidating tone and disapproving stare unsettled me. Discussing the matter with individual Americans confused me further, as my White-like features, non-American accent, initial alien status, and Maltese descent complicated my racial identification. Indeed, they simply could not agree about my race!

Inspiration behind the Study

Marrying into a Black African American family, rooted in “Black consciousness” (Defining Black consciousness, 2011, para. 4-5) with ties to the South, exposed me to a Black reality I only fleetingly knew about in the absence of the internet. It was definitely another wake-up call vis-à-vis my taken-for-granted privilege in Malta.

Subsequently, relocating to Malta during the Sub-Saharan immigration crisis, I noticed the changed Maltese attitudes toward racial diversity. My interracial marriage was now frowned-upon and met with stares, making me feel like an outsider when with my husband. Likewise, our son’s birth brought, apart from infinite joy, many concerns about what it means to be a local Maltese-Black biracial (M-Bb). Questions like, how will people perceive and treat him, coupled with, what will help his biracial identity development (BID), thus became central.

Therefore, tying personal concerns with my pursued professional role seemed natural

when it came to choosing a research topic. Inspired by Martin Luther King Jr, I am committed to social justice advocacy, as “the ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where he stands in times of challenge and controversy” (King, n.d., n.p.).

Significance of the Study

Africans were in Malta long before this millennium’s irregular immigration crisis (Nwalutu, 2016). Consequently, the local M-Bb community (M-Bbc) existed for years (NSO, 2016). However, parallelling foreign countries (Hubbard & Utsey, 2015; Kim, 2016), local research exploring this minority’s lived experience is nonexistent bar three (Anonam, 2008; Cassar, Repeckaite & Gauci, 2017; Debono, 2011) despite “nearly all statistical agencies in western countries project substantial increases in the size of the mixed population based on its current youthful age structure” (Aspinall, 2017, pp. 2-3).

All three Maltese studies report that local M-Bbs are identified Black, face frequent “racism” (Cox, 1971, p. 393) and are met with “color-blind[ness]” (McDonald, 2016, p. 11), “racial microaggressions” (Sue et al., 2007, p. 271) (Appendix A), “intersectional othering” (Jensen, 2011, p. 63) and the “racialized gaze” (Purtschert, 2015, p. 520). Non-Maltese literature (e.g., Jackson et al., 2012; Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Lou & Lalone, 2015) finds that besides decreasing overall psychological well-being, this reality hinders healthy BID. This study is thus necessary and significant because it explores what impacts local Maltese-Black BID (M-Bbid), reports implications for counselling and makes recommendations for change.

Research Question and Design

This study explored what, according to Maltese-Black (M-B) local youth, helps or hinders M-Bbid in Malta. A qualitative method, namely Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), was deemed most appropriate to elicit phenomenological data from six participants through individual audio-recorded, semi-structured interviews (Smith, 2017). An

IPA design can lead to social justice and future action research because it exposes lived experience brimming with yet unknown multifaceted plights. It can thus lead to unexpected findings and novel ways of thinking about existing phenomena (Griffiths, 2009). In this research, IPA exposed yet untackled racial diversity challenges ogling Maltese society today. Findings have the potential to instigate a local racial civil right movement.

Conceptual Framework

Theoretical underpinnings and framework stem from my human rights (Universal Declaration, 1948) and social constructionist-prone (Galbin, 2014) worldview. Conceptual framework theories are cited throughout since their synchronised approach directed this study. My conceptual framework is divided in three parts (Ravitch & Riggan, 2017), namely, my worldview, theoretical underpinnings of the methodology, and theories guiding and framing me with regard to the subject matter.

Personal worldview. I believe all individuals are unique, deserve respect, have equal value, and possess endless potential. Unfortunately, however, not everyone embraces comparable values. Social injustices are therefore common. My family's experience with race and racism is a living testament of the literature on the topics. Racism grounded my passion for social justice, and transformed me into the racial equity activist I am today. Nevertheless, before engaging in this study promoting participants' voices, I anticipated its results owing to the aforementioned local findings. Informing relevant entities about what helps or hinders local M-Bbid to promote change, and thus, going beyond merely reporting inequalities, is therefore this study's overarching aim.

Theoretical underpinnings of the methodology. Influenced by social constructionism, I believe individuals comprehend and construct their lived experience in unique ways across time (Galbin, 2014). I am therefore wary of "positivism" (Bright, 2013, p. 57) and "empiricism" (Burr, 1995, p. 2), and trust "phenomenology" (Moran, 2000, p. 4) to

bring me closest to “understand[ing]” (McLeod, 2014, p. 96) lived experience, while answering the research question posed. Engaging participants in deep conversations exposed what they thought helps or hinders M-Bbid in Malta, and the social transformation they hope to see in support of healthy M-Bbid. As the researcher, I was equally involved in data interpretation. Therefore, IPA was ideal as it required an audit trail privileging the voices of participants over mine, especially since I hold an external-insider position. This method aligned perfectly with my human rights-inclined worldview.

Theoretical framework. Critical race theory (CRT) (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017), biracial identity (BI) ecological models (Renn, 2008; Rockquemore, 1999; Root, 1996, 2003) and postcolonial concepts (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998) shaped the theoretical framework. Next is an explanation of why each was useful to this study.

Critical race theory. CRT (n.d.) assumes reality is contextual and socially mediated between people across cultures and history. It builds on social constructionism (Galbin, 2014), reducing race and associated concepts to a socially constructed reality designed to oppress people-of-colour (POC) (CRT, n.d.). In line with CRT (n.d.), and in solidarity with the oppressed, I henceforth refer to race as “sociorace” (Helms, 1996, p. 147), and add a pseudo prefix to racial stratification terms.

CRT (n.d.) deems racism common, widespread and backed by colour-blindness, and argues that racial identity (RI) and identification are directly informed by the U.S. pseudo-socioracial stratification system. It further questions whether assimilation and integration into Whiteness serve POC, and considers individual identity intersectionalities for a deeper power analysis (Ramsay, 2013). It, thus, fits this study informed by prior local findings (Anonam, 2008; Cassar et al., 2017; Debono, 2011), implying that the local M-Bbc faces same.

Furthermore, CRT’s “intersectionality” (Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013, p. 787) lens emphasises that the participants’ intersecting social identities combine to enhance-exacerbate

lived experience across settings and macrotime (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). CRT (n.d.) enabled me to peer into the local interlocking dynamics of sociorace, racism and power to identify how these affect participants' lives in Malta. CRT champions social transformation to uplift the oppressed (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017), and thus, embodies my aforesaid values.

Biracial identity ecological models. BI ecological models (Renn, 2008; Rockquemore, 1999; Root, 1996, 2003) guided local exploration of M-Bbid. These hail from bioecological theory (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), social constructionism (Galbin, 2014), and derive from civil rights (Evans et al., 2010). They look at "person-context interrelatedness" (Tudge et al., 2009, p. 199), and espouse CRT values.

Postcolonial concepts. Postcolonialism is described as "all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day" (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2002, p. 2). Ngugi (2004) argues that their foremost purpose is to decolonise formerly colonised societies. The decolonisation of native cultures from powerful colonising factors, including psychological decolonisation, is thus sought. Nevertheless, I position myself with critics, as "forces such as globalization are the evidence of the continuing control of the 'West' over the 'Rest'" (Ashcroft et al., 2002, p. 196), what Nkrumah called "neo-colonialism" (Biney, 2008, p. 136) in the 1960s. Owing to neocolonialism, formerly colonised societies like Malta can never return to their original pre-colonised state. This study looked at how this influences local M-Bbid.

Operational Definitions

After reflecting on sociorace and M-Bbid, in a context lacking official sociorace-related language, albeit racialising non-Maltese (Cassar et al., 2017; Pisani, 2011), I concluded that a glossary of operational terms was necessary. This is presented in Appendix B due to word limit constraints. Care was taken to include terms that elaborate presented ideas and select empowering CRT-aligned definitions.

The terms Black, African American, African and M-Bb are used throughout; however, never interchangeably. White and Maltese are likewise distinct. The definition and rationale for choosing the term biracial will follow.

Biracial definition. A “biracial[’s]” (Root, 1996, p. ix) parents originate from two socioraces. Holding BI, however, entails more than simply acknowledging this (Aspinall, 2009). It means self-identifying as two-dimensional (i.e., White-Black (W-B)) (Moore, 2008b). Biracial “is not something you just are, it is something you become-through, language, culture, politics and hierarchies” (Adeniji, 2014, p. 150) in context (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

BI transcends aligning with White power (Daniel & Castañdea-Liles, 2008), or “pass[ing]” (p. 325) (Appendix C), which relates to “social whitening” (Golash-Boza, 2010, p. 140). Instead, it takes racial and “cultural pluralism” (Kallen, 1924, as cited in The Right, n.d., para. 2) stands. Not all biological biracials hold BI, and as presented throughout, reasons vary (Rockquemore et al., 2009).

Rationale for term selection. This study addresses local W-B biracials (W-Bbs). The Maltese context, however, lacks official terms for this group (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Likewise, field researchers have no general consensus (Evans et al., 2010). I therefore favoured an American civil rights term (Korgen, 2008) to fit CRT ideology.

Secondly, although not universally embraced (Aspinall, 2009), or the sole term for this group (Rockquemore, 1999), I selected biracial for it is distinct from vague, non-racial, Western terms coined to de-racialise humans: “multicultural” (Daniel & Castañeda-Liles, 2008, p. 327), “multiethnic” (p. 327), “mixed origin” (Aspinall, 2009, p. 4), “mixed parentage...[and]...‘dual’, ‘mixed’, and ‘multiple heritage’” (p. 5).

Besides eclipsing the dehumanising qualities of sociorace, along with its skewed sociopolitical hierarchy (Appendices D and E), and bypassing this study’s research question,

individuals with privileged racial heritage (e.g., White: Swedish-British) could equally claim them (Cho et al., 2013); hence, wrongly asserting a commensurate life experience with that of W-Bb, whose research identifies as the recipient of many racial injustices (Korgen, 2008).

Thirdly, I selected biracial over “multiracial” (Korgen, 2008, p. 169) precisely for its prefix. Bi means dual, podiums the controversial White-Black racial binary (W-Brb), whereas *multi* dilutes it. Automatically, the latter introduces other socioraces, which in racial currency, add nothing. Namely, once Black is detected, the “one-drop rule” (Moore, 2008b, p. 22) spirit follows, that is, the W-Bb is identified Black regardless (Viager, 2012), as elaborated in Appendix C.

Lastly, I avoided the term mixed-race as it connotes impurity linking White purity ideology innate to discredited sociorace theories (Aspinall, 2009) (Appendix F). I therefore felt it was anti-CRT. Biracials are no more mixed than the rest of humanity: “everyone is descended from everyone…and applying the ‘one drop rule’…means that everyone belongs to all races (Moore, 2008b, p. 23).

White-Black racial binary. Inspired by CRT, I replaced White, used in the conventional W-Brb, with Maltese, as Maltese whiteness vacillated across contexts and macrotime, an argument developed further in Chapter 2. Hence, this study uses the term M-B instead (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Maltese is used as a racial category for Maltese nationals having two native Maltese parents, while M-B is used for Maltese nationals having one native Maltese parent and another of African descent. Intra-group intersectionalities were spotlighted to enable a closer look at how local RI and identification unravel, roping privilege accordingly (CRT, n.d.).

Overview of Dissertation

This dissertation develops in five chapters. This chapter outlined what led me to study M-Bbid, the research question, the methodology, the guiding conceptual framework, and

operational definitions. Chapter 2 presents a literature review with implications for counselling, while chapter 3 is the research design and methodology. Findings and related discussion are offered in Chapter 4. Subsequently, Chapter 5 summarises findings, discusses the study's limitations, and presents suggestions for policy, counselling research, practice and training.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

This chapter examines pre-racial prejudice and the need for racialism. It explores local xenophobia, and how national identity and nationalism (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), along with a racialised Maltese identity, shape Maltese perceptions of Blacks and contribute to Malta's simmering racial reality. Racial identity, identification and category are discussed next (Rockquemore, Brunsma & Delgado, 2009). A contemporary understanding of sociorace and the function of racism ensue from a social justice approach (CRT, n.d.). Finally, the chapter discusses the sociopolitical evolution of racial and BI models. Inspired by CRT, it ends by advocating for multiracial counselling competencies, and summarises biracial counselling research findings.

Pre-Racial Prejudice

In early British North American colonies, as in Medieval Europe (Barth, 2010), religion was the primary dividing factor between settlers, natives and imported Africans. Early "civilized" (Baker, 2008, p. 96) Northern European Christians labelled others "heathen[s]…unsaved…and savage[s]" (p. 93), and oppressed them (Baum, 2006). Nonetheless, until America's 1776 independence from Britain and its voluntary African slave trade involvement, British-born serfs carried out plantation labour (Sinha, 2008). These British ethnic and class cleavages mirrored medieval European anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish attitudes, along with feudalism and widespread aracial slavery (Arendt, 1973; Painter, 2010). Hence, although stratified based on intersectionalities (Cho et al., 2013), American society was not yet racist (Barth, 2010).

Racialism

Therefore, one questions what necessitated racialism and "[pseudo-]scientific racism" (Marks, 2008, p. 1) if profiteering was already entrenched in White-ruled lands. Appendices C to F provide answers. The annexed history offers critical information underlying the

sociorace myth necessity, which directly links with the need for studies such as this. Without sociorace's social construction (CRT, n.d.), self-identifying as biracial or otherwise would be unnecessary. The established biological markers of sociorace (skin, hair and facial features) would rate as insignificant as other human physical diversity upon which no value judgement has been placed (i.e., toes, nails and ear lobe shape) (Adams, Kurtz-Costes & Hoffman, 2016). Sociorace was fabricated to oil the triangular trade engine by which the ambitious Western countries' imperialist dreams were realised to suppress the rest (Falola, n.d.).

Xenophobia

Xenophobia is irrational fear provoked by difference (Hjerm, 1998). Group threat theory (Blumer, 1958) posits that xenophobia heightens when the dominant majority perceives minority groups as threats, perceptions that the media sensationalises (Kleist et al., 2017). As argued by Trudel (2017), both Brexit and Trump's election are reactions of an increasingly xenophobic West.

Local context. Cassar et al. (2017) note that M-Bbs are targets of local xenophobia. Maltese perceive M-Bbs' Black features, which the average Maltese lacks, as representing a huge biological cleft (CRT, n.d.). Accordingly, these insignificant (Roberts, 2011) phenotypical disparities evoke Maltese out-group perceptions, triggering xenophobic reactions toward M-Bbs (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

National Identity and Nationalism

Groups form due to an innate human desire for frequent and relatively constant interpersonal exchanges along with belonging and security needs (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Above a personal definition, worth, and a clear conception of one's worldly place, national identity satisfies belonging and attachment needs to one's nation and compatriots (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). National identity elicits positive feelings of national pride and

patriotism, albeit to differing degrees, depending on one's attachment needs (Huddy & Khatib, 2007).

From this socially constructed, collective identity (Anderson, 1991) emerges a sense of nationalism defining clear in- and out-group notions. Hopkins (2001) articulates that an in-group identity does not necessarily translate into out-group denigration. However, as Triandafyllidou (1998) notes, a co-national identity derives significance only when juxtaposed with that of outsiders. National identity is thus "an awareness of affiliation with the nation that gives people a sense of who they are in relation to others or infuses them with a sense of purpose that makes them feel at home" (Hjerm, 1998, p. 337).

National affiliation criteria differ by country. They may include socio-constructions around common descent (Connor, 1993) and ethnic nationalism, which accordingly evoke xenophobia and racism (Rydgeren, 2017). Culture and religion are usually two major unifying factors, including national symbols and a common history. National identity is most salient during national threats (Triandafyllidou, 1998) and disasters (West & Smith, 1997). Simply stated, nationalism is an attachment to one's nation.

Local context. Nationality, history, religion, language and culture unite the Maltese, while social class and partisan politics divide them (Frendo, 2004; Friggieri, 2016). These facets, however, align with ethnicity, not race (Evans et al., 2010) as M-Bbs can equally share them. Starting in 19th century, the Maltese struggled to separate their national identity from that of their colonisers; "to a greater or lesser extent, one will generally find, broadly, an Anglo-Italian mix with a variety of Maltese ingredients" (Frendo, 2004, p. 103).

Maltese sociorace consciousness. Nonetheless, local Maltese sociorace consciousness has, after the occupier left, become optional and exercised from a privileged place vis-à-vis perceived out-group members (CRT, n.d.), especially those identified Black (Cassar et al., 2017). Conversely, Blacks cannot but accede to the racialised-other inferior

position (Cassar et al., 2017; Debono, 2015). Specifically, Maltese push onto Blacks a similar racial inferiority their former occupiers pushed onto them (Frendo, 2004). However, intensity fluctuates according to unique intersectional identities (CRT, n.d.). For instance, M-Bbs are treated differently from Sub-Saharan Africans (Cassar et al., 2017; Pisani, 2011). Nonetheless, in Freire's (2014) terms, the Maltese have graduated to "sub-oppressors" (p. 45) of local racialised minorities, and among these are local M-Bbs (Cassar et al., 2017).

One possible explanation may emanate from lack of awareness of the subjugated journey of the Maltese (Frendo, 2004), and how this is sometimes idealised. Friggieri (2016) states that despite centuries of foreign oppression, the Maltese spirit "proved…strong enough to reshape whatever it had been subjected to" (p. 215), contrasting Fanon's (2008) "inferiority complex" (p. 9) argument vis-à-vis the ex-colonised and ignoring "oppression['s]" (Young, 2000, p. 36) significance for the colonised. Indeed, British tourists' ex-colonial gaze (Avellino, 2016), which Hall and Tucker (2014) explain, positing that contemporary travel "is embedded in post-colonial relationships" (p. 2), is alive, recreating colonial dynamics, while repeatedly underscoring the objectified worth of Malta and the Maltese to the British rather than their intrinsic value (Avellino, 2016; Frendo, 2004).

Mifsud's (2010) critique of foreign and local literature on the Maltese phenotype, which denotes sociorace, equally rebuts Friggieri's (2016) statement. Maltese women "succumbed to the pressure put by this scoffing [colonial] gaze by emulating the culture of the Dominant Other, including a new concern with their physical appearance" and reproductive rate (Mifsud, 2010, p. 3), which ropes Fanon's claim and Thompson and Neville's (1999) concepts of erasure of sociorace, autocolonisation, false consciousness and rage (Appendix G). Rather than preserving spirit, Mifsud (2010) maintains that Maltese women "anglicize[d]" (Frendo, 1993, p. 153) and assimilated the coloniser'slook, creating a

"double consciousness" (Du Bois, 1897, as cited in Bruce, 1992, p. 299). Certainly, this is a reality still evident among Maltese women today.

Equally persuaded of the Maltese female's hideousness were Maltese men. Concurrent Maltese poets welcomed the Nordic standard reaching Malta through media and burgeoning tourism (Mifsud, 2010). Unlike their predecessors, they sullied the traditional Maltese female's form when comparing it to the bombshell blonde. However, albeit deeply internalised, the interloper's sentiments vis-à-vis Maltese bodies and culture did not overtly contest the self-identification of the Maltese with whiteness on Maltese turf. It nevertheless pushed the Maltese to reject parts of their heritage, while simultaneously assimilating, to the detriment of their ethnic identity (CRT, n.d.), with that of the oppressors (Frendo, 2004). Thus, in line with sub-oppressor consciousness, the Maltese chastise local racial minorities by measuring them with the same yardstick used to measure and autocolonise themselves (Thompson & Neville, 1999).

Maltese racialisation. Unlike other countries (Morning, 2005), Malta foregoes accruing racial statistics (Census of Population, 2011). Maltese decennial censuses (2011) lump all citizens, regardless of birth country and phenotype (i.e., naturalised Africans and M-Bbs) under Maltese. Thus, statistical data conceals existing racial diversity (Demographic Review, 2016), and raises endless intersectionality questions instead (Calleja, Cauchi & Grech, 2010; Cassar et al., 2017).

Nonetheless, even before the 2004 European Union (EU) accession mystified Maltese RI further—as the coveted EU inclusion (Frendo, 2004) implied that Malta, an ex-colony populated with then second-classed citizens, was now sociorace commensurate with White Europe, the former globe occupiers (Belgium, Britain, Netherlands, France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Portugal), or that the "subaltern" (Said, 1989, p. 210) of the Maltese past was suddenly expunged (Frendo, 1993)—, Maltese , also phenotypically heterogeneous owing to

historical admixture (Capelli et al., 2006), believed they are White because of their geographical, phenotypical and cultural proximity to Europe (Frendo, 1993, 2004; Abela, 2005).

However, because sociorace is a fickle sociopolitical construct (Omi & Winant, 2004) based on appearance (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2004), it remains unclear what sociorace the Maltese belong to, what the criteria for their inclusion are, and how stable this is across space and macrotime.

In arguing the first two according to sociorace theories (Appendix F), the Maltese are Mediterranean Caucasians of the "Maltese sub-race" (Buxton, 1922, p. 193), lacking pure stock due to height deficiencies and darker features. Nonetheless, grouping Maltese with Southern Europeans is also a stretch as Europeans share no former subaltern and "Europe's inferior Others" (Said, 1989, p. 210) socio-statuses with the Maltese (CRT, n.d.). Additionally, Maltese express different physiognomy (Buxton, 1922). Said (1989) argues that, "to be one of the colonized is…to be a great many different, but inferior, things, in many different places, at many different times" (p. 207), and well beyond the coloniser's departure, which reiterates CRT principles.

Additionally, European sociorace theories, positioning the Maltese among Caucasians (Appendix F), served not the Maltese vis-à-vis macropolitics (CRT, n.d.). Starting in the early 1900s until the 50s and 60s, America (Who was Shut, 1929; Immigration Act, 1924), Australia (Caruana, 1916; Immigration Restriction Act, 1901) and Canada (Immigration Act, 1906), notwithstanding inside opposition (Caruana, 1916; Clancy, 1924), challenged Southern Europe's whiteness, despite accepting its Caucasianess, and drafted strict immigration laws to keep them out. To these self-proclaimed Whites, Southern Europeans, Maltese included, represented "blackness" (Wright, 2015, p. 1) and POC; thus, accordingly rejected.

However, since Maltese postcolonial advancement was tightly knit to securing acceptance from and entry into powerful ex-colonising nations, it is therefore understandable that Maltese leaders sought to align Malta with Europe during decolonisation times (Frendo, 2004; Kaul, 2016; Vella & Gilkes, 2001). Malta's subjugated history along with its subsequent European inclusion, however, clearly shows the sociopolitical-legal construction of sociorace (CRT, n.d.). With its inclusion in the EU, the Maltese phenotype, while remaining unchanged, changed sociorace overnight (i.e., from POC to White). Thus, the Maltese have "no business being racist" (Caruana Galizia, 2015, para. 1) as they know first-hand the repercussions of racialisation.

The Western political shift vis-à-vis sociorace and immigration came after World War II, which established the importance of national alliances, while heightening the dangers of racial ideology (Lewis & Skutsch, 2001), as well as the 1950-70s civil rights movement, redefining colonial oppression into "injustices perpetrated by the privileged" (Evans et al., 2010, p. 236). These global shifts and commerce, not sociorace, positioned Malta where it is today (Abela, 2005). Therefore, given the vicissitude of Maltese POC-whiteness across contexts and macrotime (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), and that one's sociorace is not merely determined by one's self-identification, but requires other-validation as well (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2004), it is incorrect to categorise the Maltese as Whites.

What shapes Maltese perception of Blacks? According to Boas (Benedict, 1943, as cited in Jacobson, 2003), "the eye...is not a mere physical organ but a means of perception conditioned by the tradition in which its possessor has been reared" (p. 10), connoting social constructionism (Galbin, 2014). Traditionally, religion aligned the Maltese with mainstream, Roman Catholic-Protestant White Europeans who, historians (Frendo, 2004) presume used Malta's strategic position to run "the biggest slave market in Europe" (p. 109) despite that racialised slavery transpired relatively later in Maltese recorded history. Thus, the Maltese

may have shaped their early perceptions of where Blacks, especially Africans, rank vis-à-vis Whites on the pseudo-socio-hierarchy based on early interactions with both (CRT, n.d.). Indeed, the Maltese have always glorified whiteness and depreciated non-Europeanness, including their own (Mifsud, 2010).

Further, “institutional racism” (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 167) in the form of negative, non-African narrated past (e.g., Apartheid and Racism, n.d.; Bates, 2012; Borg & Mayo, 2006) and current (e.g., Libya Investigating, 2017; Trump: why allow, 2018) history continues shaping the Maltese perception of Africans. Negative stereotypical African images inundate the local context, which accordingly appear to correlate with how the Maltese subsequently rank Africans vis-à-vis other Blacks and socioraces on the pseudo-racial hierarchy (CRT, n.d.).

For instance, pictures of extremely malnourished African children in abject poverty are frequently televised (42-hour missions, 2016), and regularly circulate Maltese institutions for donation collection purposes. Hence, as conceived by Delgado and Stefancic (2017), poverty has indeed acquired “a black or brown face” (p. 13), which again ropes intersectional identities (CRT, n.d.). In Malta, the insolvent African is a well-rooted stereotype that consistently positions Africans as the lowest among Blacks.

Global advertisement and media sensationalism around the Black body perpetuate additional negative racial stereotypes, associating Black with threat and unintelligence (e.g., Adams-Bass, Stevenson & Kotzin, 2014; Behm-Morawitz, 2014; Pilgrim, 2012). These reach Malta together with incessant objectification (e.g., Beltrán, 2005; Massa, 2009; Salah wins BBC, 2017). The “biracial beauty stereotype” (Sims, 2012, p. 64), ranking biracials at the top of the media beauty hierarchy (Rhodes et al., 2005) in the U.S., is one such example, which has a reverse pseudo-scientific sociorace theories quality and widespread universal effects (CRT, n.d.). In the U.K., biracials are equally “extraordinary, exceptional and more

attractive" (Aspinall, 2015, p. 1074). Mostly, however, are catastrophic and demonising stories (Carnage as Huge, 2017; Death Toll, 2017); thus, constantly prejudicing the Maltese perception of Blacks (Pisani, 2011).

These then culminate with Western racialised slavery and colonial history, as well as recent irregular Black immigration records (Bradford & Clark, 2014), and continue shaping Maltese sentiment toward people they identify as Black (Cassar et al., 2017; Pisani, 2011). M-Bbs are thus exposed to and risk internalising mixed, locally-percolated xenophobic attitudes, also reflected in traditional Maltese sayings (i.e., mela jien Iswed!), along with foreign-brewed albeit locally-adopted racist sentiments toward Blacks (CRT, n.d.).

Malta's Simmering Reality

The reason behind the contemporary Maltese colour-blind approach to sociorace and racism (Calleja et al., 2010; Scicluna, 2013), which is a CRT focus, remains unclear. Not only toward invisible African migrants (Purdie-Vaughan & Eibach, 2008), who are immediately marginalised (Bradford & Clark, 2014), but also kin; explicitly, local M-Bbs, who may not express phenotypical diversity, however embody blackness regardless (Cassar et al., 2017).

Thus, in line with CRT, I urge authorities to implement what Malta embraced in the 1953 European Convention of Human Rights, 2000 EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, and 2012 EU Strategic Framework. Furthermore, the National Commission for the Promotion of Equality (2016) document echoing Chapter IV of the Constitution of Malta (1964) about the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual.

Literature exposing Maltese xenophobic and racist attitudes toward people of African descent in the social and cultural (e.g., Carabott, 2017; European Commission against, 2013; Caruana Scicluna, 2012), immigration (Pisani, 2011), educational (Calleja et al., 2010; Gauci & Zammit, 2015; Scicluna, 2013), legal and political (Bugre, 2011; Borg, 2017), criminal

(Iriele, 2011), employment (ENAR, 2012-2013; Boss told migrant, 2016), policing (Calleja, 2008; Carabott, 2017), and housing (Grech, 2014; The Milking Cow, 2017) contexts abounds and requires urgent addressing (Abela, 2005). Failure to address local racism (Appendix G) will only depreciate the already blemished Maltese fabric.

Nonetheless, in concert with counselling (Shaw, 2016), sociorace literacy needs to start from the Maltese gaining an understanding of their racialised and colonised identities first. The Maltese need to understand their vacillating whiteness across space and macrotime, and the psychological coping mechanisms employed to self-preserve in such a reality (Thompson & Neville, 1999) as there cannot be an appreciation of the oppressed "other" (Jensen, 2011, p. 63) unless the deluded become aware (Evans et al., 2010).

A CRT-inspired analysis of the referenced local literature indicates that the Maltese appear to project a combination of double consciousness expressed through a "hybrid identity" (Khatar & Zarrinjooee, 2016, p. 224) coupled with Maltese "cultural imperialism" (Young, 1990, p. 59) onto local minority groups. In turn, minorities feel pressured to assimilate Malteseness and underground non-Maltese cultural expression and values.

In sociorace literature, the former is known as "cultural whitening" (Golash-Boza, 2010, p. 140), and the latter "cultural frame switching" (Toomey, Dorjee & Ting-Toomey, 2013, p. 116). Implications for M-Bb include rejecting half their racial and cultural heritages, hence their blackness, when interacting with the Maltese. Perhaps, learn to embody these only, if at all cultivated, when with other M-Bbs or within the Black community.

Sociorace: A Contemporary Understanding

The term sociorace is "used to refer to groupings of people according to common origin or background and associated with perceived biological markers" (Glossary, n.d., n.p.). Furthermore, "ideas about race are culturally and socially transmitted and form the basis of racism, racial classification and often complex racial identities" (Glossary, n.d., n.p.).

Sociorace is problematic because it creates two key challenges (Shih & Sanchez, 2009). According to CRT, it is problematic finding an unambiguous definition, enabling the clear delineation of socioraces, and assigning people accordingly. Scholarship terms these quandaries "racial category construction...[and]...racial identification" (p. 3) respectively. Appendix F provides a snippet of major pseudo-sociorace theories that attempted this despite failing.

Albeit invalidated as a biological truth (Harrison, 2010) through "genetic polymorphism" (Keita et al., 2004, p. S18), recognised as a sociopolitical construct (Baum, 2006; CRT, n.d.), re-termed sociorace, and increasingly replaced by lesser charged terms (Aspinall, 2009), the concept of sociorace lives since its inception back in 1684 (Early Classification, n.d.), and nourishes its roots, racism, well (Keita et al., 2004; Thompson & Neville, 1999).

Definition. The American Anthropological Association, with its early ancestry in pseudo-scientific racism (Moore, 2008a), defines sociorace, in agreement with CRT as:

> A recent idea created by western Europeans following exploration across the world to account for differences among people and justify colonization, conquest, enslavement, and social hierarchy among humans...Among humans there are no races except the human race. (Glossary, n.d., n.p.)

Function of Racism

Racism is "a social attitude propagated among the public by an exploiting class for the purpose of stigmatizing some group as inferior so that the exploitation of either the group itself or its resources or both may be justified" (Cox, 1948, p. 393). Appendix G presents different types of racism. Through "racial essentialism" (Cravens, 2010, p. 299) and pseudo-science, Whites elevated their group's interest above that of others (Manning, 1990).

Although nationalism, ethnocentrism, othering and xenophobia existed beforehand (Barth, 2010), certainly, if qualifiable as racism, ideology was smaller in scale and unsupported by pseudo-science (Baum, 2006; Lewis & Skutsch, 2001) and structural racism (Thompson & Neville, 1999). Racism persists, aided by five White-engaged defence mechanisms (Thompson & Neville, 1999) thereby causing identity damage among POC, who consequently resort to “erasure of race, autocolonization, false consciousness, and rage” (pp. 192-193) to cope with racism’s pressures. Appendix G provides definitions for these terms.

Racial Identity, Identification and Category

These three terms are common to sociorace literature. “Racial identity [refers to] (an individual’s self-understanding)” (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2009, p. 27), and “racial identification [is] (how others understand and categorize an individual)” (p. 27), whereas “racial category [refers to] (what racial identities are available and chosen in a specific context)” (p. 27).

Understanding the difference between them is imperative for, unlike a monoracial’s, they do not typically align for biracials, regardless of how they self-identify and were racially-primed. They change across settings and time for both biracials and others (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Constant validation-invalidation causes frustration and confusion for both groups (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2004). Research claims that BI invalidation is “one of the most stressful racial experiences that Biracial individuals face” (Franco, Katz & O’Brien, 2016, p. 96).

Racial identity invalidation. Invalidation “decreases self-esteem, promotes negative affect and resentment toward the perpetrator of invalidation, inhibits racial identity development, and contributes to negative mental health outcomes” (p. 96). The most commonly invalidated BI is that of a W-Bb because of the historical one-drop rule (e.g., Adeniji, 2014; Hubbard & Utsey, 2015; Kim, 2016).

To concretise, a biological W-Bb, identified as M-Bb in this study, may racially identify as such, monoracially or aracially. When the biracial category and public awareness are officially missing, as they are in Malta, biological biracials are more likely to forcibly identify monoracially (i.e., Maltese or Black), which may not be in line with their private RI or unanimously socially "validated" (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2004, p. 93). Likewise, an aracial or BI can be equally challenged. Thus, no matter the choice, all can potentially lead to RI invalidation.

Alternatively, a socially-just oriented support system (Lewis, 2016) and strong RI coupled with RI-supportive-others offset these effects (Franco et al., 2016). Relatively, new studies have also established that "a strong, integrated multiracial identity can serve as a psychological resource for multiracial persons" (Jackson et al., 2012, p. 242). Briefly, W-Bbs experiencing low "racial conflict...[and]...racial distance" (p. 241) (Appendix B), the two integrated multiracial identity ingredients (Cheng & Lee, 2009), exhibit lower stress levels and more psychosocial adjustment because they are able to frame switch as needed (Jackson et al., 2012).

Biracial category in Malta. In the absence of an official biracial category, that is, authorities forego recognising diversity among Maltese nationals, and decennial censuses circumvent collecting racial data (Census of Population, 2011), Maltese tend to identify biological biracials as monoracially Black (Anonam, 2008), rendering the M-Bbc socipolitically invisible (CRT, n.d.). Nevertheless, this racial identification may dissatisfy M-Bbs' self-understanding, especially self-identified biracials aware of available biracial categories abroad (Appendix H).

The absence of an official biracial category denies biological biracials their right to "racial identity autonomy" (Sanchez, 2010, p. 1661) (Appendix H), as well as the right of the Maltese to sociorace-related awareness and education (Franco et al., 2016). Accordingly, this

creates a climate of microaggressions, specifically "microinvalidations" (Sue et al., 2007, p. 274), and upholds racial "category discreetness" (Ho, Roberts & Gelman, 2015, p. 2) couched in racial essentialism, a choice in itself based in a racist attitude.

Without education, the public is less likely to validate a biological biracial's wish to self-identify as such. Consequently, this impinges on the overall biracial's psychological well-being (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2004; D'Andrea & Daniels, 2001). Indeed, the current local colour-blind situation renders M-Bbs racially homeless and designates them to racial-category-squatting (CRT, n.d.). Appendix I, however, discusses some complications that may arise from introducing this racial category in Malta.

Racial Identity Models

RI is "a sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group" (Helms, 1993, p. 3). It is a psychological affinity to a sociorace category, which is not necessarily based on one's phenotypical traits. Racial awareness and attachment vary among people (Evans et al., 2010). Furthermore, "the psychological or internalized consequences of being socialized in a racially oppressive environment and the characteristics of self that develop in response to or in synchrony with either benefitting from or suffering under such oppression" (Helms, 1996, p. 147).

Source. RI models stem from Erikson's (1950, 1968) and Marcia's (1966, 1980) preliminary albeit mainstream (Rodgers, 1980) gender insensitive (Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1996), rigid (Marcia, 1975), and essentialist identity work, and attempt to explain the function of sociorace and its effects on identity (Evans et al., 2010). Indeed, RI models attempt to explain what it means to be socialised as a *have* or *have not* in terms of power and privilege in America (CRT, n.d.).

All models hail from the highly racialised American context (Rockquemore et al., 2009), and attempt to explicate how individuals navigate RI crises, while stressing the nonbiological, sociopolitical and cultural character of sociorace created to privilege Whites at the expense of POC (Helms, 1995). Appendix J outlines principal Black and White RI models.

Biracial Identity Models

Biracials have the added task of merging their racial legacies together, while dealing with a rejecting and racist society prescribing strict adherence to monoraciality (Evans et al., 2010). BID models date back to the 1930s, with each consecutive model echoing its American sociopolitical times (Evans et al., 2010). Accordingly, broadening Thornton and Wason's (1995) work, Rockquemore et al. (2009) cluster models in four approaches, namely, problem, equivalent, variant and ecological. Additionally, Evans et al. (2010) identify a typology approach as well. Readers must therefore never separate BI models and associated research from their racist roots (CRT, n.d.). Appendix K offers a general overview of pre-ecological approaches, and outlines major models, including ecological ones.

Ecological approaches. What inspired these new models, as opposed to their forerunners, was a realisation that a healthy BI is forever adapting due to its existence in the "borderlands" (Root, 1996, p. xix) and experiences of colour "border crossings" (p. xx). The new models are consequently rooted in Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1993, 1995) ecological tradition and CRT. Nonetheless, it is further worth noting that Whites in the U.S. usually identify W-Bbs as POC (Evans et al., 2010), whereas Blacks may perceive them as not Black enough if their lived reality does not mirror that of the Black community (Wallace, 2003). Recent research calls this isolating factor "cultural homelessness" (Franco et al., 2016, p. 106).

Conceptualising BI in a vacuum, and tying it to linear progression without considering environmental and lifespan changes is futile (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2003) as biracials make RI decisions based on happenings inside and around them from one minute to the next (Rockquemore et al., 2009). The way they identify their racial-aracial selves is contingent on the racial combinations they emerge from (Lou & Lalone, 2015) and their "racial identity priming" (Gaither et al., 2015, p. 1). Moreover, ecological models give biracials space to refute racial labels if that is how they feel most comfortable (Evans et al., 2010), which aligns with CRT.

Root. Advocates of this approach include Stephan (1992) and Wijeyesinghe (2001). However, these failed to conduct successive research or elaborate diverse identity options for biracials (Evans et al., 2010). Alternatively, Root (1996), credited with initiating this trend, conducted multiple studies (1995, 1997, 1998, 2001) because she recognised this group's unique RI hurdles. In her multiracial ecological framework, Root (1996) implies four possible identity outcomes that can coexist or replace one another over macrotime, depending on how social, familial and personal dynamics intermix and evolve in the lives of biracials.

Root added a fifth possibility in 2003: (1) acceptance of socially assigned RI; (2) identifying with both socioraces despite potential rejection; (3) monoracial identity independent of social pressure; (4) identifying with the biracial cohort; and (5) adopting a symbolic sociorace or ethnicity (Pedrotti, Edwards & Lopez, 2008).

The history of the minority sociorace within the geographical area, community mind-set toward the same sociorace, family functioning and socialisation, and the biracial's sociodemographics, along with personal characteristics and phenotypical expression, influence the identity choices that biracials make (CRT, n.d.; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Root, 2003). Other researchers (Hall, 1992; Mass, 1992; Kilson, 2001; Brown, 2001;

Wallace, 2001; Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2002; DeBose & Winters, 2003; Miville et al., 2005; Shih et al., 2007) corroborate Root's findings.

Rockquemore. Sociologist Rockquemore and her colleagues' (e.g., Rockquemore, 1999; Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2002; Rockquemore et al., 2009) multidimensional typology framework builds on Root's (1990, 1996), and recognises four identity possibilities: (1) "border…biracialness" (Rockquemore, 1999, p. 200); (2) "protean" (p. 200) connoting in-between sociorace shifting rather than integration; (3) "transcendent" (p. 200) or aracial; and (4) "traditional" (p. 200) monoraciality. Moreover, their work focused on W-Bbs only, which alternatively makes it valuable to this local study concerning M-Bbs.

Furthermore, Rockquemore (1999), Rockquemore and Arend (2002) and Rockquemore and Brunsma (2004) differentiate between "validated vs. unvalidated border identity" (p. 93), stating that these hang on other people's perceptions and acceptance of the biracial's self-selected identity. Hence, the unvalidated group, usually discriminated against by both associated sociorace due to expressed phenotype, is often (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2002) forcibly identified, to the detriment of its BI-integration process, as monoracial (Townsend, Markus & Bergsieker, 2009), which also impinges on the psychological well-being (Lou & Lalone, 2015).

Nonetheless, even before validation or lack thereof, biracials must first want to self-identify as such while being in a position to adopt such an identity at will. Indeed, it is a complicated process in racist societies where maintaining strict racial boundaries benefits dominant elites (CRT, n.d.), as well as in societies where the official racial category is still absent, as is the case of Malta. In turn, this ropes the "appearance-identity link" (Brunsma & Rockquemore, 2001, p. 229), stating that public recognition plays a significant role in whether biracials self-understand as biracial, or otherwise, as self-identification depends on

how others identify them as well. Most biracials thus base their RI on other people's perceptions of them.

Conversely, Rockquemore and Brunsma's (2002) and Lou and Lalone's (2015) studies report that American W-Bbs are, even more than other sociorace-combination biracials, keen on identifying as biracials, a choice which perhaps mirrors unique historical and sociopolitical struggles in the U.S. (Sears & Savalei, 2006). Renn (2004) adds that W-Bbs are least likely to claim araciality, perhaps due also to peer pressure.

Renn. Renn (2000, 2003, 2004) expanded on the previous ecological models, and researched the experiences of higher education biracial students, theorising five identity patterns, namely, "monoracial...multiple monoracial…multiracial…extraracial…situational identity" (Renn, 2008, pp. 16-17). Renn supports the "person-environment" (p. 17) and lifespan development claims inherent in former identity development theories (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), and reiterates the appearance-identity pressures applied by society on biracials. Renn (2000, 2004) claims that it is common for biracials to hold multiple simultaneous identities, and invalidation and authenticity questions intensify when their racial self-identification diverges from other people's expectation for them and when biracials lack cultural information about one or more of their claimed racial heritages.

Research supporting the ecological approach. Although direct and indirect studies supporting this approach build on solid ecological foreground, the models need more supporting evidence (Evans et al., 2010). Besides having small, self-identified and non-diversified samples, many explore W-B experiences only and are qualitative in nature, and thus, findings are not generalisable.

International research using ecological approaches. International studies with W-Bb participants (e.g., Hubbard & Utsey, 2015; Kim, 2016; Lou & Lalone, 2015) using these models highlight two important factors that align with CRT and are equally applicable to

Malta. These factors directly influence how W-Bbs are experienced and met in their respective contexts.

In line with CRT, the first accentuates the researcher's need to examine what historical and concurrent knowledge informs and shapes the locals' perception of the Blacks among them. This includes localised common knowledge about what brought the Black parents to that specific country (i.e., regular-irregular and voluntary-involuntary immigration, tourism, slavery, ex-colonials, education, and occupation). In turn, this knowledge shapes the local non-Black majority's attitude toward W-Bbs.

The second factor deals with how sociorace literate and conscious, versus colour-blind, the context is (CRT, n.d.). This includes specific methods employed by a country to facilitate sociorace and anti-racism awareness, including measures used to celebrate, in this case, African cultures along with the Maltese. The existence of local Black movements makes a difference as well. These foster local Black pride, encourage advocacy, and build a localised political sociorace vocabulary to counterbalance an absolutely homogeneous (i.e., Maltese) "racial socialization" (Stevenson, 1995, p. 51) which fails to reflect the holistic reality of W-Bbs.

Counselling Biracials

BID counselling must align with the Competencies for Counseling the Multiracial Population (Alvarado et al., 2015), a document compiled by the Multiracial/Multiethnic Counseling Concerns Interest Network of the American Counseling Association (MRECC). In line with CRT and ecological models, it guides counsellors to "competently and effectively work with and advocate for members of the multiracial population" (p. 2). Section IIB (pp. 15-21) outlines essential cultural competencies needed for working with multiracials, in this study identified as M-Bbs.

Competencies. Among others, competences include "understand[ing] that multiracial[s]…may identify in different ways based on their connection to and knowledge and understanding about their identity…[and] recognize that developmental tasks of multiracial[s]…may be influenced by experiences of oppression and discrimination" (p. 15). The document aims to develop counsellor consciousness and skills around understanding and working with multiracials, prevent professional maleficence, and help with BID despite acknowledging that not all multiracials attend therapy for sociorace-related issues. MRECC recognises that once racialised, anything an individual brings to therapy may become inadvertently sociorace-related.

Counselling for biracial identity development. Literature addressing multiracial counselling strategies is negligible (Pedrotti et al., 2008) since much of it either pre-dates or omits the ecological BI models (Moss & Davis, 2008). Findings demonstrate that, "multiracial individuals…[may at times] experience identity confusion, anger, or self-hatred" (Pedrotti et al., 2008, p . 19). Nonetheless, they stress that these feelings are normal reactions to a limiting and racist environment, mostly BI invalidation (Franco et al., 2016). To engage in culturally sensitive work, counsellors must first reflect on their "understanding and valuing of multiracial clients' backgrounds and experiences [and] refrain from assumptions that counselor experiences of multiracial backgrounds will be similar to a client's experiences of multiracial backgrounds" (Alvarado et al., 2015, p. 17).

BID revolves around an individual's perceived freedom to oscillate between possible healthy and fluid BIs. Thus, in line with CRT and ecological models, counsellors helping M-Bbs must conceptualise BI and related coping strategies as directly linked with their bioecological systems and identity intersectionalities (Pedrotti et al., 2008). Counsellors must therefore recognise M-Bbs' contextualised choices, and reflect on how best to challenge M-Bbs for BID growth within a Maltese sociopolitical system that has not yet recognised them

(Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Appreciation for the function that BI and coping strategies serve in M-Bbs' socially constructed realities is additionally of utmost importance (Thompson & Neville, 1999). Research indicates the need for a family-school-community approach, rather than merely the conventional one-to-one considering the insidious sociorace-hierarchy-zealous macrotime we inhabit (Moss & Davis, 2008; Harris, 2013).

MRECC specifies that BID-based helping relationships should also "identify client strengths and challenges [as well as] experience [of] resilience and oppression related to their multiracial backgrounds" (Alvarado et al., 2015, p. 17). Counsellors must also engage in self-reflection about their "cultural identity, cultural expression, and beliefs" (p. 17) about M-Bbs as these can potentially prevent or contaminate dialogue about experienced racism and discrimination in addition to helping multiracials identify and change potential negative introjections about themselves and their multiple heritage (CRT, n.d.), while leaving many personal harmful biases unchallenged (Harris, 2013) due to colour-blindness (CRT, n.d.). MRECC advises the use of varied approaches along with talk therapy, including "bibliotherapy, genealogy work, [and] family counseling" (Harris, 2013, p. 17).

Conclusion

This chapter examined why pre-racial prejudice turned into racialism, and explored local xenophobia stemming from national identity and nationalism. It further exposed a concealed racialised Maltese identity, and presented what shapes Maltese perceptions of Blacks and contributes to Malta's simmering racial reality to instigate reflection and discussion. Likewise, it focused on racial identity, identification and category, outlined the updated definition of sociorace, presented racism's function, and discussed racial and BI models' sociopolitical evolution. Lastly, it underscored multiracial counselling competencies, and summarised biracial counselling research findings for a social justice approach (CRT, n.d.). The next chapter provides this study's research design.

Chapter 3 - Research Design

This chapter presents the research question, study rationale and aims, as well as reasoning for adopting an external-insider position. Next is a detailed explanation for choosing a qualitative methodology, specifically IPA. Laced throughout are reflections on the chosen methodology aligning with CRT and the research process. The chapter concludes with an explication of the research process and efforts to ensure trustworthiness.

Research Question and Rationale

This research addresses the question: What, according to M-B local youth, helps or hinders M-Bbid in Malta? This question originated from: Are the Maltese prescribing self-imposed autocolonisation (Appendix G) on M-Bbs, hindering healthy M-Bbid in the local cohort? Additionally, what factors, if any, mitigate, according to M-Bb youth?

Study Rationale

Personal reasons underlined my initial interest in the topic. Nonetheless, despite the growing local M-Bbc, local scholarship is missing on what impacts this cohort's local M-Bbid and how counselling can assist. With this study, guided by CRT principles, I endeavoured to fill this lacuna in the local literature, and thus inspire others to do the same. Moreover, I advocate a "culturally humble" (Davis et al., 2016, p. 488) bearing and caution about in-therapy "identity-related ruptures" (p. 484) to promote competent cross-racial counselling (MACP, 2014). Appendix L elaborates further.

Aims

In harmony with CRT, I intend to: (1) acknowledge the local M-Bbc and start a body of academic knowledge around it to better address its needs; (2) explore the complex history of W-Bb identity in a global culture of whiteness; (3) explore what impacts the development of a healthy local M-B BI; (4) explore potential blind spots when counselling the local cohort; (5) raise local consciousness about racism vis-à-vis this cohort (Anonam, 2008;

Cassar et al., 2017; Debono, 2011); (6) propose projects addressing the biracials' family needs as elicited from the data; and (7) inform pertinent policy-makers according to elicited data.

My Position: Insider-Outsider Researcher

Greene (2014) observes that researcher positionality depends on where the researcher stands vis-à-vis the researched. Specifically, it is the social ordering between the participants and I. However, positioning myself proved difficult because scholars disagree on who qualifies as an inside-outside knower (Chavez, 2008). Some argue that a researcher can never hold full or no membership in any group, but can only fall somewhere on a continuum on the "space between" (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p. 61) these extremes.

Naples (2003) defines insider research as "the study of one's own social group or society" (p. 46), while Loxley and Seery (2008) acquiesce with this "extreme Insider" (Merton, 1972, p. 31) position. An insider researcher is hence one who belongs to the researched community. Chavez (2008) further splits the insider concept into "total...[and]...partial" (p. 475) positions, depending on the number of identities and lived experiences the researcher shares with the researched.

Alternatively, Merton (1972) posits that someone with privileged and intimate information about the phenomena under study qualifies as an insider too. Hence, researchers need not be cohort members. Reciting Weber (1913, 1951, as cited in Merton, 1972), Merton rejects the "extreme Insider...[and]...extreme Outsider" (p. 31) arguments, and affirms that "one need not be Caesar in order to understand Caesar" (p. 31) in depth.

Thus, according to Merton (1972), my enduring intimate relationships with members of this cohort coupled with my personal racialised experience in "white" (D'Ardenne & Mahtani, 1999, p. 5) America provides me with privileged information and perception vis-à-vis this cohort's racialised lived experience. Nonetheless, despite disqualified as an outsider,

how close is close enough?

External-insider position. Banks' (1998) "external-insider" (p. 8) is one of four positions in his crosscultural researchers' typology built on Merton's (1972) work. It offers a more versatile approach to my unique position vis-à-vis local M-Bbs and their Maltese experience. An external-insider is "socialized within another culture and acquires its beliefs, values, behaviours, attitudes, and knowledge" (p. 8). In other words, I am socialised Maltese with regard to sociorace:

> However, because of unique experiences, such as personal experiences within an outside culture or community [the Black community in my case]…the individual rejects many of the values, beliefs, and knowledge claims within the community in which he or she was socialized. (p. 8)

From this statement, however, I substitute *rejects* with *acquired knowledge*, as during my racial socialisation, values, beliefs or information about local M-Bs were missing. This substitution makes more sense to my reality, since, unlike the diversified American racial landscape, the Malta I grew up in lacked the enriching pluralistic tinge it now possesses. Thus, external-insider position coupled with this tweak in definition is the closest I can get to positioning myself vis-à-vis this cohort's experience where sociorace is concerned.

Advantages. Greene (2014) describes an insider researcher as one who belongs to or feels acclimatised with the researched area's ecological context and participants, and thus, able to penetrate it without causing ripples and quick. The researcher is capable of posing insightful questions, avoiding stereotypes and judgements, while simultaneously scanning for subtle nonverbals. In turn, this reflects the researcher's intimate knowledge of the explored theme. Bell (2005) adds that participants often welcome insider researchers because they feel good talking to someone who is knowledgeable about and aware of relevant community issues.

Consequently, insider researchers feel cognitively, emotionally and psychologically close to participants, and are also in-group culture, history and language proficient, which the participants sense. This increases the odds for accurate data collection and interpretation (Chavez, 2008). Thus, my racial sensitivity helped me to feel immediately attuned with participants and their lived experience. In turn, this may have transmitted an enhanced sense of safety and security to participants, helping them to feel more at ease.

The external-insider position provided me with the added advantage of maintaining a healthy degree of emotional and psychological distance from participants. In other words, unlike a "complete member researcher" (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p. 58), who can easily feel enmeshed with the cohort, I was able, through constant "reflexivity" (McLeod, 2014, p. 97) and "bracketing" (Chan, Fung & Chien, 2013, p. 1), to remain alert and separate what is mine from that which emerged from participants thereby avoiding biases emerging from the "ultimate existential dual role" (Adler & Adler, 1987, p. 73) conflict.

Disadvantages. Insiderness can create researcher-participant reciprocity problems (Chavez, 2008), confidentiality issues (Bell, 2005), power dynamics (DeLyser, 2001), ethnocentrism (Merton, 1972), as well as participant-selection prejudice and shifting social identities (Chavez, 2008). However, this did not seem to occur in my study as those M-Bbs I know were ineligible to participate. Thus, albeit an external-insider, this positionality did not aid my recruiting process or seem to cause any of the above.

Bracketing and reflexivity. The phenomenological inquiry tool of bracketing mandates the premeditated suspension of personal ideas and prior knowledge of the phenomenon under study. Qualitative researchers engage in bracketing because they are the study's foremost instrument (Chan et al., 2013). I hence bracketed my "fore-structure" (Shinebourne, 2011, p. 20) in hopes of elevating the voices I opted to platform, although "in qualitative research, it is inevitable that the person of the researcher will exert some kind of

influence" (McLeod, 2014, p. 97) on the process, especially in hermeneutic phenomenology (Koch, 1995). Indeed, it is not humanly possible to anticipate all that can impact interpretations (Shinebourne, 2011).

Reflexivity, the principle cognitive function employed in bracketing, helps researchers to spot fore-structures for shelving (Ahern, 1999). Reflexivity and bracketing continued throughout this research process. "Researcher reflexivity" (McLeod, 2014, p. 97) protected the findings from my human inclination to apply personal knowledge to the process. Indeed, McLeod (2014) recommends keeping a reflexive journal documenting the research journey, and thus, Appendix M presents an excerpt.

Methodology

As aforenoted, the research question begged a qualitative methodology, namely IPA. Through "phenomenological" (Denscombe, 2007, p. 76) inquiry, the qualitative design aims to "describe, explore and analyse the ways…people create meaning in their lives" (McLeod, 2014, p. 92), which aligns with CRT and my social constructionist ontological stance rooted in subjectivity concerning the acquisition of new knowledge. Regarding the latter, however, I engaged in the process with fresh eyes by developing a critical attitude concerning my "taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world" (Burr, 1995, p. 2).

Critique. However, being BID is inextricably linked with the themes of sociorace and colonialism, and I thus have to identify the qualitative design's racist roots, a pedigree shared with most methods of inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Qualitative inquiry emerged out of the need to grasp the racialised non-White other during conquest and land misappropriation times (Vidich & Lyman, 2005). Thus, ushering in this new study area in the local context by means of a colonial tool (Hooks, 1990) felt incongruous with my values and the adopted CRT stance. Alternatively, qualitative inquiry is the most appropriate method for introducing new

study areas because it seeks to understand rather than prescribe predetermined hypotheses (Griffith, 2009).

Phenomenology. In conducting this study, I thus sought to learn from the participants' unique experiences as phenomenology avoids "all misconstructions and impositions placed on experience in advance" (Moran, 2000, p. 4). Furthermore, phenomenology aligns well with my social constructionist stance and the scope of this research. As defined by Giorgi (1997), phenomenology embodies three aims, namely, "phenomenological attitude" (Shinebourne, 2011, p. 17) (reflexivity) for "phenomenological reduction" (p. 17) (bracketing), description, and search for essences. Adopting a phenomenological lens brought me closer to providing a true "description of how things are experienced first hand by those involved" (Denscombe, 2007, p. 76) because, as McLeod and Lively (2003) postulate, grasping a phenomenon's authenticity is impossible.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). IPA shoots from Husserl's phenomenology positioning lived experience as most essential (Griffiths, 2009). Moreover, it equally draws from Heidegger's, Merleau-Ponty's, and Sartre's phenomenological and existential perspectives, viewing individuals "as embodied and embedded in the world, in a particular historical, social and cultural context" (Shinebourne, 2011, p. 18). Indeed, this is a view which aligns perfectly with both the bioecological approach (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) and CRT.

Additionally, it draws upon "phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography" (Smith, 2017, p. 303), gathering data through in-depth interviews with participants with the aim of extracting the "detailed examination of personal lived experience, the meaning of experience to participants and how participants make sense of that experience" (Smith, 2011, p. 9). Its "double hermeneutics" (Smith, 2004, p. 40) quality, however, requires researchers to confirm their interpretation of the data through an "audit trail" (Dallos & Vetere, 2005, p. 60),

providing participants the ultimate control over how researchers present their lived experience to the world.

Rationale for IPA selection. I concluded that this cross-sectional method best fits the research question instead of other qualitative models because it seeks to uncover the participants' construal of experiences (Starks & Trinidad, 2007) during a point in time, and how they make sense of it (Smith, 2011). IPA is an effective existential method (Smith, 2011) to "learn about the participant's cognitive and affective reaction to what is happening to them" (p. 10), which fits this study's research needs.

IPA supports small-sized samples (usually approximately six) due to rigorous case analysis, and requires in-depth case examination for purposeful scrutiny of differences and commonalities in participant themes (McLeod, 2014), while embracing close attention to language and endorsing "experience-close" research (Smith, 2011, p. 10). Besides, its "inductive" (Smith, 2004, p. 43) quality allows spontaneous discourse direction, which further contributes to each interview's authenticity.

IPA critique. Although enthused for IPA, I equally acknowledge its drawbacks. For example, participants may engage in socially desirable behaviour (Baumeister & Newman, 1994), and my ontology may interfere (Eatough & Smith, 2008). Furthermore, there is potential for data over-interpretation, and it is time-consuming (Griffiths, 2009).

However, in my opinion, IPA's advantages outweigh its disadvantages because it is the best referenced method (Hull, 2016) to showcase lived experience. Furthermore, the difficulties mentioned are not limited to IPA alone (Creswell, 2007). IPA's findings, as opposed to theory-led processes, are celebrated for their potential to uncover unexpected phenomena during the research process, leading to the enhancement and creation of new theories and knowledge. Additionally, it underscores both the collective and unique aspects of cohorts, leading to more research on the same cohorts (Griffiths, 2009).

High-quality IPA. Smith (2017) purports that high-quality IPA research has “a clear focus...strong data [generated by]…good interviewing” skills (p. 24) and themes that are satisfactorily elaborated. Moreover, it needs to be “rigorous” (p. 24) and meticulously written. The analysis “should be interpretative not just descriptive [and point]…to both convergence and divergence” in data (p. 24). Thus, following a CRT advocacy stance, I endeavoured to satisfy all these.

The Research Process

This process involves the recruitment of participants according to inclusion criteria, data collection through the selected tool, pilot testing and subsequent interviewing, data analysis using IPA, and engaging the audit trail (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

The recruitment process. During the ethical clearance process, the University of Malta, Malta College of Arts, Science and Technology (MCAST), and Aġenzija Żagħżagħ gave preliminary agreement to act as gatekeepers (Appendix N). Following UREC’s approval (Appendix O), they were again contacted to disseminate the prospective participant information letters (Appendix P) and consent forms (Appendix Q). No participants came forward through this method.

This lack of response, also due to the relatively small cohort size and topic sensitivity, led me to use snowball sampling, known to work when trust is an issue (Thomas & Hersen, 2003). Accordingly, I approached Black and biracial community acquaintances to act as trusted gatekeepers for potential participants. I was careful to address diversity since snowball sampling is notorious for producing biased samples, and participants’ reluctance to contact potential others themselves due to confidentiality issues (Sadler et al., 2010). This process was time-consuming and lasted three months. Interviews were then conducted over a six-week period.

Inclusion criteria for participants. Preferably equal gender balanced, potential participants were required to be homogenous on the following: (1) first-generation M-Bbs; (2) aged 18 to 35; (3) born and always lived locally; (4) have one parent born to an indigenous Maltese couple; (5) have one parent born to Black parents; and (6) preferably having experienced counselling. Albeit prepared that "one's sample will in part be defined by who is prepared to be included in it!" (Smith & Osborn, 2003, p. 56), six participants, three females and three males, matching all preset criteria, presented.

Criteria 1, 3, 4 and 5 determined local biraciality and avoided multiraciality (Chapter 1)usher. Criterion 2 ensured the group's lived experience would be somewhat homogenous vis-à-vis global and local developments (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Criterion 6 was deemed preferable because I feared deterring participants from coming forward if they lacked this criterion. Four participants had experienced counselling, while three were able to provide insight on their experience. Table 1 shows participants' demographics.

Table 1

Profile of Participants

Self-chosen pseudonym	Gender	Parents' sociorace	Counselling experiences
Anderson-Cole	Male	Father: Maltese Mother: Black	Multiple on two separate occasions
Samantha	Female	Father: Black Mother: Maltese	Nil
Martin	Male	Father: Black Mother: Maltese	Nil
Carina	Female	Father: Black Mother: Maltese	Multiple on two separate occasions
Monica	Female	Father: Maltese Mother: Black	Multiple on two separate occasions
Legal-Alien	Male	Father: Black Mother: Maltese	One session on one occasion

Given the smallness of the local M-Bbc, a small-island state (Frendo, 1993), I included the least possible information about my participants (Table 1) to respect anonymity.

I purposely omitted age, the Black parents' Sub-Saharan African nationalities (four different ones), relationships between participants, and other potentially revealing details. Participants were given the option to choose their pseudonym, and all took up this option. The collection of relevant demographics (Appendix R) was, however, necessary to conceptualise participants bioecologically (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Choice of pseudonyms. The recruitment letter informed that participants could choose their own pseudonyms. I thus asked participants to do so prior to audio-recording the interviews. I refrained from imposing restrictions on this process. Instead, I exercised curiosity as to how participants would make their choice. I am glad I did, as apart from yielding additional information about participants, the gesture extended unconditional positive regard in realistic terms.

Females opted for a name they would have liked to have instead of their own, although happy with their original ones. Martin is short for Martin Luther King Jr, while Anderson-Cole is a combination of two artists the participant likes. Legal-Alien explained that biracials "and Blacks are viewed/treated like aliens at times...[however]...given…dad didn't come on the island illegally, I, therefore, am a Legal-Alien".

The research tool. Individual, in-depth, audio-recorded, semi-structured interviews were held at a location, date and time preferred by participants. The 60-90 minute private interviews were conducted in each participant's preferred language (Maltese or English), and were guided with an open-ended schedule (Appendix S), as informed by the literature, to prompt each in telling their unique experience. "'Debriefing' session[s]" (Denscombe, 2007, p. 144) were unwarranted as participants were informed of my external-insider position and intentions vis-à-vis the collected data prior to giving consent.

Although great care was invested in compiling the schedule by consulting contemporary theory (Rockquemore et al., 2009), similar studies conducted in other countries

(Hubbard & Utsey, 2015; Kim, 2016), and other academic literature (Khanna, 2010; Laszloffy & Hardy, 2000) for guidance concerning structure, phrasing and ordering, there was still space for participant manoeuvring. Indeed, it was this unguided space that made each interview unique and invaluable. Following each interview, I provided a list with contact information for counsellors (MACP, 2014) lest participants needed further post-interview processing. I noted the participants' and my emergent nonverbals with my reflections vis-à-vis the experience. I personally transcribed the interviews verbatim (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009).

Interviews and data collection: strengths and limitations. Interviews have a face-to-face quality, and thus, enable rapport building and more in-depth, spontaneous, conversations between parties, while allowing instantaneous body language observation in addition to responses, clarification and elaboration of data as needed (Opdenakker, 2006). Nevertheless, this privilege comes with costs as interviewer style and body language can equally affect participants' responses.

The interviewer effect, where "data…are affected by the personal identity of the researcher" (Denscombe, 2007, p. 184), applied. At times, I perceived my age, gender and sociorace as affecting the participants' responses concerning experience selection and language choice. Alternatively, my nationality, student and transcultural counsellor identities mediated for differences as all participants identified with these.

An interchange of power between participants and I was also present (Nunkoosing, 2005). Essentially, I represented the investigative authority and procedural connoisseur, whereas participants were the precious data holders and authorisers. I felt a subtle loss of power when setting interview dates and times, and while carrying out the audit trail.

Alternatively, I perceived some participants shrink upon sharing lived experience, which I met with a thorough explanation of their interviewee rights and Rogerian skills

(Egan, 1998). Nonetheless, all participants welcomed the opportunity to participate and divulge their narratives. Timing of questions and following the participants' lead were invaluable thereby moderating interview power dynamics. My personal journal snippet (Appendix M) provides an extended reflection of the strengths and limitations of interviewing.

Pilot testing. I used the first interview as a pilot study test guide (Seidman, 2006) in order to check for question relevance, sensitivity and effectiveness at getting at lived experience, interview length and clarity, while familiarising myself with the interviewing process. There was no need for any changes.

Data analysis. IPA analysis is a gradual procedure featuring a two-margin coding approach (Smith & Osborn, 2003). After transcribing the interviews, and having them approved by participants, I reread transcriptions repeatedly to familiarise with the text, come close to understanding the participants' narrated experiences and engage in data interpretation. With each reread, the left-hand margin served to code important emerging points. Conversely, the right-hand margin was used to note my ideas, beliefs and responses to the text and link with existing theory (Dallos & Veter, 2005).

After coding each transcription and checking that the themes remained true to the original account, I listed the left-hand margin annotations successively and cross-scrutinised them for similarity, divergence and contradictions (Smith & Osborn, 2003). As per Smith and Osborn (2003), I clustered those echoing repeatedly or connoting similarity into themes and pruned dead-ends. Code clustering was guided by my right-hand margin notes, which were also separately clustered to expose bias and implicit theory for self-reflexivity (Smith & Osborn, 2003).

The final step was eliciting themes from participants' lived experience and grounding them in transcription quotes. Moreover, they were presented in the findings section while

linked to theory and existing literature, and included in a discussion about the implications for Malta. As recommended by Smith and Osborn (2003), the clustering of themes is presented in Table 2, while Appendix T presents direct transcription quotations to substantiate the elicited themes.

Audit trail. Participants received transcribed data for verification and correction purposes, and two participants made minor changes. Meanwhile, I asked for further clarification when the need arose. Additionally, I made the findings section available to participants so they could validate or otherwise my data interpretation. Findings were duly corroborated. Appendices U to Z present excerpts of each transcription.

Credibility, Dependability, Confirmability, and Transferability

Denzin and Lincoln (2011) posit that trustworthiness has the inherent qualities of credibility, dependability and transferability; Shenton (2004) adds confirmability. Hence, using an established research method, and showing that my findings are "reasonably likely to be accurate and appropriate...[through]...triangulation...[and]...respondent validation" (Densombe, 2007, p. 297), a process differing from that engaged in positivism, established this study's credibility, dependability, and confirmability. Additionally, keeping a reflexive journal for bracketing purposes, and sharing my work with the supervision team, satisfied the triangulation criterion, namely, the "practice of viewing things from more than one perspective" (p. 134).

Besides reinforcing this study's credibility (Flick, 2009), the audit trail further contributes to its "dependability" (p. 298), and hence, the use of "reputable procedures and reasonable decisions" (p. 298), as well as its confirmability, that is, objectivity (Denscombe, 2007). Thus, referring back to participants for feedback on my interpretations' accuracy helped me to avoid "researcher bias" (Flick, 2009, p. 393), while ensuring good practice, especially due to my external-insider position.

Transferability of findings, “to what *extent* could the findings be transferred to other instances?” (Denscombe, 2007, p. 299), rather than generalisability, “to what extent are the findings likely to exist in other instances?” (p. 299), further guarantees trustworthiness. I ensured transferability by understanding as much as possible the participants’ lived experiences and by using the audit trail. Through these efforts, readers are able to identify with the rich material presented, and potentially self-identify in it, which is the essence of transferability (Denscombe, 2007).

Conclusion

My foremost responsibility was toward my participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). This chapter specified my research process, established IPA quality, and clarified how findings were extracted. After outlining the research question, the study rationale, and my aims, I reflected on how my external-insider position may have impacted my work. Furthermore, I offered reasoning underlying my preference for a qualitative methodology to introduce this new study focus in Malta. The research process section was weaved with reflexivity underscoring the process. Lastly, I explained how I secured trustworthiness.

Chapter 4 - Findings and Discussion

This chapter reports findings to the question: What, according to M-Bb youth, helps or hinders local M-Bbid? Table 2 presents the six elicited interrelated themes, while Appendix T substantiates the themes with participants' quotes.

Table 2

Themes and subthemes

Themes	Subthemes
Theme 1:	Becoming racially self-aware
Biraciality	Maltese-primed socialisation
	Public biracial identity
	Private biracial identity
	Racial identity validation
	Racial identity invalidation
	Self-picked racial descriptors
Theme 2:	Racialised unions
Racialised context	Racialised bodies
	- Primary school
	- Secondary school
	- Post-secondary and tertiary education
	Racialised spaces
Theme 3:	Erasure of race
Navigating the racialised context	False consciousness
	Rage
	Social and cultural whitening
	Racial identity switching
	Support and role models
	Rising above
Theme 4:	Maltese racial-ethnic identity
Maltafro/*Maltafrikan(a)* phenomenon	Black racial identity
	- Autocolonised Black identity
	- Oppressed Black identity
	African ethnic identity
Theme 5:	Education and class
Intersectionality	Gender
	Ethnicity
	Respective African countries
	Multiculturalism
	- Social and occupation
	- Romantic life
Theme 6:	Counselling experience
Shared experiences	Sub-Saharan immigration
	Local representation
	Retrospective recommendations
	Comments on this study

Theme 1: Biraciality

M-Bbc is overwhelmingly young, isolated, politically unrepresented and officially unrecognised. This scenario mystifies participants' M-Bbid (CRT, n.d.) and contributes to their intersectional invisibility (Purdie-Vaughan & Eibach, 2008). Unlike American W-Bbs (Evans et al., 2010), participants have no local role models, and are largely assimilated in Maltese sociocultural life, which undermined their other RI (CRT, n.d.). Aligned with BID theory (Renn, 2004; Rockquemore, 1999; Root, 1990, 1996), participants identified differently, depending on setting, and acknowledged M-B racial roots. They held private versus public racial self-understandings, and thus actively challenged oppressive socially constructed racial categories (Dill & Zambrana, 2009).

Becoming racially self-aware. "I always knew…I was different…I was…seven-eight years old when I realised…I wasn't White" (Monica). RI emerges when one is three to four years old, and culminates in adolescence (McKinney, 2016). Biracial skin-tone awareness emerges around age six (Pinderhughes, 1995). Legal-Alien was also "always aware", adding that one "can never not be". Anderson-Cole felt equally "different", and identified as "plain and simple…Black". His RI, however, is linked with having a Black-identified mother in a racist society (Ramsay, 2013), as "mothers are often the parent who…socialize their children, [and thus] a White mother's Whiteness will impact the racial identity development of Biracial children" (McKinney, 2016, p. 30). Moreover, Maltese racial homogeneity highlighted his skin-tone discrepancy (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006); "I was the only Black kid in the whole school".

Alternatively, Martin, Carina and Samantha discovered their phenotypical difference only when pointed out, highlighting the socio-constructed quality of sociorace (CRT, n.d.):

Fis-sekondarja…it-tfal jibdew jgħidu, dak Iswed, in-*nigger*, in-noklu. (Martin)	In secondary school, children commented: he is Black, the nigger, the curl.

Participants felt marginalised by messages of difference, nonbelonging and sporadic rejection (Hubbard & Utsey, 2015; Kim, 2016; Rhodes, 2012), emphasising the need for local social justice efforts (CRT, n.d.).

Maltese-primed socialisation. Participants self-described as mostly Maltese with limited Black-African contact which, they felt hindered their M-Bbid (CRT, n.d.). This influenced their “explicit and implicit social behavior” (Gaither et al., 2015, p. 3). “Given that I have grown up in a country which is mainly filled with White, light-skinned people [Malta]…I…feel…more at ease…in a room filled with White people than if I was in a room filled with Black people” (Legal-Alien). Maltese reasoning and disassociation “with the way they [Africans] think” (Samantha) was also common (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Growing up removed from Black life and legacy has largely detached participants from their Black RI (CRT, n.d.). Despite Martin’s and Legal-Alien’s Black parents’ efforts to impart a monoracial Black RI, the larger Black community’s absence hindered this process (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). “I’m used to dealing with Maltese people as…White…I never relate to them as a Black. I don’t know how to relate with Black people…I feel weird” (Carina).

Nonetheless, “open family discussions about race positively impact Biracials’ evolving racial identity development” (McKinney, 2016, p. 5), and challenge endemic colour-blindness (CRT, n.d.). However, Monica affirmed her family “wouldn’t really talk about me being half-Black-and-half-White, and looking the way I look”. Similarly, Anderson-Cole stated that although he “grew up with both cultures…[he] still identified with being Maltese more”. Nevertheless, none rejected Blackness as did Black-Koreans (Kim, 2016) and Latvian-Blacks (Rhodes, 2012), who were equally non-Black socialised.

Public biracial identity. Similarly to other internationals (Hubbard & Utsey, 2015; McKinney, 2016), Maltese (Cassar et al., 2017) identify M-Bbs as Black based on perceived

Black-related features (Galbin, 2014). Thus, aware of reduced "enoughness" (Ying, 2017, p. 42) and countering microinvalidations (Johnston & Nadal, 2010), Monica and Martin often assert BI. Unlike Monica, however, Martin identifies as border/multiracial upfront (Renn, 2008; Rockquemore, 1999):

If you tell me what are you? Ngħidlek, Malti-Iswed, Malti-*Black.* (Martin)	When asked, what are you? I reply, *Malti-Iswed*, *Malti*-Black.

Monica identifies as monoracially Maltese, demonstrating the need to fit in a diversity-intolerant context (Thompson & Neville, 1999). Similarly, Samantha was raised "saying…Maltese...[as]...it was…a secret" despite her darker skin-tone. She "only started saying half-Maltese-half-African…a few years ago". Conversely, Carina presents herself as Maltese; however, "just to make a point…to have them ask me". Alternatively, Anderson-Cole's past BI choice was based on perceived threat. Thus, participants challenge socially-designated limiting categories. However, despite doing so, they do so for different reasons, which all point to reduced racial equity (CRT, n.d.).

Moreover, Carina, Anderson-Cole and Legal-Alien use BI switching, implying a fluid protean/multiple monoracial BI (Renn, 2008; Rockquemore, 1999). Studies correlate this, and border/multiracial identity, with high self-esteem and lower depression scores (Lusk et al., 2010). Nonetheless, unlike W-B BID in America, which develops against historical dehumanisation and ongoing civil rights efforts (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2002), the participants' BI, amid others, develops against a backdrop of constant RI miscategorisation and invalidation stemming from perceived reduced Maltese-enoughness and sociorace-related preconceptions (CRT, n.d.).

Private biracial identity. Apart from public and ascribed, participants hold private BIs, substantiating the ecological models' lifespan perspective (Wijeyesinghe, 2001) and context claims (Evans et al., 2010). Martin, Samantha, Monica, Anderson-Cole and Carina

struggled with the appearance-identity link. Unique intersectionalities (Theme 5), and dynamic environments (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), produce disparate M-Bbid (Ramsay, 2013).

Samantha is becoming increasingly "very proud" that she is "half-Black" as macrotime passes. For her part, Monica "learned to ignore people…[and]…appreciate being biracial more now" since she changed crowd, while Anderson-Cole, owing to both macrotime and context changes, feels closer to his Black roots, and "wouldn't mind associating…with more of the African descent". Therefore, participants' self-understanding is approximating border/multiracial identities (Renn, 2008; Rockquemore, 1999).

Participants with transcendent/extraracial BI qualities are likewise evolving (Renn, 2004), and challenging society's racial identification (Ramsay, 2013). "If you ask me who I am…I would say a global citizen, if you really pushed me…Maltese…but I consider myself to be equally half-Maltese-and-half-Black because it's absolutely nothing to me" (Carina). Legal-Alien agrees, however refuses association based on the idea that "race isn't something I would consider when choosing how close I am to a person".

This can be explained as self-preserving reactions to a racist context (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2002) which, in turn, adversely affect psychological health (Lusk et al., 2010), while being difficult to support in a globally racialised reality (Renn, 2004). Literature identifies the importance of incorporating "both sides of one's racial makeup into racial identity" (Lusk et al., 2010, p. 120) for sustained psychological well-being and social justice (CRT, n.d.).

Racial identity validation. Since BI is officially unrecognised in Malta, this subtheme addresses which part of the M-Bbs' BI is mostly validated, by whom and the participants' perceptions of this for a social justice approach (CRT, n.d.). Participants

affirmed they are mostly socially constructed as non-Maltese Blacks, and addressed by others in English (Galbin, 2014).

However, they noted, that when they converse in Maltese and explain their reduced enoughness, people are initially surprised. Next, they accept their explanation because it fits their worldview; however, participants face frequently microaggressions.

> People would ask me, so where are you from? I'd tell them Malta. No where are you really from?...No one would believe me that I was Maltese…I would have to explain that my mother is from AC and my father is Maltese". (Monica)

Alternatively, some Maltese rope in ethnicity and serve reverse invalidations as well:

Jgħiduli, minn fejn int? Ngħidilhom, ommi Maltija u missieri AC. Imma fejn twilidt? Malta. Allura Malti. (Martin)	Maltese ask me, where are you from? I reply, my mother is Maltese and father AC. But where were you born? Malta. So you are Maltese.

Moreover, participants presented as Maltese monoracials feel challenged. Similar to Afro-Germans (Hubbard & Utsey, 2015), they are pressured for proof. Monica, Carina and Samantha share similar experiences. "When I…say I am Maltese, they normally straight away say that it isn't possible…because you are not White, so where is your other half coming from?" (Samantha). Then, "I would have to explain that my mother is from AC and my father is Maltese" (Monica).

Racial identity invalidation. Constant Black identification makes it harder for participants to integrate their private-public racial self-understandings (Lou & Lalone, 2015). People, including the participants' families, "perceive me more as…Black than White or Maltese" (Monica). Thus, unlike most American (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2004) and Canadian (Lou & Lalone, 2015) W-Bbs, only Martin has approximated an integrated border/multiracial identity (Renn, 2008; Rockquemore, 1999). However, although constantly

told by his father that he is AC, he was never instructed to present as such. Conversely, the same method did not affect Legal-Alien, who was also constantly told "by my [African] grandmother…and …agreed to by my dad…[that] I am African…not Maltese…I'm different…better". Legal-Alien, however, "never thought that".

Therefore, participants who experience the world as Black (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2004) are rendered intersectionally invisible (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), cope through BI switching (Rockquemore, 1999; Renn, 2008), and espouse diverse strategies (Thompson & Neville, 1999) to navigate the racialised context. An ascribed Black RI renders participants vulnerable to racism and microaggressions, and augments the potential for societal exclusion, which sequentially affects well-being (Lou & Lalone, 2015). "When you're at school…in public…it's…really pointed out. Like what is different about you, what is not Maltese about you, why do you look the way you look?" (Monica). Moreover, safety concerns increase; "I have to protect myself as quickly as possible…it's much better [after I establish Malteseness], but still not a 100% and you can feel it" (Anderson-Cole).

Self-picked racial descriptors. Unlike some Latvian participants (Rhodes, 2012), participants self-referred with racial terms reflecting the racially-stratified context (CRT, n.d.). Term selection, however, depended on whether RI or racial identification was being discussed, indicating the actual RI conflict (Lou & Lalone, 2015). Aware of its derogatory connotation and frequent use in the Maltese context, "half caste" was noted as offensive by Monica, and Carina mentioned how racial awkwardness and ignorance prompts Maltese to use outdated terms like "nigger" and "coloured". Nevertheless, Malta's colour-blind attitude (CRT, n.d.) was, to different extents, reproduced in the participants' sociorace terminology clumsiness.

Biracial offspring "need a 'label'" (David & Moss, 2008, p. 221) to reinforce their BI and help with insensitive prying. Recommended terms are "biracial, interracial, [and]

multiracial" (p. 221). Alternatively, the use of "color words, such as brown or tan" (p. 221) are developmentally suitable for young kids. Like Afro-German participants (Hubbard & Utsey, 2015), participants referenced to both their respective African and Maltese heritage. Nevertheless, Afro-Germans evidence a stronger sense of integrated BI due to ample role models and large grounding communities (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Appendix C lists current and outdated biracial terminology.

Theme 2: Racialised Context

Maltese, unlike Germans (Hubbard & Utsey, 2015), albeit analogous to Koreans (Kim, 2016), are used to racial sameness (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Only small immigrant communities and tourists were present in Malta prior to 2000 (Savona-Ventura, Felice & Gullaimier, 2010). Since then, xenophobia and racism amplified (Pisani, 2011), distressing the lives of interracial families accordingly (Cassar et al., 2017; Galea, 2016). Aligned with person-context interrelatedness (Tudge et al., 2009), participants mentioned that the local insular-minded milieu impacts their respective families negatively.

Society's adverse attitude toward minorities negatively influences biracials' identification with minority parents (Moss & Davis, 2008). This further hinders M-Bbid and alienates minority parents (CRT, n.d.): "[I was told] black people smell a lot…it was a big thing…I used to be like, you don't smell, to my father, like other Black people...smell" (Carina).

Racialised unions. Anderson-Cole narrated that Maltese extended families welcome M-B interracial couples with antagonism, reflecting racially-stratified beliefs (Galbin, 2014). Indeed, "convincing extended family…to recognise interpersonal similarities as far more significant than interracial differences" (Cassar et al., 2017, p. 12) is difficult. Carina noted that, "my mother's [Maltese] family, we're not on good terms with them…They are very racist"; while Monica expressed that, "from my [Maltese] father's side, they found it a bit

difficult to accept my mother, except for my grandmother". In turn, these lingering realities robbed participants of a healthy extended family experience, contributing further to out-group feelings (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Alternatively, Martin's, Carina's, Monica's and Anderson-Cole's parents experienced positive racial bias, due to an autocolonised mentality (Thompson & Neville, 1999), from their African extended families. Legal-Alien and Samantha, however, noted comparable antagonism from the African families. However, while Legal-Alien's parents managed to bridge differences, Samantha's African family only "know[s] about my existence". Due to flipped racial beliefs (Galbin, 2014) in a different context (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), Samantha experiences dual intersectional invisibility and grew up with an absent biological father (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008).

Racialised bodies. Maltese children refer to their skin-tone as "peach" (Cassar et al., 2017, p. 13). Alternatively, participants introjected society's Black racial categorisation along with associated negative stereotypes (Adams et al., 2016):

Qisu xi ħaga ħażina…iswed, *darkness*, iswed, *sin*…ħafna nies jassoċjaw il-kulur iswed man-negattivi. (Martin)	It's like a bad thing. Black, darkness, black, sin. A lot of people associate the colour black with negatives.

However, even if correctly identified, once Black features are present, "the negative assumptions assigned by society to Black are often bestowed on Biracials" (McKinney, 2016, p. 42). Nevertheless, around seven through nine, children engage in "refined racial identification" (McKinney, 2016, p. 33); thus, become able to accurately associate with correct racial categories. Malta's racial-uniformity, however, hindered this process because participants had no one but Black role models to be identified/identify with (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Primary school. Primary years offered participants diverse racial experiences. Salient difference in experiences between state (Samantha, Carina, and Martin) and church (Anderson-Cole, Legal-Alien, and Monica) schools (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) are narrated. Participants attending state schools became aware of their differences when others pointed them out (Galbin, 2014), whereas those attending church schools were never spoken to about them (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Carina was able to detect more subtle racial microaggressions from her state school (Johnston & Nadal, 2010):

> When I…got good grades…my teachers were…amazed…it was over celebrated…but then when I did something wrong, it was…worst. Like how dare you come to our country?…It was like either what an amazing child, or what a horrible Black child.

Secondary school. Peer group relations take centre-stage in adolescence (Erikson, 1968); however, racial ambiguity and interracial dynamics may predispose W-Bbs to peer group rejection (Moss & Davis, 2008). Unlike racially diversified countries, however, the participants' teenage peer group was Maltese, and they were unexposed to multiracial and multicultural curriculums (Schranz, 2016). Nevertheless, only participants attending state schools indicated further class and education intersectionalities within their schools. Thus, only state school attendees were targets of racism, which sequentially augmented their sense of isolation and dampened their school experience (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Blatant comments like "look at the Black girl!" (Samantha) were common, denoting a socially unjust context (CRT, n.d.).

Furthermore, state school participants received no support for racial harassment, and neither church nor state schools offered M-Bbid support, confirming M-Bbs' intersectional invisibility in Malta (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Participants perceived racial illiteracy, inexperience, inexpertees (Moss & Davis, 2008), and colour-blindness (Sue et al., 2007) as the underlying culprits of indifference.

> Guidance teachers in secondary…I used to try to explain…that…being insulted about your race is totally different from someone calling you a bitch…When you insult me about something I can't change and something which makes me believe…as an adolescent, that there's something ugly about my skin…that is…completely different…very damaging. Because you cannot come back from the fact that you have a skin colour that you hate…This is not a disease…something…bad…unhealthy. (Carina)

Post-secondary and tertiary. American W-Bbs are "not Black or White enough, and rejection from one or both sociorace can lead to less than optimal racial identity development and negative psychosocial and academic outcome" (McKinney, 2016, p. 4). Participants, however, presented a different landscape. No participant reported negative psychosocial or academic outcomes. Alternatively, participants are relatively successful individuals in professional fields, perhaps reflecting other protective factors stemming from person-context interrelatedness (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Vis-à-vis rejection, however, although self-described as having good relations with Maltese peers, most interactions were speckled with microaggressions they learned to accept (Thompson & Neville, 1999):

> [In] Junior College, I was surprised by how much…the subject of me being dark-skinned used to pop in conversation because people made stupid jokes, which they think they mentioned for the first time but you've heard a million times…It never happened in secondary school. (Legal-Alien)

Racialised spaces. "Blackened" (Whitten, 2008, p. 220) bodies experience Malta differently (Ramsay, 2013). Common activities can be overwhelming: "I was the only Black girl…in [locality]…catechism…primary school…secondary school…on the coach…bus" (Samantha). Mundane activities become intimidating: "school bus drivers…that's where I felt

it outside of the school…that general feeling of hostility" (Anderson-Cole), while experiencing a sense of shifting safety: "certain places, I wouldn't feel as comfortable…the community wouldn't be prepared for it [my blackness]" (Anderson-Cole). In turn, these situations positioned participants "where it is hard to deal with conflict" (Anderson-Cole). Like Anderson-Cole, participants felt outnumbered; thus, "constantly thinking...[and]...trying to diffuse" (Anderson-Cole) potential conflict.

Microaggressions inundate reading materials: "I didn't read books because it was always White children" (Samantha).

> The [music genre] term blue-eyed soul, I found it really difficult to accept...[and]...I used to watch TV shows, but…if there's a Black person in it…they were trying to be White…It didn't feel like they were authentically representing Black people. Or mixed people. (Monica)

Theme 3: Navigating the Racialised Context

Colonial oppression brought the Western pseudo-racial hierarchy along with its beauty standards to Malta (Mifsud, 2010). Nowadays, "globalization" (Sharma, 2018, p. 106) and neocolonialism continue depositing atop a lingering local "psychology of colonialism" (Fanon, 2008, p. x). Accordingly, White beauty standards (Sims, 2012) are locally espoused, while Black features, despite commoditised (i.e., spray-on tan and lip/buttock augmentation), are repudiated (Cassar et al., 2017). Contemporary Western trends are, however, changing (Galbin, 2014), and biracial features now rank atop (Sims, 2012).

Inversely, blackened biracial bodies evoke racialised stares and aggression in Malta (Cassar et al., 2017). Accordingly, participants have internalised local anti-Black sentiments resulting from person-context interrelatedness (Tudge et al., 2009). However, while some anti-Black sentiments evolved from a Maltese-primed socialisation rooted in a psychology of

colonialism, others are coping strategies vis-à-vis racism (Thompson & Neville, 1999). Nevertheless, participants found ways to overcome them.

Erasure of race. To adjust, POC may acquiesce to racial jokes, stereotypes, derogatory terms, and exoticism, and thus distance themselves from other POC (Thompson & Neville, 1999). Therefore, to blend into Maltese society, participants introduced themselves with non-POC terms. Martin used personal characteristics, Anderson-Cole and Monica cited "Maltese" along with age and personal traits respectively, Samantha noted "Maltese", Legal-Alien denoted studenthood, while Carina used "global citizen".

To avoid social ripples, participants turned a blind eye to racial jokes. Legal-Alien ignored "running joke[s] about Black people stealing bicycles…[and] chicken" in Junior College. Monica accepted racial jokes in her all-Maltese friend group, while Anderson-Cole found "joke[s] with no bad intention" tolerable. Martin went along with co-workers' jokes about his teeth being the most visible feature in the dark, sometimes, even joking about his teeth and darkness. Alternatively, Samantha stopped going to clubs when similar jokes surfaced in her teen peer group. Social isolation is the price POC pay in a racist society unless they are able to engage in sociorace erasure (Thompson & Neville, 1999).

Self-exoticism and detachment from one's minority racial group are other examples of sociorace erasure. Samantha learned to objectify her skin-tone by turning it into aesthetic currency to feel accepted: "people are actually on the beach for two-three hours getting a tan, so maybe, it's true…they too want to be brown like me. So then, I started…being proud and walking in the street with my head held up high". Additionally, Anderson-Cole realised that he had "that constant fear" of being looped in with Black immigrants, so he "wouldn't associate as much". Self-protection was his main worry. Carina went to even greater lengths:

> I see that the only [way] I could deal was to detach from both races, and, just be…myself…it's a process I have to do on my own, not like in other countries where…there are so many biracials to talk about it.

False consciousness. False consciousness is "the holding of beliefs that are contrary to one's personal or group interest and which thereby contribute to the maintenance of the disadvantaged position of the self or the group" (Jost & Banaji, 1994, p. 3), and runs counter everything CRT stands for.

> It's not so bad like before…It's dying down…[Maltese] people realise…ok I'm Black, but I'm wearing normal clothes…Now it's on people that wear the [customary African wear and exhibit unfamiliar culture]…I feel [that] as long as I wear normal clothes, even though I'm Black, it's not as much. (Samantha)

Samantha realised that racism's main target has shifted (Dill & Zambrana, 2009). Other culturally and racially unassimilated Blacks are now the focus (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2007). She described a scenario similar to pre-racial America in which identified-primitives were dehumanised (Baker, 2008). Nevertheless, she perceived racism as "dying down" thereby minimising its insidiousness, while accenting pseudo-improvement (Thompson & Neville, 1999).

On another note:

> Victimise[ing] yourself, be[ing] extra sensitive to anything that is possibly racial…doesn't help…No! Racism will always be present, and I don't mind it. It's a…natural self-defense...I understand why White…I mean Maltese people, would be inclined to be racist, in inverted commas, because I don't want to just put a term on it as racism. (Legal-Alien)

What comes to mind is how Maltese socialisation and other intersectional privileges (CRT, n.d.) allied Legal-Alien with the majority's racist sentiments vis-à-vis POC (Thompson & Neville, 1999):

> What I feel many Maltese struggle with is not half-caste...Maltese struggle with, and I, 100% understand, if not agree, to a certain extend…illegal immigrants, and…Muslims. I don't think many Maltese have a problem with half-castes of Black if we are similar enough to them. (Legal-Alien)

Acceptance into Maltese society is thus contingent on racial and cultural assimilation, which simultaneously demands the repudiation of blackness, reflecting a social justice barren context (CRT, n.d.). Nonetheless, because of false consciousness (Thompson & Neville, 1999), participants were unaware of how M-Bbid damaging and racially-oppressive these ideas are (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2007). In an effort to adapt, they internalised the system, granting limited upward social mobility (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008) in exchange for pseudo-protection from racism (Thompson & Neville, 1999).

Rage. Parallelling false consciousness, rage was not unanimously experienced. Rage surfaces when there is "the eventual realization that one has acquiesced to a climate of racism" (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 195). Carina described what causes her rage:

> How I was in the past…if someone said something negative about Black people, I would…join because I am not Black in my mind. I'm myself from the other [Black] person, so it's just easier for me to…either agree with them, or if I disagree, I…keep it quiet cos I know…nobody is with me. But now, I'm so angry, since I opened my eyes, I am really angry about it.

Social and cultural whitening. In Malta, like in Peru (Golash-Boza, 2010), the socially constructed "mulatto-escape hatch" (p. 140) is burgeoning (Galbin, 2014). A racist society can tolerate diversity only when it perceives POC's whitening efforts and rewards

them with exceptional treatment (Thompson & Neville, 1999). M-Bbs embody "intergenerational whitening" (Golash-Boza, 2010, p. 140). However, as carriers of Blackness, they still trigger out-group reactions from Maltese:

Malti qatt mhu ser jajjar Malti bil-ġilda…l-Iswed, hija dik li dejqithom. (Martin)	A Maltese person will not demean another Maltese based on skin. Black is what bothered them.

Hence, to further disassociate from dehumanised Blacks and earn exceptional treatment (Thompson & Neville, 1999), participants engaged in sociocultural whitening common in neocolonised countries (Fanon, 2008). Samantha "started dating Maltese men, not because I…do not like Black men, but…for the simple fact that I wanted to get in the Maltese community even more…Whereas if you dated…African…you feel more African". Similarly, Monica recalled her painful journey:

> At school or at work…I have to present myself as being White…more educated…polite…I don't want to attribute…Black people not being polite, but it feels like when you say I have to act more White, it's like I have to…speak Maltese…look lighter…(when I was younger I used…whitening creams so I feel better about myself)…straighten my hair, put…straight extensions so I can look more Maltese. Do make-up the way Maltese people do, even though it wouldn't suite me…dress the way…[Maltese] dress…because I thought that is what White people do. That is how they look, that is how I should look, so I can be Whiter…more accepted and the good person. [If I don't]…people won't like me…I won't be appreciated for who I actually am…be seen as a good student or a good work mate.

Racial identity switching. Participants reported RI switching (Rockquemore, 1999; Renn, 2008) as necessary to different extents. Being able to bring forth a particular BI for a specific interaction, then switching back is an asset (Obama, 2007) and "a highly evolved

skill requiring emotional maturity and cognitive complexity" (Renn, 2004, p. 80; Unterreiner, 2017). Monica and Samantha use "racial capital" (Waring, 2017, p. 150) sparingly; their circles are mostly Maltese and White. Martin switches when challenged. Protean/multiple monoracial BI (Renn, 2008; Rockquemore, 1999), however, is more valuable to Legal-Alien, Carina and Anderson-Cole, who use it consciously to fit in different settings. Legal-Alien switches when with either extended family, while Carina and Anderson-Cole when abroad and with multiracials/multiculturals.

Alternatively, Carina explained how "with the Maltese, I'm the Black one, and with the Black, I'm the White one", while Anderson-Cole reflected that, "I can blend in more…fit different…profiles…So when I need to be Maltese, I can be. But then, I can also be completely detached…So when I am abroad, I can fit into different…characters…identify differently, based on my surroundings". Their chameleon qualities help them to adapt to different ecological systems (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Support and role models. McKinney (2016) nominates other biracials as finest role models for BID; they can support RI issues and a racist reality. However, participants lacked this opportunity in Malta (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), and therefore looked in different directions for BID support. Monica is "more proud to be mixed-race" because of TV shows like Blackish (Barris, 2014-2018), featuring Black and biracial stars, and a multiracial work environment:

> Work…helped me with the accepting of myself because I saw all these foreign people so comfortable in their identity, and so proud of where they come from and who they are. It made me realise that I shouldn't hide myself so much. I shouldn't be so…embarrassed…about my cultural background or my identity.

For his part, Martin draws strength from Martin Luther King Jr, while Carina and Anderson-Cole from their respective fathers. Legal-Alien found help from a coworker, and

Samantha found comfort in her maternal lineage and the presence of other random Blacks on the island: “when I…see a Black person…it’s like a sign of relief…I don’t think a White…to…White person can ever have that bond...I think because somehow, we all have passed through the same thing”.

Rising above. Participants turned painful racial experiences into personal victories and stories of resilience, which aligns with CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Anderson-Cole described growing up Black-identified as stressful, “but now…a good thing came out of that…I just became very aware that people might be feeling a lot of things, so I just try to contain it and help them out...[I call it the]...basic responsibility of being a human”. Furthermore, once out of secondary, Martin found an accepting peer group and a career to settle in.

Participants adopted personal philosophies vis-à-vis differential treatment. Legal-Alien believes that “you can’t take individual cases and let them affect you…victimising yourself…If I come to a specific hurdle…attributed to race…I’ll deal with it specifically”. Similarly, Samantha stressed that: “I am proud, this is me. And when you…love yourself…people tend to accept you…It’s what you bring on others. And I really really, truly believe that’s what made me get through this”.

Monica claimed that listening to soul music helped her “appreciate” blackness. Nowadays, “I see it as if I have an extra bit that someone else doesn’t have”. Moreover, Carina feels “fortunate...[to have]...been able to meet so many other people from the whole world that are experiencing the same thing and that helps”. Bittersweet, however, is her experience, and she now feels like the “Black girl to be admired rather than the Black girl that is ugly and stupid…everything is racially charged. Even…progressing in a positive way”, and thus, linking back with tokenism.

Theme 4: Maltafro/*Maltafrikan(a)* phenomenon

Participants presented as M-Bbs. During the racially-focused process, however, I detected three intersecting ethnic-racial identities besides the developing border/multiracial one (Renn, 2008; Rockquemore, 1999), namely, Maltese, Black and African. To describe it from a bioecological perspective (Tudge et al., 2009), I coined the term Maltafro (*Maltafrikan* if male, and *Maltafrikana* if female in Maltese). Afro-Maltese, inspired by Hubbard and Utsey's (2015) work, was considered. Nevertheless, I decided otherwise because the participants' Maltese identity overshadowed the ascribed Black and hollow African ones.

Placing Afro prior to Maltese felt inauthentic to participants. Conversely, Maltafro in English and *Maltafrikan(a)* in Maltese were more befitting. Malta, denoting sociorace and ethnicity, comes first with the last *a* serving as the initial *a* in afro and *afrikan(a),* symbolising the pseudo-racial overlap. The overlapping *a* is also in small letters, reflecting the participants' perceived identity structure. It is thus ironic that what first met my eyes was experienced inversely in I/thou conversation, which again reflects my construction (Galbin, 2014). However, although this term fits data, I do not recommend it for this cohort since it seeks to assert Maltese identity over the others, transmitting symbolic oppression (CRT, n.d.).

Maltese racial-ethnic identity. Participants, unlike Afro-Germans (Hubbard & Utsey, 2015), identified as socio-culturally Maltese; however, comparatively disassociated from negative Maltese stereotypes (i.e., staring, gossiping and insular-mindedness). Maltese identities are thus assembled upon intersecting racial and ethnic axes, notwithstanding divergent affinities to both (Ramsay, 2013). In turn, strong ethnic identities reduce depression (Lusk et al., 2010) and substance-abuse risks (Fisher et al., 2017), while racial and ethnic identities enhance self-esteem (Moss & Davis, 2008). However, participants did not perceive

a choice. Feeling more Maltese "has to do a lot with me being born…and raised here, and not having an opportunity to visit my family from my mother's side a lot" (Monica).

Black racial identity. Black identity emerges from racism (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2007); nevertheless, African Americans harnessed and intergenerationally transmit a legacy of Black pride to protect against their racist society (Chancler, Webb & Miller, 2017). Participants, however, have no socialisation in local Black pride because this ideology is missing in Malta (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). "I am half-White-and-half-Black, in reality the half-Black it's…literally just the race because I've never lived in Africa, I never lived in a Black community" (Carina). Thus, misinformed by oppressive systems (Appendix B), unsupported by local advocacy (CRT, n.d.), and untaught about Black civil rights struggles (Moore, 2008a), participants exhibited an autocolonised and oppressed Black identity, which hinders their M-Bbid (Thompson & Neville, 1999).

Autocolonised Black identity. This is the intergenerationally dispensed "internalization of inferiority...[which]...influences the socialization of [non-White] children" (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 193), leading them to believe they are lesser than Whites (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). In unique ways, participants exhibited an autocolonised Black identity struggling to fit a likewise autocolonised Maltese reality (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). This identity ties with double consciousness (Thompson & Neville, 1999). Carina reminisces: "I played with White dolls and only white ones. And when I was young…I wanted to be…blonde", while Martin queried:

Għaliex…missieri ma kienx…bjond għal l-argument? (Martin)	Why was not my father blond for argument's sake?

Blond was identified as the ideal; thus, roping a psychology of colonialism (Fanon, 2008):

> There was only one other Black girl in my school…She was thin…tall…had the longest, straightest hair…and that pissed me off…why couldn't I get…the 'good' hair,

> the light-coloured eyes, etc…from my father's side? I didn't get the good traits from my mother's side either, which are her being thin and tall and…it didn't feel fair. (Monica)

Similarly, Carina recalled how she used to think, "black was ugly...[and]...feel like my hair was really really ugly...[yet]...now I'm starting to get a bit more African in terms of…hair and my jewellery…before, I wouldn't be caught dead having my natural hair", which ropes Monica's earlier feelings "that being Black is bad…you belonged back in your country, and that you were dirty". Moss and Davis (2008) report similar findings in the U.S., stressing further racism's global reach (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) and its deleterious effects on POC (Thompson & Neville, 1999).

Oppressed Black identity. Participants felt encumbered by their local Black identification (Cassar et al., 2017). Anderson-Cole avoided dating "anyone of African descent". He anticipated feeling positioned to "constantly…protect someone else…like I'm under siege". Furthermore, Martin worried his appearance could get him into trouble that a Maltese phenotype would not, whereas Samantha felt mobility limitations: "I'm [25+] and I still live in [locality]…Because…everybody knows me…when I tried one year living in another town…in the South of Malta, it was a nightmare…so then I came back and I will never leave…I have control".

African ethnic identity. Participants' contact with respective African communities and cultures varied slightly from nil, to some locally practised customs, technological contact, and a few visits to the respective ACs. Like Black-Koreans (Kim, 2016) but unlike Afro-Germans (Hubbard & Utsey, 2015), the participants' African ethnic identity is mostly empty. "Every time I go to AC, I learn something new about our family, about my culture. I don't know anything really…like a tourist would know about Malta" (Carina). Legal-Alien, who has some locally-based African family, showed no interest in knowing more about his

African heritage. Alternatively, Martin, Monica, Anderson-Cole, Samantha and Carina would welcome the opportunity.

Additionally, participants had undifferentiated ethnic and Black RI. Parallelling academics, who due to slavery, colonialism and racism never theorised ethnic identity models for African Americans (Evans et al., 2010), and impacted by the local racial-cultural diversity vacuum, participants perceived these two as one. This, in turn confuses M-Bbid further since their Black identity is largely autocolonised. “All I take from [AC] is my biological aspect…I am half-African, but apart from that, nothing else…I am different [to Maltese], but…in a very trivial sense...just skin and facial features, and biologically” (Legal-Alien). “I don’t know how to be Black. I never had that strong sense of Black identity, so I can’t fit in with them, but I’m neither, like, Maltese, White-Christian-Catholic, so I stay in the middle” (Carina).

Theme 5: Intersectionality

Social identities intersect in ways which either enhance or undermine a person’s lived experience (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008) across macrospace and macrotime (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). As evidenced in all themes, participants’ BI and ascribed RI intersect with family, education, class, gender, ethnicity, respective AC, and multiculturalism to either help or hinder their M-Bbid. The combination of intersections make participants’ lived experiences unique (Ramsay, 2013).

Reactions from Maltese extended families varied. Samantha experienced the most polarised response, while Legal-Alien and Martin mentioned none, again roping individual-family intersectionalities (Ramsay, 2013). Monica and Anderson-Cole felt differential treatment, but were unsure whether other personality and physical traits intersected with sociorace. Sociorace-related differential treatment is especially harmful for biracial, and

potentially alienates from affiliated sociorace groups and instils “guilt and anger” (Moss & Davis, 2008, p. 222).

Education and class. School selection was not directly class related. Nevertheless, school choice was significant for participants’ M-Bbid (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). As opposed to church schools, state school participants experienced frequent microaggressions. Nonetheless, all schools ignored racial diversity, opting instead for colour-blind practices (Smith et al., 2014), reflecting a socially unjust context (CRT, n.d.):

Bdejt nieħu l-messaġġi…jien ġieli mort id-dar u bkejt…hemm *shift*...[l-ewwel] aċċettawk u issa bdew bl-insulti. (Martin)	I started receiving messages. I sometimes went home and cried. A shift. First they accepted you, and now they started with insults.

Carina recalled receiving “polygenist” (Erickson, 2008, p.226) messages: “teachers…saying that Black people evolved differently than Whites”. Nonetheless, unlike some researched American W-Bbs (Adams et al., 2016), participants succeeded educationally and beyond. Indeed, although Samantha worries that a picture CV may affect her getting hired because she is “Black”, she “always got every job”. Likewise, Legal-Alien believes that “if you have your life sorted…and you know what you want…it would be really difficult to find huge racial barriers…Colour does not matter that much”.

Intersectionality and CRT, however, are unambiguous about the invisibility and “double jeopardy” (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008, p. 378) of having “multiple subordinate-group identities” (p.377), including darker skin-tones (Adams et al., 2016). Instead of racial equality, getting hired may demonstrate other Maltese ecological dynamics (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Gender. Double jeopardy theory explains “dual discrimination based on racism and sexism” (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008, p. 377). Presently, the theory encompasses

additional subordinate-group identities. A Black irregular immigrant and female-identification in Malta meet these criteria (Pisani, 2011). "Because I was with a White parent, they [Maltese] would treat me nicer…when…with my mother, it was more…she's the immigrant…illegal…she doesn't belong here" (Monica).

This shaped Monica's understanding of what it means to be Black, female and AC-identified in Malta (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Double jeopardy stigma affected her willingness to connect with the local AC ethnic group. "I don't want to get involved. They speak English and…are very good friends of my family…but I personally do not want to get involved with that society because I feel like it's not my family". Nonetheless, Monica had a resilient message for other M-Bbs: "do not be ashamed of who you are, don't try to be what society thinks you need to be. Please don't feel like you're worth any less".

Carina also acknowledged the gendered experience of racism and other intersectionalities (Ramsay, 2013): "My brother went to private school, and his conception of being Black is completely opposite…I think it has to do with gender…cos he's like the hot Black male" (Cassar et al., 2017; Root, 2004). Moreover, Carina described the gendered-double-aesthetical-standard women-of-colour face in Western-inspired Malta: "the fact that Beyonce exists…doesn't mean that being Black is beautiful. It's just an exception" (Carina).

Western "beauty products marketed to women of color…are geared toward making women look more phenotypically White (i.e., chemical hair straighteners, skin bleaching creams)" (Adams et al., 2016, p. 100). This can be twice damaging to M-Bb females, as they encourage the autocolonisation of both racial identities. However, women do not fair worst in everything. No male participants, however, matched any of the literature's double jeopardy issues (Adams et al., 2016), which could again reflect contextual and intersectional differences (CRT, n.d.).

Ethnicity. Participants mostly adhere to Maltese and White-inspired culture, speak Maltese and/or English, do no speak any African languages, live in Malta, and have single Maltese nationality (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Thus, since "ethnic identity develops from sharing culture, religion, geography, and language with individuals who are often connected by strong loyalty and kinship" (Evans et al., 2010, p. 277) and is socially constructed (Lusk et al., 2010), participants' ethnic identity is mostly Maltese, which automatically lopsided their M-Bbid since these are inextricably linked (Song, 2010). Like African Americans, albeit without slavery's legacy, participants miss their African heritage. This scenario can cause "deep psychological trauma" (Evans et al., 2010, p. 284) (Appendix B), and stall intergenerational ethnic education, causing more problems in future generations (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Participants were also cognisant of the privilege and protection of speaking Maltese, a lack of accent, and a Maltese nationality gives them in Malta (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Anderson-Cole explained: "luckily, my accent isn't very harsh to where it sounds as if it's Arabic or an African language…as soon as I speak, even if it is Maltese, I'm accepted straight away" (Anderson-Cole). For her part, Carina divulged: "I was always thankful that I am half-White, because I couldn't imagine being completely Black. It would have been a nightmare…[If] I don't speak Maltese…not a Maltese citizen…a refugee status…I can't imagine what that must be like".

Nevertheless, speaking the language did not stop microinvalidations (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). The "first thought, because I spoke Maltese…was [she is] adopted…Then…refugee or *tad-dgħajsa* (boat immigrant)" (Carina). The mircroinvalidations imply that Maltese cannot yet conceptualise the local phenotype extending to include Black features. "When…with my father: are you sure this is your daughter?...There's that mentality. Like, she doesn't look like you" (Monica).

Respective African countries. Participants who visited respective ACs described them as warmer and more welcoming. They, however, realised that local perceptions (Galbin, 2014) were equally rooted in objectification (Sims, 2012) and an autocolonised reality (Thompson & Neville, 1999):

> When I go to Africa. It's…completely different…when I'm in Malta, it's…a bad thing to be Black. There, it's the opposite…the first thing people will say it's, 'OMG! You're so beautiful…amazing…so smart' and everything is so positive…you're still…objectified…because…you're still the light one, so it's still about race. It's the same thing. (Carina)

Multiculturalism. Like Afro-Germans (Hubbard & Utsey, 2015), participants enjoy the company of non-Maltese people, feel comfortable with others who equally mirror diversity, and feel out-grouped in Malta. Instead, U.S. W-Bbs stick with their racially representative groups (Evans et al., 2010). Slavery, segregation and contentious sociorace-relations may underscore this disparity (CRT, n.d.):

> At work with the locals…I'm one of them, with the foreigners it's like I know what it's like to be foreign and still work and live and go about life in a completely different country, so I can understand people better…I love the fact that I…managed to gain that. (Anderson-Cole)

Moreover, participants use international sources (i.e., media, foreign countries and internet) or encounters with immigrants to learn more about their non-Maltese racial half and build intercultural competence, which helps their M-Bbid (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Social and occupation. Having a different appearance atop local sociocultural knowledge can be an asset (Ramsay, 2013). It has the potential to make international clients feel at ease. Accordingly, "sometimes bosses want somebody different" (Samantha), which works to the participants' advantage. Participants socialise or work in multicultural settings:

Aħna x-xogħol għandna minn kollox…*We all get along*…Ġieli mmorru sa Għawdex flimkien il-Ħadd. (Martin)	At work there is a good mix of people. We all get along. We sometimes go to Gozo on Sunday.

Romantic life. Dating can be hard on W-Bbs, whose only option is interracial dating, which can add to their BID confusion (Moss & Davis, 2008). "White people. I think…that's what was available around me, and I wasn't particularly attracted to any other race or ethnicity" (Monica). Beyond availability and attraction, however, Anderson-Cole mentioned avoiding double jeopardy, while Samantha was driven by the need to feel more Maltese. Alternatively, Martin makes decisions based on "skin tone bias" (Adams et al., 2016, p. 94), while Legal-Alien has no set preferences.

Carina elaborated other difficulties (Adams et al., 2016):

> I date…Black guys because…I'm afraid to date White…I'm afraid that to them, I'm going to be either a really really really hot Black girl…exotic…or else…the opposite…I'm doing her a favour…Whereas with Black guys, I still don't feel…an equal playingfield cos many Black guys…are…attracted to girls, who are…mixed-race. So I think I feel more secure in that they think I'm pretty.

Theme 6: Shared Experiences

Voice-giving is central to IPA (Smith, 2017) and CRT. Thus, this theme presents participants' converging or diverging voices on common local experiences, namely, counselling experience, Sub-Saharan immigration, local representation, retrospective-inspired recommendations and this study.

Counselling experience. It is normal for biracials to attend counselling with non-BID-related issues (Moss & Davis, 2008). "Social isolation, off-task behaviours, poor academic achievement, and negative attitudes toward adults" (p. 223) are school-age issues, which can be directly linked with BID-related difficulties. Participants who experienced

counselling, however, explained that their voices vis-à-vis BID were stifled by their counsellors. Nevertheless, they have not lost faith in the profession, and are willing to try again. Discussing M-Bbid with knowledgeable professionals would ease the multifold process (Moss & Davis, 2008).

They experienced counselling as devoid of multiracial/multicultural-related exploration, which link with presenting problems (Alvarado et al., 2015). As an 18-19-year-old, Anderson-Cole felt: “Misunderstood I’d say. I didn’t feel like I could bring it [sociorace] up because I knew it wouldn’t be understood as much…Family background was discussed, but it was quite general”.

Lack of exploration left participants unsupported and misunderstood, compounding their loneliness and marginalised feelings (Moss & Davis, 2008). Colour-blind practices were equally damaging (MacLeod, 2013), adding to reduced social justice (CRT, n.d.):

> I felt misunderstood. I really liked my counsellor…She helped me a lot. But that was a part of my life she couldn’t help me with…It was very much something I had to do on my own because she couldn’t understand. I think…[she was] trying to give me the advice she would give…any person, who would [have] felt isolated [at 19], or to any person in general, who would feel vulnerable…She couldn’t specifically understand what I was saying. (Carina)

Sub-Saharan immigration. All ecologically-based BI models stress the importance of context (Evans et al., 2010). Participants were vulnerable school children grappling, among other age-appropriate developmental tasks (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1994), with M-Bbid when the Sub-Saharan immigration crisis hit Malta (Massa, 2009). Accordingly, by mere phenotypical association based on racial essentialism (Galbin, 2013), participants became vulnerable targets for overt-covert Maltese xenophobic and racist reactions to the crisis (Pisani, 2011).

In turn, this reality moulded the participants' perception of Blacks and Africans in context (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), affecting their M-Bbid (Evans et al., 2010). Indeed, whether to associate with the ethnic-racial labels, given the immigrants' peculiar status in Malta, or not seemed to have taken centre stage (Thompson & Neville, 1999). Participants' exposure to the phenomenon differed, which further explains their current divergent positions toward it (Ramsay, 2013). For instance, only Monica, who welcomed the opportunity, and Carina, who felt burdened, were positioned by school teachers as minority representatives (Renn, 2008). They were accordingly encouraged to facilitate blackness to peers (Renn, 2008) by engaging in racial essentialism (Ho et al., 2015). Neither participant feels a strong affiliation to Africanness; however, Carina is actively changing this.

The phenomenon added to Anderson-Cole's local racial-ethnic minority vulnerability (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), while threatening Legal-Alien's ability to self-differentiate from "unruly" and unassimilated factions (Thompson & Neville, 1999). Both males are currently disconnected from their Africanness, although Anderson-Cole feels closer to Africanness than Legal-Alien.

Alternatively, Martin empathised with the immigrants' plight, and passionately discussed the phenomenon's political underpinnings, which reflects his intimate connection to both African and Black identities. Similarly, Samantha welcomes immigrants in Malta, stating, "I am actually blessed…they kind of saved my life". Immigrants provide Samantha with a tangible, supportive African community she feels spiritually connected to (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The community thus aids her M-Bbid (Evans et al., 2010). Her positioning, however, might mirror her reality of growing up without the presence of a Black parent (Ramsay, 2013).

Local representation. Participants felt represented in the Maltese political scene, which can be explained by their ability to switch to a Maltese identity when political issues

become salient (Renn, 2008; Rockquemore, 1999). Additionally, Carina stated that “because of people like Destiny…people are…easier; they accept…half-Maltese-half-AC much better”. Nonetheless, she commented that biracials are still poorly represented worldwide. For his part, Martin added that besides Destiny, he also feels represented by,

Nwoko, huwa futboler Iswed, ukoll Nigerjan.	Nwoko is also a Black Nigerian footballer.

Legal-Alien equally mentioned that, “to be truly represented, it would have to be someone half-caste...[although not]...bothered...[by it]...You strongly need a representative when you are struggling, so if I’m not, what does it matter?”. His positioning, however, reflects his unique identity intersectionalities, as social identity literature reveals that, “nonprototypical group members are less likely to achieve leadership status within their groups and…less likely to exert social influence on other members of their group compared to those who are more prototypical” (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008, p. 6).

Retrospective recommendations. The interview included the question: Do you have any advice for parents of biracial children? The intent was to provide participants the opportunity to address parents of younger M-Bbs, and in line with CRT spirit, provide retrospective recommendations despite macrotime changes (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Suggestions presented align with literature on the topic (Moss & Davis, 2008; McKinney, 2016): Martin cautioned couples that:

L-importanti…li l-ewwel…jemmnu f’xulxin.	It is important to first believe in one another.

Samantha urged parents to talk to their children about sociorace: “when you’re not…comfortable talking about your own race, it’s very difficult…I wish to change it on my kids…I want my kids to be proud…not like I was brought up…to always hold their head up high”.

Monica recommended passing Africanness: “teach your children about their heritage, their culture. They might not seem interested, but…they’ll come around…It’s good to know

where you come from…It still helps define who you are". Conversely, Carina reminded parents that biracials "are in a situation where they feel very differently to both…parents". Parents might think they know, however, reality is "really complex and there are…a lot of layers to everything". If you notice your child "experiencing this whole conflict…about one race over another…have a conversation…about it…If…they need…help…someone to talk to…send them to someone…specialised in that kind of therapy" (Carina).

Carina further suggested "find[ing] another [M-B] biracial that you trust to talk to your child" (McKinney, 2016), and begged parents not to "ignore it...[as]...if you don't deal with it immediately, it can really stay with you for a long time". She meant "stuck" with what one "thought as a child", accentuating the importance of racially socialising against discrimination "cos it's gonna happen…It's useless…send[ing] them to private international school…with people on the street, it's gonna happen". Moreover, it is essential to exercise self-compassion and understand that despite efforts to shield your child from racism, it is not something you can prevent.

Anderson-Cole recommended being "involved with the child. Genuinely ask them how they're feeling…keep yourself involved...[and]...give them the freedom…[and] make them aware that it is ok if they want to discuss…Give them the final choice". Legal-Alien provided equivalent suggestions.

Comments on this study. Participants welcomed this study as an opportunity to share their experience (CRT, n.d.), albeit echoing intersectional invisibility and scepticism about the local changes it can actually effect (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Carina and Martin, who speak about race frequently, along with Monica and Legal-Alien who do not, did not have a comment. Nonetheless, Samantha, who avoids the topic, stated that she was "really proud" to participate and share her voice. Likewise, the interview left Anderson-Cole "with a very good feeling".

A Snapshot of the Voices

Participants embraced their M-B biraciality, and perceived it an asset despite the wideranging challenges faced in Malta. Participants feel closer to Malta, its people and culture than they do to their respective AC's environments. This, however, results from an upbringing in a context that excludes and disparages non-White racial-cultural diversity (Cassar et al., 2017; Pisani, 2011). Participants were clear about the changes they want to see about a socially equitable national approach to sociorace and racism (CRT, n.d.), and perceive it as helpful to lifespan M-Bbid (Moss & Davis, 2008).

Reflection

The researcher in me expected both commonalities and disparities between this study's findings and foreign BID research findings (e.g., Kim, 2016; Hubbard & Utsey, 2015; Lou & Lalone, 2015) since Malta is both insular (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) and exposed to globalisation and neo-colonialism (Ashcroft et al., 2002). Nonetheless, the mother in me shudders at the thought of my son's encounter with racism and colour-blindness (Anonam, 2008; Cassar et al., 2017). Nevertheless, the participants' resilient narratives, and BI pride and triumphs hearten me.

As a parent of a young M-Bb, I wish that sociorace and its prevailing evils (CRT, n.d.) would vanish. However, knowing that this is unlikely, the advocate in me champions social justice advocacy, platforming participants' voices for local change and transformation (CRT, n.d.). The counsellor in me, however, has me "challenging racism" (Thompson & Neville, 1999, pp. 200-201) by first looking inward "to examine critically one's role within a racist structure" (p. 201), while ensuring to "continually reinvest in an aspect of the self that typically generates feelings of shame, guilt, rage, or anxiety" (pp. 200-201). Change starts with me.

Chapter 5 - Conclusion

This chapter summarises key findings and implications for the counselling profession, addresses the study's limitations, and provides recommendations for policy and counselling research, practice and training. In line with CRT, it platforms participants' voices, transforming them into tangible suggestions aimed at ending local colour-blindness and racial oppression. Table 3 presents data-elicited helping factors.

Summary of Key Findings and Implications for the Counselling Profession

Unlike American W-Bbs, participants inhabit a colour-blind system that ignores the need to educate and raise national consciousness about sociorace, racial stratification and racism's dehumanising qualities likewise undercutting the Maltese (Thompson & Neville, 1999). The findings evidence that growing up in a predominantly Maltese Malta, notwithstanding small pockets of socio-politically invisible migrants, impacts participants' M-Bbid negatively (Anonam, 2008).

Hindering factors. Participants are socioculturally well-adjusted and integrated into Maltese society, albeit at their M-Bbid's expense. From a CRT stance, besides disenfranchised through lack of awareness and knowledge of sociorace, racism and BID, and racism's pervasiveness, coupled with frequent microaggressions in all levels of their bioecological system (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), participants practise, depending on intersecting identities (Ramsay, 2013), "idealization of Whiteness" (CRT, n.d., para. 8), behaviour "influenced by the need to meet the approval of Whites, and…collusion with attitudes of colour-blindness and sociorace neutrality to be 'acceptable' to Whites" (para. 8), which ropes sociorace erasure, false consciousness, autocolonisation, double consciousness, socio-cultural whitening, and introjections of negative stereotypes (Thompson & Neville, 1999), because they are immersed in a Malta that equally idealises Whiteness.

Indeed, findings indicate that the smallness and invisibility of the local Black and M-Bb minority communities, lacking role models, leaders-advocates, Black and African racial-cultural communities, a M-Bb peer group, socialisation in Black consciousness and total reliance on the Black parent's racial-cultural socialisation efforts (i.e., if not themselves autocolonised due to racism), prompt "distancing and disidentification" (para. 8) with respective Black (racial) and African (ethnic) identities, thus hindering M-Bbid.

Alternatively, again depending on intersectional identities (Ramsay, 2013), participants engage in ongoing efforts to racially-ethnically blend with their homogenous Maltese surroundings, which conversely invalidates their sense of belonging regularly. Participants were further aware of the positive correlation between assimilation into Maltese-endorsed culture and exceptional treatment (Thompson & Neville, 1999). Nevertheless, when the opportunity presented in young adulthood, participants chose multiracial/multicultural settings mirroring their identities and helping them to explore their non-Maltese racial-ethnic identities further. Thus, notwithstanding the delay (Moss & Davis, 2008), their M-Bbid progresses on, in turn, supporting the ecological models' lifespan claims (Wijeyesinghe, 2001).

Participants also spoke of a fluid BI, as outlined by BI ecological models (Renn, 2008; Rockquemore, 1999; Root, 1996, 2003), accordingly pointing at the models' usefulness with the Maltese cohort, albeit akin foreign studies (Brunsma, 2006), BI fluidity rests heavily on participants' intersecting identities embedded within individual bioecological systems, imparting identification pressures (CRT, n.d.).

Helping factors. This section specifies what helps to develop the participants' Black-African identities since their Maltese racial-ethnic identities are as developed as those of other Maltese. Table 3 presents participants' voices on M-Bbid helping factors, which embrace CRT values.

Table 3

Helping factors

Level	Recommendations
a) National:	recognition of M-Bb identity; a national anti-racism campaign (Turner, 2012); and a decolonised school curriculum, including Black-African achievement and history narrated from Black-African scholars' perspectives (Jay, 2003);
b) Black-African community:	a united, organised and active local Black-African community transmitting Black pride through culture, heritage, language and Black consciousness; and a Black political movement;
c) Social:	a local Black and M-Bb peer group; Black and M-Bb role models; commensurate representation in social spheres; and specialised helping professionals to facilitate M-Bbid; and
d) Family:	ample visits to respective African country; racial-Black consciousness socialisation; racial conversations; transmission of African culture and frequent contact with extended African families embedded within their communities for firsthand heritage and language transmission.

Limitations of the Study

By acknowledging limitations, I alert readers about incurred difficulties, and future researchers about pitfalls they may perhaps circumvent. Every effort to conduct a trustworthy and high-quality study was made (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Nevertheless, owing to post-colonial and CRT stances, I acknowledge that despite bracketing efforts, data has been filtered through my lived experience, and is thus subject to my fore-structure. Moreover, the method used inevitably communicates that “I am still the colonizer, the speaking subject, and you are now at the centre of my talk” (Hooks, 1990, p. 152).

Interviewing participants on such a sensitive topic with no established therapeutic relationship may have also prompted males to minimise racism's effects and associated reactions due to my gender and sociorace. Conversely, males may have had less experiences, unlike female participants, with White beauty standards (Sims, 2012), which may apply less to them (Ramsay, 2013). Alternatively, my Malteseness may have hindered participants from

telling me more, perhaps thinking I may be offended, or fail to understand if they went deeper.

Moreover, participants lacked information about the counsellor's role and responsibilities in the helping relationship (Alvarado, 2015). Those who experienced counselling thought addressing sociorace and multiculturalism is something new or specific to transcultural counselling, which may be the case in Malta despite earlier movements abroad (Aldridge & Rigby, 2001). In hindsight, I could have put a short write-up about counselling and the counsellor's role and forwarded it beforehand, since counselling experience was significant to the study. Maybe this would have helped couch counselling experience, and assisted participants in describing it in more detail. Nonetheless, ex-client-participants stated that their multiracial/multicultural/M-Bbid were never "broached" (Day-Vines et al., 2007, p. 403).

Another limitation stems from the sampling method since random sampling was not used (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Participants who came forward may present success stories. What about, I question, those who are in more challenging situations? What would their stories be? Thus, as aforementioned, only transferability of findings is possible.

Recommendations for Policy, Counselling Research, Practice and Training

A CRT social justice orientation addresses colour-blindness by centralising sociorace and exposing how racial stratification and racism impact and shape the lives of POC. Thus, hailing from findings and a CRT angle, I present counter colour-blindness practical recommendations.

National policy. National recognition has the potential to spearhead change in public perception, as it did for the LGBTIQ community. However, a comprehensive anti-racism national policy must accompany it. The national strategy, like others before it (Racism. It stops, 2015), must address public awareness, educating for widespread transformation.

Additionally, it is necessary to empower all racial minorities and associated organisations, not merely M-Bbs (CRT, n.d.). Formal racial category must be selected by M-Bbc for maximum empowerment.

Unless change occurs, M-Bbs will continue being prima facie identified as non-Maltese Blacks. Accordingly, their M-Bbid is compromised through repeated microinvalidations (Franco et al., 2016). In turn, this situation counters the National Children's Policy's (2017) "social inclusion and respect for diversity" (p. 15) core values. This study will therefore be presented to the Ministry for the Family, Children's Rights and Social Solidarity. The ministry recognises that, "children's wellbeing requires that society is equipped with the necessary resources to ensure that no child is left behind…[and]…that rights should be enjoyed by all children, irrelevant of…race…cultural or ethnic background" (p. 15).

Research. Research for transformative aims (CRT, n.d.) must address racism's impact on M-Bbid from a localised lifespan perspective, and advocate for change. Subsequent to this study, researchers can explore best parental-school-community biracial-bicultural socialisation strategies-programme; the impact of having a Black mother versus a Black father intersected with country-of-origin; how intersecting social identities combine to affect M-Bbid; the impact of racism on school achievement, higher education, career choice, employment, socialising and intimate relationships; and comparisons of M-Bbid between siblings. A national M-Bbc statistical profile could help researchers to identify supplementary research areas, and better understand this community and its needs.

Practice. Before working cross-racially, counsellors must check their racial awareness and colour-blind predispositions to become effective change instruments (CRT, n.d.). BID work must focus on enhancing emotional well-being through "awareness, communication, and exposure" (Moss & Davis, 2008, p. 224). This approach can be

implemented with one client or on a larger school-community scale. Enhancing awareness entails presenting controversial materials, encouraging discussion, and challenging myths in safe settings (Moss & Davis, 2008).

Communication in all its forms endorses sharing, validates feelings, extends unconditional positive regard and empathy, and affirms M-Bbs' innate worth. Frequent exposure to racial-cultural legacies and role model speakers help the acquisition of culturally appropriate coping strategies and the integration of both racial-ethnic identities. Working with entire families and communities produces best results. Counsellors should also support participant-indicated helping factors as they align with a socially just orientation (CRT, n.d.). MACP should offer ongoing training and ensure that all registered counsellors have vanguard competencies in this area.

Training. The Freire-inspired (2014) liberation model adapts to counselling (Steele, 2008), but is not part of the transcultural counselling curriculum. It should be introduced coupled with the American Counseling Association's advocacy competencies (Lewis et al., 2003) as a general social justice approach, albeit post-course engagement remains optional (Steele, 2008). Likewise, MACP should train all counsellors accordingly. The model has a "problem-posing" (p. 76) orientation, urging counsellors to encourage clients to find solutions and create action plans for self-identified problems (Steele, 2008). Additionally, it maintains that marginalised groups live an undeniably restrictive objective reality, which systemically plagues their well-being and lives.

Liberation model aligns with CRT (Trahan & Lemberger, 2014), but was not chosen as part of the theoretical framework because, unlike CRT, it is not sociorace specific. Nevertheless, counsellors employing both models have the potential to instigate change in the current colour-blind local milieu. Furthermore, it is necessary to encourage, among other

cohorts, M-Bbs to unite with relevant NGOs and mobilise for change (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Overall Conclusion

This qualitative study used BID models (Renn, 2008; Rockquemore, 1999; Root, 1996, 2003) and postcolonial concepts (Ashcroft et al., 1998), coupled with CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017) and an IPA design to investigate what, according to M-Bb youth, helps or hinders M-Bbid in Malta. Accordingly, six themes and many common issues with foreign literature were identified. In line with bioecological (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) and intersectionality (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008) theories, however, it accentuates localised phenomena.

Above all, however, feeling trusted with earnest information touched me the most, and heightened my sense of commitment toward this project. Accordingly, my suggestions concerning counselling and national policy were added to the participants' recommendations for transformation and change, as notwithstanding visible (Cassar et al., 2017) and recognised (Camilleri, 2017; Caruana, 2017), local M-B biraciality is still sociopolitically invisible, and thus, this situation warrants change. As Anderson-Cole noted: "Malta is my home…I am Maltese…it is the community I want to see improve!"

Appendices

Appendix A

Racial Microaggressions

Definitions

Racial Microaggressions	are brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults to the target person or group. They are not limited to human encounters alone but may also be environmental in nature (Sue et al., 2007, p. 273). The power of racial microaggressions lies in their invisibility to the perpetrator and, oftentimes, the recipient (Sue et al., 2007, p. 275).

Taxonomy of Racial Microagressions

Three forms of everyday microaggressions: microassault, microinsult, and microinvalidation.

Microassault	is an explicit racial derogation characterized primarily by a verbal or nonverbal attack meant to hurt the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behavior, or purposeful discriminatory actions. Referring to someone as 'colored' or 'Oriental,' using racial epithets, discouraging interracial interactions, deliberately serving a White patron before someone of color, and displaying a swastika are examples. Microassaults are most similar to what has been called 'old fashioned' racism conducted on an individual level. They are most likely to be conscious and deliberate, although they are generally expressed in limited 'private' situations (micro) that allow the perpetrator some degree of anonymity (Sue et al., 2007, p.274).
Microinsult	is characterized by communications that convey rudeness and insensitivity and demean a person's racial heritage or identity. Microinsults represent subtle snubs, frequently unknown to the perpetrator, but clearly convey a hidden insulting message to the recipient of color. When a White employer tells a prospective candidate of color 'I believe the most qualified person should get the job, regardless of race' or when an employee of color is asked 'How did you get your job?', the underlying message from the perspective of the recipient may be twofold: (a) People of color are not qualified, and (b) as a minority group member, you must have obtained the position through some affirmative action or quota program and not because of ability (Sue et al., 2007, p. 274).
Microinvalidations	are characterized by communications that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color. When Asian Americans (born and raised in the United States) are complimented for speaking good English or are repeatedly asked where they were born, the effect is to negate their U.S. American heritage and to convey that they are perpetual foreigners. When Blacks are told that 'I don't see color' or 'We are all human beings,' the effect is to negate their experiences as racial/cultural beings (Helms, 1992, as cited in Sue et al., 2007, p. 274).

Categories of and Relationships among Racial Microaggressions

(Source: Sue et al., 2007, p. 278)

Racial Microaggressions
Commonplace verbal or behavioral indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, which communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults.

Microinsult
(Often Unconscious)
Behavioral/verbal remarks or comments that convey rudeness, insensitivity and demean a person's racial heritage or identity.

Microassault
(Often Conscious)
Explicit racial derogations characterized primarily by a violent verbal or nonverbal attack meant to hurt the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behavior or purposeful discriminatory actions.

Microinvalidation
(Often Unconscious)
Verbal comments or behaviors that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color.

Environmental Microaggressions
(Macro-level)
Racial assaults, insults and invalidations which are manifested on systemic and environmental levels.

Ascription of Intelligence
Assigning a degree of intelligence to a person of color based on their race.

Second Class Citizen
Treated as a lesser person or group.

Pathologizing cultural values/communication styles
Notion that the values and communication styles of people of color are abnormal.

Assumption of Criminal status
Presumed to be a criminal, dangerous, or deviant based on race.

Alien in Own Land
Belief that visible racial/ethnic minority citizens are foreigners.

Color Blindness
Denial or pretense that a White person does not see color or race.

Myth of Meritocracy
Statements which assert that race plays a minor role in life success.

Denial of Individual Racism
Denial of personal racism or one's role in its perpetuation.

Theoretical Taxonomy with Five Categories of Microaggressions

Experienced by Multiracial People

(Source: Johnston & Nadal, 2010, as cited in Nadal et al., 2011, p. 37)

1. *Exclusion or Isolation* occurs when a multiracial person a made to feel excluded or isolated based on their mixed race (e.g., a biracial White/Black male is told 'You aren't Black enough' by his Black friends or family).
2. *Exoticization and Objectification* transpires when a multiracial person is made to feel dehumanized or treated like an object (e.g., a biracial White/Asian female is constantly asked 'What are you?').
3. *Assumption of Monoracial or Mistaken Identity* arises when a multiracial person is assumed or mistaken to be monoracial or a different racial group. For example, a biracial White/Latino person may overhear a joke about Latinos among White friends because they may not know he is also Latino.
4. *Denial of Multiracial Reality* occurs when a multiracial person's experiences are invalidated by monoracial people (e.g., someone is told that she should stop being so sensitive about race).
5. *Pathologizing of Identity and Experiences* describes when a multiracial person's identity or experiences are viewed as psychologically abnormal (e.g., a multiracial person is told that 'she has issues' because she is mixed).

Five Family Setting Microaggressions Experienced by Multiracial People

(Source: Nadal et al., 2013, p. 190)

1. Isolation within the family
2. Favoritism within the family
3. Questioning of authenticity
4. Denial of multiracial identity and experiences by monoracial family members
5. Feelings about not learning about family heritage or culture

Appendix B

Glossary of Operational Terms

Term	Definition
Active passing strategy	the individual actually joins in the racist joke sequence in order to actively 'pass himself/herself off' as a White individual (Toomey, Dorjee & Ting-Toomey, 2013, p. 123).
Advocacy	'action taken by a counseling professional to facilitate the removal of external and institutional barriers to clients' well-being' (Toporek, 2000, p. 6, as cited in Steele, 2008, p. 75) and 'a process for pleading the rights of others who for some reason are unable to help themselves to acquire the services, treatment, or both, that they have a right to receive' (Kurpius & Rozecki, 1992, p. 179, as cited in Steele, 2008, p. 75).
Antimiscegenation	miscegenation refers to race mixing in intimate dating and sexual relationships. Thus, antimiscegenation means against intermarriage or against race mixing. The last antimiscegenation laws were repealed in 1967 by a U.S. Supreme Court ruling in the case of *Lovings v. State of Virginia* (Root, 1996, p. x).
Ascribed identity	how others identify a biracial (Franco et al., 2016, p. 97).
B(b)lack	"black" with a lowercase "b" signifies a political identity that is not necessarily represented through phenotype and "Black" with a capital "B" to differentiate people of African descent who are members of an indigenous African nation reflected in their phenotype (Palmer, 2015, p. 242).
Biracial	a person whose parents are of two different *socially* designated racial groups, for example, black mother, white father. In a less commonly used, but perfectly accurate meaning, biracial can also refer to someone who has parents of the same socially designated race, when one or both parents are biracial or there is racial mixing in the family history that is important to the individual. This use of biracial moves us away from requiring equal 'fractions of blood' to recognize the prevalence of racial blending throughout American history. However, the social and psychological experience of the person who uses the term this way may be different from someone who is a 'first-generation' biracial (Root, 1996, p. ix).
Biracial beauty stereotype	the idea that mixed race individuals are physically attractive is commonly accepted in popular culture…Adjectives such as 'exotic', 'fascinating' and 'exquisitely beautiful' not only are often used by popular media to describe racially mixed people but appear in research literature as well (Bradshaw 1992 & Alibhai-Brown 2001, as cited in Sims, 2012).
Biracial identity invalidation	this stressor occurs when an individual is placed into a racial category that does not align with the racial category with which they personally identify[,]…can take the form of accusations of racial inauthenticity, imposition of racial categories, and forced choice dilemmas…Identity invalidation, can be understood as an undermining of self-verification within the domain of racial identity. Invalidation can have negative consequences for two strata of identity: self-identity and group identity. When others impose a race that is disharmonious with self-identity, it can call into question or even diminish perceptions of one's racial identity. Moreover, identity invalidation by in-group members threatens belonging by undercutting acceptance and possibly leading to disenfranchisement from one's social group. (Franco et al., 2016, p. 96).
Blackened	*Negreado* is a pejorative word, which in vernacular Spanish means 'blackened'or 'demeaned.' It epitomizes Trouillot's (1995, as cited in Whitten, 2008, p. 220) extended argument about the silencing of African-American pasts, particularly the accomplishments of black people who resisted colonial repression and, in the case of Haiti, enacted the first successful revolutionary movement against colonial rule in the Americas outside of the United States. The Haitian revolution was, in every conceivable manner, a black revolution. It was composed of self-liberated *bozales*, dark-complected creoles, and newly arrived and self-liberated Congo warriors. At the time, and perhaps in the early 2000s, such a revolution was culturally inconceivable to whites; but it did happen, and it was and is very real (Whitten, 2008, p. 220-221).
Black consciousness	defined by Biko as: 'the realization by the Black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression—the blackness of their skin and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It seeks to demonstrate the lie that black is an aberration from the normal which is white. It is a manifestation of a new realization that by seeking to run away from themselves and to emulate the white man, blacks are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black. Black consciousness therefore takes cognizance of the deliberateness of God's plan in creating black people black. It seeks to infuse the black community with a new-found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life' (Defining Black consciousness, 2011, para. 4-5). Ideology had a long history which dates back to the 1880s, when it was borrowed from foreign writers such as Frantz Fanon, whose banned book about the Algerian war against French settlers was widely read. Fanon stated that: '...the native had become psychologically incapacitated, no longer capable of action. The native detested white society, but was envious of it. Realising that his own skin prevented him from ever attaining privilege, the native despised his own blackness' (Defining Black consciousness, 2011, para. 2-3).

Black pride movement	encouraged black Americans to look to Africa for their cultural origins...'Black is beautiful!' was certainly a welcome change from the white colonialist belief that nonwhite peoples are less than human and therefore physically unattractive…[In its initial stages] Black Pride movement suffered from a tendency to focus too heavily on the superficial aspects of African culture…and to overlook too readily the sources of black pride…in America…White colonialist history omitted the story of Africans in America, implying that their past consisted of the humiliation of slavery followed by a history of underachievement…Even under slavery, African Americans maintained their African tradition of oral history…knowledge of African agricultural and medical practices…African customs, and…African folktales. At the risk of life and limb, they secretly taught one another to read and write and developed networks of secret communication by means of which they organized several rebellions and countless escapes and rescues. And many runaway slaves, risking recapture, worked with the abolitionist movement in the North and fought with the Union Army during the Civil War (Tyson, 2001, p.209).
Blackness (in Black studies)	yet for all its successful (and less successful, forgotten) deployments, Blackness remains undefined and suffering under the weight of many definitions, not one of which covers every type of Blackness or coheres with all the other denotations and connotations (Wright, 2015, p. 1). Contrary to the assertion that Blackness comprises a set of genetic qualities, decades of research have borne no fruit confirming this often-repeated claim. Indeed, the concept of Blackness as located in the body cannot be sustained by any serious further investigation because simple observation reveals a broad variety of Black bodies. Many of those bodies can 'pass for white' or another ethnicity; many of those bodies do not identify as Black, although they 'look' Black to us; and those bodies may in turn encounter other bodies-for example, African Americans touring their ancestral homeland in Ghana-and reject the notion that African Americans are Black, ironically based (at least partially) on perceived physical differences. While we cannot dismiss social, political, and cultural discourses and practices that clearly link Black communities across the West to their African origins, locating Blackness as a determinable 'thing,' as a 'what' or 'who,' gives us a conceptualization that exhibits the unnerving qualities of a mirage: from a distance, it appears clearly cogent, but up close, Blackness evanesces, revealing no one shared quality that justifies such frequent and assured use of this signifier. For those of us who work in Black studies on identity, we are almost wearily familiar with this problem of trying to find a one-size-fits-all definition of Blackness. The absence of any sort of biological evidence that links all Black peoples together hardly surprises us (we are well aware that Blackness was not a scientific discovery but an economic and political argument first used to justify the Atlantic slave trade). Yet even knowing that there is no one gene, history, nationality, language, politics, society, culture, or any other factor that can serve as the basis for the identity category of Black, we nonetheless continue to deploy it as a category and are thus still bedeviled by the question of exactly what constitutes Blackness (p. 2).
Blackness (legal definition)	while the U.S. census, state and federal courts in the U.S. have generally upheld the one-drop rule, blackness has not been legally defined in England (Twine, 2004, p. 899). This definition is contested by the…academic definition of blackness.
Category discreteness	implies that people who endorse racial essentialism understand that someone could have one Black parent and one White parent, but their rigid concepts of race result in a tendency to categorize this person as Black rather than both Black and White (Ho, Roberts & Gelman, 2015, p. 2).
Challenging racism	is to face the risk of ostracism and rejection. Challenging social norms is potentially to break ties with significant people in one's life, and with few tools on how to negotiate an environment that is critical to one's survival and be committed to antiracism efforts, abruption from meaningful relationships can inhibit any change in racial world views. Challenging racism is also to invest and, more likely, continually reinvest in an aspect of the self that typically generates feelings of shame, guilt, rage, or anxiety. For both Whites and people of color, peering inward to examine critically one's role within a racist structure can prove tumultuous. So, in addition to the benefits derived from societal racism, why should people strive to end it if the interpersonal and intrapersonal risks are so great? (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 200-201).
Chattel slavery	human beings…considered as mere property (Moore, 2008a, p. XII).
Color-blind racial ideology	(CBRI) consisting of two interrelated domains: color-evasion (i.e., denial of racial differences by emphasizing sameness) and power-evasion (i.e., denial of racism by emphasizing equal opportunities). Mounting empirical data suggest that the color-evasion dimension is ineffective and in fact promotes interracial tension and potential inequality. CBRI may be conceived as an ultramodern or contemporary form of racism and a legitimizing ideology used to justify the racial status quo. Four types of CBRI are described: denial of (a) race, (b) blatant racial issues, (c) institutional racism, and (d) White privilege…Empirical findings suggesting a relationship between CBRI and increased racial prejudice, racial anger, and racial fear (Neville et al., 2013, p. 455).
Colorism	is the 'allocation of privilege and disadvantage according to the lightness or darkness of one's skin' (Burke, 2008, p. 17, as cited in Kim, 2016)…refers to the system of discrimination that people experience…based on the lightness or darkness of their skin tone and other external traits…The current culture of colorism [in which lighter skin is usually favored] is deeply linked with European colonialism, imperialism, and globalization (Kim, 2016, p. 45).
Coloured	during Apartheid Coloured person meant any person who did not appear to be or was not accepted to as a White person or a Native. Coloured people of South Africa were distinguished from colored people in the Americas, which referred to members of the African Diaspora (this point was highlighted in various Apartheid legislations. The Coloured category was an overarching umbrella for seven subcategories: Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Chinese, Griqua, Indian, Other Coloured, and Nama (Palmer, 2015, p. 242).
CRT in education	a framework or set of basic perspectives, methods, and pedagogy that seeks to identify, analyze, and transform those structural, cultural, interpersonal aspects of education that maintain the marginal position

	and subordination of African American and Latino students [POC]. CRT asks such questions as: What role do schools, school processes, and school structures play in the maintenance of racial, ethnic, and gender subordination? (Solorzano and Yosso, 2000, p. 42, as cited in Jay, 2003, p. 4-5).
Cultural frame switching (CFT)	'two or more cultural interpretative frames or schemas…[that] guide behaviors only when they come to the foreground in one's mind and only when they are applicable to social events that need to be judged' (Hong et al., 2000, p. 742, as cited in Toomey et al., 2013, p. 116-117). Cultural frame switching occurs when bicultural individuals utilize social cues to 'shift' between two cultural interpretive frames. They can cognitively 'put forth' one cultural interpretive frame (e.g., utilizing a collectivistic logic over individualistic logic) over another to negotiate their identity and interaction or integrate both cultural frames (Chen, Benet-Martinez, & Bond, 2008; Cheng, Lee, & Benet-Martinez, 2006; Tadmor et al., 2010, as cited in Toomey et al., 2013, p. 117).
Cultural homelessness	feelings of not belonging to any one group (Franco et al., 2016, p. 106).
Cultural trauma	a depletion of identity and purpose and a tear in the social fabric of a people. Cultural trauma is as a result of a memory universally understood as true through the salient group which experienced it and passes on the stories. The memory triggers negative affect, is considered hostile to the life of the culture continuance, and is permanent (Alexander et al., 2001, as cited in Payne, 2017, p. 32). Collective memory identifies where we came from and where we are going, and also why we are where we are now (Eyerman, 2001, as cited in Payne, 2017, p. 32). One form of collective memory identifies Africa as the land where African American Descendants of Chattel Slaves originated, however due to the constant moving from owner to owner, poor recording, and deliberate suppression of culture very few will be able to concretely trace their origin. Therefore for many who identify as African American Descendant of Chattel Slaves cannot identify where they came from and where they are going, and also why they are where they are now, the result of Cultural Trauma (Eyerman, 2001, as cited in Payne, 2017, p. 32).
Cultural whitening	when a person is born Indian [or Black], yet acculturates to the dominant culture and becomes white or whiter in some situations (Golash-Boza, 2010, p. 140).
Deep psychological trauma	(in reference to the topic of lost ethnic heritage) Black Americans who can trace their ancestral origins to the African continent draw from a cornucopia of custom, language, history, tradition, religion, and other cultural legacies too numerous to address. Colonialism and slavery stripped blacks of their identity, causing deep psychological trauma (Fanon, 1967, as cited in Evans et al., 2010, p. 284), and blocked their education for generations. The long-term effects of these conditions still prevent most blacks from identifying many of the particulars of their ethnic heritage (Evans et al., 2010, p. 284).
Double consciousness	division or duality in the personality of groups that have been oppressed or exploited. Citing the works of W. E. B. Du Bois (1940), who proposed that 'becoming an African American involves a process of divided loyalties'…This duality in personality arises from the experience of being treated unfairly and/or feeling unwanted and despised by White society while simultaneously being socialized with a mainstream identity in which one shares many of the same goals as Whites…Sue and Sue (1990, as cited in Thompson & Neville, 1999) talk about what would appear to be a similar phenomenon experienced by members of various racial/ethnic minority groups using the term *marginality*…a duality of experience among other, non-Black racial/ethnic minority people (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 193).
Double jeopardy minority	on one hand, they are not mainstream enough to be accepted whole-heartedly by their White peers. On the other hand, they may not be accepted whole-heartedly by their Asian [Black] peers (e.g., due to the fact of not being able to speak the native Asian [African] language) (Toomey et al., 2013, p. 123).
Enoughness	"having 'enough' of the features specified" in order to be 'admitted into an identity category'…*enoughness* is recognized with regards to the functions of physical features, points of identification, as well as, points of reference (Ying, 2017, p. 42).
Ethnic bias	a negative attitude towards people of a certain ethnic group, their culture and their characteristics, such as language or religion (Schranz, 2016, p. 5).
Ethnicity	referred to a person's culture, language, and nationality (McDonald, 2016, p. 2).
Identity assertion techniques	to cope with identity denial…These include 'demonstrating awareness of popular [...] culture' that assumed to be typical of a certain social grouping and, 'engaging more in [...] practices to assert [a specific] identity' (cited in Ying, 2017, p. 29-30).
Identity denial	the active suppression of an aspect of one's identity in the event that an individual is pressured to opt between the various identities that he or she may be associated with (Ying, 2017, p. 29). Can be implicit or explicit.
Identity-related ruptures	misunderstandings or hurts that occur during the process of counseling can cause alliance ruptures…microaggressions are a specific type of rupture that can harm the working alliance and cause poor counseling outcomes, such as premature termination or decreased responsiveness to intervention… microaggressions differ from other offenses because targets appraise the offense as being related to one or several aspects of their identity (e.g., gender, race, sexual orientation, religion/spirituality)…in the context of counseling, we might also refer to microaggressions as *identity-related ruptures* (Davis et al., 2016, p. 484).
Ideology	'a system (with its own logic and rigour) [sic] of representations (images, myths, ideas, or concepts…) endowed with a historical existence and a role within a given society' (Althusser, 1969, p. 231, as cited in Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 165). Some common assumptions about ideology include '(1) a system of beliefs characteristic of a particular class or group; [and] (2) a system of illusory beliefs-false ideas…which can be contrasted with true or scientific knowledge' (Williams, 1977, p. 55, as cited in

	Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 165). Building on the work of scholars who have examined class ideology (e.g., Szymanski, 1983; Williams, 1977, as cited in Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 165), we propose that racism has an ideological component, in that ideas about race and race relations serve to protect the status quo, that is, the current system of racial domination in which racial minorities experience institutional discrimination (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 165).
Intergenerational whitening	when a black person and a white person have a child, and the child is considered whiter than the black parent (Golash-Boza, 2010, p. 140).
Internal identity	(Franco et al., 2016, p. 97). A private racial identity.
Internal oppressor	an aspect of the self that appears to carry difficult historical and intergenerational baggage across the generations. In terms of black/white relations, the internal oppressor seems to create a post-slavery/post-colonial mindset that colours our (black people's) dealings with the white Other. It influences our inter-relational dynamics and attachment with this Other and may even collude unconsciously with the prevailing external difficulties. The internal oppressor seems to be ever present, but lies dormant for the most part. It is only when it is in contact with an external oppressive situation-real, perceived, or a mixture of both-that the historical memories are re-awakened, opening up old wounds that can lead to silent, invisible re-wounding of the self and identity. Prejudices, projections, intergenerational wounds and the vicissitudes of our historical past are all aspects of this inner tyrant—the internal oppressor. They are kept alive within the transgenerational transmission of trauma, and this suggests a degree of a persistent post-traumatic syndrome in black people's existence (Alleyne, 2004, p. 49).
Intersectional othering	[is a] discursive processes by which powerful groups, who may or may not make up a numerical majority, define subordinate groups into existence in a reductionist way which ascribe problematic and/or inferior characteristics to these subordinate groups. Such discursive processes affirm the legitimacy and superiority of the powerful and condition identity formation among the subordinate (Jensen, 2011, p. 65). [Intersectional because othering intensifies based on multiple interlocking minority identities (e.g., race, gender, religion, ability, sexual orientation, age, nationality, etc…). The larger the perceived discrepancy, the more cause for othering]…'The others' are reduced to stereotypical characters and are ultimately dehumanized (Riggins, 1997, p. 9; Lister, 2004, p. 102, as cited in Jensen, 2011, p. 65).
Malteseness	in Malta is analogous to Whiteness in the United States. Whiteness is a socially constructed identity and an ideology created for distribution of wealth, power, prestige, and opportunity, which has cash value and can be possessed as property (Bonilla-Silva, 2004, 2009 in Kim, 2016, p. 44). Malteseness includes a Maltese phenotype, descent and nationality, the ability to speak Maltese with a Maltese accent, and deep knowledge of Maltese culture and way of life. Roman Catholicism is also an integral part of Malteseness (Frendo, 2004).
Marginality	being on the margin, marginal. The perception and description of experience as 'marginal' is a consequence of the binaristic structure of various kinds of dominant discourses, such as patriarchy, imperialism and ethnocentrism, which imply that certain forms of experience are peripheral…The marginal therefore indicates a *positionality* that is best defined in terms of the limitations of a subject's access to power (Ashcroft et al., 1998, p. 135).
Mental health	(1) being self-aware, self-accepting, and enjoying a stable identity, (2) individual development and actualization of his or her potential; (3) an individual's integration of psychic functions, (4) an individual's autonomy, relative independence from social pressures, and ability to act independently under internal controls, (5) the adequacy of an individual's perception of reality, and (6) the ability to master one's environment at a reasonable level of competency (Jahoda, 1958, as cited in Pettigrew, 1980, pp. 12-58).
Minority representative	being held at the spokesperson for the racial minority group (Root 1990, as cited in Renn, 2008).
Monogenists	the two major camps were monogenists and polygenists. Monogenists argued that human races shared an ancient common origin and then diversified, but that they remained a single biological species. Polygenists countered by arguing that human races had recent separate origins, remained unchanged, and constituted separate biological species (Erickson, 2008, p. 226).
Monoracial	those who identify with a singular racial or ethnic group as well as those individuals who have two parents of the same racial or ethnic classification (Erickson Cornish et al., 2010, p. 232).
Mulatto escape hatch	also called the 'intermediate mulatto stratum' (Safa, 1998, as cited in Golash-Boza, 2010, p. 140), refers to the notion that someone can be born black, yet become mulatto through an increase in social status, or intergenerational whitening (Golash-Boza, 2010, p. 140).
Multiracial	individuals whose ethnic or racial heritage is comprised of multiple racial or ethnic groups and 'whose parents are of different socially designated racial groups' (Root, 1996, p. ix, as cited in Erickson Cornish et al., 2010, p. 323). The term is inclusive of biracials.
Nationality	refers to membership of a particular nation or state. It is a universal human right to belong to a nation. The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) declares in Article 15 that 'everyone has the right to a nationality' and 'no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.' To be without a nationality is to be unattached to any one country, or to be stateless. It is understandable that the United Nations declared nationality to be an essential human right, because, in practice, it is from nationality that many human rights flow (Skutsch, 2001, p. 807).
Natural race	an inbreeding, geographically isolated population that differs in distinguishable physical traits from other members of the species (Zuckerman, 1990, p. 1297).
People-of-color	are every hue but white and are non-European in origin (Safire, 1988, para. 3).

Phenotype	until the latter half of this century, race was typically viewed as a biological construct or as a natural occurrence, that is, a product of one's phenotype and/or genotype as expressed by one's physical characteristics such as skin color, hair texture, and facial features (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 160).
Polygenists	the two major camps were monogenists and polygenists. Monogenists argued that human races shared an ancient common origin and then diversified, but that they remained a single biological species. Polygenists countered by arguing that human races had recent separate origins, remained unchanged, and constituted separate biological species (Erickson, 2008, p. 226).
Professional imperialism	in-built assumptions and cultural biases of first world theories and models of practice (Cossom, 1990, p. 3, as cited in Gray & Fook, 2004, p. 626)
Psychology of colonialism	how colonialism is internalized by the colonized, how an inferiority complex is inculcated, and how, through the mechanism of racism, black people [POC] end up emulating their oppressors (Fanon, 2008, p. x).
Race	a recent idea created by western Europeans following exploration across the world to account for differences among people and justify colonization, conquest, enslavement, and social hierarchy among humans...Among humans there are no races except the human race. (Glossary, n.d., n.p.).
Racial bias	the negative [or positive] racial attitudes towards someone or a group of people of a different race, specifically regarding their biological or physical aspects (Ramirez, 2008, as cited in Schranz, 2016, p. 5).
Racial capital	the repertoire of racial resources (knowledge, experiences, meaning, and language) that biracial Americans draw upon to negotiate or cope with racial boundaries in a highly racialized society. Racial capital is explicitly race-based, and advantages are gained after racial in-group membership is communicated through racial resources. This distinguishes it from other forms of capital, which are influenced by socioeconomic background, education level, etc., and are each shaped by structural conditions that have direct and indirect racial implications; but they are not directly connected to communicating racial insider status in *two* racial communities (Waring, 2017, p. 150).
Racial classification	the practice of classifying people into distinct racial groups based on certain characteristics such as skin color or geographic region, often for the purpose of ranking them based on believed innate differences between the groups (Glossary, n.d.).
Racial conflict	refers to a multiracial individual's perceptions of conflict between his or her multiple racial identities, or whether or not the values and norms of each of his or her racial groups fundamentally contradict one another. For example, a mixed Hispanic/White individual experiencing racial conflict may frequently encounter tension in primarily Hispanic settings for not speaking fluent Spanish (or vice versa) (Jackson et al., 2012, p. 241).
Racial determinism	the belief that race determined people's characters and cognitive capacities (Baum, 2006, p. 135).
Racial distance	refers to perceptions that one's multiple racial identities are separate from one another. For example, a mixed Native/Black individual who reports a monoracial Black identity, and who consciously disconnects him- or herself from aspects of his or her Native heritage may exhibit high racial distance (Jackson et al., 2012, p. 241).
Racial or ethnic awakening	awareness of oneself as a racial/cultural being and of the biases, stereotypes, and assumptions that influence worldviews (Sue et al., 2007, p. 271).
Racial essentialism	treat racial category membership as all-or-none, and to resist classifying individuals into multiple categories (Ho et al., 2015, p. 2). Racial groups are separate and distinct and that each group has a certain homogenous set of attributes (Franco et al., 2016, p. 105).
Racial identity	broadly defined as the psychological or internalized consequences of being socialized in a racially oppressive environment and the characteristics of self that develop in response to or in synchrony with either benefitting from or suffering under such oppression (Helms, 1996, p. 147).
Racial identity autonomy	a process in which multiracial persons feel they have flexibility in choosing their racial identifcation freely rather than having to identify solely with one race (Sanchez, 2010).
Racial socialization	the process of communicating the messages and behaviors to children to bolster their sense of identity given the possibility that their life experiences may include racially hostile encounters (Stevenson, 1995, p. 51).
Racialized gaze	the displaying of whiteness relies on the racialised Other who stands in for the premodern ways of life as well as the basic and primitive aspects of human existence…the current return of representations of the native Other to zoo exhibitions, as exemplified by the Zurich Zoo, needs to be seen within the trajectory of the human zoos of the late nineteenth century that were crucial for the popular establishment of a racialised gaze, which drew heavily on the emerging scientific approach to the world and vice versa (Purtschert, 2015, p. 508).
Racist ideologies	are manifested and perpetuated by false representations of racial minorities as culturally, intellectually, and/or morally inferior and the simultaneous representations of Whites, as a whole, as superior and the norm by which other groups should be evaluated (Jones, 1997, as cited in Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 165). These false representations are characterized in media images and educational practices. Racist ideologies also reflect the culture of a particular historical moment, and thus, its form and function change over time (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 165).
Racial socialization	describes how children learn behaviors, perceptions, morals, values, opinions and attitudes about their racial group from their parents (McKinney, 2016, p. 5).

Savage/civilized	the term ‘savage’ has performed an important service in Eurocentric epistemologies and imperial/colonial ideologies. As Marianna Torgovnik notes, terms like ‘primitive, savage, preColombian, tribal, third world, undeveloped, developing, archaic, traditional, exotic, ‘the anthropological record,’ non-Western and Other . . . all take the West as norm and define the rest as inferior, different, deviant, subordinate, and subordinateable’ (1990, p. 21, as cited in Ashcroft et al., 1998). In ‘An Image of Africa’, Chinua Achebe, citing Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness,* notes how Africa is used by the West to define and establish its own superiority as a ‘civilized’ culture against the ‘darkness’ of a ‘primitive’ Africa (Achebe, 1988, as cited in Ashcroft et al.,1998). But in the modern world, the West’s construction of itself may be regarded as being dependent on the savage/civilized dichotomy in more complex ways. As Torgovnik (speaking from a Western perspective) puts it, our sense of the savage impinges on our sense of ourselves, and it is bound up with the selves who act in the ‘real’ political world (Ashcroft et al.,1998, p. 209-210).
Social whitening	when a person is born black, but through an increase in class status, is considered white or whiter in some situations (Golash-Boza, 2010, p. 140).
Sociorace	defines group members' position in a societal hierarchy; not mutable; determined by law and custom; lasts across generations; recognized by out-group members; does not require the person to do anything to belong; and does not require infusion of immigrants or visits to homeland to persist (Helms, 1996, p. 150).
Social justice	the goal of social justice requires an approach that supports a broad range of actions including ‘advocacy, analysis, policy development, theorizing, and education’ (Dill & Zambrana, 2009, p. 12, as cited in Ramsay, 2013). Because intersectionality presumes all human experience arises in a dynamic matrix of oppression and domination, this approach understands social justice as best achieved through coalitions that focus on shared interests in confronting complex, systemic oppression that also takes its toll on self-esteem and a positive sense of agency and identity. While its analysis of power inequities is unflinching and its goal of transformative change is clear, this theory also presumes the dignity and worth of all persons. Perhaps because this approach supports strategic engagement for change on behalf of marginalized people, it affirms an understanding of social justice that is experienced as a process of increasing freedom and selfdetermination rather than an elusive achievement (Weber, 2010, p. 214, as cited in Ramsay, 2013).
Struggle	while both humanization and dehumanization are real alternatives, only the first is the people's vocation. This vocation is constantly negated, yet it is affirmed by that very negation. It is thwarted by injustice, exploitation, oppression, and the violence of the oppressors; it is affirmed by the yearning of the oppressed for freedom and justice, and by their struggle to recover their lost humanity (Freire, 2014, p. 44-45).
Subaltern	meaning ‘of inferior rank’, is a term adopted by Antonio Gramsci to refer to those groups in society who are subject to the hegemony of the ruling classes. Subaltern classes may include peasants, workers and other groups denied access to ‘hegemonic’ power (Ashcroft et al., 1998, p. 215)
System of oppression	originally created for African Americans [it] has influenced the way whites have reacted to, oppressed, or accepted all other people of color. Each new group of color has been placed, principally by powerful whites, somewhere on a white-to-black hierarchy and status continuum, the commonplace measuring stick of social acceptability imposed long ago. Generally, the white-racist continuum runs from white to black, from ‘civilized’ whites to ‘uncivilized’ blacks, from high intelligence to low intelligence, from privilege and desirability to lack of privilege and undesirability (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2007, p. xxi).
Tokenism	refers to the practice or policy of admitting an extremely small number of members of racial (e.g., African American), ethnic (e.g., Latino) or gender (i.e., women) groups to work, educational, or social activities to give the impression of being inclusive, when in actuality these groups are not welcomed. In the workplace the practice has been relied on to show compliance with laws, rules, and regulations requiring institutions to hire people of color or women (Riccucci, 2008, p. 132). Tokens face increased vulnerability and stress, which ultimately diminish their work performance as well as their overall physical and psychological wellbeing (Morash, Haarr & Kwak, 2006, as cited in Riccucci, 2008). And, equally as devastating…the myth…: that standards are lowered when African Americans are hired. This perverse belief has no grounding in empirical reality. It is a falsehood that has been perpetuated by those who have opposed affirmative action and other efforts aimed at diversifying the workplace (Riccucci, 2002, as cited in Riccucci, 2008). This duplicity, in turn, propagated the fallacious, incendiary concept of ‘reverse discrimination’ (Riccucci, 2008, p. 133). Tokenism also refers to minority representative (as in spokesperson) (Root, 1990, as cited in Renn, 2008).
White & Whiteness	the origins of whiteness studies in the work of W. E. B. DuBois, who provided the intellectual foundations for this body of scholarship…The study of whiteness and white identities now includes hundreds of books, ethnographies, scholarly articles and reviews that examine the role whiteness and white identities play in framing and reworking racial categories, hierarchies and boundaries. Drawing on how racial identities frame and are framed by nation, class, gender and immigration, these new empirical studies of whiteness and white identities pose novel questions that challenge existing historical and contemporary accounts of racial identity construction. The recent research on whiteness focuses primarily on examining and exposing the often invisible or masked power relations within existing racial hierarchies (Twine & Gallagher, 2008, p. 5).
White privilege	often hard for whites, while easy for non-whites, to see as a ‘system of benefits, advantages, and opportunities experienced by white persons’ (Donnelly et al., 2005, p. 6, as cited in Evans et al., 2010, p. 239) bestowed solely because of skin color (Evans et al., 2010, p. 239).
Whiteness	is a socially constructed identity and an ideology created for distribution of wealth, power, prestige, and opportunity, which has cash value and can be possessed as property (Bonilla-Silva, 2004, 2009 in Kim, 2016, p. 44).

Appendix C

U.S. Racial Classification

Slavery
In the U.S., unlike South America (Barth, 2010; Golash-Boza, 2010), Europe and U.K. (Early Classification, n.d.), a Black racial identification was synonymous with slave status until the 13th amendment prohibiting the institution ratified in 1865 (Sinha, 2008). Furthermore, the 14th amendment, granting citizenship to all former slaves and their offspring, including biracials, was ratified in 1868 (Goodwin, 2008).

One-drop rule
The strictest of the American hypodescent rules was the historic one-drop rule aimed at those identified as having even one drop of Black blood. This law assigned an automatic slave status until 1868, and ascribed a Black racial status until 2000. While all POC, in the Western-crafted pseudo-racial hierarchy, rank beneath Whites, all sociorace rank before Blacks since only Blacks entered the U.S. as chattel slavery; that is, with non-human status, a fact that still exerts influence today (Daniel & Castañdea-Liles, 2008). Thus, adding Asian to a W-B racial combination provides no extra racial value in a racist society. Even presently, once Black features are identified, the one-drop rule spirit still applies (e.g., Adeniji, 2014; Hubbard & Utsey, 2015; Kim, 2016).

Slave Value based on Skin-Colour
Intricate racist concepts vis-à-vis W-B offspring developed during slavery. Slaves were valued differently, based on the perceived degree of inherited white genes (Cavalli-Sforza, Menozzi & Piazza, 1994), also known as "color classism" (Brunsma & Rockquemore, 2001, p. 229) and "colorism" (Daniel & Castañdea-Liles, 2008, p. 325). Thus, slave society was stratified according to pseudo "blood fraction" (Moore, 2008b, p. 23), which was equally reflected in census categories until 1890 (Korgen, 2008).

Accordingly, the lighter the W-B slave, the higher the value. Thus, an almost white phenotype received a "High Yellow" (Moore, 2008b, p. 23) label; the half-White, "mulatto" (p. 23); the one-forth white, "quadroon" (p. 23); and the least desirable one-eight white, "octoroon" (p. 23). Consequently, the light-skinned served in the master's residence, taught trades and oversaw others, whereas darker slaves were assigned field and other hazardous work. This system mimicked the White European divide and rule colonial diplomacy used in African and Caribbean plantations (Palmer, 2015).

Mulatto
The disparaging term "Mulatto" (Korgen, 2008, p. 169) reserved for W-B offspring appeared in U.S. censuses from 1850 until 1920. It provided data for Nott's theory that "mixing would produce a less fertile population, more susceptible to disease, and with a lower life expectancy" (Aspinall, 2015, p. 1074), as implied by the meaning of the term itself. Hence, Mulatto in the U.S. carried a different connotation than in South America, where bi- and multiracials held a distinct place in society, rather than forcibly lumped with a denigrated idea of blackness (Barth, 2010). Mulatto as a category, however, proved difficult to sustain in the U.S., and it was thus dropped post 1920. Nevertheless, antimiscegenation laws preventing W-B racial admixture sprung in its stead.

Hypodescent and Antimiscegenation Laws
Initially, to increase the number of slaves (Nash, 1982) and protect Black and White "monoracial[ity]" (Daniel & Castañdea-Liles, 2008, p. 327), sexual liaisons between sociorace were discouraged through the "*rule of hypodescent*" (p. 323). W-B intermarriages were also outlawed via "[anti]miscegenation" (Lawson, 2008, p. 354) laws, which were later adopted by Nazis and supported via pseudo-scientific racism (Cox, 2002) until 1967 (Korgen, 2008). These laws, however, missed regulating non-Nordic, light-skinned immigrants in the U.S. (i.e., Sicilians, Irish, Poles, and Jews) from coupling with Blacks (Bricken, n.d.). This is because 1920s White supremacists identified these light-skinned immigrants, until later, when they needed them to replace Blacks in the labour force (Ignatiev, 1995), as "*inconclusively white*" (Jacobson, 2003, p. 65). The biracial population thus grew regardless.

Nordic-Anglo-Saxons imposed both laws to secure voting, property and inheritance privileges over others (Goodwin, 2008; Wijeyesinghe, 1995). American Whiteness rested on preserving the imagined White purity ideology reigning unobstructed until the 1960s and 70s. However, despite relentless civil rights strife, the pseudo-racial hierarchy spirit is still alive today, notwithstanding being scientifically discredited (Moore, 2008a). White supremacist care little that, "in the large genealogical picture…everyone is descended from everyone in the past thousand years, and applying the 'one drop rule' to the human species means that everyone belongs to all races" (Moore, 2008b, p. 23). Indeed, "everyone has at least one ancestor among every 'race' that has ever existed. If all humans are not literally brothers and sisters…they are…fortieth cousins to be exact" (p. 23).

Jim Crow Segregation
Nevertheless, the 1900s Jim Crow segregation (Brown & Stentiford, 2008) era, coupled with the "one-drop rule" (Moore, 2008b, p. 22) of the late 1700s, created only for W-B offspring, an offshoot from the *rule of hypodescent* regulating all non-Caucasian descendents since the 1600s, continued relegating W-B progeny to the Black sociorace regardless of phenotype, socialisation, or self-understanding, hence, automatically restricting W-Bbs' lives, while denying them their natural identities.

Moreover, until 1960, racial identification rested on the census enumerator's essentialist views. Accordingly, racial categorisation remained state-dictated, and thus, biracials were categorised Black via the one-drop rule (Moore, 2008b). Nonetheless, when biracials started self-identifying as such in 1970s, it was not until 2000, certainly following unremitting civil rights advocacy (Root, 1996), that the "multiracial*"* (Daniel & Castañdea-Liles, 2008, p. 323) racial category appeared in the U.S. census.

Reactions to Segregation
The only way light-skinned biracials could avoid racial oppression was to "pass" (Daniel & Castañdea-Liles, 2008, p. 325) or subscribe to "blue-vein societies...[and]...triracial isolates" (p. 325) thereby denying the partial Black RI. This way of coping causes many reactions; however, no one, apart from Blacks or partially-Black biracials, understands what embodying blackness in a world dominated by whiteness means, especially what it means to be Black, or partially so, in the highly racialised American context.

A brief snippet from an interview conducted by *People* magazine with then tennis star, Arthur Ashe, may, however, bring a non-Black person closer to understanding what bearing a Black identification means. In the interview, the White interviewer asked Mr. Ashe, "who had just announced that he had AIDS, 'Mr. Ashe, I guess this must be the heaviest burden you have ever had to bear, isn't it?' Ashe

replied, 'It's a burden, all right. But AIDS isn't the heaviest burden I have had to bear...[B]eing black is the greatest burden I've had to bear'" (Ashe & Rampersad, 1993, p. 139, as cited in Banks, 1998, p. 7).

Select Racial Terms, Meanings, Origins and Connotations

Term	Meaning	Origin	Connotation	Source
Biracial	Of two socioraces	U.S.A.	Civil Rights	Korgen (2008).
Multiracial	Of many socioraces	U.S.A.	Civil Rights	Root (1996).
Black	A person having origins in any of the black racial groups of Africa.	U.S.A.	Civil Rights	http://www.iowadatacenter.org/aboutdata/raceclassification
Caucasian	A non-scientific term invented by German physician Johann Blumenbach in 1795 to describe light-skinned people from Europe (and, originally, from western Asia and North Africa as well) whom Blumenbach mistakenly thought came from the Caucasus Mountains.	Anthropology	The term became synonymous with 'white' in the U.S.A.	http://www.understandingrace.org/resources/glossary.html
Colored (in the U.S.)	Originated in South Africa for people with mixed origins. Its meaning changed in the U.S.A.	South Africa	Colonial slavery. Colored is used for all non-Whites.	http://ethnicwords.blogspot.com.mt/2009/06/uses-of-word-colored.html
Coloured (in South Africa)	A person of mixed European ('white') and African ('black') or Asian ancestry, as officially defined by the South African government from 1950 to 1991.	South Africa	Individuals assigned to this classification originated primarily from 18th- and 19th-century unions between men of higher and women of lower social groups; for instance, between white men and slave women, or between slave men and Khoekhoe or San women. The slaves were from Madagascar, the Malayan archipelago, Sri Lanka, and India.	https://www.britannica.com/topic/Coloured
Negro	Black	The English word 'Negro' is a derivative of the Spanish and Portuguese word *negro*, which means black.	Colonial slavery	http://www.virginia.edu/woodson/courses/aas102%20(spring%2001)/articles/names/bennett.htm
Hybrid (el mestizaje): Mulato derivatives: 1. Half-breed 2. Crossbreed 3. Half caste 4. Mulatto	The breeding of the domesticated with the wild to improve the stock or the race. Half white half black. Comes directly from horse and donkey breeding, wherein the cross between the two produces a sterile mule, from whence derives mul-ata (muled).	Latin America – Spanish Colonies	Colonial slavery	Whitten (2008).

Appendix D

White-Black U.S. Racial Binary

The American context vis-à-vis Blacks and Whites is of utmost importance because although slavery existed before the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Baum, 2006; Hershfeld, Webb & Lewis, 2001; Manning, 1990), and three continents, Europe, America, and Africa, were involved in it (Inikori, 2008), only America's role in the triangular trade grounded the trans-Atlantic slave trade and realised its economic potential (Falola, n.d.). In turn, this system gave rise to the stratified pseudo-racial hierarchy we know today. It was based on the falsity that sociorace determines intelligence and behaviour (Peregrine, 2008). Since then, racial determinism and essentialism have stratified societies in many parts of the world (Barth, 2010; Inikori, 2008; Hubbard & Utsey, 2015).

Europe invested heavily, and Africa provided the workforce (Inikori, 2008), but only North America, in its efforts to shape, manage and protect the lucrative trade sustaining it, enacted atrocious laws to safeguard the slave trade's longevity thriving on African chattel slavery. Moreover, complementary racist laws, intended for debasing Africans and keeping them as slaves, spawned pseudo-scientific racism (Moore, 2008a), a process which has distorted universal perception of Blacks to date (Falola, n.d.). The kidnapped, enslaved and dehumanised Africans were nothing more than animals and tools to their White perpetrators (Goodwin, 2008), a concept unparallelled in slave history elsewhere (Inikori, 2008). Even after the 13th amendment was ratified (Barth, 2010), Whites in America had all to gain in maintaining this status quo, and thus, fought hard to keep it (Falola, n.d.; Manning, 1990).

Alternatively, scores of American scholars from all sociORaces have long been the world leaders addressing sociorace issues (e.g., Howard & Navarro, 2016; Falola, n.d.; Helms, 1996), and theorising racial identity models disputing White supremacy ideology (Renn, 2000, 2004; Root, 1990, 1996; Rockquemore, 1999; Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2002; Rockquemore et al., 2009). American scholarship concerning sociORaces, racism, racial identity models and social justice advocacy is, to date, unsurpassed (Howard & Navarro, 2016). The amassed acumen is the principal weapon used against ongoing racial injustices, including those perpetuated in counselling (CRT, n.d.; Haskins & Sing, 2015). An understanding of American sociorace macrohistory is thus indispensable to the understanding of the prevailing sociORacial attitudes today.

Appendix E

Sociorace Inception and Impact of Black Racialisation

Caucasian: The Ramifications of Conceit

Blumenbach's 1775, 1781 and 1795 seminal work (as cited in Gould, 1994), coinciding with Thomas Jefferson's 1735 *Declaration of Independence* (SparkNotes Editors, n.d.), asserting "all men are created equal" despite his extensive literature stressing African inferiority (Early Classification, n.d.; Goodwin, 2008), is accredited with starting the concept of sociorace. Indeed, his work proved pinnacle in ascertaining inequality among sociorace (Gould, 1996). Essentially, Blumenbach turned Linnaeus' original geographical focus on human differences into a stratified five-category system of racial worth, basing his work partly on the subjective perceptions of slave traders, missionaries, and Americans like Jefferson (1735, as cited in Early Classification, n.d.), notwithstanding that he recognised differences were largely due to diverse cultures, opportunity and environments (Bhopal, 2008).

Blumenbach added his subjective aesthetic prejudices (Gould, 1994), and literally placed Caucasians, his sociorace, on a higher level, dignifying them with idyllic beauty, sophistication and genetic originality, bolstering Linnaeus' previously charged claims (Moore, 2008a). Ironically, his projections stemmed from a single skull of a presumably enslaved Georgian adolescent, who apparently died of venereal disease (Painter, 2010). However, Blumenbach's, perhaps unintended (Barth, 2010; Bhopal, 2008), racist contribution materialised with the projection of two flanking continuums from the Caucasian archetype and declared the other four sociorace he stationed on these, a deteriorate departure from the ideal (see below diagram) (Gould, 1994). Indeed, it is a concept which Gobineau developed further (Lewis & Skutsch, 2001).

On one continuum, moving away from Caucasian, Blumenbach placed the red American native, followed by the yellow Mongolian; similarly, but on the parallel line, he placed the brown Malay, followed by the black Ethiopian (the dark-skinned people of Africa) (Early Classification, n.d.; Gould, 1994). Additionally, Blumenbach posited that while all humans are *Homo* sa*piens* variants, no sociorace equalled the beauty, morality, intelligence, achievements and temperament of their Caucasian counterpart. However, as a "monogenist" (Erickson, 2008, p. 226), he attributed the cause of physiological diversity to geographical and cultural difference, even before Darwin (Moore, 2008a).

Blumenbach's myth benefitted White Westerners of the time. Thus, the powerful quickly assimilated the concept of sociorace plus the pseudo-racial hierarchy, and used it for expansion and conquest arguments (Peregrine, 2008) despite contrasting scholarship (Prichard, 1813; Laham, 1850, as cited in Baum, 2006). However, regardless of intentionality, the sociorace falsehood created massive detrimental ramification for all non-Caucasians worldwide (Gould, 1994; Moore, 2008a). Furthermore, albeit evolutionary biologists exposed its fraud repeatedly (Gould, 1996; Lewontin, 1972), it continues finding contemporary support (Rushton & Jensen, 2005).

Blumenbach (1795): Final Taxonomy

(Source: Gould, 1994)

Most Degenerate	Intermediate Degenerate	**Ideal**	Intermediate Degenerate	Most Degenerate
Ethiopian	**Malayan**	**Caucasians**	**American**	**Mongolian**
←				→
Dark-skinned Africans	Polynesians; Melanesians; Aborigines of Australia	Europe; Adjacent parts of Asia and Africa	Native American	Most of Asia, incl. China & Japan

The Function of Black Racialisation

Chained African chattel slavery in route to the Americas to profit Caucasian plantation owners of White European ancestry started in 1502 (Sinha, 2008), and divides in two eras (Anstey, 1975). Rapidly, racial plantocratic slavery, along with its produce, boomed into the "triangular trade" (Lovejoy, 2008, p. 160) between Africa, the Americas and Europe. The trade furnished European commodity

markets with novel American cash crops, while simultaneously purchasing more African slaves from African tribal leaders warring and selling fellow Blacks to White Europeans for profits until 1807, when both Britain and the U.S. outlawed the trade (Gates, 2010).

Consequently, racial slavery became an inextricable part of these countries' slave-dependent economies. Thus, by 1640, Virginia protected it by law (Moore, 2008a), although England and Europe did not (Barth, 2010). Nevertheless, the latter never stopped it in their respective colonies either (Usherwood, 1981). Moreover, it was not until 1788 when Britain first attempted to regulate the trade (Simkin, 2014). Nonetheless, as predicted, the sociorace concept prevailed well beyond its refutation (Du Bois, 1911, p. 59). According to Du Bois (1917), racism began with "modern world commerce, modern imperialism, the modern factory system and the modern labor problem" (p. 141), all built upon the backs of trans-Atlantic slaves (Falola, n.d.).

Pervasive exploitation of Africans was therefore well entrenched before the first major scientific racist works focusing on ranking humanity surfaced: Bernier's 1684 *Nouvelle Division de la Terre par les Differents Especes ou Races qui l'Habitent* (Early Classification, n.d.); Linnaeus' 1735 *Systema Naturae*; Blumenbach's 1775, 1781 and 1795 editions of *On the Natural Varieties of Mankind* (as cited in Gould, 1994); and de Gobineau's 1853 *The Inequality of Human Races*, among many others (as cited in Moore, 2008a). Nevertheless, if White Western economies were already abounding from racial slavery and unobstructed colonialism, why was pseudo-scientific racism necessary?

What Necessitated Pseudo-Scientific Racism?

With the emergence of the 1700s Enlightenment principles (Zafirovski, 2011) and abolitionists in 1688, many American slavery abettors sought proof beyond self-serving Bible interpretations to defend the well-established system permitting the enslavement of Africans and their offspring. They needed science to back their entire socioeconomic and political systems coming under attack from White abolitionists (Moore, 2008a). Scaremongering, such as Haiti's failure as a newly independent country, added fuel to the paternalistic argument, portraying slavery alongside colonialism as saving Blacks from one another and themselves (Barth, 2010). However, slavers needed more than that.

Certainly, American Whites clenched to power and privilege resulting directly from oppressing Africans (Moore, 2008a), and the decimation and expulsion of natives from their lands for more native land misappropriation (Carew, 1988). Additionally, across the Atlantic, pseudo-scientific racism flourished to rationalise colonialism murdering and enslaving millions worldwide (Cox, 2002), and supported burgeoning anti-Semitism from which only the purest White Europeans profited (Baum, 2006). Thus, Western White countries invented sociorace and imposed it, as if it were Godly ordained, to promote and protect global White supremacy (Moore, 2008a). Indeed, even prominent era philosophers, like Kant, harboured anti-Black and anti-Semitism, and upheld the pseudo-racial hierarchy of the time with their silence (Bernasconi, 2002; Eze, 1997).

Polygenism

Polygenism, also called "species theory" (On Race or Several, n.d., n.p.), contradicted the Bible and earlier monogenism and intensified racism via the development of new Great Chain of Being theories (Chambers, 1844; Virey, 1824). However, although American slavery supporters and colonialists endorsed the Bible, they nonetheless welcomed polygenism because its pro-slavery and -colonialist stance implied a natural hierarchy in which Whites were supreme over the rest. It therefore protected White global interests, and defended White exploitative practices (On Race or Several, n.d.; Cox, 2002).

Specifically, Western Whites believed that the Biblical unity story of Adam and Eve pertained to Caucasians only (Gould, 1996). Blacks were either nonhuman; pre- or "post-Adamites" (Moore, 2008c, p. 25); under the "curse of Cannan" (p. 25), son of Ham, hence designed by God to serve Whites, Japheth's descendents in the Bible; or a crossbreed between "Hamites and Great Apes" (p. 25). Nevertheless, starting in 1688 Quaker land Pennsylvania, anti-slavery sentiment culminated in a freedom fight, which included the direct effort of enslaved Blacks as well. The Abolitionist Movement endured and triumphed after 200 years (Sinha, 2008).

20th Century Racism

These struggles, united with 20th century Darwinism (Baum, 2006), genetic discoveries (Relethford, 2002, 2003, 2004), and the 1960s civil rights movement leading into the 1970s "identity movements" (Korgen, 2008, p. 170), exposed previous unscientific claims, and eventually, halted many dehumanising practices, although racism and covert pseudo-scientific racism still abound (Cox, 2002).

Nevertheless, nothing happened overnight, as the Darwinian survival of the fittest theory, from which ideas about "eugenics" (Galton, 1904, p. 1) emerged, was first employed by Britain to justify colonisation force and genocide in Africa (Moore, 2008). Consequently, eugenics, unlike in the U.K., became policy for mass sterilisation in the U.S. (Hansen & King, 2001), and continued post World War II on Black women, an idea which Nazism implemented on mixed-race children of African-German descent first (Cox, 2002).

Thus, by the time history shifted, approximately 200 million Africans had perished in the trans-Atlantic slave trade alone (Carew, 1988), while countless others survived only to conceive in slavery and endure, along with their offspring, centuries of American violence, including public mob lynching (Moore, 2008a), medical violence (Bankole, 1998; Haller, 1972), and Western racial exhibitions inferring inferiority (Purtschert, 2015; Race Science Exhibitions, n.d.). Both Britain and the U.S. abolished the slave trade in 1807, while Brazil followed suit in 1850. However, neither outlawed ownership; hence, slave communities proliferated (Sinha, 2008). Britain did so in 1833, the U.S. in 1865, and Brazil in 1888.

Appendix F

Discredited Sociorace Theories

Blumenbach
Borrowing from Meiners (Baum, 2006), Blumenbach termed Europeans and people from regions in neighbouring Asia and Africa, Caucasians (1795, as cited in Gould, 1996). Originally, geographical proximity, language and comparable features inspired the grouping (Bhopal, 2008), a view supported by Cuvier 1817 (Baum, 2006). Accordingly, Caucasian skin ranged from pale white, to black tones. Thus, Blumenbach (1795), glorifying his own (as cited in Painter, 2010), ranked skin colour, featuring "white" (p. 63) first, "*yellow, olive-tinge*" (p. 63) second, "*copper colour* (Fr. *bronzé*)" (p. 63) third, "*Tawny* (Fr. *basané*)" (p. 63) fourth, and "*Tawny-black*…[up to] *jet-black*" (p. 63) fifth.

Across the Atlantic, newly independent White Americans of European origins welcomed Blumenbach's work, which reinforced their ideas about Blacks, Natives and other non-Whites (Baum, 2006). However, Blumenbach's Caucasian designation had no bearing on the 1790's U.S. naturalisation law (Naturalization Act) granting citizenship only to free White males of good character (p. 130). Although it was repeatedly revised, the law retained its non-White racial exclusion criteria, rooted in Eugenics (Mukhopadhyay, 2008), vis-à-vis people whom Blumenbach recognised as non-European Caucasians (Not all Caucasians, n.d.) until 1952 (Pub.L. 82-414).

Meiners
Back in Europe, Blumenbach's racial and skin hierarchy served Meiners' non-German aesthetical outlook well. Meiners condensed Blumenbach's five sociorace into two, reserving the stunning "Tartar-Caucasian" (Painter, 2010, p. 68) for fellow Germans, while terming the rest of humanity hideous, feeble, and deserving of enslavement "Mongolian[s]" (p. 68). Thereafter, Meiners ranked Europeans on attractiveness and skin colour, and labelled all non-German Europeans "dirty white" (p. 69), while denoting their physical, aesthetic, intellectual, and moral inferiority and impurity.

Virey and Villers
Furthermore, Meiners distinguished between German Northerners and Southerners, demoting the latter (Painter, 2010), and thus, laid a solid racist foundation for 1930 Nazism, which tweaked racial boundaries further (Baum, 2006). Meiners' radical views influenced both Virey and Villers, with the latter fanning racism to the West and influencing ideas about immigration. Furthermore, in 1800, Virey separated mankind into "beautiful whites…and ugly browns or blacks" (Painter, 2010, p. 69), while Villers contrasted Europeans with Africans and Asians, Northern Europeans versus Southerners, light- versus dark-pigmented people, and Germans versus French, with the second of each pair made to appear unfavourably.

Retzius
Around 1850, nationalism coupled with up-and-coming economic-political realities culminated and underlined Retzius' (1856, as cited in Dunn, 1856) two-category, skull-shape-inspired, European racial classification. Most notably, however, Retzius challenged Blumenbach's unified-across-continents Caucasian sociorace by carving an "Asiatic" (Baum, 2006, p. 133) group within it. Accordingly, Retzius pegged Northern and Western nations' economically emergent people as long-headed, Southern and Eastern nations' working stock as broad-headed, and the Asiatic group as having from both, but with more protruding profiles (Baum, 2006).

Huxley, Tylor and Keane versus Beddoe, Ripley and Deniker
Following Retzius' work, two novel racial classification trends emerged; Huxley, Tylor, and Keane focused on differences between Whites and non-Whites, whereas Beddoe, Ripley and Deniker ranked Whites for intraracial domination. Thus, suddenly, whiteness became racial currency for the most powerful of the in-group alone (Jacobson, 2003). Unlike Retzius, however, Huxley focused on pigment, separating platinum Europeans, "Xanthochroi" (p. 133) from "Melanchroi" (p. 133), who he chose for all others including dark Northerners. Thus, Huxley's 1865 classification reinforced white supremacy and ideas of racial purity in America, and relegated Blumenbach's original Caucasus group to the latter darker and substandard European type (Baum, 2006).

Tylor
What is ironic, however, is that Huxley used personal prejudice to confute Blumenbach's biases. Hence, blue-eyed, blonder, lighter-skinned people than the original Caucasus group now held the highest spot (Baum, 2006). Eventually, Tylor (1875) concurred with Huxley (1865) that the blondest Whites had proved superior, echoing Lawrence (1828). Tylor (1889) thus contrasted Blumenbach's darker Caucasus group to a platinum-blond Swedish group, reiterating the latter's racial purity, due to platinum traits, over the cross-breed nature of the former, due to the darker tone (Baum, 2006).

Keane
Irish-born Keane (1896), whose work sometimes guided U.S. courts over matters of citizenship and whiteness in matters of Hindus in the U.S. (Baum, 2006), weighed in and designated Negros to the lowest human category, while elavating Whites on top. He thus bolstered ingrained U.S. Jim Crowe's racist ideology further, and reaffirmed Blumenbach's Caucasian regions and four-sociorace category approach, albeit joining Huxley in refuting the term Caucasian as a valid racial grouping (Baum, 2006). His neo-polygenist approach, however, casted Caucasians into three groups, namely, Indonesians, Xanthochroi and Melanochroi (Baum, 2006).

Quiggin and Haddon
However, after Keane's passing, Quiggin and Haddon (1910) recast his work from an evolved political and scholarly stance. One development, besides the revival of the term Caucasian, was the splitting of Caucasians into three major sociorace: "the tall fair blue-eyed dolichocephals (Northern sociorace)…the short dark dolichocephals (Mediterranean sociorace)…[and the] non-Mongolian brachycephalic…Alpine race" (Huxley & Haddon, as cited in Baum, 2006, p. 141).

European versus American Perceptions
Nonetheless, European academic squabbles over who was included where scanty influenced U.S. sociorace ideology and concurrent politics. In the U.S., phenotypical traits dictated socially and politically constructed identities (Keita et al., 2004). Once in America, personal and cultural identities were stripped and racialised ones emerged. For example, a white settler or a Northern European immigrant became Caucasian or white, while imported Africans and their offspring, regardless of racial heritage, became Negros or black.

Attention to European sociorace theories shifted around the 1880s, when unprecedented Southern and Eastern European immigrants overwhelmed the U.S. with what white America perceived as a lower social class and culture (Baum, 2006). Thus, non-anthropologist Americans turned to European sociorace theories to extract a social hierarchy aimed at subjugating the neophytes into the established American social order, although prominent anthropologists like Boas (1911, as cited in Pierpont, 2004) were already rebutting the rising racial unscientific claims, despite not the sociorace concept itself.

Beddoe, Ripley and Deniker

Beddoe's, Ripley's, and Deniker's White-ranking theories enjoyed popularity during this period (Baum, 2006). Beddoe (1891-1893, as cited in Baum, 2006) distinguished between European mountain broad-heads, including Jews; brilliant Northern blond long-heads, excluding the Irish and Welsh; and Southern Mediterranean long-heads. It was U.S. born Ripley (1899), however, who popularised them in the Americas, again denouncing Blumenbach's Caucasian grouping, and spreading Beddoe's three European sociocraces from a racially deterministic stance, which at the time matched concurrent white American sentiment (Baum, 2006).

Accordingly, Ripley named the ideal northwesterners "Teutonic" (Ripley, 1908, p. 2), the mountain groups "Alpine" (p. 2), and shore-liners "Mediterranean" (p. 2), whom he further halved into two groups associating the Southern-most ones with Negros (Baum, 2006), notwithstanding the opposition from "fascist Italian anthropologists" (McMahon, 2016, p. 210). Subsequently, Ripley excluded Jews from among whites (Painter, 2010), expressed strong anti-Semitism sentiments, and likened concurrent German immigration problems with Jews to those of the U.S. (Baum, 2006).

Grant and Stoddard

For Ripley, and subsequently Grant (1916) and Stoddard (1920), only "Teutonic-Anglo-Saxon[s]" (Baum, 2006, p. 150) were laudable immigrant candidates, albeit Stoddard later changed his tune (Jacobson, 2003). All other "lesser (white) Europeans" (Baum, 2006, p. 150), especially the mediocre Mediterranean, were least wanted in the U.S. (Painter, 2010), a sentiment etched in policy (Shut the door, 1924; Immigration Act, 1924) until 1952. For Grant, "Nordic" (Baum, 2006, p. 142) replaced Teutonic and Ripley's three-sociorace projection embraced. Akin Ripley, Grant refuted Blumenbach's Caucasian definition, yet maintained the term to distinguish U.S. Whites from the rest (Grant, 1916).

Denker

Back in Europe, Denker (1900), certainly as prejudiced and racially deterministic as his American contemporaries, regrouped humanity into twenty-nine sociocraces, six of which in Europe, with "Northern-" (as cited in Baum, 2006, p. 152) and "Eastern-European" (p. 152) as the sole pure types. Moreover, he redefined the Caucasian group; however, despite subaltern scholars', like Delany (1852) and Du Bois (1897) for Africans and Weissenberg for Jews, refutations of the Nordic authors' ascribed racial lowliness and determinism, they accepted the differences dogma, an attitude which also affected the 1911 London Universal Races Congress decisions (as cited in Baum, 2006).

Anti-Germany Supremacy

Moreover, non-German Western scholars equally refuted the rising German supremacy wave. However, they only did so self-servingly. For instance, Simar (1922, as cited in Baum, 2006) overlooked Belgian colonial atrocities in Congo, which were a direct corollary of the Western implied pseudo-racial hierarchy, while equally ignoring rising local anti-Semitism. Henkin (1926, as cited in Baum, 2006) equally did so by accepting racial slavery and segregation in his own U.S. backyard.

Günther

Günther, however, a German anthropologist and Nordic sociorace embracer, helped espouse pseudo-scientific racism with Nazism by promoting it in Germany, which Hitler readily misappropriated around 1933, despite Günther's disapproval, and translated it into Aryan Race ideology (Baum, 2006). In 1927, Günther announced his five European sociocraces, namely, Nordic, portrayed as "New Nobility" (as cited in Baum, 2006, p. 156), Mediterranean, Dinaric, Alpine, and East Baltic (Baum, 2006).

Caucasian Mythology

Nazi sentiment then culminated in war and genocide, which halted European white-ranking theories and encouraged, along with internal socio-ecopolitical shifts, an amalgamation of White Europeans under one variety, White, in the U.S. (Mukhopadhyay, 2008) thereby washing former racialised divisions on U.S. soil and uniting all Whites, over time, vis-à-vis non-Caucasians at home (Jacobson, 2003). Therefore, unlike Aryanism, Caucasian mythology endured World War II. Indeed, it remains a strong White supremacy symbol in the U.S. (Baum, 2006), despite its lack of cultural or geographical ties, and the fact that it robs Whites of their ancestral heritage and lineage (Mukhopadhyay, 2008).

Perhaps this may one day change; however, Caucasian and White are currently interchangeable in the U.S. (Mukhopadhyay, 2008; Painter, 2003). However, unlike other racial labels containing modifiers (i.e., Asian American and African American), its use for statistical and conversational purpose denotes only White ascendancy (Baum, 2006). Certainly, Caucasian bestows on American Whites pretence of natural belonging to a land they once viciously seized from natives, and erases their settler nature at the expense of all non-Whites left out (Mukhopadhyay, 2008).

Caucasian seems to imply that only other sociocraces came from beyond American borders, but not Whites. Additionally, many do not even know where the term originated from, or how they came to be called such. Thus, to be tantamount to other racial terms in the U.S., Caucasian needs to transition into "European American" (p. 15). Moreover, opting to use it outside the U.S. is equally problematic as it basically is a refutation of one's authentic ethnic and cultural heritage.

Appendix G

Coping Mechanisms and Types of Racism and Racists

Definitions

Coping mechanism	‘an unconscious distortion of reality that reduces painful affect and conflict through automatic and habitual responses’ (Clark, 1991, p. 231 citing Freud, 1938, as cited in Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 185). We modify this definition by stating that individuals distort a reality of racism dysconsciously, rather than unconsciously, because people generally have access to knowledge that refutes the denial of racism. These distortions generally aid in an individual’s attempt to protect himself or herself from a threat and by mitigating the individual’s anxiety, guilt, shame, grief, humiliations, remorse, embarrassment, or other painful feelings. Everyone uses defense mechanisms to negotiate life challenges. However, defenses become abnormal when a person rigidly adheres to the response style rather than using flexible cognitive and behavioral response styles to meet challenges (Clark, 1991; Delaney, 1991, as cited in Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 185).

Five White-Engaged Defense Mechanisms

1. Denial or selective attention

Probably the two most pervasive and primitive mechanisms used by individuals to avoid the distress caused by the presence of racial discrimination and racist beliefs are denial and selective attention. Denial refers to the erasure of painful aspects from consciousness, whereas selective attention refers to the erasure of certain aspects of a reality while attending to other aspects to settle discrepancies in one’s perspectives or beliefs on race stratification. For Whites, we propose that these strategies assist in evading responsibility for the perpetuation of racist practices (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 185).

Benefits: need not challenge racism; maintains Whites status quo; and disregard the deleterious effects of racism.

2. Rationalization or transference of blame

Formulating a ‘reasonable’ justification to explain racial inequalities and discrimination and placing blame solely on the shoulders of the oppressed group…By using these defenses, we propose that rationalization and transference of blame help Whites evade responsibility for racism. This mechanism moves beyond ignoring social reality to actively placing blame on people of color for their predicament (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 186).

Benefits: unearned privileges and conferred dominance remain unchallenged; and no need to change oppressive ways.

3. Intellectualization

Acknowledging the existence of White racism or unacceptable practices but removing the emotional aspects of the matter. Using highly technical or precise language enables individuals to distance themselves from the harmful human consequences of racism (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 187).

Benefit: protecting one’s emotions.

4. Identification or introjection

Identifying oneself as possessing an admixture of ‘racial blood’ or adopting the attitudes, practices, or appearance of an envied, feared, or despised population of color are defenses used by some Whites to lessen the pain or discomfort associated with racism…also manifests itself in the adoption and, in some cases, the appropriation of cultural practices and symbols…Although identification and introjection might appear to reflect ways of acknowledging aspects of non-White culture as American culture, these strategies surface more as means for serving White interests (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 187-8).

Benefits: feeling less guilty about belonging to the oppressive race.

5. Projection

When people or institutions 'relocate' unacceptable personal-collective attributes onto others…allows an individual to attribute onto others characteristics about himself or herself that the person knows or fears is unacceptable to others…prevents many Whites from acknowledging their own negative traits or flaws by relocating them onto people of color…Throughout history, Native Americans, Blacks, and Asians have been portrayed as savages or less than human. This portrayal has helped…to project their own violent proclivities onto people of color (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 188-9).

Benefits: enables Whites to further justify unequal treatment and maintain a White supremacist view.

Four Coping Mechanisms for People of Color

Racism inspires POC distortions of the self.

1. Erasure of race

Rather than being singled out as the racial 'other,' some people of color may strive to make themselves less racially visible. To be 'less of a nuisance' to Whites, they may freely yield to stereotypes, indulge in the exoticism sometimes bestowed on them, reject their associations with other people of color, or liberally adopt accepted ways of communicating that deflect a reality of racism. If physically possible, they may pass for White. People of color may also cope with racism by helping to maintain the fiction of White superiority and the inferiority of people of color, and consequently, justify a system of racial stratification. They are rewarded for these efforts by being more acceptable to Whites, the benefactors of material power in society. To be sure, these rewards are not without costs. One such consequence is that the erasure of race is never complete (with the possible exception of those who can successfully pass for White), and they must somehow learn to cope with the conflict of never being able to achieve a level of acceptance in White society (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 193).

2. Autocolonization

Internalization of inferiority beliefs that has not only existed for generations but also influences the socialization of children…parents urge their children to marry Anglo people or Latino people with White features, certain Black parents instruct their children to equate 'good hair' with beauty, and children of various non-White racial groups of color are often implicitly conveyed that 'good' schools or neighborhoods consist of those in which White people are represented in ample numbers, even though they may not feel welcomed in these environments…The process of autocolonization helps to confuse people of color, placing them in a quandary of who they are and their relative value in the racial-social order. It is not surprising, then, that some children of color contend with racism by splitting off their racial selves. In a study of Black high school students at a predominantly Black school, Fordham (1996, as cited in Thompson & Neville, 1999) found that a group of high-achieving Black students distinguished themselves from their Black (and lower achieving) peers by stating that they preferred to refer to themselves as 'simply American' and not Black. These students also expressed their preferences for aspects of White culture (art, music) over Black culture. Fordham theorized that these students had experienced a process of deracination, which involved dissociating themselves of their Blackness. Although the children in the study dissociated by rejecting their racial selves, others may do so by believing that they are better than other members of their racial group on other dimensions. Light skin color, ethnicity, elevated class status, high educational achievement levels, or prestige in occupation all may be factors associated with a desire to elevate oneself above racially similar others. Not all people of color recognize this lack of consciousness and firmly hold onto racist ideology in face of evidence that could spur critical exploration and self-reflection (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 193-4).

3. False consciousness

'The holding of beliefs that are contrary to one's personal or group interest and which thereby contribute to the maintenance of the disadvantaged position of the self or the group' (Jost & Banaji, 1994, p. 3, as cited in Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 194)…justify the system and, thereby, provide legitimacy and support for existing social arrangements even at the expense of personal and group interest…this system of justification may operate implicitly; therefore, the unconscious nature of system justification allows existing ideologies to be exercised without the awareness of its targets. In regards to a societal racism, possessing false consciousness appears to occur most readily when people of color justify the system without attributing Whites as the targets. We suggest that their quest for acceptance, therefore, is not seen necessarily as a means to justify a system of White supremacy but rather to uplift their racial group or to echo normative sentiments that people of color tend to exaggerate, overidealize, or generally distort reality for the purpose of exploiting the system. What often can go unnoticed in their efforts is that although there is a lack of awareness of the targets (Whites), there is typically a constant awareness of the problem (people of color). They may even endow people of color with a degree of power in usurping a system of fairness and in being unreasonable in their protests. Hence, they make use of selective attention and distortions to portray people of color in a negative light and reifying the system (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 194-5).

4. Rage

The eventual realization that one has acquiesced to a climate of racism can lead to rage. In an intriguing analysis of the interviews of highly successful Black people, Cose (1993, as cited in Thompson & Neville, 1995) found that a group of relatively wealthy and prestigious interviewees expressed feeling betrayed when they were faced with evidence that their material success did not absolve them from racism (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 195).

Types of Racism and Racists

Seven Types of Racism: Non-exhaustive list

Definitions

1. *Aversive racism* is a form of contemporary racism that manifests at the individual level. Compared to the traditional form of racism, aversive racism operates, often unconsciously, in subtle and indirect ways. People whose behavior is characterized by aversive racism (aversive racists) sympathize with victims of past injustice, support the principle of racial equality, and regard themselves as nonprejudiced, but at the same time they possess negative feelings and beliefs about blacks or other groups. It is hypothesized that aversive racism characterizes the racial attitudes of many well-educated and liberal whites in the United States, as well the attitudes of members of dominant groups toward minority groups in other countries with strong contemporary egalitarian values but discriminatory histories or policies. Despite its subtle expression, the consequences of aversive racism are as significant and pernicious as those of the traditional, overt form (e.g., the restriction of economic opportunity) (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2008, p. 139)
2. *Cultural racism* is the practice based on the conscious or unconscious belief that White cultural values embraced in the United States are the norm and are superior to the cultural practices and values of racial minorities. This form of racism often results in limiting, pathologizing, exoticizing, or entirely omitting the cultural practices or values and contributions of racial minorities (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 167-168).
3. *Environmental racism* is "racial discrimination in environmental policy-making…in the enforcement of regulations and laws…and in the official sanctioning of the life threatening presence of poisons and pollutants in communities of color" (Chavis, 1993, p. 3, as cited in Thompson & Neville, p. 168). Environmental racism differentially affects the health risks for Whites and racial minorities in their communities and work environments (Thompson & Neville, p. 168).
4. *Everyday racism* transcends individual and institutional levels of racism; it is the ordinary or habitual occurrences that people of color encounter in their day-to-day lives, such as name-calling; being followed in department stores; and mistreatment by strangers, vendors, or gatekeepers of certain services. These repetitive acts are heterogeneous in that the types or expressions of racism one encounters are influenced by one's class, racial classification, and gender (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 167).
5. *Individual racism* stems from personal situations in which the distribution of goods and/or services are restricted to or biased against someone based on his or her perceived racial minority status. Individual racism also refers to personal acts designed to humiliate or degrade an individual(s) based on his or her racial group membership, such as name-calling or physical abuse (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 166).
6. *Institutional racism* is the policies, practices, and norms that incidentally, but inevitably, perpetuate inequality (i.e., restrict life opportunities of people of color). Institutional racism has one of the more damaging effects on people, resulting in significant economic, legal, political, and social restrictions. One powerful way in which institutional racism is conveyed is through the media...Media convey[s] events from the perspectives of the powerful and elite (van Dijk, 1987, as cited in Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 167). The suppression or amplification of knowledge, as well as the practice of reporting acts of discrimination as incidents rather than as experiences of widespread racism, represent just two strategies that help enliven racism (Thompson & Neville, 1999, p. 167).
7. *Scientific racism* is the act of justifying inequalities between natural groups of people by recourse to science. It is the result of a conjunction of two cultural values or ideologies: (1) that natural categories of the human species exist and are of different overall worth; and (2) that science provides a source of authoritative knowledge (Marks, 2008, p. 1).

Four Types of Racists

Definitions

1. *Convinced racist* are people who hold ideas borrowed from an ideology of superiority of the own group and act accordingly (de Vreede, 1995, p. 3).
2. *Unintentional racist* are people who do not hold racist ideas-or at least have never given them careful thought-but who do commit racist actions (de Vreede, 1995, p. 3).
3. *Passive racist* hold racist ideas, but never practice them, except when they talk about racism and condemn racist actions. They are usually condemning racist actions to which they react with remarks like 'They are human beings too and should therefore be treated with respect'. They are also understanding of racial violence, for which they will always find 'mitigating' circumstances: 'Of course, this racial violence is unacceptable, but we should keep in mind that those who perpetrate it do live in miserable conditions themselves' (de Vreede, 1995, p. 3).
4. *Non-racist* is not very easy, one frequently slips into the group of passive or even unintentional racists (de Vreede, 1995, p. 4).

Appendix H

Biracial Self-Identification and Bill of Rights

U.K. and Some European Countries Censuses

In the 2011 U.K. census (Census Variable, 2011), since the initial attempt to define ethnicity in 1991, respondents could choose "White" (pp. 18-20), "Mixed" (pp. 20-23), "Asian" (pp. 23-25), "Black" (pp. 25-27), "Other" (pp. 27-30), or a mixture along with multiple pre-designed modifiers. Unlike the U.S.'s, however, the U.K.'s and other European countries' terms refer to "ethnic[ity]" (2011 Census, 2014, p. 17) or nationality (Morning, 2005), not sociorace (Karssen, 2017; McEachrane, 2014). Nevertheless, these terms overlap and equally denote essentialism rather than subjective construction, as in other parts of the world (Morning, 2005).

Moreover, no definitions accompany the terms in Europe (Unterreiner, 2017), a detail which receives criticism in the U.K. (Aspinall, 2012). Additionally, for a wider respondents' perspective, both the U.K. and European countries collect supplementary cultural information, and use the "mixed or combined categories" (Morning, 2005, p. 20) to report one's ethnicity. Data of both the U.S. and U.K. censuses, however, serves anti-discrimination purposes, though data collection is further complicated by individual understanding of terms, which may skew statistics (Morning, 2005).

U.S. Census

Alternatively, in the U.S.'s 2010 census, White was a standalone racial category, which could be combined or not with modifiers for self-categorisation (Hixson, Hepler & Kim, 2011). The definition provided was, "'White' refers to a person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa" (p. 2), and includes those self-identifying as "Caucasian" (p. 2). For a definition of the six U.S. racial options, see Humes, Jones & Ramirez (2011, p. 3).

It therefore shrank, as did the U.K.'s, Blumenbach's original Caucasian spread, as among the five possible sociorace to choose from since 1997, plus a sixth option,"some other race" (p. 1) provided since 2000,"Asian Indian" (p. 1) became an Asian sub-type rather than remaining one of Blumenbach's identified Caucasian groups synonymous with White in contemporary American times. According to Morning (2005), the U.S. census' uniqueness in separating ethnicity and sociorace, however, seems to still imply that, while ethnicity is socially constructed, race is innate, echoing past racial determinism.

Multiracial Category

One important change since the first U.S. census in 1790 transpired in 2000. Essentially, after 210 years of data collection, biracials and multiracials could finally self-label as such instead of forcibly monoracial. Indeed, this was a mammoth step forward for those wishing to do so in the U.S. Moreover, the new census-generated data provided researchers with endless possibilities to deepen their understanding of this social phenomenon (Rockquemore et al., 2009). One of the most validating turns for this cohort, however, occurred with the election of the first, self-identified, multiracial American President, Barak Obama, in 2008. Likewise, the U.K. cohort was able to do so in 2001, once again after 200 years of data collection (Aspinall, 2000).

Data Collection: Sociorace versus Ethnicity

According to Morning (2005), who conducted a cross-national survey of the 2000 censuses, while former slaveholding countries concern themselves with sociorace data, former colonies concentrate on "indigeneity" (p. 13), which reflects opposite stances. Indeed, Malta follows the latter style, omitting any sociorace reference (Census of Population, 2011) thereby explaining why research revolving around sociorace is still sparse or non-existent in these countries, including Malta.

Biracial Identity Development

Nevertheless, this does not mean that former non-slaveholding or colonial countries are free of former slaveholding nations' racial biases, prejudice and discrimination (Hubbard & Utsey, 2015; Kim, 2016; Cassar et al., 2017). Nor are members of a perceived racial minority treated according to their census racial identification choice (Lou & Lalone, 2015). Indeed, biracials do not walk around holding census racial categories for others to address them by. Additionally, people freely exercise category discreteness and attitudes about sociorace (Jacobson, 2003); therefore, personal BI is often invalidated by the general public (Rockquemore, 1999; Brunsma & Rockquemore, 2001). Self-identification as White, biracial or indigenous on paper is not necessarily validated in private or public spheres (Morning, 2005), and this affects BID directly (Rockquemore, 1999).

Bill of Rights for People of Mixed Heritage

(Source: Root, 1996, p. 7)

I HAVE THE RIGHT...

Not to justify my existence in this world.
Not to keep the races separate within me.
Not to justify my ethnic legitimacy.
Not to be responsible for people's discomfort with my physical or ethnic ambiguity.

I HAVE THE RIGHT...

To identify myself differently than strangers expect me to identify.
To identify myself differently than how my parents identify me.
To identify myself differently than my brothers and sisters.
To identify myself differently in different situations.

I HAVE THE RIGHT...

To create a vocabulary to communicate about being multiracial or multiethnic.
To change my identity over my lifetime and more than once.
To have loyalties and identification with more than one group of people.
To freely choose whom I befriend and love.

Appendix I

Potential Racial Category Complications

Individuals may have diverse reasons for identifying a self-identified biracial monoracially, regardless of available official categories and public awareness of the matter. One such qualm rose vis-à-vis the inclusion of the term multiracial in the 2000 U.S. decennial census (Rockquemore, 1999). Some Black political bodies opposed its inclusion, claiming it further decimates, thus politically undermines, the already small Black U.S. cohort vis-à-vis other burgeoning minority groups and the prevailing U.S. White majority (Korgen, 2008), a situation which can result in reduced federal funding and unnecessary racial differentiation, according to one-drop rule thinking, within the Black cohort.

Indeed, this argument could potentially apply to Malta, which probably exhibits similar cohort ratios if categorisation discussions ever occur (CRT, n.d.). The Maltese political scene concerning this topic is, however, still silent, suppressing this and other racial minorities. Authorities have not yet recognised local diversity enough to collect data beyond annual birth rates about it, perhaps, because once collected, data could be used multifold (CRT, n.d.), despite not being used for public policy in the U.S. and U.K. (Aspinall, 2015).

Alternatively, monoraciality may appeal better to biological biracials. Identifying as Black or passing as White offers benefits, depending on one's lifestyle (Davenport, 2016). In Malta, identifying or passing as Maltese, if one is phenotypically able, may be more attractive, as the Black community is small and politically insignificant, while Malteseness confers privilege and exceptional treatment (Thompson & Neville, 1999). Besides, both enable M-Bbs to disassociate from the stressful POC "struggle" (Freire, 2014, p. 14, 44-45). RI can also change over macrotime, as it is additionally linked with the income's whitening effect (refer to Appendix B – definition of the mulatto escape hatch) (Davenport, 2016). Thus, the introduction of a new racial category in Malta may still not appeal to everyone.

Appendix J

Racial Identity Models Overview and Outlines

(Source: Racial Identity Development, n.d.)

Overview

Principal Black and White RI models

The most prominent of the Black identity development models is the well-established Cross's (1978) initial five-stage, revised to a four-stage (1991), and in 2001, updated to a life span approach (Cross & Fhagen-Smith), nigrescence model. Conversely, the highly scrutinised Helms' (1995) White identity development model is designed to heighten White consciousness around conferred dominance and unearned privilege stemming from racist practices against Blacks (Helms, 1992), especially in counselling settings (Thompson & Neville, 1999).

Rowe, Bennett and Atkinson (1994), however, criticise Helms' exclusive W-B approach. Inspired by Phinney's (1989) ethnic identity stage model, they theorised a non-linear, White-non-White model instead, featuring seven types within two categories (Evans et al., 2010). Their White racial consciousness model, rather than the identity development model, helps Whites to explore their attitudes vis-à-vis non-Whites, and determine whether they have achieved or unachieved racial consciousness (Rowe et al., 1994).

Outlines

1. Atkinson, Morten, and Sue's Racial and Cultural Identity Development:

Five-Stage Model (1979, 1989, 1993, 1998):

Foundational to a variety of racial and ethnic identity development models.

- **Conformity**
  - One identifies with white culture, learns and assumes stereotypes, and has no inkling to identify or learn about one's own racial or ethnic heritage.
- **Dissonance**
  - Encounter is the catalyst for one to question white culture and begin an interest in one's own racial or ethnic group.
- **Resistance and Immersion**
  - Individual withdrawals from white culture to delve into their own racial or ethnic exploration in the effort to define a new identity.
- **Introspection**
  - Individual actively seeks to integrate the redefined identity into the dominant culture without compromising aspects of their own racial or ethnic identity.
- **Synergistic Articulation and Awareness**
  - Optimum identity - Individual is able to identify as they wish, appreciate other cultures, including the dominant culture, and balance all aspects of their heritage.

2. Cross and Fhagen-Smith's Model of Black Identity Development

- Cross (1971) adopted the idea of nigrescence, the process of becoming black, as the foundation for the later sector model developed with Fhagen-Smith, which looks at the progression of identification of individuals as they move toward a healthy black identity.
- Cross and Fhagan-Smith (2001) conceptualised the life span model of black identity, where six sectors comprise the development model:
- **Sector One: Infancy and Childhood in Early Black Identity Development**

   - Contributing factors such as families, social networks and historical events all play a role in the early socialisation of black children.
   - Parents, guardians and those who are present in a child's life have routines and norms that emulate the black culture, and an individual is being consistently socialised into the Black culture, almost through osmosis.
- **Sector Two: Preadolescence**
   - Development in this sector is influenced by the parents, high or low race salience, or internalisation of racism.
   - High Race Salience: instillation of importance of being black, black culture is most important.
   - Low Race Salience: place no emphasis on race, although they are aware.
   - Internalised Racism: experience negative issues with black community, thus develop self-hatred and hesitance to identify as black.
   - Cross and Fhanagan-Smith suggested that an individual who has high race-salience is most likely to develop the post positive self-concept, in terms of their Black identity.
- **Sector Three: Adolescence**
   - Begin to develop a black self-concept, authenticating their own beliefs, which is key to an achieved identity.
   - Individuals may confirm or redefine their salience in this sector.
   - Adolescence is a turbulent time, as is developing a self-concept which may be affected by an individual's peer group, community, and/or school environment (i.e., Are you Black enough?).
- **Sector Four: Early adulthood**
   - **Low/High Race Salience** and Internalised Racism reemerge in this stage.
   - **Low Race Salience** is characterised by the construction of diverse identities and see race unimportant.
   - **High Race Salience** is characterised by the establishment of a group of peers with the same values as black culture.
   - **Internalised Racism** perceive black culture in the same light as sector two; however, there are moves to modify and solidify a healthy self-concept.
- **Sector Five: Adult Nigrescence**
   - Four Stages accompany Nigrescence:
      - **Preencounter:** Low race salience individuals will assimilate into mainstream with an appreciation of black culture, while internalised racism individuals will become anti-black.
      - **Encounter:** Event will cause conflict and a questioning of their black identity.
      - **Immersion-Emersion:** Immersed into black culture, they become black nationalist or pro-black, and entrench themselves in the culture and issues of the group, Emmersed individuals.
      - **Internalisation/Internalisation Commitment:** has three specific resolutions to dissonance:
         - **Black Nationalist:** Individuals believe being black is the most salient identity, and use it as political and social platforms to ignite change.
         - **Bicultural:** Individuals integrate their black identity with the dominate culture.
         - **Multicultural:** Individuals identify as black, but have explored other identities as a reference group orientation, while serving in a key social justice role.
- **Sector Six: Nigrescence Recycling**
   - Sector is characterised by nigrescence recycling.
      - **Nigrescence Recycling:** Individual encounters an event, which calls into question their black identity. Those who have truly achieved a healthy self-concept will achieve **wisdom**, which is a firm understanding of black identity in all facets of life.

3. Helm's Model of White Identity Development (1995)

- **Phase 1: Abandonment of Racism**
   - **Stage 1** **Contact**
   - **Stage 2** **Disintegration**
   - **Stage 3** **Reintegration**

- **Phase 2: Evolution of Non-Racist Identity**
  - **Stage 4 Pseudo-Independent**
  - **Stage 5 Immersion-Emersion**
  - **Stage 6 Autonomy**
- The theory assumes all individuals who identify as White begin with views of racism.

4. Rowe, Bennett, and Atkinson's White Racial Consciousness Model (1994)

- Offers a model to speak to the role that White plays in the relationships with themselves and those who identify within another race.
- Categorised into two categories (Non Linear):
  - **Unachieved White Racial Consciousness**
    - Three Types:
  - **Avoidant:**
    - Unaware of the role race plays in society, they shy away from race unless forced to have conversation or event.
  - **Dependent:**
    - Individuals are aware of White as a race, but refuse to identify as such, and lack commitment to values and beliefs unless it is the consensus of the group.
    - Reflection and resolution about White identity before an individual can move beyond this type of consciousness.
  - **Dissonant:**
    - Individuals are aware of their White identity, but struggle with information and events surrounding race or race confrontation.
    - Individuals are interested in informing themselves about other race identities.
- **Achieved White Racial Consciousness**
  - **Four Types:**
    - **Dominative:** Individuals believe they are a superior race and believe in negative stereotypes.
    - **Passive:** Individuals avoid interaction with other racial groups.
    - **Active:** Individuals express views through prejudice and discrimination.
    - **Conflictive:** Individuals believe every race is equal, but oppose the idea of enacting measures to create equality.
    - **Reactive:** Individuals understand the reality of White privilege, and understand the inequalities and injustice surrounding race.
    - **Active:** Individuals with genuine concern and who work to correct the issues grapple with anger or disappoint if efforts are unsuccessful.
    - **Passive:** They have little interaction or action to correct social justice issues.
    - **Integrative:** Individuals understand the intricacies of race and the role it plays in our society, and have a clear vision of their White Identity.

Appendix K

Biracial Identity Models Overview and Outlines

(Source: Evans et al., 2010)

Overview

The following BID models date back to the 1930s, and reflect a sociopolitically inspired scholarly effort to understand RI development in W-Bbs, as different sociorace combinations elicit different reactions from diverse entities due to dissimilar in-context racial histories, and shifting global sociorace and immigration politics (CRT, n.d.). No one model can fit all combinations of biracials everywhere, across time and throughout the lifespan due to unique intersectionalities (Cho et al., 2013).

Problem Approaches

Grounded in late Jim Crow segregation (Kousser, 2003), when the one-drop rule and "[anti]miscegenation" (Lawson, 2008, p. 354) were legally and socially enforced, while eugenics peaked (Paul, 2008), this approach, initially championed by Park (1928), claims that since biracials are neither fully Black nor White, but must adopt a Black identity, they are deviant, and their lives riddled with racial rejection, tribulations and marginalisation, which negatively affects their mental health.

Stonequest (1937) added that biracials develop internal dissonance, as in Du Bois' (1903, as cited in Bruce, 1992) double consciousness, due to perceptions and internalisations of the W-B racial social schism, which in turn translate into daily living problems (Telles & Sue, 2009). The marginalised dwell in the "twilight zone of two cultures…on the fringe…of two modes of life" (Stonequest, as cited in Golovensky, 1952, p. 334). In his theory, "the duality of cultures produces a duality of personality-a divided self" (p. 334). Thus, biracials incur the problem of adjusting to more than one "looking glass self" (p. 334), resulting in daily psychological, emotional and behavioural stress. Accordingly, "hybrids" (Stonequest, as cited in Green, 1947, p. 167) show higher incidence of "ambivalence, inferiority, hypersensitiveness, and compensation reactions" (p. 167).

To reach adjustment, the final of Stonequest's three-staged model, Blacks, the only U.S. racial category available at the time, unlike in concurrent Hawaii and Latin America, must achieve leadership positions within the Black community, as failure to do so translates into marginalisation (Rockquemore et al., 2009). It is thus clear that Stonequest framed biracial adjustment in terms of Blackness and his sociopolitical times (Rockquemore et al., 2009).

Both Park and Stonequest, however, failed to recognise the impact of the concurrent racist American context (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), in other words, the impact the forced black racial label had on biracial identity development (BID) (Pinderhughes, 1995). Specifically, antimiscegenation laws forced illegitimate biracials to live with Black parents, within Black communities, and identify as Black, while simultaneously bearing the Black community's rejection for all they represented with their inherent W-Brb (Green, 1947).

Equivalent Approaches

In the wake of the 1960s civil rights struggles (Smith, 2008) and Black Power movements (Joseph, 2009), theorists like Cross (1971) believed that biracials should develop in a linear progression toward a Black RI, as it sheltered them from contemporaneous racism. Hence, an imposed monoracial Black identity was still the norm (Rockquemore et al., 2009).

The one-drop rule informed such reasoning, coupled with the popular belief that most U.S. Blacks, mostly due to slavery (Daniel, 1996), are multiracial anyway. Racial essentialist researchers thus saw no reason to distinguish between Blacks according to racial mixedness recency (Rockquemore et al., 2009) until after the 1960s freely engaged in biracial baby boom (Root, 1996). The only unhealthy identity outcome at this time was the internalisation of White America's racist attitudes toward Blacks (Rockquemore et al., 2009).

Variant Approaches

The 1980-90s ushered in new ideas about biraciality, largely owing to field researchers being bi- or multiracial themselves (Rockquemore et al., 2009), while repealed radical Jim Crow laws made this possible. Poston (1990) and Root (1992) challenged prior pathological and marginality assumptions, and created identity models recognising the unique social hurdles biracials face when developing their identity (Rockquemore et al., 2009).

For the first time, theorists conceptualised a biracial/multiracial identity as the healthy outcome for this cohort rather than the previous era's imposed Black RI (Renn, 2008). They focused on how biracials can integrate their diverse racial, cultural and social heritages into a healthy whole (Rockquemore et al., 2009).

Lesser known models are Kich's (1992), Collins' (2000), Kerwin and Ponterotto's (1995), and Miville et al.'s (2005) (Evans et al., 2010). Presently, however, stage models for biracial/multiracial identity development are deemed inadequate since research has now shown how more complex and nonlinear biracial development is when compared to monoraciality (Renn, 2004), and, how a final stage, akin a legally enforced monoracial identity, can feel superimposed (Rockquemore et al., 2009).

Poston's (1990) popular and valuable BID five-stage model stems from its predecessors, especially Cross's (1971). However, its lifespan quality and three middle stages, differing significantly from those of Cross's monoracial model, as does its final integration rather than singular-identity stage, set it apart (Erickson Cornish et al., 2010). Poston is nonetheless criticised for visualising only one possible identity for biracials, and for failing to account for racism's impact on identity, which stimulated further theorising (Renn, 2008). Alternatively, it is praised for incorporating research (Hall, 1980; Herman, 1970), portraying biracials' positivity toward their multiple racial heritage (Renn, 2008).

Root (1992), opposing Poston (1990) and Kich (1992), builds on Atkinson et al.'s (1979) earlier racial and cultural identity development model, further coining the term multiracial, recognising that qualitative evidence points to a universal biracial/multiracial identity development experience (Root, 1996), and ancitipating four positive BI resolutions, calling them "border crossings" (Erickson Cornish et al., 2010, p. 245), which can coexist, rather than conceptualising a final stage (Renn, 2008).

Root (1990), herself a biracial, recognises that different identities can be engaged, depending on setting, a key element that catalysed the subsequent ecological view. She also challenges the idea that White-socialised biracials readily abandon their predominantly White identity for a total immersion in their complementary minority racial heritage while already grappling with fitting in, dating, racism that is gender exacerbated, internalised oppression and "tokenism" (Renn, 2008, p. 15). Included in her model is also an ecological perspective (Erickson Cornish et al., 2010) which aligns with CRT (n.d.).

Early Typology Approaches

The insightful albeit equally unscientific approaches of Cortés (2000) and Daniel (2002) fail to consider pressures moulding BI choice. Both, however, acknowledge that single-end identity is unrealistic for biracials, and favour multiple-end possibilities (Evans et al., 2010). Depending on setting and context, Cortés named five, while Daniel named three identity possibilities.

Ecological Approaches

As detailed in Chapter 2, these models are inspired by a realisation that healthy BI is forever adapting across time and space (Root, 1996). Models are therefore called ecological because they hail from Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1993, 1995) ecological theory.

Outlines

1. Poston's Biracial Identity Development Model (1990) - Linear

- **Stage 1: Personal identity**
  - Lack of awareness of biracial and ethnic identities
  - Tends to end in early childhood when realisation of genetic make-up comes about
- **Stage 2: Choice of group categorisation**
  - Awareness of biracial and ethnic identities
  - Pressure of choice to either the majority or minority groups
    - Choice is influenced by personal and contextual factors
- **Stage 3: Enmeshment/denial**
  - Confusion and guilt over having to choose one over another
- **Stage 4: Appreciation**
  - Begin to appreciate having multiple racial and ethnic identities
- **Stage 5: Integration**
  - Fuller appreciation of the multiracial and multiethnic identities

2. Root's Multiracial Identity Model (1990, 2003) - Ecological

- **Acceptance of identity society assigns**

  - Passive resolution
- **Identification with both racial groups**
  - Active resolution
- **Identification with a single racial group**
  - Active resolution
- **Identification as a new racial group**
  - Biracial identity beyond other identities
- **Symbolic racial group**
  - Intellectualisation of racial heritage

3. Rockquemore's Multidimensional Typlogy Framework (1999) - Ecological

- **Border**
  - Self-defines as biracial
- **Protean**
  - Self-defines as Black, White, and/or Biracial, depending on context
- **Transcendent**
  - No racial identification unless pressured to do so
- **Traditional monoraciality**
  - Either Black or White

4. Renn's Ecological Theory of Mixed-Race Identity Development (2008) - Ecological

- **Monoracial identity**
  - Easiest for those whose appearance and cultural knowledge are congruent with that identity
  - Cultural knowledge is influenced by the absence or presence of family representing that heritage
- **Multiple monoracial**
  - Often equally knowledgeable about each aspect of their heritage or sought out more information
  - Exhibit a strong desire to label themselves rather than be labelled
- **Multiracial**
  - Identify as mixed-race
  - This may be a private identity or also shared with others
- **Extraracial**
  - Avoid racial categories
  - Difficult to be sustained in a racialised global context
- **Situational**
  - Fluid and contextually driven

Appendix L

Cross-Racial Counselling

Dismantling Sociorace Ideology in Counselling

The idea that dissimilar cultures, experiences and terrains prompt human phenotypical differences developed early (Blumenbach, 1775, as cited in Moore, 2008a). When 18th and 19th century White Western scholars sidestepped it and annexed the term race instead, coined for animals and plants in general biology, the obsession with sociorace and sociorace began (Moore, 2008a). Nevertheless, “racial determinism” (Baum, 2006, p. 135) and racism came first, as without the desire to stratify society for domination purposes, there would be no need to divide people into socioraces.

Counselling

The never-ending list of pseudo-sociorace theories (Appendix F) to prove “irreducible, in-nate differences between peoples that were purportedly discernible through scientific investigation” (Baum, 2006, pp. 95-96) as a way to validate slavery, imperialism, anti-immigration laws and uphold Anglo-Saxon-Nordic superiority initiated in Europe and proliferated in America (Baum, 2006). The field spawned racism (Moore, 2008a), pseudo-scientific racism (Marks, 2008) and “colorism” (Jablonski, 2012, p.150) (Appendix C). As discussed in Chapter 2, it also affected the local context in endless ways (Cassar et al., 2017).

Racism (Appendix G), including multiple and frequently unconscious microaggressions (Appendix A) (McWhorter, 2014), inundates all ecological levels (Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Nadal et al., 2013), counselling included, which subsequently undermine the client’s and the profession’s health (Davis et al., 2016; Thompson & Neville, 1999).

Implications for Counsellors and Counselling

Local counsellors are responsible for upholding the seven ethical principles outlined in the Code of Ethics of the Malta Association for the Counselling Profession (MACP) (MACP, 2014), namely, “loyalty and trust” (p. 4), “autonomy” (p. 4), “beneficence” (p. 5), “non-maleficence” (p. 5), “justice” (p. 5), “self-respect” (p. 5) and “impartiality” (p. 6). Without principles, clients and counsellors are unsafe, while the profession is unhealthy (Heppner, Wampold & Kivlighan, 2008). Nonetheless, studies evaluating local counsellors’ performance vis-à-vis cross-racial counselling are nonexistent; another lacuna this CRT (n.d.) inspired study addressed.

Counselling, with its root in “White hegemony, derived from middle- and upper-class White societal norms” (Trahan & Lemberger, 2013, p. 114), enforces universal ethics. However, even the most transcultural and social justice attuned counsellors “are not exempt from racial biases that are deeply embedded in the Western collective psyche” (p. 114). To comprehend the burden of racialisation, cross-racial counsellors “need to prioritize race in the counseling relationship to decrease the risk of allowing unmitigated racism…affect ethical decision-making processes in counselling” (p. 114). Counsellors need to be wary of “professional imperialism” (Gray & Fook, 2004, p. 626) and “racial bias” (Laszloffy & Hardy, 2000, p. 35), which perpetuate racism in therapy.

Avoiding Maleficence

"Racial awareness" (Laszloffy & Hardy, 2000, p. 37) and advocacy go beyond intellectualising racial inequity (Howard & Navarro, 2016). It is an ongoing commitment to the development of "racial sensitivity" (p. 37). Well-meant statements like, "'I don't see race or skin color,' and 'we're all the same because we're all members of the human race'" (p. 36) show stunned racial awareness and sensitivity, while perpetuating a "color-blind attitude" (MacLeod, 2013, p. 177). Professional ethics, akin a CRT (n.d.) stance, bind counsellors to provide diversity-appropriate services (MACP, 2014). Continued racial awareness and sensitivity training are thus a must in the rapidly changing local context (Alvarado et al., 2015).

Colour-Blindness

Colour-blindness lacks personal responsibility-taking for continued learning and change, and excludes a socially just advocacy stance vis-à-vis sociorace (Smith, Geroski & Tyler, 2014). Such statements conveniently dismiss the insidious racial reality, and enable a "conspiracy of silence" (Sue, 2011, p. 417) among the majority group on sociorace (CRT, n.d.). Counsellors need to actively address how clients' lives are decimated by racism and sociorace-specific-microaggressions (Appendix A) (Nadal et al., 2014), as well as how clients internalise whiteness to the detriment of blackness, and thus challenge it.

Conversely, a "culturally humble" (Davis et al., 2016, p. 488) attitude can moderate for unconscious counsellor cross-racial microaggressions and prevent in-therapy "identity-related ruptures" (p. 484), which are counsellor-client alliance rifts stemming from perceived racial microaggressions. The onus of beneficence is on the counsellor (Norcross, 2011), and the aim is to avoid "weakened alliances [which] are correlated with unilateral termination" (Safran, Muran & Eubanks-Carter, 2011, p. 242).

Social Justice Allies

Counsellors become "social justice allies" (Edwards, 2006, p. 4) when they recognise personal, institutional and social systems of oppression and actively work to challenge racism. Allies are "members of dominant social groups…working to end the system of oppression that gives them greater privilege and power based on their social-group membership" (Broido, 2000, p. 3). Unless counsellors work, in agreement with CRT (n.d.), toward a "vision of society in which the distribution of resources is equitable and all members are physically and psychologically safe and secure" (Bell, 1997, p. 3), they are not committed to allyhood.

"Unearned entitlement…[and]…conferred dominance…[are two]…unearned privileges" (Edwards, 2006, p. 40) that counsellors have an ethical duty to recognise and address in professional cross-racial relationships (CRT, n.d.). Avoiding sociorace in cross-racial counselling while ignoring other client minority identities (e.g., female, disability, legal status, nationality and religion) constitutes client gagging and "intersectional invisibility" (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008, p. 377).

Alternatively, "broaching" (Day-Vines et al., 2007, p. 401), in which counsellor-client dyad explores how sociorace, culture and other identities intersect with presenting problems, is recommended (Alvarado et al., 2015). Continuous broaching boosts counsellor credibility and client satisfaction, disclosure, and retention (Jones, 2015). The counsellor is responsible for providing competent services (Norcross, 2011).

Appendix M

Personal Journal Snippet

Literature states that it is impossible to tell whether participants were resisting during the interviews (Nunkoosing, 2005), whether I was unconsciously paying extra attention to certain details over others (subjectivity), and whether participants contributed “creative artfulness” (p. 700). However, I perceived participants as enveloped in an aura of reflection, embarrassment, apprehension and silence vis-à-vis the topic, rather than resisting. All claimed to have never conceptualised or discussed their biraciality in such depth before, which was the reason some participants had diverse emotional releases during and after their respective interviews. In turn, this revealed volumes about the local context and its needs. However, I endeavoured to remain objective despite my emerging emotions concerning the topic. Namely, I was cognisant of what I asked participants to elaborate more on, and where my curiousity was emanating from in an effort to control subjectivity.

As for creative artfulness, I felt this at no time. The participants showed a range of emotions that is hard to fake, and which, in turn, choked me up at times. What I realised with each interview, however, is that, “what becomes accessible through the process of the interview is often a construction of experiences into words that is a product of the interview itself” (Nunkoosing, 2005, p. 702), the I-thou co-creation, which would differ had someone else conducted the interviews (Seidman, 2006). The whole notion of gaining prior consent is hence problematic since “neither the interviewers nor the interviewees can ever predict the details of what is going to be discussed in advance of the event” (Nunkoosing, 2005, p. 703). The initial consent is therefore an initial agreement for participation, while the audit trail process is what grants participants full control over their participantion in the study (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

Appendix N

Gatekeepers' Agreements

Subject: Re: Proposed Research - Catherine Smith - Counseling Dept.

From: Registrar (registrar@um.edu.mt)

To: micu1974@yahoo.com;

Cc: ruth.falzon@um.edu.mt;

Date: Monday, May 22, 2017 11:06 AM

Yes that would be possible, as long as you have ethics approval.

regards

Veronica Grech

Veronica Grech
Registrar
University of Malta

Subject: RE: RESEARCH PROPOSAL FORM CATHERINE SMITH
From: Alex Rizzo (Alex.Rizzo@mcast.edu.mt)
To: micu1974@yahoo.com;
Cc: Isabella.Anna.Zeno@mcast.edu.mt;
Date: Friday, June 2, 2017 11:01 AM

Dear Catherine

Kindly note that the MCAST Ethics Committee have given your research a conditional approval.

This means that you can proceed, but are advised to abide by the following guidance:

Student has to avoid moral harm by ensuring that in all communication with research participants, reference to student skin tone is not perceived to be demeaning or degrading in an manner.

Please be guided accordingly.

Best regards

Alex

Dr Ing Alex Rizzo FCMI, FIET, FCIWEM

Head of University College

Colleges' Administration Wing

Students' House |1st Floor | Main Campus

Corradino Hill | Paola PLA9032 | Malta

t. +356 23987176 +356 79417176

Print Page 1 of 2

Subject: Re: Proposed Research - Catherine Smith - Counseling Department, UOM.
From: Teuma Miriam at Agenzija Zghazagh (miriam.teuma@gov.mt)
To: ruth.falzon@um.edu.mt;
Cc: micu1974@yahoo.com;
Date: Sunday, May 28, 2017 1:08 PM

Yes that is possible.

Sent from my Samsung Galaxy smartphone

Appendix O

UREC Approval

To be completed by Faculty Research Ethics Committee

We have examined the above proposal and advise

Acceptance (circled) Refusal Conditional Acceptance

For the following reason/s:

Signature: [signature] Date: 16/6/17

To be completed by University Research Ethics Committee

We have examined the above proposal and advise

Acceptance (circled) Refusal Conditional Acceptance

For the following reason/s:

Signature: [signature] Date: 27/7/2017

Appendix P

Information Letter (English and Maltese)

Information Letter to Prospective Participants

I am a trainee counsellor reading for a graduate degree at the University of Malta. Part of my Master in Transcultural Counselling degree coursework includes a dissertation, which I will be carrying out under the supervision of Dr Ruth Falzon. In this research titled, *Biracial Identity Development in Maltese-Black Local Youth: Implications for Counselling*, I will be exploring the narratives of local Maltese-Black youth in an effort to gain an understanding of what helps or hinders the development of a healthy Biracial identity in the local context. I would like to present the youth's voices, and would be honoured if you were to agree to participate in this research.

In order to participate in this study, youth must be a first-generation Maltese-Black person, aged between 18 and 35, born and always lived locally, and, if possible but not necessarily, have experienced counselling. One of your parents must have indigenous Maltese parents, whilst your other parent must have parents of African descent.

I will be using individual interviews as the research tool to collect data for this study. The interview will last approximately sixty to ninety minutes, and will be audio-recorded and transcribed by me. If you decide to participate, the interview will be carried out at a time and place convenient to you and in the language you prefer. Then, after analyzing all the information and the dissertation process is completed (a year from completion), I will destroy the audio-recording myself. Please note that:

- Participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you are free to decide not to participate.
- All the raw data will only be seen by me and my supervisor/advisor.
- Anonymity will be respected and identities will not be disclosed at any point. You will be given the option to choose your own pseudonym.
- As a participant, you have the right to not answer any questions you would not like to answer.
- As a participant, you may withdraw from the study at any time without having to provide an explanation for your withdrawal. Your data would then not be used and destroyed.
- As a participant, you will be given your transcript and the results chapter to review, as well as a copy of the study once the correction process is complete.

Should you have any queries, please call me on or contact me. I look forward to answering any questions you may have. Meanwhile, I thank you for your time, support and consideration.

Yours truly,

Catherine Smith

Researcher	**Research Supervisor**
Catherine Smith	Dr Ruth Falzon
Mobile number: 79905715	Department of Counselling
Email: catherine.smith.16@um.edu.mt	Faculty for Social Well-Being,
	University of Malta
	Contact number: 2340 3516
	Email: ruth.falzon@um.edu.mt

Information Letter (Maltese)

Ittra ta' Informazzjoni għall-Parteċipanti Prospettivi

Jiena *trainee counsellor* u qiegħda nagħmel *graduate degree* fl-Università ta' Malta. Parti mill-ħidma tiegħi għall-grad ta' *Master in Transcultural Counselling* tinkludi dissertazzjoni taħt is-superviżjoni ta' Dott. Ruth Falzon. Fir-riċerka bit-titlu, *Biracial Identity Development in Maltese-Black Local Youth: Implications for Counselling*, jien se nesplora l-esperjenzi ta' żgħażagħ li huma persuni Maltin-Suwed biex nipprova nifhem x'jgħin jew ifixkel l-iżvilupp ta' l-identita` *Biracial* tagħhom fil-kuntest Malti. Permezz ta' dir- riċerka nixtieq inwassal leħen iż- żgħażagħ, u nħossni onorata jekk inti taċċetta li tipparteċipa fiha.

Jekk tixtieq tieħu sehem f'dan l-istudju, irid ikollok dixxendenza Maltija-Sewda, tkun bejn it-tmintax u l-ħamsa u tletin sena, imwieled/imwielda Malta, dejjem għixt lokalment u, preferibbilment attendejt għall-*counselling*. Għandek ukoll ikollok ġenitur mnissel/mnissla minn koppja Maltin kif ukoll ieħor/oħra mnissel/imnissla minn koppja ta' dixxendenza Afrikana.

Bħala għodda ta' riċerka sabiex niġbor id-dejta għal dan l-istudju, jien se ninqeda b'intervisti individwali. L-intervista ddum madwar sittin sa disgħin minuta, u se tiġi rrekordjata b'mod awdjo u traskritta minni. Jekk tiddeċiedi li tipparteċipa, l-intervista ssir f'ħin u f'post komdi għalik, u bil-lingwa li tippreferi inti. Wara li nkun analiżżajt l-informazzjoni kollha u temmejt il-proċess tad-dissertazzjoni (sena minn meta titlesta), jien neqred il-materjal irrekordjat. Jekk jogħġbok, innota li:

- Il-parteċipazzjoni f'dan l-istudju hija kompletament volontarja u inti liberu/libera li tirrifjuta li tieħu sehem.
- Id-dejta kollha mhux ipproċessata se narawha biss jien u s-superviżur/konsulent tiegħi.
- L-anonimità se tiġi rrispettata u l-identitajiet mhux/m'huma se jinkixfu fl-ebda stadju. Inti tingħata l-possibbiltà li tagħżel il-psewdonimu tiegħek.
- Bħala parteċipant/a ikollok id-dritt li ma tweġibx kwalunkwe mistoqsija li ma tixtiqx twieġeb.
- Bħala parteċipant/a tista' tirtira mill-istudju meta trid u mingħajr ma tagħti spjegazzjoni għala rtirajt. Id-dejta tiegħek ma tintużax u tiġi distrutta.
- Bħala parteċipant tiġi mogħti t-traskrizzjoni tiegħek u l-kapitlu dwar ir-riżultati sabiex teżaminaħ, kif ukoll kopja tal-istudju ġaladarba jkun intemm il-proċess tat-tiswija.

Jekk tkun tixtieq tiċċara xi ħaġa, jekk jogħġbok, ċempilli jew ikkuntattjani. Lesta nwieġeb il-mistoqsijiet tiegħek bil-qalb kollha.

Grazzi tal-ħin u tal-konsiderazzjoni tiegħek.

Tislijiet,

Catherine Smith

Riċerkatriċi
Catherine Smith
Numru tal-mowbajl: 79905715
Indirizz elettroniku:
catherine.smith.16@um.edu.mt

Superviżur
Dr Ruth Falzon
Dipartiment tal-*Counselling*
Fakultà tal-Benesseri Soċjali,
L-Università ta' Malta
Numru ta' kuntatt: 2340 3516
Indirizz elettroniku: ruth.falzon@um.edu.mt

Appendix Q

Consent Form (English and Maltese)

Name of Researcher: Catherine Smith
Address: 14, Triq Santa Marija, Zabbar ZBR 3302
Phone No: 79905715
Email/s: catherine.smith.16@um.edu.mt

Title of dissertation: Biracial Identity Development in Maltese-Black Local Youth: Implications for Counselling.

Statement of purpose of the study: I will be exploring the narratives of local Maltese-Black youth in an effort to gain an understanding of what helps and/or hinders the development of a healthy Biracial identity in the local context.

Methods of data collection: Individual audio-recorded semi-structured interviews.

Use of collected data: For dissertation purposes only.

With this Consent Form, I, Catherine Smith, pledge to keep to the following conditions throughout the whole research process. I will abide by the following conditions:

i. Your real name/identity will not be used at any point in the study, and you have the option to choose your own pseudonym.
ii. You are free to withdraw yourself from the study at any point in time and for whatever reason without there being any consequences. In case you withdraw, all records and information collected will be destroyed.
iii. There will be no deception in the data collection process.
iv. The interview will be audio-recorded.
v. You will be given a copy of your transcript, as well as the results chapter, for your feedback and verification.
vi. The recording will be destroyed one year after the research process has come to an end.
vii. A copy of the research will be handed to you through a CD or as a hard copy at your request.

Participant

I, ____ agree to the conditions.
(name of participant)

___________________________________ ___________________________
Signature Date

Researcher

I, Catherine Smith, agree to the conditions.

___________________________________ ___________________________
Signature Date

____ Date:____________

Dr Ruth Falzon, dissertation supervisor (ruth.falzon@um.edu.mt/ 2340 3516)

CONTACT: Catherine Smith: catherine.smith.16@um.edu.mt /79905715)

Consent Form (Maltese)

<u>Isem ir-Riċerkatur</u>: Catherine Smith
<u>Indirizz</u>: 14, Triq Santa Marija, Ħaż-Żabbar ŻBR 3302
<u>Numru tat-Mowbajl</u>: 79905715
<u>Indirizz elettroniku</u>: catherine.smith.16@um.edu.mt

<u>Titlu tad-dissertazzjoni</u>: *Biracial Identity Development in Maltese-Black Local Youth: Implications for Counselling*.

<u>Dikjarazzjoni tal-iskop tal-istudju</u>: Jien se nesplora l-esperjenzi ta' żgħażagħ li huma persuni Maltin-Suwed biex nipprova nifhem x'jgħin jew ifixkel l-iżvilupp tal-identità *Biracial* tagħhom fil-kuntest Malti.

<u>Metodu ta' ġbir tad-dejta</u>: Intervisti individwali semistrutturati u irrekordjati b'mod awdjo.

<u>Kif se tintuża l-informazzjoni:</u> Għall-iskop tad-dissertazzjoni biss.

B'din il-Formola ta' Kunsens, jien, Catherine Smith, inwiegħed li nonora l-kundizzjonijiet li ġejjin matul il-proċess kollu tar-riċerka. Jien se nintrabat b'dawn il-kundizzjonijiet:

i. L-isem reali/l-identità tiegħek m'hu se tintuża fl-ebda stadju tal-istudju u inti għandek il-possibbiltà li tagħżel il-psewdonimu tiegħek.
ii. Inti liberu/libera li tirtira mill-istudju fi kwalunkwe stadju u għal kwalunkwe raġuni mingħajr ma jkun hemm konsegwenzi. F'każ li tirtira, ir-rekords u l-informazzjoni kollha miġbura jiġu meqruda.
iii. M'hu se jkun hemm ebda forma ta' qerq fil-proċess tal-ġbir tad-dejta.
iv. L-intervista se tkun irrekordjata b'mod awdjo.
v. Inti se tingħata kopja tat-traskrizzjoni tiegħek, kif ukoll il-kapitlu dwar ir-riżultati, għar-reazzjonijiet u l-verifika min-naħa tiegħek.
vi. Il-materjal irrekordjat se jinqered sena wara li jkun intemm il-proċess tar-riċerka.
vii. Tingħatalek kopja tar-riċerka fuq CD jew f'għamla stampata fuq talba tiegħek.

<u>Parteċipant/a</u>

Jien, ____ naqbel mal-kundizzjonijiet.(isem il-parteċipant/a)

____________________________________ ____________________________
Firma Data

<u>Riċerkatriċi</u>

Jien, Catherine Smith, naqbel mal-kundizzjonijiet.

____________________________________ ____________________________
Firma Data

____Date:______________

Dr Ruth Falzon, superviżur tad-dissertazzjoni (ruth.falzon@um.edu.mt/2340 3516)
Ikkuntatja: Catherine Smith: catherine.smith.16@um.edu.mt /79905715)

Appendix R

Demographics Questionnaire

Date	Location
Preferred language	Time

Interviewee Information

Name Surname Desired Pseudonym Address How long have you lived there? Contact Number Email Address Previous addresses: Nationality (single / dual) Legal status Place of Birth Cultural Ethnicity / race Languages spoken Religion / spirituality Age Ability / Chronic illnesses Mental health status Gender Sexual Orientation Romantic status Dependents / children	State / Church / Private Schools Highest education level Major Occupation Employment status Class SES (lower, working, middle, upper middle, upper) Any counselling experience? Current counselling experience? Any other mental health professional? Entity / Private Practice? At what age? For how long? Experienced as helpful or not? Birth family status Number of siblings Order of siblings Gender of siblings Ages of siblings Blended family details

Anything you would like to add:

Collect the same information vis-à-vis Mum & Dad.

I, ____, confirm that the interviewer, Catherine Smith, has provided me with a list (12 pages) of counsellors' and counselling services' contact details.

Appendix S

Interview Guide (English and Maltese)

Interview Schedule
(Adapted from Laszloffy & Hardy, 2000; Song, 2010)

1. How do you define yourself?
    a. What term(s) do you use to describe yourself?
    b. Are the terms you have chosen affected by your racial self?
    c. Do others respect/support your choice? Anyone challenge you?
    d. Where do you get this understanding from? Phenotype or otherwise?
    e. How were you socialised by your parents and family? Mono/bi/multiracial
    f. How do you feel vis-à-vis other Maltese & Black people? Why?
2. If you attended/attend counselling, can you tell me why you needed/need such support?
    a. Did you feel understood/misunderstood? In what way?
    b. Was counselling helpful/unhelpful? Please elaborate.
    c. What, if anything, would you have changed?
    d. Would you attend again? Why?
3. Did you attend counselling in relation to who you are racially?
    a. Did you feel understood/misunderstood? In what way?
    b. Was counselling helpful/unhelpful? Please elaborate.
    c. What, if anything, would you have changed?
4. Does your name reflect who you are?
    a. Who chose it for you?
    b. Is there a special meaning attached to it?
    c. Do people call you other things besides your name? Do you like it?
5. What are the extended families' narratives around your parents' relationship?
    a. The Maltese narrative?
    b. The African narrative?
6. Do you identify equally with both of your parents' racial heritages?
    a. More with one than the other?
    b. How do you live this? Language, culture, clothing, religion, food, visits, etc…
    c. What aspect do you like/not like so much?
7. Do you have any objections to any of your racial heritages?
8. Do you identify equally with both sides of your extended family? Anyone objects to this?
    a. How do you live this?
    b. What about them do you identify/not so much with?
9. Do you have equal information about both sides of your racial heritage? Any objections to this?
    a. Sources?
    b. Would you like to know more about one/both of them? Please elaborate.
10. Do you always present yourself in the same way racially? Anyone objects to this?
    a. If not, when, where, and with who do you choose to present yourself differently?
    b. Benefits/drawbacks?
11. When did you first become aware of race/skin colour in general? Yours in particular?
    a. How old were you?
    b. What brought this matter to your attention?
12. What messages did you learn about race/skin colour based on that first experience?
    a. From who?
    b. What influenced you the most from this experience?
    c. What changed after the incident? What remained the same?
    d. Do you see things differently now?

13. What direct and indirect messages did you receive about race/skin colour from your…throughout your childhood/ adolescence/adulthood?
    a. Siblings, family, extended family, teachers, friends, neighbors, coworkers, superiors, community leaders and others.
14. How did the messages you received about race/skin colour affect how you thought and felt about yourself racially? Your parents? The Maltese people? Africans? Others?
    a. In the past and in the present?
    b. Did anything change? What and why?
15. How often is the topic of race raised in your presence?
    a. What is your understanding of it?
    b. Where did you get your understanding from?
    c. Has your thinking evolved?
16. How comfortable do you feel talking about race?
    a. What about it is comfortable/difficult?
    b. Do you avoid this topic with someone/a specific group?
    c. Has your thinking evolved?
17. How often do you talk about your racial identity in your conversations with others?
    a. With who? Why?
    b. Do you avoid this topic with someone or a specific group?
    c. Has your thinking evolved?
18. Do others ask you about your racial identity?
    a. Who asks? What do you think their intention is?
    b. Is this a recent development or was it always present in your life?
    c. How do you think others (who do not know you) classify your race based on your looks?
    d. Do others try to categorise you? Which category do they put you in?
19. What benefits did you gain/lose because of your race/skin colour?
    a. within the family; extended family (Maltese & Black)
    b. with the family of friends or loved one
    c. in primary/secondary/tertiary education and other educational settings
    d. extra curriculum activities
    e. employment
    f. peer group, friends, socially, leisure activities, sports, and travel
    g. religious and spiritually
20. Who do you usually date? Why?
21. Who do you surround yourself with? Why?
    a. What similarities/differences do you perceive?
22. How has your racial identity affected your life?
    a. In childhood, adolescence, at present…
    b. Do you foresee change in the future?
23. Who was your role model(s) growing up? Why?
    a. Have you replaced him/her since? Why?
    b. Do you see yourself represented in Malta? Media, leadership, politics, education, services…
24. What did you play with when you were a kid?
    a. What did you like about it?
25. What books did/do you read?
    a. Did you identify yourself in them?
    b. Can you give me an example?
26. What music did/do you listen to?
27. What clothes did/do you like wearing? Why?
28. Do you have any advice for parents of biracial children?
29. Do you have any questions about the interview, study, or myself?
30. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Interview Guide (Maltese)

Gwida tal-Intervista

(Adattata minn Laszloffy & Hardy, 2000; Song, 2010)

1. Kif tiddefinixxi lilek innifsek?
    a. X'terminu/i tuża biex tiddeskrivi lilek innifsek
    b. Taħseb lir-razza tiegħek taffetwa dawn it-termini li użajt fuqek?
    c. Ħaddieħor jirrispetta/jissapportja l-għażla tiegħek tat-termini li tuża biex tiddeskrivi lilek innifsek?
    d. Minn fejn ġibta din il-fehma? Fenotip jew mod ieħor?
    e. Kif issoċċjalizzawk l-ġenituri u l-familja? (*Mono/bi/multiracial*)
    f. Kif tħossok lejn nies oħra Maltin u ta' kulur Iswed? Għalxiex?
2. Jekk attendejt/qed tattendi *counselling*, tista' tgħidli r-raġuni għalfejn taħseb li kellek/għandek bżonn dan is-sapport?
    a. Ħassejtek mifhum/a/mhux mifhum/a? B'liema mod?
    b. Kien t'għajnuna l-*counselling*? Elabora jekk jogħġbok.
    c. Jekk hemm xi ħaġa, kieku x'tibdel?
    d. Terġa tattendi? Għala?
3. Ir-razza tiegħek għanda/kella x'taqsam mar-raġuni li attendejt għall-*counselling*?
    a. Ħassejtek mifhum/a/mhux mifhum/a? B'liema mod?
    b. Kien t'għajnuna l-counselling? Elabora jekk jogħġbok.
    c. Jekk hemm xi ħaġa, kieku x'tibdel?
4. Ismek jirrifletti min inti?
    a. Min għażlu għalik?
    b. Għandu xi tifsira speċjali assoċċjata miegħu?
    c. In-nies isejħulek b'xi isem ieħor? Iddejqek?/Tieħu gost?
5. X'inhi n-narrativa tal-membri tal-familja estiża tiegħek dwar ir-relazzjoni tal-ġenituri tiegħek?
    a. X'inhi n-narrativa Maltija ?
    b. X'inhi n-narrativa Afrikana?
6. T'identifika ugwalment maż-żewġ wirtit razzjali tal-ġenituri tiegħek?
    a. Waħda iktar minn oħra?
    b. Kif tgħixa din? Lingwa, kultura, ħwejjeġ, reliġjon, ikel, żjariet, eċċetra...
    c. X'aspetti jogħġbuk jew ma jogħġbukx daqshekk?
7. Għandek xi oġġezzjonijiet għal xi waħda mil-wirt razzjali tal-ġenituri tiegħek?
8. T'identifika ugwalment maż-żewġ naħat tal-familja estiża tiegħek? Xi ħadd joġġezzjona fuq hekk?
    a. Kif tgħixa din?
    b. U xi tgħidli dwar l-oħrajn li tidentifika/ma tidentifikax daqshekk magħhom?
9. Għandek informazzjoni ugwali dwar iż-żewġ naħat tal-wirt razzjali tiegħek?
    a. Sorsi?
    b. Tixtieq tkun taf iżjed dwar wieħed minnhom jew it-tnejn l-huma? Elabora jekk jogħġbok
10. Dejjem tippreżenta lilek innifsek bl-istess mod ta' razza? Xi ħadd joġġezzjona fuq hekk?
    a. Jekk le, kif, fejn u ma min tippreżenta ruħek differenti?
    b. Benefiċċji/żvantaġġi
11. Meta ndunajt bir-razzez/ġilda ta' kulur differenti b'mod ġenerali, u b'mod partikulari b'tiegħek?
    a. Kemm kellek żmien?
    b. X'ġibidlek l-attenzjoni?
12. Wara l-ewwel esperjenza tiegħek, x'tgħallimt dwar ir-razzez/il-kulur tal-ġilda?
    a. M'għand min?
    b. X'influwenzak l-iktar minn din l-esperjenza?
    c. X'inbidel wara dan l-inċident? X'baqa' l-istess?
    d. Tarhom differenti issa l-affarijiet?

13. X'messaġġi diretti jew indiretti rċevejt dwar ir-razzez/il-kultur tal-ġilda mingħand…waqt li kont żgħir/adoloxxenti/adult?
    a. Aħwa, familja, familja estiża, għalliema, ħbieb, ġirien, kollegi, is-superjuri, *leaders* fil-kommunita'.
14. Il-messaġġi li rċevejt dwar ir-razza/il-kultur tal-ġilda, kif affetwaw il-ħsibijiet u kif tħossok dwar ir-razza tiegħek innifsek? Il-ġenituri tiegħek? Il-poplu Malti? Afrikan? Oħrajn?
    a. Fil-passat u fil-preżent?
    b. Inbidel xi ħaga? Xiex u għala?
15. Kemm jitla' is-suġġett dwar ir-razza/razzez fil-preżenza tiegħek?
    a. X'inhi l-fehma tiegħek?
    b. Minn fejn ġibta din il-fehma?
    c. Inbidel/evolva il-ħsieb tiegħek?
16. Kemm tħossok komdu/a titkellemfuq ir-razzez?
    a. X'inhu komdu/diffiċli?
    b. Tevitaħ dan is-suġġett ma xi bniedem/grupp speċifiku?
    c. Inbidel/evolva il-ħsieb tiegħek?
17. Kemm titkellem ta' spiss dwar l-identita' tar-razza tiegħek ma' ħaddieħor?
    a. Ma' min? Għala?
    b. Tevitaħ dan is-suġġett ma' xi bniedem/grupp speċifiku?
    c. Inbidel/evolva il-ħsieb tiegħek?
18. Ħaddieħor ġieli saqsik dwar l-identita' tar-razza tiegħek?
    a. Min isaqsik? X'taħseb li hi l-intenzjoni tagħhom/tiegħu/tagħha?
    b. Din xi ħaga riċenti jew minn dejjem kienet preżenti f'ħajtek?
    c. Kif taħseb li ħaddiehor (li ma j/tafekx) j/tikklassifika r-razza tiegħek min kif tidher?
    d. Haddieħor jiprova jikkategorizżak? U kif jikkategorizżawk?
19. X'benefiċċji gawdejt/tlift minħabba r-razza/il-kultur tal-ġilda?
    a. Ġol-familja; familja estiża (Maltin u Afrikani)
    b. Mal-familja tal-ħbieb jew maħbubin tiegħek?
    c. Fl-edukazzjoni primarja/sekondarja/terzjarja jew f'kuntesti edukattivi oħrajn
    d. Attivitajiet *extra curriculum*
    e. Xogħol
    f. Ma' nies tamparek, ħbieb, soċjalment, attivitajiet ta' divertiment, l-isports u s-safar
    g. Reliġjon u spiritwalita'
20. Normalment lil min tiddejtja? Għala?
21. Ma' min tħobb toqgħod? Għala?
    a. X'similaritajiet/differenzi tipperċepixxi?
22. L-identita' tar-razza tiegħek kif affetwatlek ħajtek?
    a. Fi tfulitek, fl-adoloxxenza, fil-preżent?
    b. Tara li ġej xi tibdil fil-futur?
23. Minn kien il-mudell tiegħek waqt li qed tikber? Għala?
    a. Bdiltu/a min dakinhar?
    b. Tara lilek innifsek irrappreżentat ġo Malta? Mijdja, tmexxija, politika, servizzi t'edukazzjoni…
24. Biex kont tilgħab meta kont żgħir/a?
    a. X'kien jogħġbok dwarhom?
25. X'kotba kont tħobb jew tħobb taqra issa?
    a. Kont tidentifika magħhom?
    b. Tista' ttini eżempju?
26. X'mużika kont jew qed tisma' bħalissa?
27. Xi ħwejjeġ kont tħobb jew tħobb tilbes issa? Għala?
28. Għandek xi parir għall-ġenituri ta' tfal *biracial*?
29. Għandek xi mistoqsijit dwar l-intervista, li studju, jew dwari?
30. Hemm xi ħaga ohra li tixtieq izzid?

Appendix T

Elicited Themes Supported by Quotes

THEMES AND SUBTHEMES	RELEVANT QUOTES
Theme 1: Biraciality Subthemes:	
Becoming racially self-aware	"Deep down, I always knew that I was different, but then I was maybe about seven-eight years old when I realised…I wasn't White" (Monica). "Different appearance. Plain and simple being Black…primary was even worse cos I was younger…I was the only Black kid in the whole school" (Anderson-Cole). "I was always aware…you can never not be aware because you look in a mirror from whenever you're young. So you're always aware that you look different" (Legal-Alien).
Maltese-primed socialisation	"Jiena kont abbati għal tmien snin, u…fl-armar tal-festa. Kont fil-kumitat tal-festa, segretarju, iġifieri kont naqra imdaħħal fil-knisja sew…" (Martin). I was an altar boy for eight years, and into organising for the local parish church feast. I was in the local parish church feast committee; thus, well involved in the local parish church culture. "That's not how we Maltese people think. We think…help yourself, and do something about it [your predicament]. But they [Africans] believe that they leave everything in the hands of God, and I don't agree with the way they think…" (Samantha). "Given that I have grown up in a country which is mainly filled with White, light-skinned people [Malta]…I…feel…more at ease…in a room filled with White people than if I was in a room filled with Black people" (Legal-Alien).
Public biracial identity	"Għandi ommi Maltija u missieri AC…bażikament hekk ngħidilhom…*If you tell me what are you?* Ngħidlek Malti-Iswed, Malti-Black" (Martin). My mother is Maltese and my father is AC…that is how I present myself…When asked what are you? I reply, *Malti-Iswed*, Malti-Black. "I was never brought up to say…half-Maltese…half-African…I was always brought up saying…Maltese…I only started saying half-Maltese-half-African…at the age of XX [25+]…a few years ago…I don't like to tell people about my background, even certain friends, not everybody knows…cos it was always…a secret" (Samantha). "With White people, I present myself as Maltese…just to make a point, maybe just to have them ask me cos I know the questions are gonna come. Like, '*imma għandek xi ħaga? Għandek xi* mixture *jew hekk?*' (but you have something? You are mixed or something?). But when it comes to presenting myself to Black people, or people who are more international, I would say I'm…Maltese but my father is from AC, so to give them a bit of a context" (Carina). "When…with an unfamiliar group…I had to make sure that I identify quickly as being Maltese, and establishing that I am actually one of you guys. In a way, I would see how I can bring that about quickly, with the first interaction…that I speak Maltese. I am Maltese. I just look differently" (Anderson-Cole).
Private biracial identity	"I think I've learned to ignore people…what they think…I appreciate being biracial more now, especially with the people around me now and my boyfriend" (Monica). "If you ask me who I am…I would say a global citizen; if you really pushed me, I would say Maltese…I'm more attached to my mother's than to my father's, but I consider myself to be equally half-Maltese and half-Black [racially] because it's absolutely nothing to me" (Carina).

	"When I was younger, I wouldn't like to associate myself…but now that I am older, I understand things a bit differently. I wouldn't mind associating myself…with more of the African descent" (Anderson-Cole). "All I take from AC is my biological aspect…I am half-African, but apart from that, nothing else…if I were asked…to whom I feel closer, I don't feel…closer to one or the other…no reason to be…[but] if I had to pick and choose, my [choice would] be Maltese…I am different, but…in a very trivial sense...just skin and facial features, and biologically…same difference as in, if someone…had long hair and I had short hair" (Legal-Alien).
Racial identity validation	"Meta ngħidilhom…jien Iswed, jgħiduli le, inti *half-caste*, għax qiegħed, għal l-argument, *a mixture of both*" (Martin). When I say that I am Black, they reply that I am half-caste because, for the sake of the argument, I am a mixture of both. "There are a lot of foreigners where I work…they [Maltese] automatically assume that I'm [a] foreigner…it's a big surprise when they find out that I am Maltese…they welcome it, cos then they enjoy talking to you more" (Monica). "Maltese people…speak to me in Enlgish…I answer them in Maltese…they think I'm foreign…it's irritating cos it happens a lot…They're like, '*illallu! Mela int Malti! Iva*' (Wow! You are Maltese! Yes)…it's tiring…I don't hate it, and it's stupid sometimes…[One] looked at me…smiled…'*proset!*' (well done!), as if I did something difficult cos I was born here (Legal-Alien).
Racial identity invalidation	"Jgħiduli, minn fejn int? Ngħidilhom, ommi Maltija u missieri AC. Imma fejn twilidt? Malta. Allura Malti! Huma jgħiduli, inti twilidt hawn, mela Malti" (Martin). Maltese tell me, 'where are you from?' I reply, 'my mother is Maltese and father AC.' But where were you born? 'Malta.' So Maltese. They tell me that since I was born here, I am Maltese. "When I…say I am Maltese, they normally straight away say that it isn't possible for you to be Maltese because you are not White, so where is your other half coming from?" (Samantha). "People would ask me, so where are you from? I'd tell them Malta. No where are you really from?...No one would believe me that I was Maltese…I would have to explain that my mother is from AC and my father is Maltese" (Monica). "First thought, because I spoke Maltese…I was adopted…Then…refugee or *tad-daghajsa* (boat immigrant)…I would say no, that's not my situation" (Carina). "With an unfamiliar group…I had to make sure that I identify quickly as being Maltese, and establishing that I am actually one of you guys…bring that about quickly with the first interaction…that I speak Maltese, I am Maltese, I just look differently…I have to protect myself as quickly as possible. Then, the tone would change a bit…Sometimes…it doesn't make a difference, but sometimes…it's much better, but still not a 100% and you can feel it" (Anderson-Cole). "I was…[constantly] told by my [African] grandmother…that, and…agreed to by my dad,…I am African. I'm not Maltese…I'm different…better than Maltese…Africans, AC…would consider me one of them…if you're not White, you're one of them…[Yet racism] does happen when you go there [to AC], but if you're here, no" (Legal-Alien).
Self-picked racial descriptors	"*If you tell me what are you?* Ngħidlek Malti-Iswed, Malti-Black" (Martin). When asked what are you? I reply, *Malti-Iswed,* Malti-Black. "I would normally say I am Maltese [nationality, culture and ethnicity]. I was born in Malta, my whole family is White [includes her step-dad's and Maltese side of the family in this category]. I am the only Black [racial identity] girl in the family…I was basically raised as Maltese [as in racially, culturally, nationality and ethnically] (Samantha). "I understand that you're trying to understand us, mixed race people…" (Monica). "I see that the only [way] I could deal was to detach from both races. And, just be like, no! I am myself…Because it's a process, I have to do on my own, not like in other countries where like there are so many biracials to talk about it" (Carina). "Plain and simple being Black…I was the only Black kid in the whole school" (Anderson-

	Cole). "I presented myself as more of a Maltese person, which I believe I am" (Legal-Alien).
Theme 2: Racialised context Subthemes: Racialised unions	"Kien hemm naqra [racial] *misunderstandings*…bejn in-nanna u missieri…Min-naħa ta' missieri għan-naħa t'ommi naħseb li, *they were fine with it*. Li għandhom il-mentalita` tan-nies hemmhekk…ġo AC…meta jaraw xi waħda bajda, jgħidu li tal-flus, għax għandhom dik il-mentalita`…" (Martin). There were some racial misunderstandings between my maternal grandmother and father…My father's side of the family was fine with his choice to marry Maltese. When AC see a light-skinned woman, they think she is rich because they embrace that mentality. "They [African family] know about my existence…because my [African] grandma was one of the reasons my dad had to leave the country [Malta]…[In] those days, Blacks and Whites, wasn't acceptable…my uncle was [a public figure]…so it was a taboo…My grandma had told my dad…we cannot afford to have a White baby…" (Samantha). "From my father's side, they found it a bit difficult to accept my mother, except for my [Maltese] grandmother. My grandmother loved everyone, and…accepted everyone. In fact, she even taught my mother Maltese…I think from my mother's, my father was probably accepted more easily…[They saw it as] her life was going to be so much better now cos she married a White man" (Monica). "My [African] uncle is totally fine with it…My [African] aunt…I don't think she was hugely keen…but she's fine with my mum…or [if] she even care, but I'm pretty sure my [African] grandmother wasn't pleased with it. She would have preferred if he, my mum was AC [same African nationality as them]…I wouldn't imagine that they [the Maltese extended family] were too…keen on it either. As in obviously, I don't think they opposed it strongly, but I can't imagine them being terribly excited" (Legal-Alien).
Racialised bodies - Primary school	"I used to go to school with my [White] step-sister…[She] is a bit tanned…not brown like me…I was brought up that she was my real sister. And, it seemed real until the age of 7, when kids started saying that you're darker than your sister" (Samantha). "I remember my first day of school vividly…first grade. Just people…in shock…children not knowing what to say to me…I had a lot of friends from a lot of nationalities cos I [previously] went to international school. So to me, it [phenotypical difference]…never occurred to me…[That's] when I first started getting the first sense, ok, something is different now, I don't know what it is, but it's something…" (Carina). "The way I felt, still feel…people act with me. If I do something positive, it is over exaggerated, even when I…got good grades in school, my teachers were like amazed because, how is it possible…that the Black child is a genius. I wasn't a genius. I was a normal child. But to them, it was over celebrated…something special, but then, when I did something wrong, it was like the worst. Like how dare you come to our country? So it was either one or the other…it wasn't…normality. It was like either what an amazing child, or what a horrible Black child" (Carina).
- Secondary school	"Bdejt niġi aware iktar fis-sekondarja…speċjalment, bejn it-tfal jibdew jgħidu, 'dak Iswed, in-*nigger*, in-noklu'…[Ta'] 10-11 [ġejt]…aware li jien differenti minn ħaddieħor [Maltese]…" (Martin). I became more aware in secondary school…especially, when children commented 'he's Black, the nigger, the curl'…At around 10-11, I [became] aware of my difference from others [Maltese]. "Guidance teachers in secondary…I used to try to explain to them that my issue was not that…children, teenagers…fight…It's normal. I'm not afraid of being insulted in general, but being insulted about your race is totally different from someone calling you a bitch…When you insult me about something I can't change and something which makes me believe…as an adolescent, that there's something ugly about my skin…[that's] mean, that is…completely different…It is very very damaging. Because you cannot come back from the fact that you have a skin colour that you hate…This is not a disease. This is not something which is bad. It' not something unhealthy" (Carina).

	"School bus drivers…that's where I felt it outside of the school. Sometimes being in the school van. Not comments, not directly…When this particular driver would be around picking up other kids…he would encourage it in his van…as soon as I walk past…He influenced the whole group and simply because he was there…It was that general feeling of hostility, just walking by, sort of, they would acknowledge that you are not welcome here…just keep walking…" (Anderson-Cole). "I will never forget the day I started secondary school…obviously excited to go to a big girl school, all girls' school. Everything new…uniform and you're…already nervous to meet new teachers and new friends, and all you hear is: "look at the Black girl! look at the Black girl!"…I was the only Black girl, and I just always ignored them…I'm like, they will get used to this Black girl, to this face. It's only a point in time that I'll be like everybody else" (Samantha).
- Post-secondary and tertiary education	"Għandi wieħed mill-lecturers [university]…Ma tanx tniżżilni…naqra, *even the way she addresses someone* u *she addresses you* [me]…*the way she responds* [to me], *the way she responds to others*. Tgħid di naqra inkejjuża…*in her response*…[Ma' l-oħrajn] iktar *nice*…*polite*, tiprova ma tpoġġikx f'kantuniera…tkisserek hemmhekk…" (Martin). I have a female lecturer. She does not like me much. Even the way she addresses and responds to me in relation to others. One would say her response is a tease. She is nicer, more polite to others. She does not corner and demolish them there. "[In] Junior College, I was surprised by how much…the subject of me being dark-skinned used to pop in conversation because people made stupid jokes, which they think they mentioned for the first time but you've heard a million times…It never happened in secondary school…I went to a small school, most of the students were highly intelligent… In 5 years, it barely ever poped up that I was a darker skin-shade basically, but Junior College, the demographic of people changed" (Legal-Alien).
Racialised spaces	"[African] immigrants helped me because before the immigrants came, I would say I was the only Black girl…in [locality]…that went to catechism…primary school...secondary school…on the coach…bus. So when the immigrants started coming, where Maltese people didn't want them, I wanted them because I wasn't the only Black girl walking down the street…on the bus…in school…All eyes that were stared at me before, were now divided onto also others" (Samantha). "My closest friend at the time…had very long straight hair, and she was very different…I was over at her house one time, and we decided to shower…I had just had my hair straightened, and…her mother washed my hair…When they saw my hair, they told me that my hair is very nice…Then when it dried…it looked very different. I felt very aware of the fact that I am very different…Just the fact that they commented about my hair" (Monica). "I used to watch TV shows, but…if there's a Black person in it, it felt like, they were trying to be White…there's the White family…the son or daughter has a Black friend, and that Black friend['s]…family are wealthy, and…live in the same area that White people live, so it feels like they are trying to be White. It didn't feel like they were authentically representing Black people. Or mixed people for that matter…The way they talk…act. I shouldn't attribute anything specifically to Black people or…White…but that's what it feels like" (Monica). "In certain towns, I used to feel it. Now, not as much. Now I am aware of it, but I can easily turn it around. But back when I was younger, certain places, I wouldn't feel as comfortable…It's not visited or there is not a lot of commerce where a lot of foreigners would be, it's like the community wouldn't be prepared for it [my blackness], sort of, so to speak…it's a very new thing. It could be for them, fear of the unknown" (Anderson-Cole).
Theme 3: Navigating the racialised context Subthemes: Erasure of race	"Sħabi jaqbdu miegħi u anke jien…*I pick on myself*, eżempju, x-xogħol jgħiduli…x'ħin nitfu d-dawl…'baqa` xi ħadd?' Ngħidilhom, 'jien!' Eżempju, [jgħidu] ħares lejn snienu għax dawk jidrhu...Iġifieri huma affarijiet, imma *just*, *just* [noħodhom biċ-ċajt]" (Martin). My friends tease me, and I pick on myself too. For example, at work, when the lights are switched off, they ask, "is there someone left?" I reply, "me". They will then say, "look at his teeth since those are the only visible things on him". So they are things, but just, just, I take them as a joke.

	"As I grew up, I started realising that people are actually on the beach for 2-3 hours getting a tan, so maybe it's true, my mum is right, they too want [Maltese and Whites] to be brown like me. So then, I started…being proud and walking in the street with my head held up high, and going, you know what, at the end of the day, in summer time, everyone wants my colour" (Samantha). "Sometimes, even now, I forget that I am Black cos there are White people everywhere. Like last week, my friend said, 'it's really weird that we have only one Black person in class.' I was like, 'who?' And she said, 'you!'…Like, I see that the only [way] I could deal was to detach from both races. And, just be like, no! I am myself. So even sometimes, when I meet White people, I automatically assume that they don't know anything about race, and that they don't know anything about me. It's just the way, the influences…" (Carina). "Basically…if something had to happen, and I would speak up to defend the other [Black] person, even though he might be right, I'll just be looped in, so just by standing in the same spot, people would jump to conclusion…Even though, I had nothing to do with it, or just an innocent bystander…I had that constant fear, so I wouldn't associate [with other Blacks] as much as I could…Protection…back then. Now it's a bit different…" (Anderson-Cole).
False consciousness	"I learned to see it's different. People see you different. I know now that when I walk, it's not so bad like before…It's dying down…[Maltese] people realise…ok I'm Black, but I'm wearing normal clothes. So now, I realise their focus is not on the Black girl with the normal jeans and the Adidas trainers, and the pink top. Now it's on people that wear the [customary African wear and exhibit unfamiliar culture]…I feel [that] as long as I wear normal clothes, even though I'm Black, it's not as much" (Samantha). "Because you get influenced to…victimise yourself, be extra sensitive to anything that is possibly racial. Like when you are younger but…it doesn't help solve anything. No! Racism will always be present, and I don't mind it. It's a…natural self-defense instinct...I understand why White people, I mean Maltese people, would be inclined to be racist in inverted commas, because I don't want to just put a term on it as racism…I remember once, I was on the bus, I was much younger, and it was full of Black people. And even I… consciously said to myself, '*illalu!*' [wow!], how many Black people there are!" And I was surprised…I did feel different than I would have felt if there were White people on the bus, Maltese people. So how can I turn to a Maltese man, an older man, who is complaining about how many degenerate Blacks there are on the island…and tell him to shut up? That he's being racist…when I myself feel the difference, even though I'm suppose to be equally close to both? You can't because, like it or not, we're used to certain lifestyles…people…If I walk in the street at night and…see two Black men, I am going to instinctively feel more uneasy than if I…see two White men…It's an instinct because we're not used to seeing two Black men that consistently, and because…we hear in the media…stories…about Black men doing this and that. So racism, possibly, but is it being racist because you intentionally decided you want to be racist, or it's being racist in the sense that it's a natural self-defense against a perceived threat? That's my point" (Legal-Alien). "What I feel many Maltese struggle with, is not half-caste…Maltese struggle with, and I, 100% understand, if not agree, to a certain extent, is immigrants, illegal immigrants, and religion in the sense of Muslims. I don't think many Maltese have a problem with half-castes of Black if we are similar enough to them" (Legal-Alien).
Rage	"*I had one encounter when I went to a mass meeting*…[A Maltese man] *in his 60s…told me, 'go back to your country'. And my sister was with me*…ratni nħares lejh hekk, b'ċertu rabja…U meta nisma dawn l-affarijiet idejquni għax, taqta fejn taqta, l-istess demm ħiereġ (Martin). I had an encounter at a political mass meeting, where one Maltese man, in his 60s, told me, "go back to your country". My sister was with me, and saw me looking at him with anger. I get easily worked up when I hear these things. They bother me because I have the same red blood running through my veins. "It's similar to how I was in the past. Like if someone said something negative about Black people, I would kind of join because I am not Black in my mind. I'm myself from the other [Black] person, so it's just easier for me to kind of either agree with them, or if I disagree, I kind of…try and keep it quiet cos I know…nobody is with me. But now, I'm so angry, since I opened my eyes, I am really angry about it, so people don't like to argue with angry people…they just don't bother arguing about it with me" (Carina).
Social and cultural whitening	"I started dating Maltese men, not because I…do not like Black men, but…for the simple fact that I wanted to get in the Maltese community even more…As soon as you date Maltese men, you get to know his friends...you're already fitting in a group, so you feel

	safe…protected. You might have 15 friends, so you're always with that group. And, then, you make friends with his friends, and the group gets larger…with their girlfriends…I'm thinking, ok, I'm making a lot of Maltese friends, I'm in a group with White people, I feel more Maltese, and that was the reason: to feel more Maltese…Whereas if you dated…African…you feel more African, you're with the African community, with the African group, but I always wanted to feel…more Maltese, to be, maybe…less comments, because when you're this person's girlfriend, they're not going to tell you, 'look at that Black one! *ara s-Sewda*!'…I have fifteen more people on my side that…won't call me that…I always tried to get more friends, more friends to try to eliminate hearing the comments, *'ara s-Sewda!'* I felt like I was trying to gain a group just…so I have less comments" (Samantha). "When I'm at school or at work, I feel like I have to present myself as being White…more educated than I might be…[similar to] how African Americans really have to put on White Mask so they can adapt to their [predominantly White] society. And it does feel that way. I do feel that I have to be more…polite…I don't want to attribute…Black people not being polite, but it feels like when you say I have to act more White, it's like I have to act more in a certain way…speak Maltese…look lighter than I actually am…(when I was younger I used…whitening creams so I feel better about myself) but…nowadays, I don't care about where I am…It's more my personality now, than me trying to act White…straighten my hair, put…straight extensions so I can look more Maltese. Do make-up the way Maltese people do, even though it wouldn't suite me…dress the way…[Maltese] dress not the way that I prefer…because I thought that is what White people do. That is how they look, that is how I should look, so I can be Whiter…can be more accepted and the good person. [If I don't]…people won't like me, or I won't be appreciated for who I actually am, or I won't be seen as a good student, or a good work mate" (Monica). "If I had an African name, it would cause heads to turn more than if I said my actual name…given that my name is a traditional European name" (Legal-Alien).
Racial identity switching	"I can blend in more. I can fit different…profiles…So when I need to be Maltese, I can be. But then, I can also be completely detached and say, well! I don't look Maltese. So when I am abroad, I can fit into different…characters…I can identify differently, based on my surroundings" (Anderson-Cole). "I don't present in the same way beause they [African family] wouldn't be pleased if I presented myself as more of a Maltese person, which I believe I am. But my underlying thought about what I am doesn't change…If I'm with my dad's side, I would present myself as an African. If I'm with my mum's side, Maltese…A mask…Benefit is of avoiding conflict, obviously, and I don't think there are any drawbacks to, as in, it keeps everyone happy" (Legal-Alien). "I…feel like with the Maltese, I'm the Black one, and with the Black, I'm the White one. So…I'm used to dealing with Maltese people as like White person. I never relate to them as a Black. I don't know how to relate with Black people" (Carina).
Support and role models	"Kelli 13…naħseb. Meta tibda tara l-problemi...tara n-nies li jiġġieldu għal dawn l-affarijiet…Tibda tgħid, imma dawn x'għamlu?...Dawn l-attivisti li jiġġieldu għal xi ħaga…Martin Luther King Jr qatluħ għax emmen li għandu jkun hemm, filfatt *quote* (silta) minn tiegħu, *I Have a Dream Speech*, *'that one day my four little children will live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but the content of their character'*…inti hemmhekk il-verita` …Naħseb dak jibqa`…t-*top role model*" (Martin). I think I was 13 when I started perceiving problems. Seeing people fighting for these things. You start questioning, but what did they do? These activitst that fight for a cause. In fact, they assassinated Martin Luther King Jr because he believed there should be, and I quote his *I Have a Dream Speech*, *'that one day my four little children will live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but the content of their character'*…that's where the truth lies…I think he still is my top role model. "When I go to a place, and see a Black person, automatically, it's like a sign of relief…Or if you go to a restaurant, there's a waiter who's Black, I'm more relieved…You can see that I'm looking at the waiter with relief and the waiter is looking at me, as a customer, with relief. You know!...these people are going to respect each other for sure…I don't think a White person to a White person can ever have that bond…only a Black person to a Black person can have that bond. I think because somehow we all have passed through the same thing. Maybe not that their dad left the country, but maybe we all pass from hearing a comment but you're not going to hear somebody saying, 'oh! Look at that White person!'…but here or there maybe we all heard that comment, 'oh! Look at that Black person!' And it could have been one comment, it could have been 10 years ago, 20 years ago, but that comment will stay with you" (Samantha).

	"I look up to people that are younger than me. For example…Zendaya, she's also mixed-race, and there's an actress, Yara Shahidi [stars in Blackish (Barris, 2014-2018)]. I admire her so much because on the show, in the first series, they used to straighten her hair, and then…they embraced her hair, and they would dress her in like colourful things, and I was…so fascinated when I saw her that I felt very inspired" (Monica). "My dad. I think just because my dad has really suffered the worst, in terms of racial discrimination…He would just be really calm. And, I think he was the biggest reason why I feel so confident as a person because he was always…pushing me…to prove people wrong" (Carina). "My dad…believes or embodies that thing, where he labels everything under human, where it's just not an issue…His whole outlook towards people in general. How they are meant to be treated. How you are meant to interact with people. Even if they're different or different religion, opposing political views, whatever…it's just a general way of how to interact with other people" (Anderson-Cole). "One of the persons, who helped me a lot in my life, so to speak…a hugely intelligent man, is a coworker of mine. He has done absolutely nothing remarkable in his life compared to someone, who would be a more traditional role model. So I don't think role models make much sense. Depends who they are, I mean, that's just my view. But you can take inspiration from a huge amount of people. You don't need one specific role model" (Legal-Alien).
Rising above	"Mbgħad meta mort…il-Higher…*it was ok* (kienet ok)…Aħna konna…klikka, u qbilna dejjem…Iġifieri , għebu [l-problemi], u anke…x-xogħol…qatt ma kellhom problema bijha għax Iswed" (Martin). When I proceeded to Higher Secondary, it was ok. We were a group, and we always got along. Racial problems disappeared, and I have never had a problem at work in relation to me being Black. "I always felt, I am proud, this is me. And when you tend to love yourself, because you are brought up, by my mum and my grandma, love yourself, be who you are; and this is you, don't let anybody get you down, or think you should be something else or another colour. Because I felt proud this is me, automatically, I think, people tend to accept you. And, it helps so much how you feel about yourself. It's what you bring on others. And, I really really, truly believe that's what made me get through this" (Samantha). "I found…blue-eyed soul…Really difficult to accept this concept…why are they giving this name to this kind of music? Can't they just name it something else?...like folk music. Folk music is by White people…But then…I started listening to more soul music, and started appreciating that side of me more" (Monica). "I feel fortunate…I've been able to meet so many other people from the whole world that are experiencing the same thing and that helps. On the other hand, I feel like, now, I'm in a completely different category because now, I'm the Black girl to be admired, rather than the Black girl that is ugly and stupid. It's…a complete different thing, so…everything is racially charged. Even if progressing in a positive way" (Carina). "Growing up [identified as Black was stressful]…but now…a good thing came out of that cos the way I interact with people has changed a lot…I am aware…that someone else might be feeling that…and I'll…protect him…if something goes down…Especially in my position…where I do have to communicate with every single department, everyone in the company…I go more than a little bit further sometimes.…Not just when it came to…feeling like an outsider, it could be anything…I just became very aware that people might be feeling a lot of things, so I just try to contain it and help them out…as people have done in the past [for me]…[My experience made me] aware…[of the] basic responsibility of being a human" (Anderson-Cole). "I was [treated differently] at certain points in time, but you can't take individual cases and let them affect you…look at every…negative scenario you had with someone and start thinking…that there was something…said in a racial context…Start victimising yourself without need…If I come to a specific hurdle, which is actually attributed to race, fair enough, I'll deal with it specifically. But there's no need to look at a host of scenarios in your life and label them as race" (Legal-Alien).

Theme 4: Maltafro/*Maltafrikan*(*a*) phenomenon Subthemes: Maltese racial-ethnic identity	"I identify more with Maltese, and it has to do a lot with me being born here and raised here, and no having an opportunity to visit my family from my mother's side a lot" (Monica). "Now-a-days, I feel very Maltese, and I feel very comfortable. And, mostly just because I'm accepted…" (Carina). "I can bridge the gap very easily because I have Maltese, and people see that I am close to Maltese the way that I act" (Legal-Alien). "Bħal ma għedna l-ewwel…għaliex jien? Jew għaliex…missieri ma kienx…bjond għal l-argument? Suq u mexxi! Qisu xi ħaġa ħażina. Fil-fatt, iswed, *darkness*, iswed, *sin*; ħafna nies jassoċjaw il-kulur iswed man-negattivi" (Martin) Like we previously said, why me? Or, why was not my father blond for argument's sake? As if it is something bad. In fact, black is associated with darkness, sin; a lot of people associate black with negatives.
Black racial identity - Autocolonised Black identity	"There was only one other Black girl in my school…She was thin…tall…had the longest, straightest hair you'll ever see, and that pissed me off in reality, cos I was like, why couldn't I get that (the 'good' hair, the light-coloured eyes, etc…) from my father's side? I didn't get the good traits from my mother's side either, which are her being thin and tall and…it didn't feel fair" (Monica). "That experience [hair washing] was the first to get it started…[It] just snowballed into other experiences, which led to the feeling that being Black is bad and you belonged back in your country, and that you were dirty. That's what I used to feel like when I was younger because at one point, I was literally yelled at in the street, 'go back to your country'. But I am in my country" (Monica). "The first thing that was the most difficult was that being Black was ugly because from first grade, it was like a [teasing] joke [between kids]…'*jaqaw tiffanzja lil [participant's name]?*' (you are attracted to [participant's name]?)…Another thing…questions about my hair. That was constant. So I was made to feel like my hair was really really ugly…[My experience also] taught me, in a negative way, that I was smarter than the average Black person because people were so amazed I was so smart. So I thought…that means that Black people are stupid…me and my family are like special Blacks…Today…I still battle my whole biases…It so difficult for me" (Carina).
- Oppressed Black identity	"Ġieli jkun hemm mumenti li ngħid…għax jien Iswed…S'issa qatt ma kont fl-inkwiet ħabba hekk, għajjarni xi ħadd u labtielhu…imma, forsi li jien abjad…ma kien jgħidli xejn. Imma forsi għax jien Iswed u labtielhu, mela dak Iswed u mbagħad minn hemmhekk jibda jinqala l-inkwiet" (Martin). There are moments when I think why was I born Black? Until now, I was never in trouble because of this, hitting someone for calling me a racial slur. But, if I were White, maybe the person would not have said it. But because I am Black and hit him, it turns into he is Black and trouble will follow. "I'm XX [25+], and I still live in XX [place of residence]. Why? Because…I live in a village, everybody knows me, everybody got used to me, so I feel comfortable going to the shops cos I know people know me. But when I tried one year living in another town, it was in the South of Malta, it was a nightmare…I felt like no one knows me. Either I'm being stared, maybe even if it wasn't, that's how you imagined…so then I came back, and I will never leave…cos I feel I have control here. I have control, everybody knows me, everybody knows who I am, and if an outsiders comes, they're coming not I'm going to them. They are coming to my town" (Samantha). "I'm a very reserved person in reality…I got it from my mother, but not from her family. When my mother is with her family [in AC], she's very different. But then, when she came here, she became more reserved [withdrawn], so I think I got that from her. My father is very different. He'll talk to everyone if he needs to. But that's something I don't have from him" (Monica).

	"I never dated anyone of African descent. I've never really really had the chance to, but I wouldn't feel a 100% comfortable, I think...I'll be constantly put into that state of mind where…I have to protect someone else…Makes it harder. Again…a lot of variables, a lot of things that can go wrong…It's not a question of the skin colour. Mainly it's them protecting themselves…I'm constantly on high alert…It's like I'm under siege" (Anderson-Cole).
African ethnic identity	"Qatt…ma wrejt l-interess [regarding learning the African language]" (Martin). I never showed interest in learning my father's native language. "You can ask me how to cook a dish in Maltese…cook an English dish, and I know. You can ask me how they are and I know, but that's on English and Maltese. But when people do ask me certain things [about my African heritage], which they assume…I know, and I don't, I normally feel stupid. I normally feel like I'm uneducated…" (Samantha). "I know which parts I accept and which parts I reject from my Maltese side…but then again, from my AC side, its more difficult to try and integrate or explore it…even though I have the opportunity if I want to, but I just feel like since I wasn't really socialised into it, it's not something I'm so interested to learn about. I would like to, but I don't actively try to" (Monica). "I would say I identify with my mother's racial heritage more in terms of culture because I am half-White and half-Black, in reality the half-Black it's…literally just the race because I've never lived in Africa, I never lived in a Black community" (Carina). "I'm closer to Maltese than I am to AC…I don't consider myself to be AC…I've no link to the place, to anything there. I was born here. I've lived here all my life, so no relation to AC. I don't think it's valid to relate yourself to a place just because your father was from that place" (Legal-Alien).
Theme 5: Intersectionality Subthemes: Education and class	"Every time I was asked for a cv, sometimes you need a photo…[and] at the back of your mind that as soon as you need to attach a photo, you're like, 'OMG! When they see that I'm Black, will they accept me?'…that was my main concern. Not my…qualifications…experiences, my main concern…when I send a CV was my colour. That was always the big issue. And, if I don't get chosen, it is maybe because of my colour. [Yet]…I always got every job I applied for" (Samantha). "What I think is really unique about the Maltese situation…is that we are so behind…I had teachers [state schools]…saying that Black people evolved differently than Whites. Like stupid things like that…When somebody of authority is telling you how are you supposed to?...Like once…in Social Studies…we're talking about refugees. Now refugees became Black people because there was no difference in connection. So I remember sitting there…people…talking about refugees, a.k.a. Black people, as if I am not there…because they are poor…smelly…ugly…rapists…And I'm saying to myself…do these people know that my father is Black? And they did, of course, they didn't care…I felt…really really isolated…no body could understand what I was going through. And my situation was so unique that I couldn't explain…I couldn't go to people, and be, like listen, Black people can be smart cos they'll be like, that's just you...Like there's a 1000 others in Malta and they're all stupid. So, NO!" (Carina). "I think it's much more difficult to lose nowadays than it was in the past, so I don't think that…If you have your life sorted out and you know what you want to get to, you're planning on something, it would be really difficult to find huge racial barriers, which would totally impede you, so I don't think these things should, can affect that much. Can affect my progress in life that much. Colour does not matter that much. I believe…in European countries, at least from what I see, it doesn't that much" (Legal-Alien).
Gender	"And to a certain extent, sometimes I feel that it is fetishised [my biraciality]…When they [Whites and Maltese] appreciate that side of you, it's like, 'oh! I wish I could have your skin colour all year round.' It's something that will make me look tanned, but in reality, I'm not tanned. I'm brown. This is my actual skin colour…It's like, it's ok that you're darker because I like your skin colour…not because of your culture. People might try to make it out as a compliment, but it just sounds like the idea of being mixed is being fetishised, like we're not being appreciated as a whole person with a personality, but just for being darker

	skinned and genetics, which I feel like no one would really 'compliment' your skin if you were Black/White" (Monica). "Now I'm starting to get a bit more African in terms of like hair and my jewelery…cos before, I wouldn't be caught dead having my natural hair, so now…I'm getting more in touch with the other side" (Carina). "I think that there is a very big difference in the way that I…and my brother…deal with the same situations…My brother went to private school, and his conception of being Black is complete opposite, and I think it has to do with gender as well. Cos he's like the hot Black male…really tall, and…built and all this stuff. ..Sometimes I think about that, what it's like if you go to private school…and [would] I have this kind of thinking if I went to private school?" (Carina).
Ethnicity	"Malti qatt mhu ser jajjar Malti bil-ġilda…l-Iswed, hija dik li dejqithom" (Martin). A Maltese person will not call out another Maltese based on skin colour. Black is what bothered them [referring to his secondary school peers]. "When I'm with my father: are you sure this is your daughter?...There's that mentality. Like, she doesn't look like you…Because I was with a White parent, they would treat me nicer…and when I'm with my [Black] mother, it was more, you know, she's the immigrant, she's the illegal one, she doesn't belong here" (Monica). "I was always thankful that I am half-White, because I couldn't imagine being completely Black. It would have been a nightmare…[If] I don't speak Maltese, even more. If I am not a Maltese citizen…cos my parents have a refugee status also, even more, so I can't imagine what that must be like" (Carina). "My younger brother doesn't live in Malta. He lives in XX [a multicultural European country]…He doesn't get the same feeling that my sister or myself we've had…here…cos when he's visiting, it's just a holiday, so…and I don't think, I could be wrong, but I don't think he notices it as much given that he is actually brought up in XX. He is pretty much a younger copy of me…It's different…because XX is right in the middle of all these different cultures, and even in XX itself, the culture is very mixed since they live so close to all these different cultures. It's heavily influenced, and a lot of people are, for example, their grandparents…Italian… and…French, but they're XX" (Anderson-Cole).
Respective African countries	"And especially like when I go to Africa. It's crazy how like it's completely different. I mean when I'm in Malta, it's like really bad. It's like a bad thing to be Black. There it's the opposite. Like the first thing people will say it's, 'OMG! You're so beautiful', and 'you're so amazing.' And, 'you're so smart' and everything is so positive. And…you're still…being objectified in a way, because it's like, you're still the light one, so it's still about race. It's the same thing" (Carina). "[Yet racism] does happen when you go there [to the African country], but if you're here, no" (Legal-Alien).
Multiculturalism - Social and occupation	"Le, ma nfittix nies differenti. *As long as they are sweet at heart, I will be with you*…Aħna x-xogħol għandna minn kollox. Pakistani, Afrikani, Somalia, Maltin, Eġizzjani, *anything basically. We all get along*…Ġieli mmorru sa Għawdex flimkien il-Ħadd. Xi ħadd isajjar, nieklu hemmhekk" (Martin). No, I do not look for diversity. As long as they are sweet at heart, I will be with you. At work we have a mix of people. Pakistans, Africans, Somalians, Maltese, Egyptians, anything basically. We all get along. We sometimes go to Gozo on Sunday. Someone cooks and we eat there. "Yes, by being different…[at] work...Sometimes bosses want somebody different, not everybody Maltese. Even for patients themselves…We have Africans…Americans which are Blacks…English which are Blacks. They come to [where I work], and they see a girl, Black also. I think sometimes it helps even for them, to feel more comfortable, more at ease…not…they went in a place where everybody is White" (Samantha). "Maltese and international people. At work everyone is from everywhere…mostly European, I would say. But for example, a lot of French people, and they are mixed race as well" (Monica). "At work with the locals, it's like I'm one of them, with the foreigners it's like I know what it's like to be foreign and still work and live and go about life in a completely different country, so I can understand people better. So I love the fact that I, sort of, managed to gain

	that…It's like [let me see] what's gonna happen, and then I adapt accordingly" (Anderson-Cole).
- Romantic life	"Le, suwed, as in dark. *No*! Iġifieri …*tarmac*…*It will be, if I had to do it, it will be one off*…Bħala *complection* dejqitni, għax *she's Black*, imma, *she's not Black* kif irridha jien…I will go for…Maltin somor, xagħarhom twil iswed…Ikun hemm xi *one off* bjonda…li toġobni..." (Martin). No, I will not date very dark-skinned. No! Meaning...tarmac. It will be, if I had to do it, it will be one off…I do not like that complection, albeit she's Black. She is not the Black I wish her to be. I will go for dark-skinned Maltese, with long black hair. There might be a one off blonde that I like sometimes. "I date, usually, Black guys because…I think that I'm afraid to date White guys…I'm afraid that to them, I'm going to be either a really really really hot Black girl…exotic and all this crap, or else it's gonna be the opposite…I'm doing her a favour…Whereas with Black guys, I still don't feel like I'm on an equal playingfield cos many Black guys…are…attracted to girls, who are…mixed-race. So I think I feel more secure in that they think I'm pretty" (Carina). "No set of looks. I spent some time dating a girl. She was dark-skinned. Very very very good looking. Imma then, currently my girlfriend is blonde. Very very good looking too. So I don't care. No I don't have any preferences" (Legal-Alien).
Theme 6: Shared Experiences Subthemes: Counselling experience	"When I went privately…I was 13, I found it very difficult to concentrate at school…I felt like everything around me was out of control, and I needed someone to try and help me. At least focus more on what I felt was important at the time, which was school for me…When I spoke to her [counsellor] about my issues, and why I felt I couldn't concentrate, she was like, 'well did you try harder?' That was her answer. I was like, this does not sound like a professional. But that's what she told me, legitimately. And you're being paid to help someone. I could have gone to my mother for that. [Was the topic of race broached?] No, I don't think I ever talked about it" (Monica). "I think I felt misunderstood. I really liked my counsellor. I really thought she was a lovely lady, actually. She helped me a lot. But that was a part of my life she couldn't help me with…It was very much something I had to do on my own because she couldn't understand. I think she was…in her mind…trying to give me the advice she would give, as I said, to any person, who would [have] felt isolated [at 19], or to any person in general, who would feel vulnerable…She couldn't specifically understand what I was saying" (Carina). "Misunderstood I'd say. I didn't feel like I could bring it [race] up because I knew it wouldn't be understood as much…I don't think it was a common thing to do back then, to consider that [race]…this was when I was in Higher Secondary, so at around 18-19…Family background was discussed, but it was quite general" (Anderson-Cole).
Sub-Saharan immigration	"Illum hawn ħafna nies li jparlaw…għax is-Suwed ġejjin…huma ma jifmux il-problemi…Tgħidli inti titkellem hekk għax missierek huwa minn hemm…iva, *partially*...Imma inti trid taprezza l-fatt li dawn in-nies qegħdin iħallu l-familja…t-tfal. Qegħdin iħalsu, trid taqsam baħar u ma tafx x'ħa ssib…ma tafx tgħum…dawn ħallew ħafna affarijiet warajhom. Ma jafux hekk hux ser jaslu l-art...trid taprezza naqra…hawn Malta ma għandniex ir-risorsi li huma għandhom…[imma] fid-dinja hemm daqsxejn għal kulhadd" (Martin). Today there are a lot of people who talk because Blacks are coming. They do not understand the problems. You tell me you speak like that because your father is from there. Yes, partially. But you have to appreciate the fact that these people leave their families, children. They pay, must cross the sea and do not know what they will find. You do not not how to swim. They left a lot of things behind them. They do not know if they will reach land. You have to appreciate. We do not have the resources they have, but in this world there is a little for all. "You're seeing it with your own eyes…they're actually walking right beside you…And that made it even more easier, so I am actually blessed to say that we have immigrants in our country. I am very very blessed. And for me, they kind of, saved my life" (Samantha). "In secondary school, if there was, especially in Social Studies class…we went on well, me and my Social Studies teacher, and he would ask me about race issues personally, how I see

	them…At least we were a small class. And he would tell me, if you feel comfortable. Because he knew I was willing to answer…And I feel like that has made my classmates more aware about certain issues, and how they respond to certain issues about race" (Monica).
Local representation	"Fil-midja…Destiny, missierha huwa Nigerjan…Hemm xi ħadd hemmhekk, fil-midja. Nwoko, huwa futboler, Iswed ukoll, Nigerjan…Fil-politika, għax forsi żagħżugħ…ma jdejjquniex naħseb, *overall"* (Martin). In the media there is Desitiny. Her dad is Nigerian. Nwoko is also a Black Nigerian footballer. In politics, perhaps because I am still in my youth, they do not bother me, overall. "Because of people like Destiny…people are…easier; they accept the…half-Maltese-half-AC much better" (Carina). "To be truly represented, it would have to be someone half-caste…It doesn't bother me at all…you strongly need a representative when you are struggling, so if I'm not, what does it matter? If things work smooth, why do I have to actively look for someone to represents me? When I feel nothing has brought me down" (Legal-Alien).
Retrospective recommendations	"L-importanti…li…l-ewwel…jemmnu f'xulxin, għalkemm ġejjin min ġiex pajjiżi…kompletament differenti. Iġifieri jaċċettaw lil xulxin minkejja l-problemi, d-diffikultajiet, u l-*misunderstandings* (nuqqas ta` qbil) li jkollhom, li hija normali bejn kulhadd" (Martin). The most important is that they first believe in one another although coming from two totally different countries. This means accept one another despite the problems, difficulties, and miscunderstands they have, which is normal between people. "I don't feel very comfortable cos when you're not brought up being comfortable talking about your own race, it's very difficult…[to feel] comfortable talking about it. And that is why I wish to change it on my kids…it's still deep down inside when you have this kind of conversation, it brings back memories…I want my kids to be proud…completely, not not like I was brought up…The most important is to always hold their head up high..." (Samantha). "Teach your children about their heritage, their culture. They might not seem interested, but I'm sure they'll come around to it…It's good to know where you come from…It still helps define who you are" (Monica). "Biracial people are in a situation where they feel very differently to both of the parents because while it might be easy to realate to what a biracial child feels, you can't, because it's really complex and there are like a lot of layers to everything…if you see that your child is experiencing this whole conflict…about one race over another…have a conversation with the child about it…If you see that they need…help…someone to talk to, to externalise, and understand…send them to someone. But then, on the other hand, I can understand that it's difficult, because there are very few people, who are specialised in that kind of therapy. So alternatively, I would say…find another biracial that you trust to talk to your child…don't ignore it…If you don't deal with it immediately, it can really stay with you for a long time…[like] I'm stuck of what I thought as a child" (Carina). Prepare your children for being discriminated against cos it's gonna happen…It's useless…send[ing] them to private international school. It doesn't matter because with people on the street, it's gonna happen" (Carina). "Also not to be hard on themselves because I feel like my parents, especially my mother, she was trying to do everything perfectly. Trying to have the perfect conversation at the right time and…I actually think she was hard on herself…If something bad happened to us. If we were discriminated or whatever, it's her fault or like she had a part to play" (Carina). "Be involved with the child. Genuinely ask them how they're feeling…I am a very reserved person…but I would say, for example, for someone like my sister, it would have been better if it was addressed, so I would say just, try to keep yourself involved. Like in your children's thoughts" (Anderson-Cole). "A lot of things I don't discuss with anyone…that's me, but…again, it's because of the constant analysing and putting yourself in a good position. So I would advise parents to be aware of that. Give them [biracial children] the freedom…don't force it…But make them aware that it is ok if they want to discuss…Give them the final choice" (Anderson-Cole). "There's no need to make any mention of it unless they ask. If you see they're not fine with

	it, then discuss" (Legal-Alien).
Comments regarding this study	"I don't have a question. I just have a comment, which is, I am really proud that you're doing this" (Samantha). "This interview is leaving me with a very good feeling about myself, so thank you for that…It's the first time I've actually discussed these things with anyone, so for the past XX [20+] years, this has been a conversation between myself and I. So it was actually a relief, a load off my shoulders, at the same time. Honestly…cos I never ever discussed these…As soon as the opportunity knocked, I said have to do this straight away…It is something that I'm going to actually get out, so I can say my side of the story, and my experience to be understood" (Anderson-Cole).

Appendix U

Excerpt from Anderson-Cole's Interview

Emerging Themes	Transcript	Notes
	Researcher: Was counselling helpful?	
	Anderson-Cole: Very helpful, especially the last experience I had.	Counselling – helpful
	Researcher: How did you feel as a 5 6-year-old in the counselling room?	
Dissatisfaction with counselling process Parallel process with unsafe Maltese context	*Anderson-Cole*:…The first experience, when I was younger, wasn't as, sort of, as smooth as the others. It was more, since you are obviously younger, you don't have any control over it, so when it comes to being at a younger age, you need to be given a bit more safety, sort of, like a safety nest.	1st experience – not as smooth No control over it Needs more safety
Voicelessness Lacks control Powerless	I felt comfortable, but, obviously, most of the time, my parents had to be there, which obviously won't make me feel as comfortable saying things, but I wasn't, sort of, asked more, sort of, 'how are you doing?' type of thing. It wasn't like a conversation. It was more like, slightly leaning toward an investigation. It felt, I know it wasn't, but that is how it felt.	Parents present Lacks safety and confidentiality Lacks opportunity to express himself Leaning toward an investigation

Appendix V

Excerpt from Samantha's Interview

Emerging Themes	Transcript	Notes
	Researcher: Were there other contexts in which you thought it would be better to present yourself differently?	
Racial identity switching Erasure of race with Maltese Intersectionality (race, ethnicity, culture, language, nationality). Hollow African Identity Special bond	*Samantha*: I normally then tell people that I am half-Maltese-half-African, when I speak to…Africans. Perhaps, when I catch the bus, on the bus stop, or if I'm in the gym. And very very proud then to say that I do not have any answers to those questions. I was not embarrassed to tell an African…I don't know, I've never been, I have no idea how Africans are, I don't know African food, and I was never embarrassed, and I was always proud to answer their questions. But as long as the person was African.	Talks freely with Africans about her racial heritage Proud to say, I do not have answers Not embarrassed Proud to answer Africans
	Researcher: So what's the difference?	
Support - African community	*Samantha*:…I would say that as soon as I tell an African person these things, they don't tend to judge…They know when to stop asking questions.	Experiences a non-judgemental and respectful attitude

Appendix W

Excerpt from Martin's Interview

Transcript	Transcript	Notes
Researcher: What are the benefits/drawbacks? *Martin*: I don't think I feel drawbacks to be honest. Perhaps, the most annoying, for example, is when news reports that a XX [African national], or two XX attacked, or raped, and… then identitfing as having half of the same ethnic heritage. For example, perhaps people's minds go there. I think those are the drawbacks that maybe I hate. But these happen to all. Meaning Bulgarians, Romanians, Whites, Blacks. You cannot always think that way because like there is good there is bad in everything. It's a drawback because they are saying something about a part of you; however, God forbids you stay thinking like so, as you will end up…indoors.	*Researcher*: What are the benefits/drawbacks? *Martin*: Ma naħsibx li nħoss *drawbacks to be honest*…Forsi l-iktar li jdejjaqni, eżempju, fuq l-aħbarijiet li tisma dak XX [African national], jew kienu ġiex XX attakkaw, jew stupraw, u…tgħidilhom [people in general], eżempju, jien nofsi XX, forsi l-moħħ imur hemm…Naħseb dawk huma d-*drawbacks* li forsi *I hate*. Imma…dawn huma fuq kulħadd. Iġifieri…Bulgari …Rumeni …Bojod, Suwed, ma jistax dejjem ikun moħħok hemm, għax bħal ma hemm it-tajjeb, hemm ħażin f'kollox… *Drawback* għax qed jgħidu xi ħaga fuqek…fuq parti minni…pero…allaħares togħqod taħseb hekk għax imbagħad tispiċċa toqgħod id-dar…	Feels no drawbacks of being biracial Media portrayal of Africans Guilt by racial and national association Once he associates himself with his XX side, he may attract the general Maltese sentiment toward that group Cannot always think that There is good and bad in everything Resilience

Appendix X

Excerpt from Carina's Interview

Emerging Themes	Transcript	Notes
	Researcher: Do people call you other things besides your name? Do you like it?	
Microassault Erasure of race Miseducation and misinformation about Blacks Rising above Racism - Microassaults Microassault	*Carina*: The first that comes to mind…[is] when people…[say], 'Hey! What's up nigger!' And I'm like, Ok!..in a joking way because they think it's like a way to start a conversation…I think, it's just like miseducation…I can accept that there's miseducation and misinformation because, I, myself, as a Black person was misinformed and miseducated, so let alone somebody, who never even had to think of such things…I know that I can recognise when it comes from a good or a bad place, especially a bad place. I've been called much worst…full of aggression and anger and ignorance. But…when there is somebody…trying to relate to you, but doesn't know how, it just shows me that there is an awkwardness…Even when people …describe another Black person…[as] coloured.	Other names Nigger as a greeting Offensive label Identifies as Black misinformed and miseducated about own heritage White privilege Ability to distinguish intentionality matters Called worst Aggression, anger, ignorance Somebody trying to relate Public awkwardness Public unaware of racial slurs

Appendix Y

Excerpt from Monica's Interview

Emerging Themes	Transcript	Notes
	Researcher: I am very aware that I look light-skinned…So being that you…had these experiences…how do you feel about me asking you these questions?	
Unique and Isolating experience	*Monica*: You're trying to understand us, mixed-race people, but in reality, no one will ever be able to understand unless they've been in the same position…You might have been, I can't judge, but it's not the same, in reality.	Identified as mixed-race No one will ever understand Unless in the same position
Categorised Black in context	*Researcher*: What makes it different?	
	Monica: The way I look…context.	Black phenotype and context
	Researcher:…if you were…Maltese and Irish…German, do you think you would have had the same experiences?	
Intersectionality (race, ethnicity, culture, nationality)	*Monica:* I don't think so…cos I know other people that are mixed-race, and their parents are both Caucasian… they've mentioned because their parent is foreigner and that there are culture differences, but never…racewise.	Parent – foreigner Never racewise

Appendix Z

Excerpt from Legal-Alien's Interview

Emerging Themes	Transcript	Notes
	Researcher:...there were times when people might have said things, but you don't pay that much attention to what's being said if it's racial.	
Microassaults	*Legal-Alien*:…there were one or two occasions where I really paid attention [to racial jokes]. And there were times when I've told people to stop…but I think it was just, for example… someone played a joke, I think threw a banana at me, as a joke, I don't know, it was at Junior College, and I got really annoyed. But I think he did say something racial to me, and I got hugely annoyed about it.	Really paid attention to racial jokes Stopped people Hugely annoyed
Rising above	But a few weeks after, we ended up being friends me and this guy. We are not huge big friends, but we're friends. We've played football against each other so, we see each other, we always speak, we're on good terms bacially…	Friends Sports – football
False consciousness Erasure of race False consciousness	It was a small thing. It was stupid, it was racist, alright, but could I have been less sensitive and avoided a scenario? Probably.	Stupid and racist

References

2011 Census Glossary of Terms (2014, May). Office form National Statistics, 2011 Census: User Guide, V.10. Retrieved January 20, 2018, from https://www.ons.gov.uk/file?uri=/census/2011census/2011censusdata/2011censususerguide/glossary/glossaryv1025july2017.pdf

42-hour missions marathon (2016, May 29). *Times of Malta*. Retrieved January 16, 2018, from https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20160529/social/42-hour-missions-marathon.613605

Abela, A. M. (2005). Shaping a national identity: Malta in the European Union. *International Journal of Sociology*, *35*(4), 10-27.

Adams, E. A., Kurtz-Costes, B. E., & Hoffman, A. J. (2016). Skin tone bias among African Americans: Antecedents and consequences across the life span. *Developmental Review*, *40*, 93-116.

Adams-Bass, V. N., Stevenson, H. C., & Kotzin, D. S. (2014). Measuring the meaning of black media stereotypes and their relationship to the racial identity, black history knowledge, and racial socialization of African American youth. *Journal of Black Studies*, *45*(5), 367-395.

Adeniji, A. (2014). Searching for words: Becoming mixed race, Black and Sweden. In M. McEachrane (Ed.), *Afro-Nordic landscapes: Equality and race in northern Europe* (pp. 149-160). Routledge.

Adler, P. A., & Adler, P. (1987). *Membership roles in field research* (Vol. 6). Sage.

Ahern, K. J. (1999). Ten tips for reflexive bracketing. *Qualitative Health Research*, *9*(3), 407-411.

Aldridge, S., & Rigby, S. (Eds.). (2001). *Counselling skills in context*. Oxon: Hodder & Stoughton Educational.

Alleyne, A. (2004). The internal oppressor and Black identity wounding. *Counselling & Psychotherapy Journal, 15*(10), 48-50.

Alvarado, S. B., Baden, A. L., Brew, L., Chen-Hayes, S., Crippen, C. L., Harris, H. L.,…& Singh, A. A. (2015). Competencies for Counseling the Multiracial Population. *Multi-Racial/Ethnic Counseling Concerns (MRECC) Interest Network of the American Counseling Association Taskforce*. American Counseling Association. Retrieved January 4, 2018, from https://www.counseling.org/docs/default-source/competencies/competencies-for-counseling-the-multiracial-population-2-2-15-final.pdf?sfvrsn=c7ba412c_14

Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso.

Anonam, S. (2008). *I am a mixed-race primary school aged child: Perceptions of educators* (Unpublished B.Psy. (Hons.) dissertation). University of Malta: Malta.

Anonymous. (n.d.). Retrieved December 10, 2017, from https://images.search.yahoo.com/search/images;_ylt=AwrE1x4ND.haZWUALyNXNyoA;_ylu=X3oDMTE0bzU3cWdtBGNvbG8DYmYxBHBvcwMxBHZ0aWQDQjM5MTVfMQRzZWMDcGl2cw--?p=laundry+is+the+only+thing&fr2=piv-web&fr=yfp-t#id=3&iurl=https%3A%2F%2Fs-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com%2F236x%2F4c%2F2f%2F72%2F4c2f72fd4f8f16219253d8f807bfd99c.jpg&action=click

Anstey, R. (1975). *The Atlantic slave trade and British abolition, 1760-1810*. Macmillan.

Apartheid and Racism. (n.d.). Retrieved November 16, 2017, from http://www.badnewsaboutchristianity.com/gab_racism.htm

Arendt, H. (1973). *The origins of totalitarianism: New edition with added prefaces*. Harcourt Brace & Company.

Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (1998). *Key concepts in post-colonial studies*. Psychology Press.

Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. M. (2002). *The Empire writes back: Theory and practice in post-colonial literatures* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Aspinall, P. J. (2000). Children of mixed parentage: Data collection needs. *Children & Society*, *14*(3), 207-216.

Aspinall, P. J. (2009). 'Mixed race,' 'mixed origins' or what? Generic terminology for the multiple racial/ethnic group population. *Anthropology Today*, *25*(2), 3-8.

Aspinall, P. J. (2012). Answer formats in British census and survey ethnicity questions: Does open response better capture 'superdiversity'? *Sociology*, *46*(2), 354-364.

Aspinall, P. J. (2015). Social representations of 'mixed-race' in early twenty-first-century Britain: Content, limitations, and counter-narratives. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *38*(7), 1067-1083.

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*, 1-19. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2017.1346267.

Atkinson, D. R., Morten, G., & Sue, D. W. (1979). *Counseling American minorities.* Dubuque, IA: William C. Brown.

Atkinson, D. R., Morten, G., & Sue, D. W. (1989). *Counseling American minorities: A cross-cultural perspective* (3rd ed.). Dubuque, IA: Brown.

Atkinson, D. R., Morten, G., & Sue, D. W. (1993). *Counseling American minorities: A cross-cultural perspective* (4th ed.). Madison, WI: Brown and Benchmark.

Atkinson, D. R., Morten, G., & Sue, D. W. (1998). *Counseling American minorities: A cross-cultural perspective* (5th ed.). San Francisco: McGraw - Hill.

Avellino, M. (2016). *The Maltese gift: Tourist encounters with the self and the other in later life* (Doctoral dissertation). London Metropolitan University: London, U.K. Retrieved August 4, 2017, from http://repository.londonmet.ac.uk/1111/1/AvellinoMarie_TheMalteseGift.pdf

Baker, L. D. (2008). History of anthropology. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. I, pp. 93-97). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Bankole, K. K. (1998). *Slavery and medicine: Enslavement and medical practices in antebellum Louisiana*. Taylor & Francis.

Banks, J. A. (1998). The lives and values of researchers: Implications for educating citizens in a multicultural society. *Educational Researcher, 27*(7), 4-17.

Barris, K. (Creator). (2014-2018). Blackish [Television series]. Pasadena, California: ABC.

Barth, B. (2010, February 13). Racism. In *EGO: European History Online*. Institute of European History (IEG). Mainz. Retrieved February 2, 2018, from http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-and-the-world/racism/boris-barth-racism

Bates, R. (2012, Nov 1). History of Africa through Western eyes: From the dark continent to the emerging one, crude generalizations say more about the viewer than the viewed. *Guardian African Network: A Billion Voices*. Retrieved March 6, 2018, from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/nov/01/africa-history-western-eyes

Baum, B. (2006). *The rise and fall of the Caucasian race: A political history of racial identity*. NYU Press.

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, *117*(3), 497-529.

Baumeister, R. F., & Newman, L. S. (1994). How stories make sense of personal experiences: Motives that shape autobiographical narratives. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *20*(6), 676-690.

Behm-Morawitz, E. (2017). Examining the intersection of race and gender in video game advertising. *Journal of Marketing Communications*, *23*(3), 220-239.

Bell, J. (2005). *Doing your research project* (4th ed.). Maidenhead, England: Open University Press.

Bell, L. A. (1997). Theoretical foundations for social justice education. In M. Adams, L. A. Bell, & P. Griffin (Eds.), *Teaching for diversity and social justice: A sourcebook* (pp. 3-15). New York: Routledge.

Beltrán, M. (2005). The new Hollywood racelessness: Only the fast, furious, (and multiracial) will survive. *Cinema Journal, 44*(2), 50-67.

Bernasconi, R. (2002). Kant as an unfamiliar source of racism. In J. K. Ward & T. L. Lot (Eds.), *Philosophers on race: Critical essays* (pp. 145-166). John Wiley & Sons.

Bhopal, R. (2007). The beautiful skull and Blumenbach's errors: The birth of the scientific concept of race. *BMJ*, *335*(7633), 1308-1309.

Biney, A. (2008). The legacy of Kwame Nkrumah in retrospect. *Journal of Pan African Studies*, *2*(3), 129-159.

Blumer, H. (1958). Race prejudice as a sense of group position. *Pacific Sociological Review*, *1*(1), 3-7.

Boas, F. (1887). Museums of ethnology and their classification. *Science 9*, 587-589. Reprinted in G. Stocking (Ed.), *A Franz Boas reader* (pp. 63-67). New York: Basic Books.

Borg, B. (2017, May 9). 'You have to call Malta': Recordings suggest Italy dallied while hundreds drowned. *Times of Malta*. Retrieved November 4, 2017, from https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20170509/local/you-have-to-call-malta-recordings-suggest-how-italy-dallied-while.647438

Borg, C., & Mayo, P. (2006). Towards an antiracist agenda in education: The case of Malta. In D. Macedo & P. Gounari (Eds.), *The globalization of racism* (pp. 148-164). United States, U.S.A.: Paradigm Publishers.

Boss told migrant: Tell clients you're French not African. (2016, August). *Times of Malta*. Retrieved December 3, 2017, from https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20160806/local/boss-told-migrant-tell-clients-youre-french-not-african.621176

Bradford, S., & Clark, M. (2014). Strangers on the shore: Sub-Saharan African "irregular" migrants in Malta. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies, 12*(1), 9-26.

Bricken, C. R. (n.d.). Rollins V. State, 92 So. 35. (Ala. Ct. App. 1922). Court Listener. Retrieved December 20, 2017, from https://www.courtlistener.com/opinion/3227506/rollins-v-state/

Broido, E. M. (2000). The development of social justice allies during college: A phenomenological investigation. *Journal of College Student Development, 41*(1), 3-18.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1993). The ecology of cognitive development: Research models and fugitive findings. In R. H. Wozniak & K. W. Fischer (Eds.), *Development in context: Acting and thinking in specific environments* (pp. 3-44). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1995). Developmental ecology through space and time: A future perspective. In P. Moen, G. H. Elder, Jr, & K. Lüscher (Eds.), *Examining lives in context: Perspectives on the ecology of human development* (pp. 619-647). Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (2006). The bioecological model of human development. In R. M. Lerner (Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology, Vol. I, Theoretical models of human development* (6th ed., pp. 793-828). Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley.

Brown, N. L. M., & Stentiford, B. M. (Eds.). (2008). *The Jim Crow encyclopedia*. Greenwood Publishing Group.

Brown, U. M. (2001). *The interracial experience: Growing up Black/White racially mixed in the United States.* Westport, CT: Praeger.

Bruce, D. D. (1992). W. E. B. Du Bois and the idea of double consciousness. *American Literature*, *64*(2), 299-309.

Brunsma, D. L. (2006). Public categories, private identities: Exploring regional differences in the biracial experience. *Social Science Research*, *35*(3), 555-576.

Brunsma, D. L., & Rockquemore, K. A. (2001). The new color complex: Appearances and biracial identity. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, *1*(3), 225-246.

Buber, M. (1958). The I-thou theme, contemporary psychotherapy, and psychodrama. *Pastoral Psychology*, *9*(5), 57-58.

Bugre, M. A. A. (2011). *Racial discrimination in Maltese law: Does Maltese law provide adequate framework to combat racial discrimination?* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Malta: Malta.

Burr, V. (1995). *An introduction to social constructionism*. New York: Routledge.

Buxton, L. D. (1922). The ethnology of Malta and Gozo. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 164-211.

Calleja, C., Grech, M., & Cauchi, B. (2010). Education and ethnic minorities in Malta. The E-SPICES Learning Partnership. Retrieved January 6, 2018, from http://www.humanrightsmalta.org/uploads/1/2/3/3/12339284/education_and_ethnic_minorities_in_malta.pdf

Calleja, L. (2008, December 29). A racist police officer that wasn't reprimanded featured on Running Commentary: Daphnie Caruana Galizia's notebook [Blog post]. Retrieved March 18, 2018, from https://daphnecaruanagalizia.com/2008/12/a-racist-police-officer-who-wasnt-reprimanded/

Camilleri, V. (2017, November 10). Malta U-21s go down to Turkey. *Times of Malta*. Retrieved March 8, 2018, from https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20171110/football/malta-u-21s-go-down-to-turkey.662754

Capelli, C., Redhead, N., Romano, V., Calì, F., Lefranc, G., Delague, V., Megarbane, A., Felice, A. E., Pascali, V. L., Neop-hytou, P. I., Poulli, Z., Novelletto, A., Malaspina, P., Terrenato, L., Berebbi, A., Fellous, M., Thomas, M. G., & Goldstein, D. B. (2006). Population structure in the Mediterranean basin: AY chromosome perspective. *Annals of Human Genetics*, *70*(2), 207-225.

Carabott, S. (2017, Dec 6). One in three sub-Saharans stopped by police mistreated. *Times of Malta*. Retrieved February 15, 2018, from https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20171206/local/one-in-three-sub-saharans-stopped-by-police-mistreated.664983

Carew, J. (1988). *Fulcrums of change: Origins of racism in the Americas and other essays*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Carnage as huge truck bomb explodes in Somali capital (2017, Oct 14). *Times of Malta*. Retrieved January 28, 2018, from https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20171014/world/carnage-as-huge-truck-bomb-explodes-in-somali-capital.660385

Caruana, C. (2017, May 29). Destiney to perfrom in Britain's Got Talent semi-finals tomorrow. *Times of Malta*. Retrieved March 2, 2018, from

https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20170529/local/destiny-to-perform-in-britains-got-talent-semi-finals-tomorrow.649297

Caruana, M. (1916). Newspaper coverage in Australia on the Maltese of New Caledonia incident. *Australian Newspapers on-line: National Library of Australia*. Retrieved August 15, 2017, from http://maltamigration.com/history/newcaledonia.pdf

Caruana Galizia, E. (2015, December 11). No business being racist. *Times of Malta*. Retrieved November 14, 2017, from https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20151211/opinion/No-business-being-racist.595294

Caruana Scicluna, R. (2012). *The effects of intergroup contact on Matlese adolescents' evaluations of interracial exclusion* (Unpublished dissertation). University of Malta: Malta.

Cassar, C., Repeckaite, D., & Gauci, J-P. (2017, May 1). Ethnic minorities beyond migration: The case of Malta. *The People for Change Foundation*. Retrieved October 5, 2017, from http://www.pfcmalta.org/uploads/1/2/1/7/12174934/ethnic_minorities_beyond_migration_-_final.pdf

Cavalli-Sforza, L. L., Menozzi, P., & Piazza, A. (1994). *The history and geography of human genes*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Census of Population and Housing 2011: Final Report. (2014). *National Statistics Office*. Retrieved December 14, 2017, from https://nso.gov.mt/en/publicatons/Publications_by_Unit/Documents/01_Methodology_and_Research/Census2011_FinalReport.pdf

Census Variable and Classification Information: Part 6. (2011). *Office for National Statistics*. 2011 Census User Guide. Retrieved January 21, 2018, from http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/2011/census-data/2011-census-userguide/information-by-variable/part-6--full-classifications.pdf

Chambers, R. (1844). *Vestiges of the natural history of creation.* London: John Churchill.

Chan, Z. C., Fung, Y. L., & Chien, W. T. (2013). Bracketing in phenomenology: Only undertaken in the data collection and analysis process? *The Qualitative Report, 18*(30), 1.

Chancler, L. L., Webb, F. J., & Miller, C. (2017). Role of the Black grandmother in the racial socialization of their biracial grandchildren. *Marriage & Family Review*, *53*(5), 444-464.

Chavez, C. (2008). Conceptualizing from the inside: Advantages, complications, and demands on insider positionality. *The Qualitative Report, 13*(3), 474-494.

Cheng, C., & Lee, F. (2009). Multiracial identity integration: Perceptions of conflict and distance among multiracial individuals. *Journal of Social Issues, 65*(1)*,* 51-68.

Cho, S., Crenshaw, K. W., & McCall, L. (2013). Toward a field of intersectionality studies: Theory, applications, and praxis. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *38*(4), 785-810.

Clancy, R. H. (1924, April 8). An "Un-American" Bill: A Congressman Denounces Immigration Quotas. Speech: *Congressional Record,* 68th Congress, 1st Session (Washington DC:

Government Printing Office, 1924), vol. 65, 5929–5932. Retrieved February 6, 2018, from http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5079

Collins, J. F. (2000). Biracial-bisexual individuals: Identity coming of age. *International Journal of Sexuality and Gender Studies, 5*(1), 221-253.

Connor, W. (1993). Beyond reason: The nature of the ethnonational bond. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 16*(3), 373-389.

Constitution of Malta Arrangement of Articles. (1964). Chapter IV. *Fundamental rights and freedom of the individual* (pp. 10-28). Retrieved October 11, 2017, from http://www.justiceservices.gov.mt/DownloadDocument.aspx?app=lom&itemid=8566

Cortés, C. E. (2000). The diversity within: Intermarriage, identity, and campus community. *About Campus, 5*(1), 5-10.

Cox, C. (2002). From Colombus to Hitler and back again. *Race and Class*, *43*(3), 39-49.

Cox, O. C. (1948). *Caste, class, & race: A study in social dynamics*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Cox, O. C. (1971). The question of pluralism. *Race*, *12*(4), 385-400.

Cravens, H. (2010). What's new in science and race since the 1930s?: Anthropologists and racial essentialism. *Historian*, *72*(2), 299-320.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into Practice*, *39*(3), 124-130.

Critical Race Theory (CRT). (n.d.). Psychology research and references. *Psychology*. Retrieved December 2, 2017, from http://psychology.iresearchnet.com/counseling-psychology/counseling-theories/critical-race-theory/

Cross, W. E., Jr. (1971). Toward a psychology of black liberation: The Negro-to-Black conversion experience. *Black World, 20*(9), 13-27.

Cross, W. E., Jr. (1978). The Thomas and Cross models of psychological nigrescence: A review. *Journal of Black Psychology, 5,* 13-31.

Cross, W. E., Jr., & Fhagen-Smith, P. (2001). Patterns in African American identity development: A life span perspective. In C. L. Wijeyesinghe & B. W. Jackson, III (Eds.), *New perspectives on racial identity development: A theoretical and practical anthology* (pp. 243-270). New York: New York University Press.

Dallos, R., & Vetere, A. (2005). *Researching psychotherapy and counselling*. McGraw-Hill Education.

D'Andrea, M., & Daniels, J. (2001). RESPECTFUL counseling: An integrative multidimensional model for counselors. In D. B. Pope-Davis & H. L. K. Coleman (Eds.), *The intersection of race, class, and gender in multicultural counseling* (pp. 417-466). Thousands Oaks, CA: Sage.

Daniel, G. R. (1996). Black and white identity in the new millennium: Unsevering the ties that bind. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), *The multiracial experience: Racial borders as the new frontier* (pp. 121-139). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Daniel, G. R. (2002). *More than black? Multiracial identity and the new racial order.* Philadelphia, PE: Temple University Press.

Daniel, G. R., & Castañdea-Liles, J. (2008). Multiracial identities. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Race and Racism* (Vol. II, pp. 323-329). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

D'Ardenne, P., & Mahtani, A. (1999). *Transcultural counselling in action*. Sage.

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. E., DeBlaere, C., Brubaker, K., Owen, J., Jordan, T. A., Hook, J. N., & Van Tongeren, D. R. (2016). Microaggressions and perceptions of cultural humility in counseling. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, *94*(4), 483-493.

Day-Vines, N. L., Wood, S. M., Grothaus, T., Craigen, L., Holman, A., Dotson-Blake, K., & Douglass, M. J. (2007). Broaching the subjects of race, ethnicity, and culture during the counseling process. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, *85*(4), 401-409.

Death toll from blasts in Mogadishu reaches 263. (2017, Oct 16). *Times of Malta*. Retrieved February 5, 2018, from https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20171016/world/death-toll-from-blasts-in-somalias-capital-mogadishu-tops-200.660539

Debono, L. M. (2015). *Xenophobia and nationalism in the Maltese context* (Unpublished B.Psy. (Hons.) dissertation). University of Malta: Malta.

Debono, M. (2011). *The lived experience of coloured people in Malta* (Unpublished B.Psy. (Hons.) dissertation). University of Malta: Malta.

DeBose, H. L., & Winters, L. I. (2003). The dilemma of biracial people of African American descent. In L. I. Winters & H. L. DeBose (Eds.), *New faces in a changing America: Multiracial identity in the 21st century* (pp. 127-157). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, Thousand Oaks.

Defining Black consciousness (2011, June 10). *Saho*. Retrieved February 6, 2018, from http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/defining-black-consciousness

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. NYU Press.

DeLyser, D. (2001). "Do you really live here?" Thoughts on insider research. *Geographical Review*, *91*(1-2), 441-453.

Demographic Review, 2014. (2016). Valletta, Malta: NSO. Retrieved March 22, 2018, from https://nso.gov.mt/en/publicatons/Publications_by_Unit/Documents/C5_Population%20and%20Migration%20Statistics/Demographic_Review_2014.pdf

Denscombe, M. (2007). *The good research guide for small-scale social research projects* (3rd ed.). Berkshire: Open University Press.

Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (Eds.). (2011). *Handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

De Vreede, E. (1995). *Education & Racism.* Retrieved April 4, 2018, from http://members.home.nl/e.devreede/stock/praag.pdf

Dill, B. T., & Zambrana, R. (2009). *Emerging intersections: Race, class and gender in theory, policy, and practice*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Dovidio, F. J. & Gaertner, S. L. (2008). Aversive racism. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. I, pp. 139-142). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1903). *The souls of black folk: Essays and sketches* (3rd ed.). Chicago, IL: McClurg.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1911). The first universal races congress. In E. J. Sundquist (Ed.) (1996). *The Oxford W. E. B. Du Bois reader.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1917). *The negro's fatherland*. New York, NY: Survey Associates.

Dunn, R. (1856). Some observations on the varying forms of the human cranium, considered in relation to the outward circumstances, social state, and intellectual condition of man. *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London (1848-1856)*, *4*, 33-54.

Dwyer, S. C., & Buckle, J. L. (2009). The space between: On being an insider-outsider in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *8*(1), 54-63.

Early classification of nature. (n.d.). *Race*. Retrieved January 4, 2018, from http://www.understandingrace.org/history/science/early_class.html

Eatough, V., & Smith, J. A. (2008). Interpretative phenomenological analysis. In C. Willig, & W. Stainton-Rogers (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology* (pp. 179-195). London: Sage.

Edwards, K. E. (2006). Aspiring social justice ally identity development: A conceptual model. *NASPA Journal*, *43*(4), 39-60.

Egan, G. (1998). *The skilled helper: A systematic approach to effective helping*. Belmont: Brookes/Cole.

Erickson Cornish, J. A. E., Schreier, B. A., Nadkarni, L. I., Metzger, L. H., & Rodolfa, E. R. (Eds.). (2010). *Handbook of multicultural counseling competencies*. John Wiley & Sons.

Erickson, P. A. (2008). Franz Boas. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. I, pp. 225-228). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Erikson, E. H. (1950). *Childhood and society.* New York: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity, youth, and crisis.* New York: Norton.

EU Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. (2000). *EUR-Lex: Access to European Union Law*. Retrieved November 10, 2017, from http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:12012P/TXT

European Commission against Racism and Intolerance. (2013). ECRI Report on Malta. CRI(2013)37. Retrieved November 15, 2017, from

https://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/Country-by-country/Malta/MLT-CbC-IV-2013-037-ENG.pdf

European Convention on Human Rights. (1953). European Court of Human Rights. *Scribid*. Retrieved November 14, 2017, from https://www.scribd.com/document/212252059/Council-of-Europe-European-Convention-on-Human-Rights-1953

European Network against Racism (ENAR). (2012-2013). ENAR Shadow Report. Racism and related discriminatory practices in employment in Malta. Retrieved November 10, 2017, from http://www.pfcmalta.org/uploads/1/2/1/7/12174934/enar-sr2012-2013.pdf

Evans, N. J., Forney, D. S., Guido, F. M., Patton, L. D., & Renn, K. A. (2010). *Student development in college: Theory, research, and practice*. John Wiley & Sons.

Eze, E. C. (Ed.). (1997). *Race and the enlightenment: A reader*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Falola, T. (n.d.). Africa and slavery in a global context. Collective Volume: The UNESCO Slave Route Project. Retrieved December 22, 2017, from http://www.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/images/Falola_Eng.pdf

Fanon, F. (2008). *Black skin, white masks* (C. Lam Markmann, Trans.). Pluto Press (Original work published 1952).

Ferdman, B. M., & Gallegos, P. I. (2001). Racial identity development and Latinos in the United States. In C. L. Wijeyesinghe & B. W. Jackson, III (Eds.), *New perspectives on racial identity development: A theoretical and practical anthology* (pp. 32-66). New York: New York University Press.

Fisher, S., Zapolski, T. C., Sheehan, C., & Barnes-Najor, J. (2017). Pathway of protection: Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and substance use among multiracial youth. *Addictive Behaviors*, *72*, 27-32.

Flick, U. (2009). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. Sage.

Franco, M. G., Katz, R., & O'Brien, K. M. (2016). Forbidden identities: A qualitative examination of racial identity invalidation for Black/White Biracial individuals. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *50*, 96-109.

Freire, P. (2014). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Bloomsbury Publishing Inc.

Frendo, H. (1993). The legacy of colonialism: The experience of Malta and Cyprus. In D. G. Lockhart, D. Drakakis-Smith & J. Schemri (Eds.). *The development process in small island states* (pp. 151-160). London: Routledge.

Frendo, H. (2004). Life during the British period: Strains of Maltese Europeanity. In K. Gambin (Ed.), *Malta-Roots of a nation: The development of Malta from an island people to an island nation* (pp.101-118). Heritage Malta: Gutenberg Press.

Friggieri, O. (2016). The language and literature of Malta: A synthesis of semitic and latin elements. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, *69*(2), 201-219.

Gaither, S. E., Cohen-Goldberg, A. M., Gidney, C. L., & Maddox, K. B. (2015). Sounding Black or White: Priming identity and biracial speech. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *6*(457), 1-11.

Galbin, A. (2014). An introduction to social constructionism. *Social Research Reports*, *26*, 82.

Galea, S. (2016). *Diversity issues in Maltese readers in primary state schools* (Unpublished B.Ed. (Hons.) dissertation). University of Malta: Malta.

Galton, F. (1904). Eugenics: Its definition, scope, and aims. *American Journal of Sociology*, *10*(1), 1-25.

Gates, H. L. (2010, April 22). Ending the slavery blame-game. *The New York Times.* Retrieved March 2, 2018, from http://www.nytimes.com/2010/04/23/opinion/23gates.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

Gauci, J. & Zammit, A. (2015). *We're going on a bear hunt: Analysing race and ethnicity in young children's books* (Unpublished B.Ed. (Hons.) dissertation). University of Malta: Malta.

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Giorgi, A. (1997). The theory, practice, and evaluation of the phenomenological method as a qualitative research procedure. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, *28*(2), 235-260.

Glossary. (n.d.). *Race*. Retrieved January 14, 2018, from http://www.understandingrace.org/resources/glossary.html#race

Golash-Boza, T. (2010). Does whitening happen? Distinguishing between race and color labels in an African-descended community in Peru. *Social Problems*, *57*(1), 138-156.

Golovensky, D. I. (1952). The marginal man concept: An analysis and critique. *Social Forces*, *30*(3), 333.

Goodwin, M. (2008). Citizenship and race. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. I, pp. 315-320). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Gould, S. J. (1994). The geometer of race. *Discover*, *15*(11), 65-69.

Gould, S. J. (1996). *The mismeasure of man*. W. W. Norton & Company.

Grant, M. (1916). The passing of the great race. *Geographical Review*, *2*(5), 354-360.

Gray, M., & Fook, J. (2004). The quest for a universal social work: Some issues and implications. *Social Work Education*, *23*(5), 625-644.

Grech (2014). *Racism in Malta: Are legal migrants living in Malta accepted by the Maltese?* (Unpublished B.A. (Hons.) Sociology dissertation). University of Malta: Malta.

Green, A. W. (1947). A re-examination of the marginal man concept. *Social Forces*, 167-171.

Greene, M. J. (2014). On the inside looking in: Methodological insights and challenges in conducting qualitative insider research. *The Qualitative Report*, *19*(29), 1-13.

Griffiths, M. (2009). *Parent and child experiences of childhood cancer: An interpretative phenomenological analysis approach* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Technology: Queensland, Australia.

Günther, H. F. (1927). *The racial elements of European history*. E. P. Dutton & Company.

Haddon, A. C., & Quiggin, A. H. (1910). *History of anthropology*. Watts & Company.

Hall, C. C. I. (1980). *The ethnic identity of racially mixed people: A study of Black-Japanese* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Los Angeles: University of California.

Hall, C. C. I. (1992). Please choose one: Ethnic identity choices for biracial individuals. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), *Racially mixed people in America* (pp. 250-264). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hall, M. C., & Tucker, H. (Eds.). (2004). *Tourism and postcolonialism: Contested discourses, identities and representations*. Routledge.

Haller, J. S., Jr., (1972). The Negro and the southern physician: A study of medical and racial attitudes 1800-1860. *Medical History*, *16*(3), 238.

Harris, H. (2013). A national survey of school counselors' perceptions of multiracial students. *Professional School Counseling*, *17*(1), 1-19.

Harrison, G. P. (2010). *Race and reality: What everyone should know about our biological diversity*. Prometheus Books.

Haskins, N. H., & Singh, A. (2015). Critical race theory and counselor education pedagogy: Creating equitable training. *Counselor Education and Supervision*, *54*(4), 288-301.

Hazard, A. Q. (2011). A racialized deconstruction? Ashley Montagu and the 1950 UNESCO statement on race. *Transforming Anthropology*, *19*(2), 174-186.

Helms, J. E. (1992). *A race is a nice thing to have: A guide to being a white person or understanding the white persons in your life.* Topeka, KS: Content Communications.

Helms, J. E. (1993). Introduction: Review of racial identity terminology. In J. E. Helms (Ed.), *Black and white identity: Theory, research and practice* (pp. 3-8). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Helms, J. E. (1995). An update of Helms's white and people of color racial identity models. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (pp. 181-198). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Helms, J. E. (1996). Toward a methodology for measuring and assessing racial as distinguished from ethnic identity. In G. R. Sodowsky & J. Impara (Eds.), *Multicultural assessment in counseling and clinical psychology* (pp. 143-192). Lincoln, NE: Buros Institute of Mental Measurements.

Heppner, P. P., Kivlighan, D. M., & Wampold, B. E. (2008). *Research design in counseling* (3rd ed.). Belmont: Thomson Brooks/Cole.

Herman, S. N. (1970). *Israelis and Jews: A continuity of an identity.* New York, NY: Random House.

Hershfeld, B., Webb, H., & Lewis, R. J. (2001). In D. P. Forsythe (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of human rights* (Vol. III, pp. 898-904). M. E. Sharpe Inc.

Hixson, L., Hepler, B., & Kim, M. O. (2011). *The White population: 2010* (2010 Census Briefs C2010BR-05). Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau.

Hjerm, M. (1998). National identities, national pride and xenophobia: A comparison of four Western countries. *Acta Sociologica*, *41*(4), 335-347.

Ho, A. K., Roberts, S. O., & Gelman, S. A. (2015). Essentialism and racial bias jointly contribute to the categorization of multiracial individuals. *Psychological Science*, *26*(10), 1639-1645.

Hooks, B. (1990). *Yearning: Race, gender, and cultural politics*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Hopkins, N. (2001). Commentary. National Identity: Pride and prejudice? *British Journal of Social Psychology, 40*(2), 183-186.

Horse, P. G. (2001). Reflections on American Indian identity. In C. L. Wijeyesinghe & B. W. Jackson, III (Eds.), *New perspectives on racial identity development: A theoretical and practical anthology* (pp. 91-107). New York: New York University Press.

Howard, T. C., & Navarro, O. (2016). Critical race theory 20 years later: Where do we go from here? *Urban Education*, *51*(3), 253-273.

Hubbard, R. R., & Utsey, S. O. (2015). A qualitative study of biracial identity among Afro-Germans living in Germany. *Identity*, *15*(2), 89-112.

Huddy, L., & Khatib, N. (2007). American patriotism, national identity, and political involvement. *American Journal of Political Science*, *51*(1), 63-77.

Hull, N. (2016). *Parents' experiences of caring for adopted children: An interpretative phenomenological analysis* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Leicester: U.K.

Humes, K., Jones, N., & Ramirez, R. (2011). *Overview of race and Hispanic origin: 2010* (2010 Census Briefs C2010BR-02). Retrieved January 10, 2018, from https://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf

Huxley, T. H. (1865). On the methods and results of ethnology. *Fortnightly*, *1*, 257-277.

Ignatiev, N. (1995). *How the Irish became White*. New York: Routledge.

Immigration Act of 1924. (The Johnson-Reed Act). (n.d.). *U.S. of America: Department of State: Office of the Historian*. Retrieved February 1, 2018, from https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-act

Immigration Act, 1906. (n.d.). *Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21.* Library and Archives Canada. Statutes of Canada. An Act Respecting Immigration and Immigrants, 1906. Ottawa: SC 6 Edward VII, Chapter 19. Retrieved February 1, 2018, from http://www.pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/immigration-act-1906

Immigration Restriction Act 1901 (commonly known as the White Australia Policy). (n.d.). *Australian Government*. Federal Register of Legislation. Retrieved from December 14, 2017, https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C1901A00017

Inikori, J. E. (2008). Precolonial African enslavement. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. I, pp. 56-63). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Iriele, D. (2011). *Sub-Saharan Africans: Guilty by race?* (Unpublished B.A. Criminology (Hons.) dissertation). University of Malta: Malta.

Jablonski, N. G. (2012). *Living color: The biological and social meaning of skin color*. University of California Press.

Jackson, K. F., Yoo, H. C. B., Guevarra Jr, R., & Harrington, B. A. (2012). Role of identity integration on the relationship between perceived racial discrimination and psychological adjustment of multiracial people. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *59*(2), 240-250.

Jacobson, M. F. (2003). *Whiteness of a different color*. Harvard University Press.

Jay, M. (2003). Critical race theory, multicultural education, and the hidden curriculum of hegemony. *Multicultural Perspectives, 5*(4), 3-9.

Jensen, S.Q. (2011). Othering, identity formation and agency. *Qualitative Studies, 2*(2), 63-78.

Johnston, M. P., & Nadal, K. L. (2010). Multiracial microaggressions: Exposing monoracism in everyday life and clinical practice. In D. W. Sue (Ed.), *Microaggressions and marginality: Manifestation, dynamics, and impact* (pp. 123-144). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Jones, C. T. (2015). *Broaching multicultural considerations during the initial clinical interview* (Doctoral dissertation). Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University: Virginia, U.S.A. Retrieved February 1, 2018, from https://vtechworks.lib.vt.edu/bitstream/handle/10919/73595/Jones_CT_D_2015.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Joseph, P. E. (2009). The black power movement: A state of the field. *Journal of American History*, *96*(3), 751-776.

Josselson, R. (1996). *Revising herself: The story of women's identity from college to midlife.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *33*(1), 1-27.

Kanuha, K. V. (2000). "Being" native versus "going native": Conducting social work research as an insider. *Social Work*, *45*(5), 439-447.

Karssen, A. M., (2017). *Bi-ethnic Dutch students: Educational outcomes, social functioning and experiences.* University of Amserdam: UvA-DARE. Retrieved February 2, 2018, from https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/10793799/Karssen_Thesis_complete.pdf

Kaul, C. (2016). The local and the global: Malta, media and empire in the twentieth century. *Journal of Maltese History, 4*(2), 2-15.

Keane, A. H. (1896). *Ethnology*. University Press.

Keita, S. O. Y., Kittles, R. A., Royal, C. D. M., Bonney, G. E., Furbert-Harris, P., Dunston, & Rotimi, C. N. (2004). Conceptualizing human variation. *Nature Genetics,36*(11), S17-20.

Kerwin, C., & Ponterotto, J. G. (1995). Biracial identity development: Theory and research. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (pp. 199-217). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Khanna, N. (2010). "If you're half Black, you're just Black:" Reflected appraisals and the persistence of the one-drop rule. *The Sociological Quarterly, 51*(1), 96-121.

Khatar, S., & Zarrinjooee, B. (2016). Hybridity in culture and identity: Chinua Achebe's no longer at ease. *Journal of Novel Applied Science, 5*(6), 224-232.

Kich, G. K. (1992). The developmental process of asserting a biracial, bicultural identity. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), *Racially mixed people in America* (pp. 304-317). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kilson, M. (2001). *Claiming place: Biracial young adults of the post-civil rights era.* Westport, CT Bergin & Garvey.

Kim, H. A. (2016). Biracial identity development: A case of Black-Korean biracial individuals in Korea. *International Journal of Multicultural Education*, *18*(3), 40-57.

Kim, J. (1981). *The process of Asian-American identity development: A study of Japanese American women's perceptions of their struggle to achieve positive identities* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Kim, J. (2001). Asian American identity development theory. In C. L. Wijeyesinghe & B. W. Jackson, III (Eds.), *New perspectives on racial identity development: A theoretical and practical anthology* (pp. 67-90). New York: New York University Press.

King, D., & Hansen, R. (2001). Eugenic ideas, political interests, and policy variance. *World Politics*, *53*(1), 237-263.

King, M. L., Jr., (n.d.). Retrieved April 4, 2018, from https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/martin_luther_king_jr_109228

Kleist, J. O., Loewenstein, A., Trudel, D., Zabrovskaya, E., & Harry, S. (2017). In N. Bluth and M. Chan (Eds.), The big question: What role does the media play in driving xenophobia? *World Policy Journal*, *34*(1), 3-7.

Koch, T. (1995). Interpretive approaches in nursing research: The influence of Husserl and Heidegger. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, *21*(5), 827-836.

Korgen, K. (2008). Biracialism. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. I, pp. 169-172). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Kousser, J. M. (2003). Jim Crow laws. *Dictionary of American History*, *4*, 479-480.

Laszloffy, T. A., & Hardy, K. V. (2000). Uncommon strategies for a common problem: Addressing racism in family therapy. *Family Process*, *39*(1), 35-50.

Lawrence, W. (1828). *Lectures on physiology, zoology, and the natural history of man: Delivered at the Royal College of Surgeons*. Foote and Brown.

Lawson, A. (2008). Native American popular culture. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. II, pp. 354-356). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Lewis, J. A., Arnold, M. S., House, R., & Toporek, R. (2003). *Advocacy competencies* [PowerPoint presentation]. Retrieved November 13, 2017, from http://counselorsforsocialjustice.com/advocacycompetencies.html

Lewis, J. R., & Skutsch, C. (2001). *The human rights encyclopedia: Issues and individuals* (Vol. I-III). Sharpe Reference.

Lewis, K. (2016). Helping mixed heritage children develop character and resilience in schools. *Improving Schools*, *19*(3), 197-211.

Lewontin, R. C. (1972). The apportionment of human diversity. *Evolutionary Biology, 6,* 381-398.

Liang, C. T., Li, L. C., & Kim, B. S. (2004). The Asian American racism-related stress inventory: Development, factor analysis, reliability, and validity. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *51*(1), 103.

Libya investigating migrant slavery claims (2017, Nov 30). *Times of Malta*. Retrieved January 22, 2018, from https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20171130/local/libya-investigating-migrant-slavery-claims.664510

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry* (Vol. 75). Sage.

Lou, E., & Lalone, R. N. (2015). Signs of transcendence? A changing landscape of multiraciality in the 21st century. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *45*, 85-95.

Lovejoy, P. E. (2008). Triangular slave trade. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. III, pp. 160-163). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Loxley, A., & Seery, A. (2008). Some philosophical and other related issues in insider research. In P. Sikes & A. Potts (Eds.), *Researching education from the inside: Investigations from within* (pp.15-32). London: Routledge.

Lusk, E. M., Taylor, M. J., Nanney, J. T., & Austin, C. C. (2010). Biracial identity and its relation to self-esteem and depression in mixed Black/White biracial individuals. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, *19*(2), 109-126.

MacLeod, B. P. (2014, January 27). Addressing client prejudice in counseling. *Counseling Today*. Retrieved February 16, 2018, from https://ct.counseling.org/2014/01/addressing-clients-prejudices-in-counseling/

Malta Association for the Counselling Profession Code of Ethics (MACP) (2014). Retrieved December 15, 2017, from http://www.macpmalta.org/downloads/

Manning, P. (1990). *Slavery and African life: Occidental, oriental, and African slave trades* (Vol. 67). Cambridge University Press.

Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego-identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3,* 551-558.

Marcia, J. E. (1975). Identity six years after: A follow-up study. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 5*(2), 145-160.

Marcia, J. E. (1980). Identity in adolescence. In J. Adelson (Ed.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology* (pp. 159-187). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Marcia, J. E. (1994). The empirical study of ego-identity. In H. A. Bosma, T. L. G. Graafsma, H. D. Grotevant, & D. J. de Levita (Eds.), *Identity and development: An interdisciplinary approach* (pp. 67-80). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Marks, J. (2008). History of scientific racism. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. III, pp. 1-16). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2006). *Designing qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Mass, A. I. (1992). Interracial Japanese Americans: The best of both worlds or the end of the Japanese American community? In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), *Racially mixed people in America* (pp. 265-279). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Massa, A. (2009, June 28). I am Black and I am Maltese. *Times of Malta*. Retrieved March 4, 2018, from http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20090628/interview/im-black-and-i-ammaltese

McDonald, C. P. (2016). *The relationships among multiracial identity, color-blind racial ideology, and discrimination in multiracial individuals: Implications for professional counseling and counselor education* (Doctoral dissertation). Georgia State University: Georgia, U.S.A. Retrieved August 14, 2017, from https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1129&context=cps_diss

McEachrane, M. (Ed.). (2014). *Afro-Nordic landscapes: Equality and race in northern Europe*. Routledge.

McKinney, N. S. (2016). *Biracial adult children raised by White mothers: The development of racial identity and role of racial socialization* (Doctoral dissertation). Drexel University.

McLeod, J. (2014). *Doing Research in Counselling and Psychotherapy: Basic Principles* (3rd ed.). Sage.

McLeod, J. D., & Lively, K. J. (2003). *Handbook of social psychology*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

McMahon, R. (2016). *The races of Europe: Construction of national identities in the social sciences, 1839-1939*. Springer.

McWhorter, J. (2014). 'Microaggression'is the new racism on campus. *Time*, *183*, 14-21.

Merton, R. K. (1972). Insiders and outsiders: A chapter in the sociology of knowledge. *American Journal of Sociology, 78*(1), 9-47.

Mifsud, I. (2010, Jan 7). *Fat and dark is beautiful/is ugly: A short history of the Maltese body through twentieth century poetry*. Paper presented at The Beautiful and the Ugly: Body Representations, Lisboa. CORPUS: International Group for the Cultural Studies of the Body with the Institute of Literary Studies, Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

Miville, M. L., Constantine, M. G., Baysden, M. F., & So-Lloyd, G. (2005). Chameleon changes: An exploration of racial identity themes of multiracial people. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 52*(4), 507-516.

Moore, J. H. (2008a). Introduction. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. I, pp. XI-XIV). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Moore, J. H. (2008b). Genes and genealogies. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. II, pp. 22-24). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Moore, J. H. (2008c). Genesis and polygenesis. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. II, pp. 24-27). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Moran, A. (2008). White settler society. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. III, pp. 223-225). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Morning, A. (2005). Ethnic classification in global perspective: A cross-national survey of the 2000 census round. *Population Research and Policy Review*, *27*(2), 239-272.

Moss, R. C., & Davis, D. (2008). Counseling biracial students: A review of issues and interventions. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *36*(4), 219-230.

Mukhopadhyay, C. (2008). Getting rid of the word "Caucasian". In M. Pollock (Ed.), *Everyday antiracism: Getting real about race in school* (pp. 12-16). New York: New Press.

Nadal, K. L., Griffin, K. E., Wong, Y., Hamit, S., & Rasmus, M. (2014). The impact of racial microaggressions on mental health: Counseling implications for clients of color. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, *92*(1), 57-66.

Nadal, K. L., Sriken, J., Davidoff, K. C., Wong, Y., & McLean, K. (2013). Microaggressions within families: Experiences of multiracial people. *Family Relations*, *62*(1), 190-201.

Nadal, K. L., Wong, Y., Griffin, K., Sriken, J., Vargas, V., Wideman, M., & Kolawole, A. (2011). Microaggressions and the multiracial experience. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, *1*(7), 36-44.

Naples, N. A. (2003). *Feminism and method: Ethnography, discourse analysis, and activist research.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Nash, G. B. (1982). *Red, black, and white: The people of early America* (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

National Children's Policy. (November, 2017). Ministry for the Family, Children's Rights and Social Solidarity. Retrieved from May 15, 2018, https://family.gov.mt/en/Documents/National%20Children%27s%20Policy%202017.pdf

Naturalization Act of 1790. (n.d.). Library of Congress. Sess. II, Chap. III.—An Act to establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization. (a), Statute II., March 26, 1790. Retrieved October 4, 2017, from http://rs6.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=001/llsl001.db&recNum=226

NCPE Annual Report (2016). *National Commission for the Promotion of Equality*. Retrieved November 4, 2017, from https://ncpe.gov.mt/en/Documents/Our_Publications_and_Resources/Annual_Reports/NCPE%20AR%202016%20Lo%20res.pdf

Neville, H. A., Awad, G. H., Brooks, J. E., Flores, M. P., & Bluemel, J. (2013). Color-blind racial ideology: Theory, training, and measurement implications in psychology. *American Psychologist*, *68*(6), 455-466.

Ngugi, wa T. (2004). *Decolonising the mind: The politics of language in African literature*. London: James Curry.

Norcross, J. C. (Ed.) (2011). *Psychotherapy relationships that work* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.

Not all Caucasians are White: The Supreme Court Rejects Citizenship for Asian Indians. (n.d.). United States *v.* Bhagat Singh Thind, Certificate From The Circuit Court Of Appeals For The Ninth Circuit., No. 202. Argued January 11, 12, 1923.-Decided February 19, 1923,

United States Reports, v. 261, The Supreme Court, October Term, 1922, 204–215. Retrieved November 11, 2017, from http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5076/

Nunkoosing, K. (2005). The problems with interviews. *Qualitative Health Research 15*(5), 698-706.

Nwalutu, M. O. (2016). *From Africa to Europe, youth and transnational migration: Examining the lived experiences of Nigerian migrant youth in Malta* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Toronto: Toronto, Canada.

Obama, B. (2007). *Dreams from my father: A story of race and inheritance*. Canongate Books.

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (2004). Racial formation. In L. Heldke & P. O'Connor (Eds.), *Oppression, privilege, and resistance: Theoretical perspectives on racism, sexism, and heterosexism* (pp. 115-142). New York: McGraw-Hill.

On Race or Several Species. (n.d.). *Race*. Retrieved November 10, 2017, from http://www.understandingrace.org/history/science/one_race.html

Opdenakker, R. (2006, September). Advantages and disadvantages of four interview techniques in qualitative research. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (Vol. 7, No. 4).

Painter, N. I. (2003, November). Proceedings from Fifth Annual Gilder Lehrman Centre International Conference: *Why White people are called 'Caucasian'* (pp. 137-151).

Painter, N. I. (2010). *The history of white people*. W. W. Norton & Company.

Palmer, F. T. (2015). *Through a coloured lens: Post-apartheid identity formation amongst coloureds in KZN* (Doctoral dissertation). Indiana University: U.S.A. Retrieved November 9, 2017, from https://search.proquest.com/openview/73d8f2558c15e44e76b4de82fd4c99b3/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750&diss=y

Park, R. (1928). Human migration and the marginal man. *American Journal of Sociology, 33*, 881-893.

Paul, D. B. (2008). History of eugenics. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. I, pp. 441-446). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Payne, C. V. (2017). *Immersive cultural plunge: How mental health trainees can exercise cultural competence with African American descendants of chattel slaves a qualitative study* (Doctorate dissertation). Antioch University, Santa Barbara: U.S.A.

Pedrotti, J. T., Edwards, L. M., & Lopez, S. J. (2008). Working with multiracial clients in therapy: Bridging theory, research, and practice. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 39*(2), 192-201.

Peregrine, P. N. (2008). Racial hierarchy: Overview. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. II, pp. 461-462). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Pettigrew, T. F. (1980). The mental health impact. In B. P. Bowser & R. G. Hunt (Eds.), *The impacts of racism on Whites* (pp. 12-118). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Phinney, J. (1989). Stages in ethnic identity development in minority group children. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 9*(1-2), 34-49.

Pierpont, C. R. (2004, March 24). The measure of America. *New Yorker*. Retrieved November 13, 2017, from https://www.webdepot.umontreal.ca/Usagers/ramirez/MonDepotPublic/Hst%203361%20Roth%20Pierpont%20THE%2BMEASURE%2BOF%2BAMERICA%2B-%2BFranz%2BBoaz.pdf

Pilgrim, D. (2012). New racist form of the 21st century. *Ferris State University: Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia*. Retrieved November 21, 2017, from https://ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/newforms/homepage.htm

Pinderhughes, E. (1995). Biracial identity-Asset or handicap? In H. W. Harris, H. C. Blue, & E. E. H. Griffith (Eds.), *Racial and ethnic identity: Psychological development and creative expression* (pp. 73-93). New York, NY: Routledge.

Pisani, M. (2011). There's an elephant in the room and she's 'rejected' and Black. *Open Citizenship 2*, 24-51.

Poston, W. S. C. (1990). The biracial identity development model: A needed addition. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 69*(2)*,* 152-155.

Pub.L. 82-414. (n.d.). Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. Retrieved November 28, 2017, from https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/STATUTE-

Purdie-Vaughns, V., & Eibach, R. P. (2008). Intersectional invisibility: The distinctive advantages and disadvantages of multiple subordinate-group identities. *Sex Roles*, *59*(5-6), 377-391.

Purtschert, P. (2015). The return of the native: Racialised space, colonial debris and the human zoo. *Identities*, *22*(4), 508-523.

Race Science Exhibitions. (n.d.). *Race*. Retrieved November 29, 2017, from http://www.understandingrace.org/history/science/race_science_exhibit.html

Racial identity development. (n.d.). Student Development Theory Overview. *A guide to theory: Florida State University's Higher Education Program.* Retrieved January 11, 2018, from https://studentdevelopmenttheory.wordpress.com/racial-identity-development/

Racism. It stops with me. (2015). Retrieved May 5, 2018, from https://itstopswithme.humanrights.gov.au/

Ramsay, N. J. (2014). Intersectionality: A model for addressing the complexity of oppression and privilege. *Pastoral Psychology*, *63*(4), 453-469.

Ravitch, S. M., & Riggan, M. (2017). *Reason & rigor: How conceptual frameworks guide research*. Sage Publications.

Relethford, J. H. (2002). Apportionment of global human genetic diversity based on craniometrics and skin color. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology, 118* (4), 393-398.

Relethford, J. H. (2003). *Reflections of our past: How human history is revealed in our genes*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Relethford, J. H. (2004). Global patterns of isolation by distance based on genetic and morphological data. *Human Biology 76*(4), 499-513.

Renn, K. A. (2000). Patterns of situational identity among biracial and multiracial college students. *Review of Higher Education, 23*(4), 399-420.

Renn, K. A. (2003). Understanding the identities of mixed race college students through a developmental ecology lens. *Journal of College Student Development, 44,* 383-403.

Renn, K. A. (2004). *Mixed race students in college: The ecology of race, identity, and community*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Renn, K. A. (2008). Research on biracial and multiracial identity development: Overview and synthesis. *New Directions for Student Services*, *123*, 13-21.

Rhodes, G., L. K., Palermo, R., Weiss, M., Yoshikawa, S., Clissa, P., Williams, T., Peters, Mlk., Winkler, C., & Jeffery, L. (2005). Attractiveness of own-race, other-race, and mixed-race faces. *Perception*, *34*(3), 319-340.

Rhodes, L. M. (2012). *Being Latvian: Discourse and identity among individuals of Black African descent* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Washington: U.S.A.

Riccucci, N. M. (2008). Tokenism. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. III, pp. 134-132). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Ripley, W. Z. (1899). *The races of Europe: A sociological study* (Vol. 189). D. Appleton.

Ripley, W. Z. (1908). Races in the United States. *Atlantic Monthly*, *102*(6), 745–759.

Roberts, D. (2011). *Fatal invention*. The New Press.

Rockquemore, K. (1999). Between Black and White: Exploring the biracial experience. *Race and Society*, *1*(2), 197-212.

Rockquemore, K. A., & Arend, P. (2002). Opting for White: Choice, fluidity and racial identity construction in post civil-rights America. *Race and Society, 5*(1), 49-64.

Rockquemore, K. A., & Brunsma, D. L. (2002). Socially embedded identities: Theories, typologies, and processes of racial identity among Black/White biracials. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *43*(3), 335-356.

Rockquemore, K. A., & Brunsma, D. L. (2004). Negotiating racial identity: Biracial women and interactional validation. *Women & Therapy*, *27*(1-2), 85-102.

Rockquemore, K. A., & Brunsma, D. L. (2007). *Beyond black: Biracial identity in America*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Rockquemore, K. A., & Lazloffy, T. (2003). Exploring multiple realities: Using narrative approaches in therapy with black/white biracials. *Family Relations, 52*, 119-128.

Rockquemore, K. A., Brunsma, D. L., & Delgado, D. J. (2009). Racing to theory or retheorizing race? Understanding the struggle to build a multiracial identity theory. *Journal of Social Issues, 65*(1), 13-34.

Rodgers, R. F. (1980). Theories underlying student development. In D. G. Creamer (Ed.), *Student development in higher education* (pp. 10-95). Cincinnati, OH: American College Personnel Association.

Root, M. P. P. (1990). Resolving “other” status: Identity development of biracial individuals. In L. S. Brown & M. P. P. Root (Eds.), *Complexity and diversity in feminist theory and therapy* (pp. 185-205). New York: Haworth.

Root, M. P. P. (1995). The multiracial contribution to the psychological browning of America. In N. Zack (Ed.), *American mixed race: The culture of microdiversity* (pp. 231-236). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Root, M. P. P. (1996). The multiracial experience: Racial borders as a significant frontier in race relations. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), *The multiracial experience: Racial borders as the new frontier* (pp. xiii-xxviii). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Root, M. P. P. (1997). Mixed-race women. In N. Zack (Ed.), *Race/sex: Their sameness, difference, and interplay* (pp. 157-172). New York: Routledge.

Root, M. P. P. (1998). Experiences and processes affecting racial identity development: Preliminary results from the biracial sibling project. *Cultural Diversity and Mental Health, 4*, 237-247.

Root, M. P. P. (2001). Factors influencing the variation in racial and ethnic identity of mixed - heritage persons of Asian ancestry. In T. Williams-Le ó n & C. L. Nakashima (Eds.), *The sum of our parts: Mixed-heritage Asian Americans* (pp. 61-70). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Root, M. P. P. (2003). Racial identity development and persons of mixed race heritage. In M. P. P. Root & M. Kelley (Eds.), *Multiracial child resource book: Living complex identities* (pp. 34-41). Seattle: MAVIN Foundation.

Root, M. P. P. (2004). From exotic to a dime a dozen. *Women and Therapy, 27*(1-2), 19-31.

Root, M. P. P. (Ed.). (1992). *Racially mixed people in America*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Rowe, W., Bennett, S. K., & Atkinson, D. R. (1994). White racial identity models: A critique and alternative proposal. *Counseling Psychologist, 22,* 129-146.

Rushton, J. P., & Jensen, A. R. (2005). Thirty years of research on race differences in cognitive ability. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, *11*(2), 235.

Rydgren, J. (2017). Radical right-wing parties in Europe. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *16*(4), 485-496.

Sadler, G. R., Lee, H. C., Lim, R. S. H., & Fullerton, J. (2010). Recruitment of hard-to-reach population subgroups via adaptations of the snowball sampling strategy. *Nursing & health sciences*, *12*(3), 369-374.

Safire, W. (1988, November 20). On language: People of color. *The New York Times.* Retrieved November 14, 2017, from https://www.nytimes.com/1988/11/20/magazine/on-language-people-of-color.html

Safran, J. D., Muran , J. C., & Eubanks-Carter, C. (2011). In J. C. Norcross (Ed.), *Psychotherapy relationships that work: Evidence-based responsiveness* (2nd ed., pp. 242-238). Oxford University Press.

Said, E. W. (1989). Representing the colonized: Anthropology's interlocutors. *Critical Inquiry*, *15*(2), 205-225.

Salah wins BBC African player of the year (2017, Dec 11). *Times of Malta*. Retrieved April 13, 2018, from https://www.timesofmalta.com/search

Sanchez, D. T. (2010). How do forcedchoice dilemmas affect multiracial people? The role of identity autonomy and public regard in depressive symptons. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 40*, 1657-1677.

Sanchez-Hucles, J., & Jones, N. (2005). Breaking the silence around race in training, practice, and research. *The Counseling Psychologist, 33*(4), 547-558.

Savona-Ventura, C., Felice, N., & Gullaimier, R.A. (2010). The changing face of the Maltese population. *J Pop Research*, 27, 315-322.

Schranz, L. (2016). *Interviewing the interviewer: Examining the presence of personal biases in relation to race and ethnicity in novice and experienced interviewers* (Unpublished B.Psy. (Hons.) dissertation). University of Malta: Malta.

Scicluna, M. (2013). *Multicultural education in Maltese state secondary schools: Teacher's perceptions* (Unpublished B.Ed. (Hons.) dissertation). University of Malta: Malta.

Sears, D. O., & Savalei, V. (2006). The political color line in America: Many peoples of color or Black exceptionalism? *Political Psychology, 27*(6), 895-924.

Seidman, I. (2006). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences* (3rd ed.). New York: Teachers College Press.

Sharma, R. K. (2018). Globalization as politics of neo-colonization: Teaching English language in Higher Education in Nepal. *Journal of NELTA Surkhet*, *5*, 106-112.

Shaw, S. (2016, December 27). Practicing cultural humility. *Counseling Today*. Retrieved March 22, 2018, from https://ct.counseling.org/2016/12/practicing-cultural-humility/

Shenton, K. A. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information, 22*, 63-75.

Shih, M., & Sanchez, D. T. (2009). When race becomes even more complex: Toward understanding the landscape of multiracial identity and experiences. *Journal of Social Issues*, *65*(1), 1-11.

Shih, M., Bonam, C., Sanchez, D. T., & Peck, C. (2007). The social construction of race: Biracial identity and vulnerability to stereotypes. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 13*(2), 125-133.

Shinebourne, P. (2011). The theoretical underpinnings of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA). *Existential Analysis: Journal of the Society for Existential Analysis*, *22*(1), 16-31.

Shut the Door: A Senator speaks for Immigration Restriction. 1924. Speech by E. DuRant Smith, April 9, 1924, *Congressional Record,* 68th Congress, 1st Session (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1924), vol. 65, 5961-5962. Retrieved March 13, 2018, from http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5080

Simkin, J. (2014, August). The 1788 Dolben Act. *Spartacus Educational*. Retrieved December 22, 2017, from http://spartacus-educational.com/REdolbenAct.htm

Sims, J. P. (2012). Beautiful stereotypes: The relationship between physical attractiveness and mixed race identity. *Identities, 19*(1), 61-80.

Sinha, M. (2008). Abolition movement. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. I, pp. 1-10). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Skutsch, C. (2001). Nationality and citizenship. In J. R. Lewis & C. Skutsch. *The human rights encyclopedia: Issues and individuals* (Vol. III, pp. 807-809). Sharpe Reference.

Smith, J. A. (2004). Reflecting on the development of interpretative phenomenological analysis and its contribution to qualitative research in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *1*(1), 39-54.

Smith, J. A. (2011). Evaluating the contributions of interpretative phenomenological analysis. *Health Psychology Review, 5*(1), 9-27.

Smith, J. A. (2017). Interpretative phenomenological analysis: Getting at lived experience. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, *12*(3), 303-304.

Smith, J. A. and Osborn, M. (2003). Interpretative phenomenological analysis. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (pp. 51-80). London: Sage.

Smith, J. A., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative phenomenological analysis: Theory, method and research*. London: Sage.

Smith, L. C., Geroski, A. M., & Tyler, K. B. (2014). Abandoning colorblind practice in school counseling. *Journal of School Counseling, 12*(16), 1-31.

Smith, R. S. (2008). Civil rights movement. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. I, pp. 328-333). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Song, M. (2010). What happens after segmented assimilation? An exploration of intermarriage and "mixed race" young people in Britain. *Ethnic and Racial Studies 33*(7), 1194-1213.

SparkNotes Editors. (n.d.). SparkNote on The Declaration of Independence (1776). Retrieved November 12, 2017, from http://www.sparknotes.com/history/american/declaration/

Starks, H., & Trinidad, S. B. (2007). Choose your method: A comparison of phenomenology, discourse analysis, and grounded theory. *Qualitative Health Research, 17*(10), 1372-1380.

Steele, J. M. (2008). Preparing counselors to advocate for social justice: A liberation model. *Counselor Education and Supervision*, *48*(2), 74-85.

Stephan, C. W. (1992). Mixed-heritage individuals: Ethnic identity and trait characteristics. In M. P. P. Root (Ed.), *Racially mixed people in America* (pp. 50-63). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stevenson, H. C. (1995). Relationship of adolescent perceptions of racial socialization to racial identity. *Journal of Black Psychology, 21*(1), 49-70.

Stoddard, L. (1920). *The rising tide of color against white world-supremacy*. Scribner.

Stonequist, E. V. (1937). *The marginal man: A study in personality and culture conflict.* New York: Russell & Russell.

Strategic framework on human rights and democracy. (2012). *The Council of the European Union. European Commission Press Release Database*. Retrieved November 30, 2017, from http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_PESC-12-285_en.htm

Sue, D. W. (2011). The challenge of White dialectics: Making the "invisible" visible. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *39*(3), 415-422.

Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice. *American Psychologist*, *62*(4), 271.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, *33*(47), 74.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of* intergroup *relations* (2nd ed., pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Telles, E. E., & Sue, C. A. (2009). Race mixture: Boundary crossing in comparative perspective. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *35*, 129-146.

The milking cow syndrome. (2017, January 25). *Times of Malta*. Retrieved November 20, 2017, from http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20170125/editorial/The-milking-cow-syndrome.637453

The Right to be Different. (n.d.). *The Pluralist Project: Harvard University*. Retrieved January 15, 2018, from http://pluralism.org/encounter/historical-perspectives/the-right-to-be-different/

Thomas, J. C., & Hersen, M. (Eds.). (2003). *Understanding research in clinical and counseling psychology*. New Jersey, U.S.A.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Thompson, C. E., & Neville, H. A. (1999). Racism, mental health, and mental health practice. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *27*(2), 155-223.

Thornton, M., & Wason, S. (1995). Intermarriage. In D. Levinson (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of marriage and the family* (pp. 396-402). New York: Macmillan Publishing.

Toomey, A., Dorjee, T., & Ting-Toomey, S. (2013). Bicultural identity negotiation, conflicts, and intergroup communication strategies. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, *42*(2), 112-134.

Townsend, S. S. M., Markus, H. R., & Bergsieker, H. B. (2009). My choice, your categories: The denial of multiracial identities. *Journal of Social Issues, 65*, 185-204.

Trahan, D. P., & Lemberger, M. E. (2014). Critical race theory as a decisional framework for the ethical counseling of African American clients. *Counseling and Values*, *59*(1), 112-124.

Triandafyllidou, A. (1998). National identity and the 'other'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *21*(4), 593-612.

Trudel, D. (2017). Ruptures across the body politic. In N. Bluth and M. Chan (Eds.), *The big question: What role does the media play in driving xenophobia?* (pp. 4-5). *World Policy Journal*, *34*(1), 3-7.

Trump: Why allow immigrants from ‘shithole countries’? (2018, January 12). *The Malta Independent*. Retrieved January 13, 2018, from http://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2018-01-12/world-news/Trump-Why-allow-immigrants-from-shithole-countries-6736183493

Tudge, J. R. H., Mokrova, I., Hatfield, B. E., & Karnik, R. B. (2009). Uses and misuses of Bronfenbrenner's bioeclogical theory of human development. *Journal of Family Theory & Review, 1*, 198-210.

Turner, J. (2012). *Awakening to race: Individualism and social consciousness in America*. University of Chicago Press.

Twine, F. W. (2004). A white side of black Britain: The concept of racial literacy. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *27*(6), 878-907.

Twine, F. W., & Gallagher, C. (2008). The future of whiteness: A map of the ‘third wave’. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *31*(1), 4-24.

Tylor, E. B. (1875). Anthropology. *The encyclopaedia britannica* (9th ed., Vol. 2). Edinburgh.

Tylor, E. B. (1889). *Anthropology: An introduction to the study of man and civilization* (No. 62). Macmillan. United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind, 261 U.S. 204 (1923). Justia: US Supreme Court. Retrieved November 14, 2017, from https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/261/204/case.html

Tyson, L. (2001). *Learning for a diverse world: Using critical theory to read and write about literature* (Vol. 2209). Psychology Press.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (1948). *United Nations*. Retrieved May 20, 2018, from http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html

Unterreiner, A. (2017). The identity construction of nationally mixed people: The impact of parental transmission and socialization outside the family. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, *17*(1), 25-43.

Usherwood, S. (1981, March 3). “The Black must be discharged-The Abolitionists” Debt to Lord Mansfield. *History Today*, *31*(3). Retrieved December 14, 2017, from http://www.historytoday.com/print/9518

Vella, N. C., & Gilkes, O. (2001). The lure of the antique: Nationalism, politics and archaeology in British Malta (1880-1964). *Papers of the British School at Rome, 69*, 353-384.

Viager, A. (2012). Multiracial identity development: Understanding choice of racial identity in Asian-White College Students. *Journal of the Student Personnel Association at Indiana University*, 38-45.

Vidich, A. J., & Lyman, S. M. (2000). Qualitative methods: Their history in sociology and anthropology. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, *2*, 37-84.

Virey, J.-J. (1824). *Histoire naturelle du genre humain.* Paris: Crochard.

Wallace, K. R. (2001). *Relative/outsider: The art and politics of identity among mixed heritage students.* Westport, CT: Ablex.

Wallace, K. R. (2003). Contextual factors affecting identity among mixed heritage college students. In M. P. P. Root & M. Kelley (Eds.), *Multiracial child resource book: Living complex identities* (pp. 87-93). Seattle: MAVIN Foundation.

Waring, C. D. L. (2017). It's like we have an 'in' already. *Du Bois Review, 14*(1), 145-163.

West, B., & Smith, P. (1997). Natural disasters and national identity: Time, space and mythology. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, *33*(2), 205-215.

Whitten, N. E. (2008). Blackness in Latin America. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism* (Vol. I, pp. 217-222). Library of Congress, U.S.A.: Thomson, Gale.

Who was Shut Out?: Immigration Quotas, 1925-1927. (n.d.). *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1929), 100. Retrieved December 18, 2017, from http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5078

Wijeyesinghe, C. L. (1995). Multiracial identity in a monoracial world. *Hispanic Outlook in Higher Education, 6*(8), 16.

Wijeyesinghe, C. L. (2001). Racial identity in multiracial people: An alternative paradigm. In C. L. Wijeyesinghe & B. W. Jackson, III (Eds.), *New perspectives on racial identity development* (pp. 129-152). New York: New York University Press.

Wilson, E. O., & Brown, W. L. (1953). The subspecies concept and its taxonomic application. *Systematic Zoology*, *2*(3), 97-111.

Wright, M. M. (2015). *Physics of blackness: Beyond the middle passage epistemology*. University of Minnesota Press.

Ying, A. G. Y. (2017). *The grey area: Looking into the world of third culture kids* (Master's thesis). Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies: Tilburg University, Netherlands. Retrieved May 15, 2018, from https://www.tilburguniversity.edu/upload/005203ba-4dba-478e-919b-632d96f092f2_TPCS_182_Goana.pdf

Young, I. M. (1990). *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Young, I. M. (2000). Five faces of oppression. In M. Adams, W. J. Blumenfeld, R. Castaeda, H. W. Hackman, M. L. Peters & X. Zunˇiga (Eds.), *Reading for diversity and social justice: An anthology on racism, anti-Semitism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, and classism* (pp. 35-49). New York: Routledge.

Zafirovski, M. (2011). *The enlightenment and its effects on modern society*. New York: Springer Science & Business Media.

Zuckerman, M. (1990). Some dubious premises in research and theory on racial differences: Scientific, social, and ethical issues. *American Psychologist*, *45*(12), 1297-1303.

Copyright Release Form

	UNIVERSITY OFMALTA Faculty or Social Wellbeing	Completed Dissertation Copyright Release Form

NAME AND SURNAME: CATHERINE SMITH

THESIS WORKING TITLE:

BIRACIAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN MALTESE-BLACK LOCAL YOUTH:
IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNSELLING

YEAR AND SEMESTER OF SUBMISSION: JUNE, 2018.

DECLARATION:

I, the undersigned, hereby authorise the academic or administrative staff of the Faculty for Social Wellbeing at the University of Malta and the University of Malta's Librarian and their staff and to make photocopies or electronic copies of my dissertation, or parts, thereof for educational and study purposes.

I agree to make my completed dissertation available for inspection and lending as decreed by the Faculty for Social Wellbeing and the University Library.

I agree that in such cases I would not be entitled to receive any form of remuneration and that the final version of the hardbound and electronic copies of the theses submitted for examination become the property of the University.

I confirm that a copy of this signed copyright release form shall be included as the last page of the hard bound dissertation that I shall submit to the Faculty for Social Wellbeing, when the dissertation is successfully completed

____________________ 01.06.2018

Student Date