Navigating “Mixedness”:

An examination of the ways “mixedness” has been constructed, responded to and experienced in Modern England

By Leah Conway

Supervised by Dr Vikram Visana

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master’s by Research

Public History, Oral History and Community Heritage

School of Arts and Humanities

May 2022

Words: 24,340

Abstract

The Mixed ethnic identity continues to grow, and it is often seen as a modern phenomenon. However, the idea of "mixedness" runs deep throughout English history, with intrinsic connections to the British empire and the formation of ideas of "race". The concepts forged through empire seeped into domestic responses and reactions to "mixedness" and prevailed beyond the end of empire.

This thesis examines how ideas of "mixedness" have been constructed and responded to throughout modern English history and will analyse how "mixedness" has been navigated and experienced. Through an analysis of each layer – constructions, responses and experiences – this thesis aims to analyse "mixedness" in a nuanced and multidimensional way. It expands beyond the topics of "mixedness" that have been extensively covered, such as the fixation on identity and struggle.

Instead, this thesis analyses various experiences of people growing up Mixed while drawing on a concept of "ordinariness". The thesis utilises an oral history methodology and focuses on nine original oral histories from Mixed people growing up in England in the 1970s and 1980s – specifically the black and white dichotomy of "mixedness". The interviewees talk about family, home, school, playing out, identity, and more.

Through examining oral histories, the core analysis of this thesis proposes that "mixedness" can be experienced as ordinary; that sometimes, on an everyday level of existence, it is possible to simply be "ordinary". However, the thesis also considers that while "mixedness" did not guarantee feelings of difference and marginality, sometimes the ability to feel ordinary was limited to different "spaces" and "places" which people inhabit throughout their lives. "Ordinariness" was not absolute and, for some, was not always the dominating experience of "mixedness".

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A big thanks to all those who took their time to share their stories and experiences with me: Karen L, Neil, Suz, Dad, Uncle Tony, Aunt Sue, Nina, Karen J, and Naomi.

Introduction: *Navigating "Mixedness"*

The growth of the Mixed ethnic identity, interracial couples and families is often perceived as a modern phenomenon; for some, a sign of times changing or a "post-racial" society. However, the existence of multicultural hubs and families runs throughout English history long before the twenty first century. This thesis will examine the histories and experiences of a Black and White dichotomy of "mixedness" in England. It will examine how "mixedness" has been constructed and responded to throughout modern English history and analyse how "mixedness" has been navigated and experienced. This thesis starts with an investigation of the historical context of "mixedness" within England. For example, it will examine how eugenics within British empire helped form ideas of "mixedness" and how they transferred to a domestic response. A foundation in historical context will lead to an analysis of the navigation of "mixedness" in the latter half of twentieth century England through original oral testimonies and analysing governmental, media and public responses. This thesis will focus on racial and ethnic experiences within the 1970s and 1980s. They were decades within a transitional period, bookended by Nationality Acts of the 1950s and 1960s and the uprisings of the 1980s. It was a time with the rising politicisation of race, racism, the rise of the National Front, and a time in which English-born racialised and minoritised communities emerged as a bigger and more established part of England.

Sociological and psychological outlooks have dominated much of the dialogue on "mixedness"; with a significant focus on debates of transracial adoption, and on psychological topics such as the construction of identity, self-racial identification in children and youth, and how parents navigate the conversation of race and "mixedness" with their children. These topics fall into what Chamion Caballero identified as the "second wave" of what is accepted as "Mixed-Race studies".[1] Caballero's main criticism of the "second wave" is that it neglects historical context and understanding, which is a concern that has been voiced by others such as Karis Campion.[2] While an historical understanding is vital, this research will also cross disciplines and be intersectional in approach. For example, this thesis explores aspects of ethnic identities but will be linked to elements of gender, class, location, and "spatiality" to enable a more holistic understanding of responses to and experiences of "mixedness".

The Black and White dichotomy of "mixedness" has dominated academic and public discussions and perceptions of "mixedness" in the UK, the USA, and beyond. However, the scope of "mixedness" is broad and leaves much more to be researched. As forementioned, sociological and psychological perspectives have also dominated it. So, this thesis will examine the Black and White dichotomy of

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[1] Caballero, C. (2004). *Mixed Race Projects: Perceptions, Constructions and Implications of Mixed Race in the UK and USA.* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Bristol

[2] Caballero, C. (2004); Campion, K. (2019). "You Think You're Black?" Exploring Black Mixed-Race Experiences of Black Rejection. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 42:16,* 196-213. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2019.1642503.

"mixedness" in the England while bringing a much needed historical grounding to the discussion. The scope of this thesis analyses the experiences of people growing up in England but does not narrow down focus on locality of a city or town. However, the impact of location will be analysed in Chapter Three, which is centred around ideas of "spatiality". While the thesis explores experiences of "mixedness" in England, much of the historical context is embedded in the ideas of the British empire and British colonialism. Therefore, there will be references to Britain, the British empire and British colonialism regarding historical context – most notably seen in this introduction and chapter one. To enable the thesis' exploration of constructions, responses and experiences of "mixedness" in England, a foundational understanding of the historical context of the British empire is essential, as it permeates into the English context and experiences explored in later chapters. Additionally, the thesis will occasionally reflect on events such as the 1919 seaport riots, which explore events and experiences beyond England and into Wales and Scotland. Beyond the scope of this thesis, there remains many potential avenues to explore "mixedness" further, whether it be different nationalities, ethnic groups and dichotomies or moving away from the heteronormative lens that dominates conversations around "mixedness".

APPROACHES TO "MIXEDNESS"

As mentioned, "mixedness" is not a modern phenomenon; interracial families, relationships and experiences of "mixedness" have a long history. As David Olusoga stated, "the current patterns of racial mixing are different in scale but are not out of step with our longer history."[3] Within a British context, "mixedness" has been viewed as an inevitable result of the empire's expansion. Caballero and Aspinall argued that from "the outset of Britain's imperial expansion, racial mixing was rife. Often horrendously forced, at other times freely entered into, interracial contact, liaisons and unions were at the heart of the colonial and colonised experience."[4] Such a statement linking the expansion of British colonialism to "racial mixing" elicits questions on how aspects such as "race" and sexuality were linked through a colonial lens. Aspects of sexuality and "desire" as an intrinsic part of colonialism are explored in Robert Young's *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race.*[5] Young analyses the nineteenth century scholarly and cultural obsession with "hybridity", often considered in sexual terms or, as Young explores, through an idea of "desire" - a desire by sexual or cultural means but also economic desires.[6] Young argues that British Empire was ultimately a "machine of desire", the desire in which "race", sexuality and economy was intimately linked together through a colonial drive.[7] Seeing "racial mixing" as something older within British and English history and seeing the links between "race", "racial mixing", sexuality and empire enables an examination of how far patterns, stereotypes and tropes surrounding "mixedness" have been fortified and perpetuated throughout centuries. Chapter One will show that this idea of hybridity is often linked with sexual and gender stigmas and stereotypes, which were prescribed through government and public opinion and seen in media and cultural coverage. This does not stop with nineteenth century and early twentieth century opinions. Sometimes, it can be linked to experiences and opinions in the latter part of the twentieth century and, some may argue, still prevails into the present day. Yet, this is one strand of multiple approaches to researching "mixedness". The scholarship which surrounds "mixedness" and its racialisation has evolved through several stages. Chamion Caballero methodically explores the different "waves" of "Mixed-Race Studies" in her unpublished PhD: *Mixed Race Projects: Perceptions, Constructions and Implications of Mixed Race in the UK and USA*.[8]

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[3] Olusoga, D. (2017). *Black and British: A Forgotten History.* Pan Books. p. 70.
[4] Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). *Mixed Race Britain in The Twentieth Century.* Palgrave Macmillan. p. 2.
[5] Young, R. (2010). *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race.* Routledge.
[6] Young, R. (2010).
[7] Young, R. (2010). p. 118.

THE FIRST WAVE, THE SECOND WAVE AND THE THIRD WAVE

"The First Wave" of studies on "mixedness" primarily consists of nineteenth and twentieth century pseudo-science, biological racism, eugenics, and practices such as physical anthropology – the measuring of physical features such as the skull, eyes, nose etc. It was a result of the broader process of constructing and forming ideas of "race". The focus was primarily dominated by ideas of "miscegenation" – otherwise known as "race-mixing". Many obsessed over discussing whether humans were "monogenesis" – one species – or whether they were "polygenesis" – many species.[9] The obsession was linked to questions and implications of "race mixing" and hybridity. In sum, as Caballero summarised, the "first wave" explored and presented "mixedness" as a "primarily pathological and undesirable state".[10] Pathological in the sense that miscegenation was viewed as disturbing, something seen as so abhorrent that it warranted "scientific" study, explanation and exploration. These were ideas reflected in academia and cultural works, which contained stock portrayals of Mixed people in outputs such as literature – a dominating stereotype being the "tragic mulatto" and the "marginal man".[11] There was a fear of miscegenation and its implications. It was seen as a transgression, which will be explored further in Chapter One.

The "second wave" primarily aimed to challenge the pathological perceptions of "mixedness" engrained by the "first wave", to challenge ideas of marginality and show the legitimacy of the Mixed identity. As a result, "second wave" literature heavily emphasised and examined individual experiences; it was concerned with identifying some form of shared experience of "mixedness". The "second wave" was dominated by a psychological focus on identity formation, the psychological outcomes of identity formation, and these experiences' validity. For example, Dr Maria P.P Root researched the psychology of multiracialism. In 1993, she wrote the "Bill of Rights for People of Mixed Heritage", which lists affirmations and rights of the individual's Mixed identity.[12] Root's work and "Bill of Rights" is a prime example of the emphasis on the psychological, sociological and the individual that dominated the "second wave". It dominated studies on "mixedness" to such a degree that its main critique was that it focused so much on the individual that it negated historical and socio-political context.

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[8] Caballero, C. (2004).
[9] Young, R. (2010). p. 5.
[10] Caballero, C. (2004). p. 45.
[11] Tizard, B., & Phoenix, A. (1993). *Black, White or Mixed Race?: Race and Racism in the Lives of Young People of Mixed Parentage.* Routledge. p. 1; Park, R. (1928) Theory of the In-between 'Marginal Man' In Tizard, B., & Phoenix, A. (1993). p. 26

Alternatively, the "third wave" aspired to utilise the personal aspects of "mixedness" but simultaneously centred them within an understanding of historical, socio-political context and an understanding of the racial formation process. The "founders" of the "third wave", as Caballero considered, were sociologists Stephen Small and Mark Christian.[13] Christian argued that "second wave" academia "falls into the same trap of pathologizing mixedness by working to create 'a new literature' that categorises mixed race persons basically as a 'separate entity.'"[14] He continues that "a multiracial identity must be approached not by celebrating hybridity per se but through a model which allows it to be understood as a social construct that has special social consequences for certain groups that are defined as such."[15] Likewise, Small argues that to analyse and understand "mixedness", scholars "must continue to focus on structural contexts, institutional patterns and ideological articulations, as they are expressed in the light of local histories."[16] So, while we can have the individuality and personal experiences of "mixedness" that underpins the "second wave", we also need room for socio-political and historical understandings of "mixedness" and the racial formation process, which is enabled by the "third wave" framework. Caballero summarises the "third wave" as committed to an "anti-pathological conceptualisation of mixedness", it highlights "theoretical and ideological issues that 'second wave' rather sidestep in favour of maintaining the 'actual' agenda of legitimacy, recognition and acceptance."[17] This does not mean the rejection of the individual experience of "mixedness", just that it needs to be grounded in an understanding of the socio-political, historical context, constructions and perceptions of "mixedness". Campion argues that when we look at individual Mixed identities and experiences, it is necessary to analyse them with an historical understanding, which allows an evaluation on "how broader social histories are embedded into the personal histories and social identities of Mixed-Race subjects."[18] One such example is Campion's exploration of the relevance of skin tone within the Black community. Campion links issues of colourism to its historical roots in slavery, plantation societies, and the idea of a "colour-class" system, which highlights the importance of setting discussions within their historical context, even when discussing topics, such as colourism, in the present day.[19]

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[12] Root, P. P. M (1996). *The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as the New Frontier.* Thousand Oaks. **See Appendix B1**

[13] Caballero, C. (2004). p . 95.

[14] Christian, M. (2000) Multiracial Identity: An International Perspective. Palgrave. p. 13. In Caballero, C. (2004). p. 96.

[15] Christian, M. (2000). p. 13. In Caballero, C. (2004). p. 96.

[16] Small, S. (2001) Colour, Culture and Class: Interrogating Interracial Marriage and People of Mixed Racial Descent in the USA. p.129. In Parker. D. and Song M. (eds.) (2001) *Rethinking Mixed Race*. Pluto.

[17] Caballero, C. (2004). p. 95.

[18] Campion, K. (2019). p. 198.

[19] Campion, K. (2019). pp. 199-200.

METHODOLOGY OF EXAMINING "MIXEDNESS"

This thesis is situated within the "third wave" of studying "mixedness" as it takes an intersectional approach to examining "mixedness". It will analyse individual experiences of "mixedness" but with a grounding in a socio-political, historical understanding of how "mixedness" was constructed and responded to in England. This thesis presents a multidimensional consideration of "mixedness" in England by considering a wide range of sources. It explores how it has been responded to on a governmental, media, and public level while including how individuals and families have navigated and experienced "mixedness" through original oral history testimonies. As well as setting itself within the "third wave", this thesis builds on Caballero's idea of the "ordinariness" of "mixedness", which will be explored in Chapter Two and Chapter Three. Caballero explored the idea of "ordinariness" and interraciality from 1900-1939, intending to explore a "more complex history of racial mixing and mixedness".[20] As Chapter One will show, "mixedness" was often considered as one extreme or another. By analysing nine original oral history interviews and extending Caballero's approach of "ordinariness", more complex and multidimensional considerations of "mixedness" can be presented. As Caballero argues,

> Though, certainly, experiences of marginality, conflict, rejection and confusion can be repeatedly found in the history of interraciality in Britain, these do not constitute the whole story. Rather, the history is an entanglement of multiple discourses, of different […] perspectives, many of which offer challenging and competing viewpoints and understandings, most notably when they are rendered by those who are themselves in or from interracial families.[21]

THE TERMINOLOGY OF "MIXEDNESS"

A discussion on the terminology of "mixedness" could, and has, taken up the space of a whole research project. Terminology is forever evolving and differs from country and context. In England's past, people have been called "half-caste", since then, over recent decades, "Mixed-Race" now dominates terminology. Occasionally, terms such as "dual heritage" or "shared heritage" will be used. Peter Aspinall discussed the broad range of terminology surrounding "mixedness" and explored the different opinions on different terms from institutional, scholarly and public points of view.[22] Aspinall's study concluded that while anthropological and sociological studies are increasingly against the term "Mixed-Race" as it contradicts that biological "race" has been disproved, "Mixed-Race" remained the most popular term.[23]

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[20] Caballero, C. (2019). Interraciality in Early Twentieth Century Britain: Challenging Traditional Conceptualisations through Accounts of 'Ordinariness'. *Genealogy, 3(2),21.*https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy3020021. p. 3.

[21] Caballero, C. (2019). p. 3.

[22] 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.

[23] Aspinall, P. J (2009). p. 8.

Furthermore, while there is increasing doubt over the suitability of the word “Mixed-Race” in anthropological and sociological studies, it remains popular within public discussion. Aspinall looked at how the alternate terms were responded to – “Mixed origin” or “Dual” and “Shared Heritage”. [24] These options have been critiqued for their ambiguity because they lack a racial or ethnic aspect of identity, and Aspinall found that Mixed people and parents were unfamiliar or uncomfortable with these terms.[25] Despite discussion and attempts for new phrasing, “Mixed-Race” remains dominant. The continued dominance of “Mixed-Race” can be related to Stuart Hall’s discussion on “Race – The Floating signifier”, he stated:

> …though the genetic explanation of social and cultural behaviour is often denounced as racist, the genetic, biological, and physiological definitions of race are alive and well in the common sense, discourse is of us all. The fact that the biological, physiological, or genetic definition, having been shown out the front door, tends to sidle around the veranda and climb back in through the window.[26]

So, while the biological ideas of race have been long disproved, in discussions especially concerning “Mixed-Race”, notions of biological “race” and “race-mixing”, continues to creep back into the understandings of what “mixedness” is. To use Gunarantnam’s explanation, the idea of “race” has become what he called “naturalised”, despite all evidence disproving the biological claims of “race”. It has seeped into societies as fixed, as “scientific fact”, which has become a natural, discursive way of classifying people.[27] In order to move away from long disproved biological concepts of “race”, this thesis settles on the terms “Mixed” and “mixedness”, which may well evolve in years to come as the debate over which words are suitable remains. However, when handling personal accounts in this thesis, each person has the agency to choose the way they identify themselves and is referred to as such.

USING ORAL HISTORY

Enabling alternative considerations within the discourse of “mixedness” using oral history comes with its own set of challenges. However, many have argued that oral history is subject to more interrogation than traditional sources and often intensely criticised about aspects of fallibility that other sources are also burdened with. Oral history has evolved over a series of shifts called the “Four Paradigm Shifts.”[28] While the paradigms of oral history have happened in less than the last 100 years, oral history, in its most fundamental form, is not new. Paul Thompson states that while the oral history we recognise and practice is relatively new, it has a long past, stating, “oral history is as old as history itself.”[29] However, when oral history remerged as a discipline worthy of being in academia, it came with new modern mechanisms and epistemological implications.

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[24] Aspinall, P. J (2009). p. 5.

[25] Aspinall, P. J (2009). p. 5.

[26] Hall, S. (1997) *Race, The Floating Signifier* [Video]. thepostarchive. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PodKki9g2Pw

[27] Gunaratnam, Y. (2003). *Researching Race and Ethnicity: Methods, Knowledge and Power.* SAGE. p. 4.

[28] Thomson, A. (2007). Four Paradigm Transformations in Oral History. *The Oral History Review*, *34*(1), 49–70.

[29] Thompson, P. R. (2000). *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (3rd ed.). Oxford University Press. p. 25.

In the post-war period in the 1950s and 60s, there was a shift in looking at “history from below”. More scholars were looking to oral history as a source for historical research, which was also a movement assisted by technological advancements.[30] Following the development of oral history was the inevitable criticism of it. In the 1970s, positivists criticised oral history and attacked its weaknesses. Elements such as its dependency on memory and its subjectivity were used to try and discredit it as a legitimate academic source. However, responses to these criticisms resulted in the reactionary shift of the second paradigm. Post-positivist approaches turned these “weaknesses” into strengths across the late 1970s and into the 1980s. Subjectivity and memory were crucial topics in this discussion; the process of oral history became as much of a focus as its content. Rather than being the downfalls of oral history, they became its strengths, making it unique from the traditional, supposedly objective, lens of historical research. Defenders of oral history often reminded traditionalists that traditional, written sources were “no less selective and biased.”[31] The third paradigm of oral history occurred in the 1980s, which saw a transformation around how the oral historian/interviewee relationship was viewed. Research began to focus on objectivity, subjectivity, and oral history as an active human process which impacts the process and result. Victor Turner, an essential reference regarding the third paradigm, stated the importance of having “an objective relation to our own subjectivity.”[32] Therefore, subjectivity in oral history and historical sources is unavoidable. However, the subjectivity of a source does not instantly make it redundant. If it is acknowledged and the consequences and impacts examined, it remains as valuable as ever and opens up wider areas of discussion. The fourth paradigm of the 1990s and 2000s is named the “digital revolution” of oral history. [33] When writing the second edition of The Oral History Reader in 2006, Perks and Thompson refer to writing amidst a “dizzy digital revolution” of oral history.[34] They predict things that, with hindsight, can be confirmed, such as ease and accessibility of recording interviews online or the use of audio-visual recordings. [35] Perks and Thompson regard these developments as “enabling”.[36] However, while they increased ease and accessibility, “more ethical questions and epistemological implications” also arose, the role of which will be explored more in Chapter Four, along with a consideration of the impact on conducting interviews over Zoom. [37]

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[30] Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). *The Oral History Reader.* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

[31] Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). p. 3.

[32] Turner, V (1975) African Apostles: Ritual and Conversion in the Church of John Maranke. Cornell University Press. p. 8. In Yow, V. (1997). "Do I Like Them Too Much?": Effects of the Oral History Interview on the Interviewer and Vice-versa. *The Oral History Review*, *24*(1), 55-79. p. 63.

[33] Thomson, A. (2007). p. 40.

[34] Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). p. 8.

[35] Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). p. 8.

[36] Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). p. 9.

[37] Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). p. 9.

This thesis uses an original collection of oral history interviews collected from January to May 2021. The interviews were semi-structured, conducted over Zoom. Before interviews took place, I prepared and submitted a 'Postgraduate Student Research Ethical Review' for approval to the University of Huddersfield's Ethics Board for my school. The form evaluated the research ethics, covering elements such as participants, access to participants, storing data, informed consent, confidentiality, recorded media, anonymity, and harm. Alongside this, I created ethics forms for the interviews, including a Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form. See Appendix A1 and A2 accordingly.

The semi-structured nature of the interviews focused, but was not limited to, experiences of childhood such as home, family, school, leisure but also touched on experiences post-school and into working life. There are nine semi-structured interviews with people born or growing up in England of White - including various heritages such as English, Irish, Polish - and Black Caribbean or Black African heritage. The interviews ranged from 1 hour to 2 hours long, and the group of interviewees were slightly skewed in gender, with there being six women and three men. For a more detailed breakdown of the interviewee sample, **see Appendix B - Table 1**.

The sample used in this thesis is small, formed through online networks and recruitment posts online on Twitter and Facebook groups. In online spaces such as Facebook, the most interest was drawn from "Mixed Race UK", a public but closed Facebook group.[38] With hindsight, it was clear that posting in a group with such a clear identification in its name would heighten the probability of the interviewees identifying as such. While this is not a problem, it does skew the balance of interviewees. For example, people who may choose alternate ways to identify would be less likely to be part of such a group and, therefore, less likely to see the opportunity and participate. However, familial and professional networking was also utilised and helped to balance out this misjudgement. If the study was extended, I would research more places to recruit interviewees and keep the terminology as neutral as possible. For example, in Karis Champion's work, she phrased it as "White and Black Caribbean heritage". Champion expresses that it was "chosen as an appropriate catch-all term that would appeal to a broad Mixed-Race audience."[39] The goal of using oral testimonies is not to generalise experiences of "mixedness" as one homogenous whole. However, it is essential to understand the voices that dominate this thesis' sample. The experiences explored in the thesis are dominated by voices from working-class backgrounds from a small selection of English cities and towns.

Ultimately, this thesis combines oral history methodologies with a "third wave" approach to studying "mixedness". It is a necessary approach to expand the research that challenges traditional and dominant narratives of “mixedness”, favouring more multidimensional presentations of how “mixedness” has been navigated. It aims to nudge the ascendant psychological and sociological studies over and make space for a much needed historical analysis of constructions of, responses to and experiences of “mixedness”. As Paul Thompson states:

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[38] Closed Facebook Groups mean that they can be publicly searched for, but members must ask to join or be invited by a member, and only members can see the group's posts.

[39] Campion, K. (2019). p. 201.

> By introducing new evidence from the underside, by shifting the focus and opening new areas of inquiry, by challenging some of the assumptions and accepted judgments of historians, by bringing recognition to substantial groups of people who had been ignored, a cumulative process of transformation is set in motion.[40]

Lastly and most simply, now, more than ever, we can connect with people, interview, and hear and record oral histories. To move forward on a thesis looking at the experiences of “mixedness” without embracing the opportunities to record and document original personal testimonies would be an oversight. As one of oral history's most prominent early defenders, Alessandro Portelli argued, “Historical work using oral sources is unfinished because of the nature of the sources; Historical work excluding all sources (where available) is incomplete by definition.”[41]

CONSTRUCTION OF, RESPONSES TO, AND EXPERIENCES OF “MIXEDNESS”

This thesis examines how ideas of “mixedness” were constructed and how “mixedness” fits in with a broader examination of ideas of “race”, eugenics, and scientific racism in *Chapter One – Miscegenation in Empire: Fear, Threat and Desire.* Chapter Two: *Accounts of “Ordinariness” - Children of the 70s and 80s* builds on the work of Caballero. It explores the idea of the “ordinariness” of “mixedness” through an analysis of oral histories from those growing up in the 1970s and 1980s England. Similarly, *Chapter Three: The Limits of “Ordinariness”* examines the limits of expressing “mixedness” as ordinary through an analysis on “spatiality”, it looks at where and when it was possible for people to feel the “ordinariness” proposed in Chapter Two. Finally, *Chapter Four: Reflections – Oral History and Digital Output*, is a reflective piece on the experience of conducting oral history interviews and producing a digital public output alongside this written thesis.

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[40] Thompson, P. (2006) The Voice of the Past. In Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). p. 39.
[41] Portelli, A. (2006) What Makes Oral History Different. In Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). p. 40.

Chapter One: *Miscegenation in Empire: Threat, Fear & Desire*

Chapter One will explore the historical context of how ideas of “mixedness” have been constructed in English history. A foundational chapter on the historical context of “mixedness” in England is essential for establishing that “mixedness” has a long place throughout English history. Additionally, it helps develop an understanding of where ideas of “mixedness” and their consequential responses stemmed from and how fortified preconceptions towards “racial mixing” - the parents, families and children involved - were formed and have prevailed throughout English history. This chapter will analyse concepts connected to the British empire, British colonialism and talk about British history. Analysing concepts derived through the British empire is necessary to understand the constructions and responses to “mixedness”. However, it will result in an interconnected and overlapping reference to both English and British history throughout this contextual chapter.

Ideas of “mixedness” have been constructed and perceived differently in different countries. A country's historical context is critical in understanding how “mixedness” has been constructed, responded to and experienced. [42] Exploring eugenics and the panic over “social hygiene and moral welfare”, enables a necessary understanding of how “mixedness” was first constructed and responded to in England. It also helps identify patterns and tropes of how “mixedness” has been responded to and constructed, which creates legacies that did not simply disappear, but would foreground later responses to “mixedness”.

In this chapter, when analysing how “mixedness” was constructed and responded to in English history, it is primarily considered through ideas of “miscegenation”. Miscegenation is defined as the mixture of people considered different “races”. It was often discussed in terms of sexual unions and reproduction but also refers to marriage and cohabitation. Miscegenation and the ideas it was interlaced with, such as eugenics, and the construction of notions of “race”, were central to the expansion of British colonialism. The growth of the British empire and colonialism resulted in inevitable “ racial mixing” – both consensual, but more often than not, non-consensual. Therefore, until the rise of multi-racial Britain, miscegenation in English and British history was primarily considered a concern of the British empire rather than a domestic one. Within eugenics, ideas of miscegenation and concepts of hybridity were discussed. Hybridity in this case, was discussed by contemporaries as the implications and outcomes of miscegenation - discussed further below. This chapter will explore how British colonial constructions of miscegenation and hybridity were formed by exploring how aspects of gender, class, sexuality, and economy intertwined with “race”. It will explore how these intertwined aspects were presented when interraciality and miscegenation became a subject closer to home and how elements of the colonial approach and constructions of “mixedness” were fortified by domestic events such as the 1919 seaport riots and The Fletcher Report of 1930. Looking at this historical context of empire and colonialism allows us to see how “mixedness” was initially constructed and received in England and what elements have prevailed past the era of British colonialism and have trailed into more contemporary responses to “mixedness” in England.

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[42] See Tizard, B., & Phoenix, A. (1993). pp. 14-15, for an examination of how the historical context of miscegenation differs between Britain, the USA & the Caribbean. It links ideas of the one-drop rule, colourism, race and class, plantation society, and slaveholding structures of a three caste system.

MISCEGENATION AND EUGENICS IN BRITAIN

The nineteenth century and early twentieth century were dominated by the development of racial theories and discussions of eugenics. Ideas of “race” and “racial mixing” - miscegenation - were considered at a compulsive level; many voiced their theories on what the “product” of miscegenation meant - often through a lens and concern for empire, colonisation and economy. In *Colonial Desire,* Young explores the work of theorists such as Arthur de Gobineau, Anthony Trollope, C. L. Temple, and Charles Brooke to gather an insight into the various approaches to hybridity and colonialism, which spanned over the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. [43] Their ideas varied, some developed ideas from a “hybrid vigour” approach, also known as heterosis or hyperdescent. Hybrid vigour was the view that miscegenation would combine the best of both parent races, resulting in enhanced offspring. Nevertheless, most approached miscegenation and hybridity from a “hybrid degeneration” position, which was the belief that with miscegenation comes the inevitable degeneration and degradation of genes, fertility, and that the “product” would be physically weaker and less intelligent than the parent “races”. Consequentially, some thought it was a threat to the empire, others thought the British empire should end for fear of sexual transgression destroying the racial hierarchy, and a minority thought hybridity was the solution to leaving the colonies in an economical and “honourable” manner.

Arthur de Gobineau was a nineteenth century French Aristocrat, novelist, diplomat and social thinker, well known for developing racist theories in “*An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races.”*[44] Gobineau theorised about the sexuality of empire, Young outlines that Gobinaeu’s theory, in short, was that there is both sexual attraction and “repugnance” between “races”.[45] He argued that all “races” have a “repulsion for crossing blood” and that, naturally, White races are inclined to be sexually attracted to other races, which results in “racial-mixing”.[46] In contrast, “yellow and brown races” are more likely to experience repulsion.[47] Gobinaeu attributed this to “Aryan peoples” natural “civilising instincts” but stated that this desire was White races’ hamartia and would cause their “fall”.[48] Quite different is Anthony Trollope’s theorising, Trollope was a nineteenth century English novelist whose approach to miscegenation displays elements of hybrid vigour. Trollope argued for the "advantages of racial 'amalgamation'" for the British Empire, he believed a mix of Black and White to be the solution to an "honourable withdrawal from an uneconomic colony", he theorised:

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[43] Young, R. (2010). pp. 16-17. Young lays out all the different arguments over hybridity: polygenist species, amalgamation thesis, the decompositions theses, negative amalgamation thesis and the argument that hybridity varies between 'proximate' and 'distant' species.

[44] Gobineau, A. (1853-5) Essay on the Inequality of Races. In Young, R. (2010).

[45] Gobineau, A. (1853-5) Essay on the Inequality of Races. In Young, R. (2010). p. 107.

[46] Gobineau, A. (1853-5) Essay on the Inequality of Races. In Young, R. (2010). p. 107.

[47] Gobineau, A. (1853-5) Essay on the Inequality of Races. In Young, R. (2010). p. 107.

[48] Gobineau, A. (1853-5) Essay on the Inequality of Races. In Young, R. (2010). p. 107.

> Providence has sent white men and black men to these regions in order that from them may spring a race fitted by intellect for civilisation; and fitted by physical organization for tropical labour – the West Indies 1895 – purpose was to create a new race, then once that is done 'to take off our hats and bid farewell to the West Indies.[49]

Trollope's theory shows how miscegenation was often viewed and supported through an economic lens because it could benefit Britain's empire economically. A sentiment echoed by Charles Brooke, who discussed British colonialism in India. Brooke argued that British colonisers in India would not survive or acclimatise to ruling in India without "intermixture and amalgamation".[50] Brooke believed that there was a need for a generation of "half-caste children of Europeans" to take over and rule India in Britain's place. [51] Again, Brooke's beliefs show how miscegenation was an economic and colonial tool and was not an approach limited to British rule in the Caribbean but across the British empire. Considerations of miscegenation and hybridity were reduced to tools for the economic benefit of the British Empire. Another side of the argument is C.L. Temple's theories. Temple was a Lieutenant-Governor of Northern Nigeria from 1914 to 1917, and theorised miscegenation in terms of colonisation. Rather than seeing it as a solution, he feared what "racial-crossing" would mean for empire. In *Native Races and their Rulers, 1918,* Temple presents the three possible "destinies of the conquered".[52] In his 1918 work, Temple was vehemently against European and African mixing; his fear of "racial fusion" was so extreme that he anticipated a future where the "dismantling of the Empire itself" would be necessary to avoid such "racial fusion."[53]. Temple's fear appears similar to how Gobineau saw "racial-mixing" as the "fall" of the "Aryan peoples"; both saw miscegenation as a sexual and racial transgression that threatened British Empire's racial hierarchy.[54] Temple feared miscegenation to such an extent that he argued the only way of preventing miscegenation and thus, in their minds maintaining White racial hierarchy, was to dismantle the empire.

Gobineau, Trollope, Brooke and Temple had differing conclusions on the place, use and consequences of miscegenation. However, each viewed miscegenation and hybridity fundamentally as an issue of empire and economy. They discussed how the racial and sexual transgressions that came with miscegenation could either benefit or threaten the empire and the economy it upheld. Young encapsulates it as "colonial desire", which covers not only sexual desire but also colonial, racial and economic desire. The academia of the time was not the only voice fortifying these perceptions of miscegenation. Young and Caballero examine the impact of cultural works in fortifying pathological approaches and stereotypes of miscegenation and "mixedness".[55] Young goes as far as exploring the complicity of western literature alongside western academic knowledge, arguing that they "colluded with and indeed been instrumental in the production of actual forms of colonial subjugation and administration."[56] Caballero also discusses the impact of how Mixed people were represented in fiction from the Reconstruction era for America and the literature of imperial Britain. Caballero outlines the, "stock portrayal of racially mixed people as beautiful but doomed or beautiful but deadly again emerges from the underlying articulations of vigorous and degenerative impurity…where the crossing of races can result in the physical best of both worlds yet the moral or emotional worst."[57] The nineteenth and twentieth century ideas of miscegenation and hybridity fuelled pathological stereotypes and stigmas, especially hybrid degeneration. These pathological approaches to interracial relations and miscegenation leaked into domestic affairs and are further displayed through the following analysis of the 1919 seaport riots, particularly the role of race, gender, and sexuality within them. The fear and threat of miscegenation would continue throughout the 1919 seaport riots and permeate throughout the early twentieth century.

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[49] Trollope, A. (1859) The West Indies. In Young, R. (2010). p. 113.

[50] Brooke, C. (1866) Ten Years in Saráwak, 2 vols. In Young, R. (2010). p. 134.

[51] Brooke, C. (1866) Ten Years in Saráwak, 2 vols. In Young, R. (2010). p. 134.

[52] Temple, C.L. (1918) Native Races and their Rulers 1918. In Young, R. (2010). p. 169.

[53] Gobineau, A. (1853-5) Essay on the Inequality of Races. In Young, R. (2010). p. 107.

[54] Gobineau, A. (1853-5) Essay on the Inequality of Races. In Young, R. (2010). p. 107; Gobineau, A. (1853-5) Essay on the Inequality of Races. In Young, R. (2010). p. 107.

THE RACIALISATION OF THE 1919 SEAPORT RIOTS: BLACK MEN AND WHITE WOMEN

The response of eugenic theories to "mixedness", or in this case to miscegenation, in English history has been explored in terms of the British empire and colonisation. It has been exhibited that issues of race and miscegenation were often linked to fears and threats towards Britain's empire and economy – could it cause the downfall of the British empire, or could it benefit the empire? The consequence was the fortification of damaging, pathological stigmas that continued to trail into society's perceptions of "mixedness". However, the fear and threat of miscegenation, while dominated by concerns for British colonialism, also became a domestic concern. The 1919 "race riots", also known as the seaport riots, have become an historical pinpoint discussed by historians that have examined "race" and multiculturalism in England and Britain, such as Jacqueline Jenkinson, Laura Tibili, Chamion Caballero, Peter Aspinall, and Gopalan Balachandran.[58] The 1919 seaport riots is an important event to analyse how "mixedness" was responded to domestically by the government, media and public and will highlight how “race” and miscegenation were interweaved with ideas of gender, sexuality and class in England and beyond.

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[55] Caballero, C. (2014) Mixing Race in Britain: The Influence of Academic Publics. In Taylor, Y. (ed.) (2014) *The Entrepreneurial University: Engaging Publics, Intersecting Impacts. Palgrave Macmillan: London.* pp. 223-241. p.4; Young, R. (2010). pp. 93-94.

[56] Young, R. (2010). pp. 159-160.

[57] Caballero, C. (2004). p. 70.

[58] Balachandran, G. (2014). Subaltern Cosmopolitanism, Racial Governance and Multiculturalism: Britain, c. 1900-45. *Social History, 39*(4), 528-546.; Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018); Jenkinson, J. (2009). *Black 1919: Riots, Racism and Resistance in Imperial Britain* (pp. 72-102). Liverpool University Press.; Tabili, L. (1996). 'Women of a Very Low Type': Crossing Racial Boundaries in Imperial Britain. In *Gender and Class in Modern Europe*, ed. L.L. Frader and S.O. Rose. Cornell University Press.; Tabili, L. (1994) The Construction of Racial Difference in Twentieth century Britain: The Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, 1925. *Journal of British Studies* 33: 54–98.

In January 1919, there was a violent disruption in Glasgow. It was the first of a series of violent riots in Britain's port communities throughout the year. Disruptions happened across England: Liverpool, Salford, Hull and London. Riots also happened in Glasgow and in Cardiff and Newport in Wales. In post-war Britain, seaport communities suffered from economic and social issues such as unemployment, housing shortages and demobilised workers returning home from war. There was an extra hit from the recession of shipping, an old staple industry upheld by the war. However, there was a nationwide struggle; post-war tension, disillusionment and economic unrest swept across post-war Britain, which was not isolated to seaport towns. Jenkinson argues that while the seaport riots had their own “specific economic circumstances”, it remains essential to “contextualise the riots within the wider wave of rioting and social protest across Britain during and in the months immediately after the First World War.” [59]

Despite being part of national economic and social discontent, the violent outbreaks in seaport towns were twisted into being solely a “race” problem. Seaport communities were often hubs of multi-ethnic communities, with workers from various backgrounds - African, Caribbean, South Asian, “Arab” and Chinese. There was xenophobic and racial hostility which meant that there was also hostility in seeing “coloured workers” with White women. However, such White working-class hostility was neither a new nor an exceptional circumstance in British history. Unions for White seamen launched colour bars against “foreign” workers, but the unions' tactics were not new, as they were used throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[60] The motivation to keep jobs for British workers provokes a question of what it meant to be British. There was a clear hierarchy and those that were part of British Colonies and considered themselves British were dismissed as “alien”; as Jenkinson argues, Britishness was very much “colour-coded.”[61] As a result, there were violent clashes in shipping hiring yards and seaport communities between White and Black workers competing for jobs. Seaport riots were economically motivated but took the form of xenophobic action; the violence focused on race over a focus on social and economic problems widespread in post-war Britain. Press reports often echoed and emphasised racial hostility over-reporting on the economic problems resulting in what Jenkinson calls an “anti-alien spin”.[62]

The response from newspapers helped inscribe the 1919 seaport riots as an issue of “race” – “1919 Race Riots” - rather than one of rife unemployment, poor living conditions and housing shortages in a country consumed by post-war economic and social problems. Newspapers ran with the idea that it was a

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[59] Jenkinson, J. (2009). p. 2

[60] Jenkinson, J. (2009). p. 2.

[61] Jenkinson, J. (2009). p. 5.

[62] Jenkinson, J. (2009). pp. 26, 39.

"colour problem". Caballero and Aspinall document several newspaper examples that exhibit how the 1919 riots were twisted into a discussion about "race" and White women being with Black men across English port towns. [63] Many newspapers such as *The Nottingham Evening Post*, *The Times* and *The Taunton Courier and Western Advertiser* report on the "problem" of White women and Black men, calling the Black men "arrogant and overbearing" and the White women "a class of women who infect seaports".**[64]** A pattern can be identified through these extracts; each lay blame on "arrogant" Black men and talk about a "certain class" of White women. The extracts touch on the broader context of the economic struggles of demobilised men but ultimately return to the problem being sexual jealousy and animosity of the White working-class men towards Black men being with White women. They note the jealousy of White men in the face of the Black men's "arrogance" and the White women's "boasts" of "the superior qualities of the negroes as compared with those of the white men."[65] The venomous description of White women as "a class of women who infest seaports", encapsulates the attitudes held towards White women interacting with Black men. It highlights that it was certainly a problem of race but was also seen as the transgressions of lower-class White women involved in such taboo relations. White women in interracial relations were constructed as being lower class and often described as prostitutes or "loose".

The way the seaport riots were reported on enlightens several aspects of how miscegenation was responded to. First, it shows that responses to "mixedness" are not limited to ideas about the "Mixed" child but were concerned about the parenting "races". For the parenting "races", Black men were reported on as hypersexualised, lacking "British morals" and White women were portrayed as at fault for transgressing racial and sexual barriers and were automatically assumed as lower class, "loose", a prostitute, or all three. In the setting of the seaport riots, miscegenation and "mixedness" was seen as transgressing barriers on several fronts. It was not only the media that added fuel to such views. Sir Ralph Williams, a former colonial administrator, wrote to *The Times* in 1919. In his letter, Williams reduced the issue to hypersexualised Black men and "white women of a certain temperament".[66] Williams describes it as revolting and brushes off these "passions" as "instinctive" and expected base responses. Williams framed it to present the Black men as being active to "take advantage" of these White women and the women framed as passive and "allowing themselves to be taken".[67] It encapsulates several crossovers of how miscegenation was responded to and how the parent “races” were framed within stereotypes obsessed with sexuality, and seen as intrinsic of their “race”, gender, class or a mixture of the three.

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[63] Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). pp. 61-64.

[64] 'Colour Riots Sequel', *Nottingham Evening Post*, 17 June 1919. In Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). *Mixed Race Britain in The Twentieth Century. Palgrave Macmillan.* p. 62; 'Black and White At Liverpool', *The Times*, 10 June 1919. In Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). *Mixed Race Britain in The Twentieth Century*. Palgrave Macmillan. p. 62. ; *Taunton Courier and Western Advertiser*, 18 June 1919. In Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). *Mixed Race Britain in The Twentieth Century.* Palgrave Macmillan. p. 62. **See Appendix C2 to C4.**

[65] 'Colour Riots Sequel', *Nottingham Evening Post*, 17 June 1919. In Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). p. 62.; 'Black And White At Liverpool', *The Times*, 10 June 1919. In Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). p.62. ; *Taunton Courier and Western Advertiser*, 18 June 1919. In Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018*)*.p. 62. **See Appendix C2 to C4.**

[66] Sir Ralph Williams to *The Times*, 14 June 1919. In Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). pp. 63-64. **See Appendix C5.**

[67] Sir Ralph Williams to *The Times*, 14 June 1919. In Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). pp. 63-64. **See Appendix C5.**

Concerning the 1919 seaport riots, Rowe argues that the “racialised discourse connected with gendered accounts to criticise Black men and White women at the same time, thus leaving White men, who appear to have instigated the riots, relatively blameless.”[68] Rowe's argument also highlights what dominant discourse within “mixedness”, one concerned with Black and White dichotomy, specifically Black men and White women. Consequentially, there has been a limited perceptions of “mixedness” regarding whom it involves- in aspects of class, gender and “race”. As Caballero and Aspinall state, “the rising moral panic over interraciality in port communities tended to obscure the small but diverse mixing occurring across the cities, suburbs and rural middle-class home-steads of Britain.”[69] The response to miscegenation through the 1919 seaport riots highlights that the pathological constructions of “mixedness” did not just grow from concerns of empire but were domestic concerns too. Not only was there a racial and gendered dimension to responses to “mixedness” and miscegenation, but concepts of class also influenced it. The ideas explored in this section show how miscegenation was constructed and responded to across England in the early twentieth century - it also shows hints of similar situations in Wales and Scotland. The section also hints at what stereotypes and stigmas would remain and repeat past the 1919 seaport riots and into a moral panic about the “social and moral welfare” of the lower class port communities, which is encapsulated by The Fletcher Report 1930.

THE FLETCHER REPORT 1930: PATHOLOGISING “MIXEDNESS”

Following the 1919 riots and them being reduced to a “race” problem, the fault of Black men and their relationships with White women, there was a “moral panic” and a surge in research on the “social hygiene and moral welfare” of seaport towns. Mark Christian describes this wave of research as “philanthropic racism” and “paternalism of the highest order.”[70] Rather than helping welfare conditions, it continued to fortify pathological ideas of interraciality and “mixedness” and that it was limited to the lower classes of England.[71]

At the core of such “philanthropic racism” was Muriel Fletcher’s *The Report on an Investigation into the Colour Problem in Liverpool and Other Ports* 1930, a critical source for examining the responses to “mixedness” in England.[72] It became renowned for its pathological, racist survey, which cemented the use of the derogatory term “half-caste”, stigmatised interracial families and Mixed children and fed racialised stereotypes - particularly within Liverpool. [73] It was pathological in the sense that it reported on and constructed ideas that “mixedness” was inherently and intrinsically wrong, abnormal and transgressive in numerous ways; that “mixedness” was not normal or to be desired and therefore neither were the children and families. The report directly refers to the 1919 seaport riots when evaluating the extent of the “colour problem”. In sum, it stated that the riots were the fault of Black men and their interaction with local White women.[74] Additionally, it was supported by the University of Liverpool, Rachel Fleming - a prominent eugenicist - and was conducted on behalf of the Association for the Welfare of Half-caste Children. Thus, the report had a grounding in official support, which helped legitimise the pathological and racialised ideology it presented.[75]

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[68] Rowe, M. (2000). *The Racialisation of Disorder in Twentieth Century Britain.* Routledge. p. 57.

[69] Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). pp. 55-56.

[70] Christian, M. (2008). The Fletcher Report 1930: A Historical Case Study of Contested Black Mixed Heritage Britishness. *Journal of Historical Sociology, 21(2-3)*, 213-241. p. 217.

[71] Christian, M. (2008). pp. 217-218.

[72] Fletcher, M. (1930). *The Report on an Investigation into the Colour Problem in Liverpool and Other Ports.* The Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Half-Caste Children.

The Fletcher Report breaks down the analysis of the interracial family, what Fletcher calls “The Coloured Family”. Fletcher’s report constructs pathological stigmas of the Black men with White women, a familiar sentiment continuing from the reports of the 1919 seaport riots. Furthermore, the same patterns of linking miscegenation to sexuality and class are reinforced throughout the report. Fletcher blamed the “poor constitution” of the “half-caste” children on their Black father and concluded that the White women “…almost invariably regret their alliance with a coloured man and realising that they have chosen a life which is repugnant, become extraordinarily sensitive about their position. [In addition,] …their sexual demands impose continual strain on white women.”[76] Similar to the responses seen to the 1919 seaport riots, Fletcher reduces the idea of the interracial couple down to ideas of Black male sexuality; through the report, she stigmatised the Black father and the women to “consort” with them all while commenting on its “repugnance” under the guise of being an objective, fact-led and philanthropic report. Concerning the children, Fletcher's report encapsulates the characterisation of the “tragic mulatto” trope; she refers to the “half-caste” women as perpetually miserable and reports that:

> The children find their lives full of conflict both within themselves and within the family and all the circumstances of their lives tend to give undue prominence to sex. These families have a low standard of life, morally and economically, and there appears to be little future for the children.[77]

In this extract, Fletcher fuels the pathological creation of the unfortunate “half-caste” child, continuing on the idea that misery and low morals were bound in the fate of all children from interracial families. Another critical aspect of Fletcher's report was its explicit “biological racism”. Fletcher presents the breakdown of children's physiognomy using Rachel Fleming’s work. She includes descriptions of children as having “anglo-negroid” physical characteristics: “30 per cent had English eyes”, “about 12 per cent had lips like the average English child.”[78] While there had been much biological and pseudo-scientific condemnation of miscegenation, Fletcher attacked the “half-caste” and its parent “races” as a disdainful social and moral consequence. Many who analyse The Fletcher Report argue that its impact was, indeed, very real. Christian argued the report “worsened their life chances and existence in the city – branded them “genetically abnormal” and argued that the report cemented “fears” of the social and moral consequences of the “racialised mythology and sexual taboo of Black - White sexual relations.”[79]

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[73] Fletcher, M. (1930). In Christian, M. (2008). p. 221.
[74] Fletcher, M. (1930). In Christian, M. (2008). p. 221.
[75] Christian, M. (2008). p. 218.
[76] Fletcher, M. (1930). p. 21.
[77] Fletcher, M. (1930). p. 26.

The immediate reaction and impact of the report were mixed; Caballero and Aspinall report that only a handful of people cited the work - most of which were in the Liverpool school – and that, generally, it lacked any commentary.[80] Alternatively, Christian reports that The Fletcher Report was held in high stead by the committee in charge of it and to a few other influential contemporaries to Fletcher.[81] In the years that followed, similar surveys were conducted on seamen's conditions onshore, which looked into port welfare conditions. It was a Joint Committee of the British Social Hygiene Council (BSHC) and the British Council for the Welfare of the Mercantile Marine.[82] The findings focused on morality and cleanliness, much like the social and moral welfare motivations behind Fletcher; Caballero and Aspinall state that the report used “similar pejorative language” to Fletcher's.[83] The report had a patronising approach towards other races, in this case, Black men, saying that they do not have the means to understand or share “civilised”, British moral codes and it portrays the repetition of the idea of unfortunate White women of “loose moral character.”

The stereotypes and stigmas highlighted by the 1919 seaport riots were not an exception and they permeated English responses to “mixedness” well after 1919. Mark Christian has completed much analysis on the impact of The Fletcher Report on Liverpool's Black-Mixed heritage population and argued that it was the “nadir in the Liverpool Mixed-heritage population's struggle to secure a positive social identity.”[84] The Fletcher Report had a powerful impact and produced pernicious conclusions about interracial families and “mixedness”, which cannot be undone by ignoring it, especially in an analysis of Britain's response to “mixedness”. It is crucial to include because it shows how “mixedness” and miscegenation were examined in Britain domestically; it was an issue of eugenics, a social and moral issue, and portrayed as a regrettable vice of lower classes.

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[78] Fletcher, M. (1930). p. 26.
[79] Christian, M. (2008). p. 219.
[80] Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). pp. 71-72.
[81] Christian, M. (2008). p. 236.
[82] Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). p. 72.
[83] Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). P .72.
[84] Christian, M. (2008). p. 219.

“BROWN BABIES” AND POST-WAR BRITAIN

The start of a new decade brought war to Europe and, with it, continued issues surrounding miscegenation and interracial couplings. However, through the years of the Second World War, the fears took a different form. Rather than concerns surrounding the men from the British colonies or China who settled in port towns, 1942 to 1945 saw a wave of American servicemen be based in England. Approximately one million American servicemen were based in England.; an estimated 130,000 (13%) were African American servicemen.[85]

Both the British government and the American military feared the likelihood of miscegenation and children resulting from White women associating with the Black American servicemen. Some government constituencies implemented segregation in cinemas and dances in a few areas. However, any attempts to prevent miscegenation fraternisation with the American military failed as approximately 22,000 children were born from the presence of the American military in British towns. [86] Around 1700 of these children were estimated to be from African American Servicemen.[87] The stories of these families and children are explored in depth by Lucy Bland in *Britain's `Brown Babies': The Stories of Children Born to Black GIs and White Women in the Second World War.*[88] Much like other reactions explored in this chapter, the common response was fear and concern. In 1947 American press called the existence of these children an “insoluble problem to the British” and the stigma surrounding Mixed children was only fuelled more by the fact most were born ‘illegitimately’ outside of marriage.[89]

The post-war era was one of mass migration. While Mixed families had primarily resided in the port towns of England in the past, post-war saw people from former colonies migrate and settle across the towns and cities of England and Britain. With it followed the increase in mixed relationships, families and children. In 1950 UNESCO released a statement which officially stated there was no such things as different biological races.[90] They followed up in 1964 with a further statement saying that the “biological consequences of a marriage depend only on the individual genetic make-up of the couple and not on their race. Therefore, no biological justification exists for prohibiting intermarriage between persons of different races, or for advising against it on racial grounds”.[91] However, this did not prevent the increasing racial tension, which was embodied not only by the public but became engrained in the politics of the twentieth century, the responses and reactions of which will be further examined in *Chapter Three: The Limits of "Ordinariness" – Space & Place.*

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[85] Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). p .195

[86] Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). p .196

[87] Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). p .196

[88] Bland, L. (2019). *Britain's Brown babies': The Stories of Children Born to Black GIs and White Women in the Second World War* (1st ed.). Manchester University Press.

[89] Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). p .202

[90] Tizard, B., & Phoenix, A. (1993). pp. 34-35.

[91] Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). p .201

From eugenic theories concerned with empire, the domestic moral panic about miscegenation to the so-called "philanthropic" research of the 1930s, each exemplifies how much miscegenation and hybridity were a concern of the time for different reasons. There were different motivations and outcomes, but within the construction and responses to miscegenation there were intertwined ideas of the transgression of "race", gender, sexuality and class. Placing research of "mixedness" within its historical context, shows a more comprehensive historical narrative concerning "interraciality" in England. It challenges the misconceptions that England's interraciality is limited to the post-war period and shows a long history of England and Britain interacting with "race" and ideas of miscegenation. Furthermore, it is vital to challenge the way "mixedness" is sometimes discussed presently. Often, "mixedness" is romanticised as a fantastic feat of "post-racial society" in the public sphere. Exploring the historical context of "mixedness" and in England shows not only that it not a modern phenomenon, but it shows that perceptions of "mixedness", while now are often romanticised, in reality, have a long history of being pathologised. Lastly, examining how "mixedness" was responded to in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century England, through a lens of British empire, allows the relevant issues of hybrid vigour, hybrid degeneracy, stereotypes and stigmas to be traced back as a pattern that repeats itself in responses to "mixedness". This chapter's look at "Mixedness", or miscegenation, not only concerns the Mixed child but highlights a history of how the "parent races" were sexualised, racialised and skewed as inherently low in society – economically, socially and morally. It shows that the interracial family, in all parts, was seen as a transgression of society's rules and were a part of a bigger story of pathologising "mixedness".

As displayed by this chapter, ideas of "mixedness" and miscegenation were often discussed through the lens of the British empire or at least seen as the consequence of the British empire's expansion. Miscegenation was heavily discussed in the eugenics that empire fostered – would the "miscegenated product" be beneficial or damaging for empire? – or it was analysed as an issue of social and moral panic. The chapter has shown where the initial constructions of "mixedness" in England were intrinsically linked and derived from British empire. Colonial constructions of miscegenation and hybridity as a threat towards British empire seeped into domestic concerns. Next, the domestic events of The seaport riots 1919 and The Fletcher Report forged the roots of miscegenation being a vice constrained to the lower classes, to hypersexualised Black men and "loose" White women, thus, intertwining issues of class, sexuality and gender with that of "race". At the same time, it fortified the pathological stigmas of being poor, unfortunate and tragic to all parts of the interracial family.

While there was discussion and presence of interraciality and “mixedness” before the mid-twentieth century, post-war British society did see a rise in a multi-racial England. Consequentially, it would incite anxieties about race and miscegenation. Responses to “mixedness” would no longer be concentrated in seaport towns. Therefore, the material on responses to “mixedness” becomes vaster and more widespread. There are more accessible sources that look at experiences of “mixedness” and interracial families in Britain in the latter twentieth century, which provides more varied sources to challenge the limited views on “mixedness” outlined by Chapter One.

Chapter Two: *Accounts of "Ordinariness" - Children of the 70s & 80s*

As stated in the introduction of this thesis, a combination of oral histories and an understanding of the historical context of "mixedness" in England will be used to explore how "mixedness" was responded to, constructed and experienced. This chapter will use personal testimony, focusing on nine original oral history interviews to discuss a more multidimensional approach to "mixedness", concentrating on people growing up Mixed in the 1970s and 1980s England. The chapter will explore various experiences while discussing the concept of the "ordinariness" of "mixedness".

The interviews analysed cover multiple topics, but this chapter will focus on experiences growing up, the family, home, school and playing-out. The parameters of this chapter examine this range of experiences through a lens of "mixedness" as ordinary. The idea of "mixedness" as ordinary will become essential to building a more multidimensional approach to how experiences of "mixedness" are viewed. The academic and public dialogue of "mixedness" is dominated by information and analysis on concepts such as identity, terminology, adoption, community rejection, psychology of "mixedness". Exploring experiences of "mixedness" with an idea of "ordinariness" can be used to challenge both the hybrid vigour and pathological approaches to "mixedness" outlined in Chapter One. At the same time, it challenges conventional approaches and fixations that have saturated studies on "mixedness". Thus, this chapter contributes to work from the likes of Caballero, Aspinall, Champion, and more, to add to a multidimensional approach to "mixedness" by exploring its "ordinariness".

Here, "ordinariness" takes inspiration from Caballero's approach to discussing the "ordinariness" of "mixedness" in 1930s Britain.[92] Caballero used Silverstone's definition of the idea of "ordinariness" - "ordinariness" as meaning "the conventional, the normal, the natural, the everyday, the taken for granted".[93] However, the idea of "ordinariness" should not be used to diminish the complexity of "mixedness". In fact, this chapter will combine Silverstone's definition with Elise C Boddie's use of "ordinariness" - "ordinariness" as "the state of being treated as a full, complex person and a rightful recipient of human concern."[94] Thus, there can be complexity in exploring "ordinariness" and exploring "mixedness" since ordinary does not mean that experiences of conflict, marginality, trauma or racism have to be ignored. It means that these complexities and experiences in life do not define the whole existence of "mixedness", nor does "mixedness" make them inevitable. Taking a multidimensional approach means a person's experiences are not reduced and restrained to an existence of conflict and marginality. It also means that experiences explored do not *have* to be bound to concepts of ethnicity and “mixedness”; they can equally explore experiences of adventure, happiness and joy. In sum, this thesis uses “ordinariness” to mean the normal, the everyday, the conventional, which, when brought to the centre of a discussion on “mixedness”, enables a multidimensional analysis and understanding of the possibilities of what “mixedness” can mean and how it can be experienced.

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[92] Caballero, C. (2019). p. 3.
[93] Silverstone, R. (1994). The Power of the Ordinary: On Cultural Studies and the Sociology of Culture. Sociology 28: 991–1001. doi:10.1177/0038038594028004012. p.944. In Caballero, C. (2019). p. 3.
[94] Boddie, E. C. (2018). Ordinariness as Equality. *Indiana Law Journal (Bloomington), 93*(1), 57. p. 57.

Chapter Two will explore experiences of “mixedness” through oral history. The intention of the oral history interviews was to approach the interviews unencumbered by expectations, assumptions and stereotypes of “mixedness”, to try to be as open as possible. However, oral histories are fundamentally an active process generated by the evocation of memories in an interview process. Even before the interview takes place, there is a level of expectation from both sides. There is a reflection on what to expect, what to prepare, and an awareness of the project and research. As Elizabeth Tonkin argues, “one cannot detach the oral representation of pastness from the relationship of teller and audience in which it was occasioned”. [95] I would extend Tonkin’s statement to the point of first contact – for example, a message or an email - is where many of the foundational thoughts, expectations and perhaps even the process of remembering begins. The process of memories and remembering is a complicated one, and one which interviewees can often be very aware of. For example, at the end of Sue’s interview, she reflected:

> It’s really difficult because … sometimes, some of the questions is such a long time ago and I’m thinking have I sort of like got rose coloured spectacles on? … Am I remembering it how it was or? Am I thinking this was how it was, but it wasn’t really? I don’t know. Is this how I wanted it to be? [96]

The extract highlights the complicated nature of working with oral histories and is a valuable reminder that while this thesis is centred on an analysis of the experiences and memories of nine people, within memories are people’s truths as well as contradictions, blurry memories, and blank spaces within remembering. The chapter will intertwine analysis on the oral history process, processes of remembering and memory as sections of the oral history interviews are analysed. However, a focus on relationship building, the interview process and its impact will be explored more in-depth in Chapter Four.

“I’M JUST ME.”

Exploring “mixedness” as ordinary became a clearer path to take as each interview passed; each explored everyday topics such as playing out, childhood friendships, family, food and music. Many of the interviews contrasted to the dominant topics within studies of “mixedness”, such as psychological and sociological studies into identity and identity formation. While some of these topics were touched on, the interviews were not limited to them and provided a more varied discussion of being a “full, complex person”, as Boddie stated, which enables someone to be “ordinary”.[97]

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[95] Tonkin, E. (1992). *Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History*. Cambridge University Press. p. 2.
[96] Sue, personal interview, April 30, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.

The interviewees grew up in various places from Southampton, Birmingham, to Huddersfield and Kent. Some lived in multicultural places, and others were the only Mixed family they could remember in their area. At the start of the interview, “How do you describe your ethnic identity?” was asked to ensure that people can be referred to in their own terms. All interviewees answered the question, and all were self-assured, some nonchalant in their answer. It was a fact, nothing that needed to be dissected or thought about every minute of each waking day. There was a split between interviewees who remembered reflecting on their identity in childhood and those who did not. Despite the difference, each interviewee displayed self-assurance when the question of identity arose. Each equally expressed the idea of being ordinary, whether that be through an active embracement of identity or a nonchalant experience of it. Moreover, both challenge the stereotypical and dominating narratives of “mixedness” as inherently confused or “mixed-up”. Often reflecting on growing up, there were other concerns afoot like playing out, making friends, exploring, and not knowing any different to one's own contained world; almost a separate sphere to the tumultuous political decades of the 1970s and 1980s.

Naturally, asking about how interviewees identified evoked a deeper conversation or reflection of identity. For example, there could be a difference to how interviewees presently reflected on identity and how they did in the past. In adulthood, having more time to mature, and become more self-assured helps answer confidently. For example, Karen J, born in 1964 in London, reflected:

> I do remember when I was younger, I would not have an identity crisis, but I would ask myself who am I? Who am I? Where do I fit in? And as I've got older, I don't care! I don't care anymore, you know, it just all these things that you think are important, you realise as you get older, well, they're not really […] I have had friends say: ‘Do you see yourself as Black or White?’ That's such a ridiculous question, but when you're young, you try to answer it, and then you realise it's a stupid question.[98]

Some interviewees recalled being aware of how they thought about their identity while growing up, and others reflected that they knew who they were and what their heritage was but stated that they do not remember it being a point of great concern growing up. For example, Rob, born in 1968 in Birmingham to a Kittitian father and an Irish mother and identifies as Black, reflected, “Growing up knowing who I am, but it's not, I've got to think who am I? I'm just me."[99] Later on in the interview, Rob added, "At the end of the day, I'm me." [100]

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[97] Boddie, E. C. (2018). p. 57.

[98] Karen J, personal interview, April 08, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway. **See Appendix C11.**

Furthermore, Karen L, born in 1963 in Huddersfield, describes herself as Mixed-Race, said:

> I didn't feel conscious about anything about being different in those days, um, even though I know we were kind of like the minority within a minority, you know […] we were the only Mixed-Race family in the area. I think you'd have to go a few miles to find another Mixed-Race or Black family, but it didn't bother me.[101]

Suz expressed a strong sense of personal identity, born in 1963 in York to a Nigerian father and Irish mother. She grew up in care in Ripon and Tadcaster and described herself as Mixed-Race. For Suz, there were no other Mixed or Black children at her Grammar school. Suz said:

> I didn't want to be White. I knew exactly what I was – Mixed-Race – and I always leaned towards my Blackness, even though I was in a White village and I always knew what I was, I was always proud of my dual heritage, of Irish and Nigerian, you know, I never really had an issue with that.[102]

Karen L and Suz's reflections highlight a duality; someone can be aware that people may have seen them as different or that they were a minority but can equally be comfortable and self-assured in their identity – one did not diminish the truth of the other. Uncovering this duality of experience highlights how and intertwining voices from oral testimonies within research on "mixedness" can challenge the negative historical constructions of and responses to "mixedness" in England that were explored in Chapter One.

While growing up over tumultuous decades, listening to the individual voice adds a new perspective to the history of "race" experiences in the 1970s and 1980s. It reveals a different side to the major national narrative of acts, policies and bills; the interviews provide a space to analyse the individual, everyday narrative. Much research connects the influence of the national, collective scale of memory and remembering to the individual scale and the relationship and influences between the two, such as Maurice Halbwachs' thinking on collective memory. Halbwachs argued, "memory in this larger sense is also not an individual property; it comes from outside…"[103] While individual memories are intertwined with the collective scale of memory, looking at memories of individuals can offer insights that are not captured by a larger scale narrative. For studies on "mixedness", this is important for progressing into the “third wave” as intersectional analysis, historical context and “insider” voices, such as oral histories, enables a more multidimensional analysis of “mixedness”. The act of growing up and remembering growing up, in these interviews, evokes the idea that people are often within an insular bubble of childhood and growing up, which shines through with the recollections of everyday aspects of ordinary life. Naomi's reflection on secondary school encapsulates the idea, she said, "Secondary school life was challenging, but not challenging in a Mixed-Race way. It was challenging for me just being a young woman growing up."[104] It shows that the way people grew up and experienced life was not bound to ethnicity nor “mixedness”. It could be filled with everyday activities and universal challenges of growing up, showing that “mixedness” can, in fact, be ordinary.

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[99] Rob, personal interview, March 18, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.

[100] Rob, personal interview, March 18, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.

[101] Karen L, personal interview, January 20, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.

[102] Suz, personal interview, February 26, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.

[103] Halbwachs, M. (1925) Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire . Librairie Félix Alcan. In Tonkin, E. (1992). p. 104.

“KNOW NO DIFFERENT.”

This section will dive deeper into those who shared experiences of not knowing any different, a kind of childhood obliviousness; a childhood where people knew that they were Mixed, but that did not instantly impact every moment and act of growing up. To reiterate Boddie's relevant description of “ordinariness” from the beginning of this chapter, to be “denied ordinariness is to be shrouded in stereotypes and assumptions in an abstracted identity that is never fully one's own.”[105] Thus, the oral testimonies of those who remembered actively thinking about their Mixed identity in daily life, while no less important, cannot be the sole focus. For a more multidimensional approach to “mixedness”, this section will explore those who expressed that they knew no different growing up until perhaps pivotal and standout moments in their life when they had a moment of realisation or saw things through a different lens.

David, born in Birmingham in 1970 to a Kittitian father and an Irish mother, reflected, “you don’t notice anything until a certain age …” [106] David reflected on his time at school, comparing his primary school experience versus secondary school; the former was predominantly White students while the latter became a bit of a “culture shock” with a completely different mix of people, a glimpse of a bigger world, David reflected:

> So that was like wow… you didn’t stand out, that was it … there you were just a number … you just blended in with everyone else, where [in the] infants and juniors you stood out, in my opinion. Thinking back then, I didn’t feel like I stood out in the infants and juniors ‘cause I just —, it was normal, but looking back now, I’m thinking we must have stood out, but going to secondary school you was just —, ‘cause of the area it was more of just a number, everybody blended in because the mix was a closer mix. I

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[104] Naomi, personal interview, May 10, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.

[105] Boddie, E. C. (2018). p. 58.

[106] David, personal interview, February 19, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.

> wasn’t a minority, it was just, you know —, yeah, looking back then you were few, in infants and juniors, where secondary it was … you just blended in.[107]

David’s reflections encompass this experience of not knowing any different until a situation changes. He was very aware of the change in diversity when going to a new school. However, before this experience, living on an estate that was mainly white and going to a dominantly white primary school just seemed normal, it was what David was used to. The structure, tone and some of the excerpts of David’s quote – “looking back now I’m thinking we must have stood out” – is a good example to show the act of remembering and realisation within the interview process.[108] On reflection, David shared that he feels he *must* have stood out, but the tone and form this reflection was expressed in, shows that it was an active realisation in the moment of the interview. It was realised with hindsight and remembering rather than a fact realised at the time while in school, which emphasises the active nature of such interviews to provoke reflective realisations.

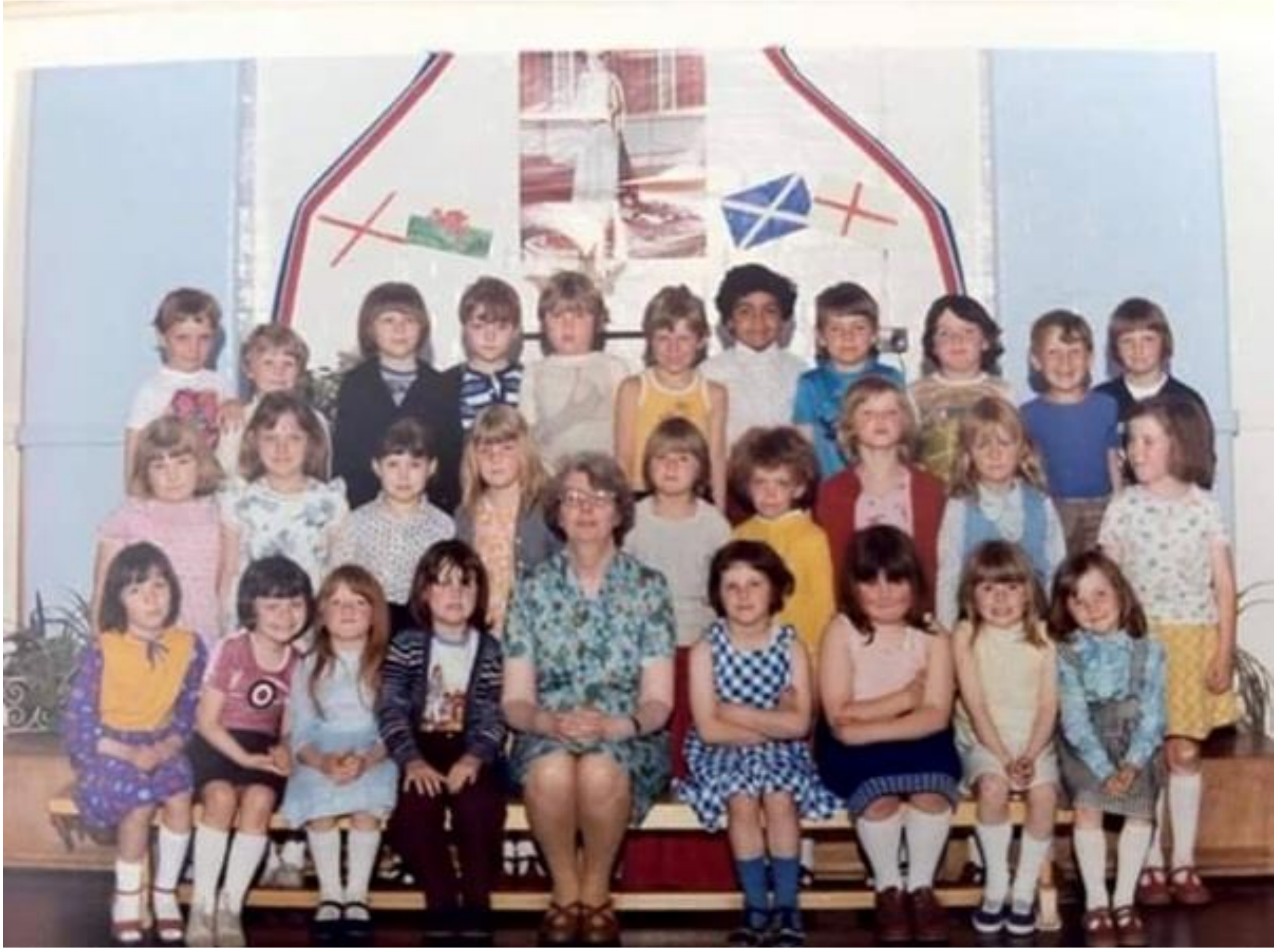

Image 1: Old class photo of David in primary school - Back row, fifth from the right.

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[107] David, personal interview, February 19, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway**. See Appendix C6.**

[108] David, personal interview, February 19, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.

Interestingly, David's brother, Rob, remembered growing up in a similar way. Rob mentioned the difference between junior and secondary school, commenting, "… school was just school, you got on…"[109] Rob recounted the diversity of the estate that he, brother David and sister Sue, grew up in. Rob commented:

> I think there was five families [pauses to think and counts on fingers] four or five families, maybe, at the time. At that time that lived on an estate, where there were hundreds of houses, but you didn't feel like you were the odd one out at that time, because you were all we were all friends playing football and whatever.[110]

Again, the idea of not knowing any different is mirrored in Rob's memories as it is in David's, the importance of playing out and playing football on the estate shone through in both interviews. The innocent and simple acts of playing together, being bonded by football transcended memories of growing up on the estate. It is interesting to see how siblings memories mirror each other or differ from each other. Similar to Rob, Sue also recalled happy, peaceful memories of the estate where the three siblings grew up:

> It was good…There were a lot of families with young children. I don't think, when I look back, there were a lot of black families. There were just a few, so the estate was mainly white, but there were Irish families, a few Black families a few more Mixed-Race children, but on a whole, not many, but it was happy.[111]

Sue's memories echo Rob's recollections in a similar way that while they lived in a largely white estate, it did not instantly make it an issue, it was still full of happy memories.

Image 2: David (left) and Rob (right) with a family friend, Creina.

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[109] Rob, personal interview, March 18, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.
[110] Rob, personal interview, March 18, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway. **See Appendix C7.**
[111] Sue, personal interview, April 30, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.

The experience of not knowing any different was also explored by Nina. Nina grew up in Surrey, which she remembers as a predominately White area, especially in the suburbs where she grew up. There was an “obliviousness" in childhood, and she did not feel different. Nina retold experiences of bullying and name-calling and explained that she only had a “realisation of difference as you get older when others started identify you as different.”[112] Nina grew up in a small town, Molesey, Surrey and recalled her, her sister, a Mixed boy and a Sri-Lankan girl being the only people who were not White in her school. However, she reflected:

> To be honest, I think when you're a kid, you don't notice it. You don't, you know, it's your friend Jane or your friend, Lorraine. It's not my White friend, this because they were all White, all my friends were White, I didn't know anything else, when I came home, I'm with my sister, but we didn't kind of identify ourselves as the 'brown kids' until you get older […] But there literally were no other kids that looked like us, that looked like me and my sisters, but like I said, we wasn't aware of it just we were just kids, your friends were the ones who, oh they've got that bike, oh they live down the road there, oh their names are Jade or Peter or whatever, Lorraine, or whatever […] So, I only became aware of it when other people started to identify me as being different because of my colour, if that makes sense. [113]

Image 3: Nina (left) with her sister and Mum

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[112] Nina, personal interview, April 01, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.
[113] Nina, personal interview, April 01, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway. **See Appendix C8.**

Nina's reflections are powerful in challenging the dominant perspective of "mixedness" being intrinsically different, “othered” and that confusion or an identity crisis is inevitable. Nina's reflection, as well as David and Rob’s, show an alternative way of looking at “mixedness” being different. They were all aware of who they were, their heritage, but that did not make them feel different or other - it was ordinary. They played out, they went to school, had friends they did not identify by colour, it was not until either a transformational change – such as moving school – or when a perceived difference was shoved into their face – such as Nina's experience with name-calling – that the idea of being different was forced upon them. While a small sample, these extracts come from people growing up in different locations; some in multicultural areas, some in mainly White areas, some working-class, some dominantly middle class, and yet a pattern has arisen between them. They all expressed a strong sense of personal identity, all aware and comfortable with their heritage – while in different ways between them – their “mixedness” was an ordinary, everyday experience to them. Within these interviews, the “othering” of “mixedness” came from external forces. It was always other people's problem rather than their own. The boundaries of when and where someone could feel the “ordinariness” of “mixedness” will be further considered in Chapter Three.

“MIXEDNESS” AS ORDINARY

To explore “mixedness” as ordinary does not dismiss the hardships or complexities that some face but is an essential addition to researching “mixedness”. It challenges the pathological tropes of hybrid degeneration and equally questions the celebratory and hybrid vigour approach that modern discourse on “mixedness” can often fall into, as explored in Chapter One. This chapter exhibited that “mixedness” can be experienced as simply another ordinary part of who someone is, that through the everyday experience, many did not think themselves different, but it was other people that identified them as such.

The idea of looking at the “ordinariness” of “mixedness” can be related to the work of people such as Les Back, Shamser Sinha, Selvaraj Velayutham and Amanda Wise, amongst others. They have researched various aspects of the idea of conviviality in everyday multiculturalism or multicultural conviviality.[114] In this sense, reference to Paul Gilroy’s use of conviviality provides the most clarity in how it can be linked to “mixedness” and “ordinariness”. Gilroy described conviviality as “the processes of cohabitation and interaction that have made multiculture an ordinary feature of urban life in Britain.”[115] It is also conceptualised by anthropolinguists such as Overing and Passes by reference to the Spanish word *convivir*

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[114] Back, L., & Sinha, S. (2016) Multicultural Conviviality in the Midst of Racism’s Ruins. *Journal of Intercultural Studies, 37:5,* 517-532, DOI: 10.1080/07256868.2016.1211625; Wise, A., & Velayutham, S. (2014). Conviviality in everyday multiculturalism: Some brief comparisons between Singapore and Sydney. *European Journal of Cultural Studies, 17(4),* 406–430. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549413510419.

[115] Gilroy, P (2004) After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture? Oxon: Routledge. p.xi. In Wise, A., & Velayutham, S. (2014). p. 407.

- meaning to live together or to share the same life. The concept of which harks back to David, Rob and Sue's reflections on the estate that they lived on, as Rob said, "it was one big family."[116] However, Gilroy faced some criticism on his discussion of multicultural conviviality, some saying he was going "soft on racism".[117] The inclusion of Gilroy's response to criticism is necessary as similar criticisms could be said about the approach to "mixedness" as "ordinary". In the words of Wise and Velayuntham, Gilroy responded by saying:

> …his aim was to give due recognition to what he observed in neighbourhoods where he has lived, the 'creative, intuitive capacity among ordinary people who manage tensions', not because he feels the problems of racism are over, but because 'we have to start taking note of the fact that there were spontaneous ways in which many of these problems (problems we are now told are features of a clash of civilisations) melted away in the face of … human sameness.' [118]

It is not to try and say that people are living in a post-racial society, that racism is over, or to ignore people's experiences of racism, but to acknowledge that sometimes on an introspective, everyday level of existence, it is possible to simply be "ordinary". "Ordinariness" offers a more dimensional, multi-layered discussion of experiences of "mixedness", which was unlocked by listening to personal testimonies of "mixedness". This chapter does not claim to generalise or lay down a universal truth about "mixedness" but offers an extension of Caballero's analysis of "mixedness" as ordinary in 1930s Britain based on a small selection of nine people's experiences growing up in England. It offers a new layer to studies on "mixedness" through nine original oral histories that some people may connect to while others may not.

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[116] Overing, J., & Passes, A. (eds) (2000) The Anthropology of Love and Anger: The Aesthetics of Conviviality in Native Amazonia. London: Routledge. In Wise, A., & Velayutham, S. (2014). p. 407.; Rob, personal interview, March 18, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway

[117] Wise, A., & Velayutham, S. (2014). p. 407.

[118] Gilroy, P. (2006) Colonial crimes and convivial cultures, keynote speech presented at the 'Rethinking Nordic Colonialism' exhibition. In Wise, A., & Velayutham, S. (2014). p. 407.

Chapter Three: *The Limits of "Ordinariness" - Space & Place*

The "ordinariness" of "mixedness", as defined in Chapter Two, does not traverse all spaces within someone's experiences of "mixedness". The ability to experience the "ordinariness" of "mixedness" is located within particular social spaces. As Chapter Two showed, "ordinariness" can often be inhabited in intimate social spaces over an extended time in a person's life, such as the home, family, and school. However, within interviews, people also recalled times in which to inhabit "ordinariness" was not possible. Once "mixedness" is considered concerning external public spaces or wider spaces of society, experiences of "mixedness" become more marginal and othered.

While Chapter Two explored the "ordinariness" of "mixedness", Chapter Three explores the limits of where and how someone may feel ordinary. Within the retelling of "ordinary" experiences, there was also anecdotes of battling difference, racism, marginality and challenges of "mixedness" in different spaces and places of life. This chapter will interrogate whether "ordinariness" is spatially limited and, if so, how, why and where? Exploring the limits of "mixedness" as ordinary will add to the multidimensional approach this thesis intends to have towards ideas and experiences of "mixedness" and will display that it is possible to experience both "ordinariness" and difference simultaneously. By examining "space" and "place", this chapter will be informed by work on the "spatial turn". The "spatial turn" was a new approach within History that increased in the 1990s, with Historians such as Jules Michelet and Doreen Massey. They who increasingly looked at the "spatial dimensions in studying the past" and made more connections with researchers studying the spatial dimensions of Geohistory and Cultural Geography.[119] The value of examining "spatiality" was explored by the mostly German Frankfurt School who highlighted the intersectionality of their approach to "spatiality", they "sought to show multiple meanings of space and the play of social relations across geographic surface as they pertain to language, identity, ethnicity, sexuality, gender, and power." [120]

Furthermore, elements of Pierre Bourdieu's social theory of "Habitus" can be seen throughout this chapter's analysis of "spatiality" and "mixedness". Bourdieu's "Habitus" relates to how an individual is socialised; it covers an individual's predispositions, impacting how they enter, navigate, perceive, and respond to the social world around them.[121] Often, individuals can relate to others sharing similar backgrounds, in this case, linked to ethnicity and "mixedness". People enter what Bourdieu called "fields", which are subspaces such as workplaces, institutions and this chapter will particularly analyse the subspaces or "fields" of school, the home and public spaces. [122] Within each of these spaces the individual brings with them an engrained “habitus” but as the “fields” change the relationship between the individual and the space changes, having an impact on how people react in different places depending on the habitus they enter the field with.[123] However, habitus is not always absolute and fixed; individuals can change and adjust depending on the uniqueness of each position. In this chapter, each individual's experiences will display how they entered different spaces or “fields” within their life. Depending on each individual's habitus, they navigated, perceived and responded to each space differently. This thesis will examine whether the habitus brought with them into different fields enabled or constrained abilities to feel an “ordinariness” of “mixedness”. However, we will also see that the responses are not constrained to the habitus, but experiences will also be influenced by the responses of the external social world.

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[119] Guldi, J. *What is the Spatial Turn? The Spatial Turn in History*. In Scholars Lab, University of Virginia. https://spatial.scholarslab.org/spatial-turn/the-spatial-turn-in-history/index.html.

[120] Arias, S. (2010). Rethinking space: An outsider's view of the spatial turn. *Geojournal*, *75*(1), 29-41. p. 30.

[121] Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge University Press.

[122] Bourdieu, P. (1977)

Here, an analysis of “spatiality” will be used to show the multidimensional experiences of “mixedness”, how “mixedness” plays out unevenly in different locations and spaces and that the “ordinariness” of “mixedness” is both enabled and constrained depending on “space” and “place”. For example, this chapter will explore more defined “places” through changes in locations such as moving from town to city or city to city and examine more figurative “spaces” such as community spaces of church, students unions and home.

REACTIONS & RESPONSES: “A SORT OF HYBRID RACE?”[124]

So far, this thesis has explored the responses to and constructions of “mixedness” from the nineteenth and early twentieth century. However, as explored in Chapter One, ideas of miscegenation and its implications did not fade away. Similarly to Chapter One, some of the sources that are used to analyse how people responded to and experienced “mixedness” in England cross the boundary into sources about wider Britain. For example, this chapter includes British Social Surveys, UK Gallup polls, political commentary on Britain, scholarly commentary on the “Black British community”, and an analysis of organisations that were active across Britain. Nonetheless, this analysis remains valuable as it still includes England within it. From this, we can derive information on what varied reactions and responses were present in England and other nations.

In a speech to the Welshpool Conservative Club, on 6th September 1970, Sir Wintringham Stable – a British High Court judge – commented that Britain would find it “absolutely impossible to absorb the vast numbers of immigrants we have let in”.[125] He further asked, “what do people calling themselves multi-racialists really envisage in 100 years’ time? A sort of hybrid race? It is a legitimate question to ask, but one waits for the answer." [126] It was not until the 1950s in which UNESCO officially declared that there was no such thing as different races, they stated that "available scientific knowledge provides no basis for believing that the groups of mankind differ in their innate capacity for intellectual and emotional development", and that "no biological justification exists for prohibiting intermarriages between persons of different races".[127] Nevertheless, here, 20 years on in Sir Wintringham's speech, "race" continued to rear its ugly head, harking back to fears of miscegenation and hybridity that were fortified in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. When such beliefs are still fortified in the governed spaces, how can every space occupied come with a sense of "ordinariness"?

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[123] Bourdieu, P. (1977)

[124] Sir Wintringham Stable, 6 September 1970, Welshpool Conservative Club In Humphry, D., Gus, J. (1971) *Because They're Black.* Penguin Books. p. 29.

[125] Sir Wintringham Stable, 6 September 1970, Welshpool Conservative Club In Humphry, D., Gus, J. (1971) p. 29.

Likewise, from governance spaces to public spaces, the Racial Preservation Society (RPS) was formed in 1965. The RPS referred to "race mixing" as "a dirty and unnatural thing" that was "against the will of God and means for Britain's national suicide."[128] Furthermore, the 1970s onwards saw the growth of the far-right, from Enoch Powell's "River of Blood" speech to the growth of neo-fascist groups such as The National Front, it saw sentiments of anti-immigration, anti-Black, and anti-Semitism gain legitimised political representation. These decades saw the second generation of the Black British community, now born and bred across England, and across wider Britain, grow up in spaces occupied by such sentiments, facing the injustices, racism, and rejection of their home country. The 1970s was a decade Gilroy describes as having a "combative mood", where "Blackness" was politicised globally.[129] This impacted education, job prospects, and for some, the ability to occupy a space of "ordinariness". In their book, Derek Humphrey and Gus John recall that some referred to them as "the misplaced generation" – "they are a generation of people who though British born are Black and therefore suffer the same injustices and rejection from British society as their parents."[130] When examining the Black and White dichotomy of "mixedness", there is an intrinsic link to examining the experiences of the Black community. It is linked to the way people identify themselves as well as the perceptions created by others. The Mixed experiences would not have been exclusive to the Black experience, both subject to racial tension, profiling and prejudice. As Tizard & Phoenix state, "their fortunes have intimately been linked with those from other Black people come out their experiences have not always been the same." - there can be similarities while maintaining individual intricacies.[131]

From reluctance and rejection in the extreme ends of British society, the attitude of uncertainty also seeped into general public opinions and response to "race" and, in this case, "mixedness". In 1954, a member of the public submitted their opinion to The Daily Mail. The submission said, "The time may come when intermarriage will be universal and eventually men’s skins will be a uniform shade of khaki. But for the present, I feel that a Black man who marries a White girl wrongs her, wrongs himself and wrongs the children that may come.”[132] In 1958 a Gallup poll in the UK revealed that 71% of people responding disapproved of Mixed marriages and 13 % approved. [133] Subsequent Gallup polls revealed the disapproval of Mixed marriages fell to 57 % in 1968 and 42 % in 1973.[134] There were also British Social Attitudes Surveys running in 1983 and 1992; the 1983 survey revealed 54 % would “mind a lot” or “mind a little” if a close relative married someone of Asian or West Indian origin– falling to 43 % in 1991.[135] Finally, Runnymede Trust in 1991 asked, “Do you agree or disagree that people should marry only within their own ethnic group?” - 31 % of White respondents agreed or tended to agree with the statement; 58 per cent disagreed.[136] The responses and attitudes of the Black community and Asian community have been reported on less frequently, but the Runnymede Trust poll in 1991 reported that 18 per cent of Black respondents were against Mixed relationships. [137] The surveys would not have captured all and every opinion, but they gave insight into the dynamic of responses. It shows that even in the 1990s, around one-third of the survey population disagreed with Mixed marriages. Combined with the side of people's experiences that explore racism, marginality or rejection throughout growing up in the 70s onward, it highlights that, while current discourse can fall into the pit of hybrid vigour, less than a century ago, an approach of hyper-degeneration, pathological discourse, and the social and moral panic over Mixed marriages and Mixed children thrived – the legacy of which had not faded by the time of the public opinion surveys.

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[126] Sir Wintringham Stable, 6 September 1970, Welshpool Conservative Club In Humphry, D., Gus, J. (1971) p. 29.
[127] Tizard, B., & Phoenix, A. (1993). pp. 34-35.
[128] Humphry, D., Gus, J. (1971) p. 165.
[129] Gilroy, P. (2002) *There Ain't No Black in The Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race And Nation* (2nd ed.). Routledge.p.xiii.
[130] Humphry, D., Gus, J. (1971) p. 165.
[131] Tizard, B., & Phoenix, A. (1993). p. 15.

Attitudes and disapproval were not benign, but could cause rejection, racial harassment, abuse and impact fundamental aspects of growing up. There are many studies on the reception of the children from different cultures and races in the 1960s and 1970s. Often the education system was seen as unprepared to accommodate the influx of diversity. Teachers were seen as figures influenced by the social values and prejudices of the time, consequentially projecting stereotypes, the brunt of which were directed towards Black children and within that Black and Mixed boys. This was officially reported on in The Swann Report 1985, which stated:

> …only a very small minority of teachers could be said to be racist in the commonly accepted sense. However, it claims that a teacher's attitude towards, and expectations of, West Indian pupils may be subconsciously influenced by stereotyped, negative or patronising views of

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[132] *Daily Mirror*, 31 July. In Caballero, C. & Aspinall, P. J. (2018). *Mixed Race Britain in The Twentieth Century.* Palgrave Macmillan. p. 334.

[133] Spickard, P. (1989) Mixed Blood. University of Wisconsin Press. In Tizard, B., & Phoenix, A. (1993). p.37.

[134] Spickard, P. (1989) In Tizard, B., & Phoenix, A. (1993). p. 37.

[135] Tizard, B., & Phoenix, A. (1993). p. 37.

[136] Amin, K., Gordon, P., & Richardson, R. (1991) Race Issues Opinion Survey: Preliminary Findings. Runnymede Trust. In Tizard, B., & Phoenix, A. (1993). p. 37.

[137] Amin, K., Gordon, P., & Richardson, R. (1991) In Tizard, B., & Phoenix, A. (1993). p. 37; A different study, The Fourth National Survey by policy studies institute, reported more on South Asian attitudes to mixed marriages.

> their abilities and potential, which may prove a self-fulfilling prophecy, and can be seen as a form of 'unintentional racism.' *[138]*

A systematic impact was created, many West Indian children being boxed into the being "educationally sub-normal". Bernard Coard's renowned *How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Sub-normal in the British School System* is the work most noted for unveiling the scandal in 1971.[139] Karen L also explored similar sentiments. Karen reflected on her and her sibling's school experiences, remembering that three of her brothers were sent to Approved schools in the 1970s, otherwise known as Community Homes after the Children and Young Persons Act 1969. [140] Approved schools were residential schools where the pupils were often sent to by court order or deemed beyond parents' control. They were similar to boarding schools but not quite youth detention centres. They were places where the usual school tuition took place along with practical and outdoor activities; pupils were not trapped there, but they were renowned for corporal punishment and there are studies and inquiries into the corporal punishment and abuse present in such institutions, such as Carolyne Willow's *Children Behind Bars*.[141] Additionally, in her interview, Karen L said she remembered many of the boys around her brother at the approved schools were Mixed.[142] While this is one account, there is a possible connection to other research on how Black and Black-Mixed boys were impacted within schools for the "educationally subnormal" that Coard exposed.[143] Black and Black-Mixed boys were often treated the worst in education systems – with high exclusions and lower achievement records. Thus, the idea that the approved schools were similar would not be amiss compared to the other data and experiences from the latter twentieth century concerning Black and Black-Mixed experiences in the education system.

Recent studies suggest that the legacy of such sentiments in education have not entirely gone away. For example, there have been studies into experiences of "mixedness" in education. Remi-Joseph Salisbury recently researched "Black Mixed-Race Male Experiences of the UK Secondary School Curriculum" in 2013; Salisbury's study drew on 20 semi-structured interviews examining Black Mixed race boys experiences of the secondary school curriculum and examined the ways Black-Mixed race boys identified as both Black and Mixed-Race, "interchangeably and simultaneously." [144] Feyisa Demmie and Andrew Hau focused on the educational achievement of Mixed pupils in England, specifically for Lambeth Council, and studies on the impact of being a “minority” in general and its impact on attainment and educational gaps. [145] Similarly, in 2007, Chamion Caballero*, Jo Haynes & Leon Tikly responded to the increase in the Mixed racial and ethnic identities in the UK's population by examining perceptions, policies and practices in education concerning Mixed children. [146] Their research explores the impact of Mixed pupils being “invisible in current educational policies and practices” and explores data suggesting that “pupils from Mixed White/Black Caribbean backgrounds were significantly underachieving and over-represented in school exclusions”. Like Salisbury, Caballero, Haynes & Tikly used qualitative data through case study interviews with pupils, parents, teachers, and education advisors while examining existing policies, practices, and data.[147]

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[138] HMSO. (1985) *The Swann Report: Education for All.*

[139] Coard, B. (1971). *How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System: The Scandal of the Black Child in Schools in Britain.* New Beacon for the Caribbean Education and Community Workers' Association.

[140] Karen L, personal interview, January 20, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.; Children and Young Persons Act. (1969) Part II, 46. *Discontinuance of approved schools etc. on establishment of community homes.*

[141] Willow, C.(2015). *Children Behind Bars: Why the Abuse of Child Imprisonment Must End*. Policy Press.

[142] Karen L, personal interview, January 20, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.

[143] Coard, B. (1971).

[144] Joseph-Salisbury, R. (2017). Black Mixed-Race Male Experiences of the UK Secondary School Curriculum. *The Journal of Negro Education, 86(4)*, 449-462.

This section covers some important national historical context of how “race” and “colour” were received on a national scale within the time period of the interviewees growing up. Only small aspects of the national context are explored in their interviews, but the background of the time that the interviewees lived through is relevant and essential to remember, the historical context of the individual comments, reports and survey data helps build a national picture of the responses to “mixedness”. The foundation of the national level of experiences of “race” and racial tension also shows that interviews can reveal memories and experiences that can differ from that of the overarching national narratives.

NAOMI & SUZ

By using both personal testimonies, survey data and reports, this chapter shows that the limits of experiencing “mixedness” as ordinary crosses different types of sources; each touching upon the “places” and “spaces” where the Black and White dichotomy of “mixedness” is responded to with animosity, stereotypes or negativity which creates real-world impacts on segments of life such as education and social attitudes. This section looks at the impact of moving from different places, such as from a town to a city or from a place with little to no Black community to somewhere with a hub of African-Caribbean communities. Naomi and Suz's testimonies are suitable to analyse the impact of location on experiences of “mixedness” because they both moved hometowns while growing up, which led to changes in how they felt they belonged. Furthermore, Naomi's testimony will also enable an analysis of feelings of belonging within the black community and how a dimension of gender impacted Naomi's experiences.

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[145] Demie, F., & Hau, A. (2017) Mixed Race Pupils’ Educational Achievement in England: An Empirical Analysis. Schools' Research and Statistics Education and Learning Canterbury Crescent. Lambeth Council; Bhattacharyya, G., Ison, L., & Blair, M. (2003) *Minority Ethnic Attainment and participation in Education and Training: The Evidence.* University of Birmingham and DfES; Strand, S. (2014). Schools Effects and Ethnic, Gender and Socioeconomic Gaps in Educational Achievement at Age 11. *Oxford Review of Education 40 (2): 223-245*.

[146] Caballero, C., Haynes, J., & Tikly, L. (2007) Researching Mixed Race in Education: Perceptions, Policies and Practices. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 10:3,* 345-362. * Chamion Caballero as the corresponding author.

[147] Caballero, C., Haynes, J., & Tikly, L. (2007).

Firstly, in her interview, Naomi embraced her identity and displayed a strong expression and security of personal identity, yet she also shared experiences of struggle and difference, alluding that the two do not have to be exclusive from each other. The duality of experience expressed calls back to the idea of "ordinariness" explored in Chapter 2, that being Boddie's explanation of "ordinariness" as acknowledging the innate complexity of experience – "the state of being treated as a full, complex person and a rightful recipient of human concern." [148]

Naomi reflected on the difference between life in Gravesend, Kent, and when she visited London when young. In Gravesend, Naomi recalled being the only Black child at her school and class. She shared the loneliness this caused as the only other Black person she saw was her mother.[149] However, Naomi went on to describe the impact of visiting South East London every weekend with her mother to see the Black side of their family, "that was huge, that was so important because I got, because I got that input of culture, of language, of food, of "Caribbean-ness", of interaction."[150] Further in the interview, Naomi described the powerful and perfectly timed experience of permanently moving from Gravesend, Kent to London — "London meant freedom". [151] Now, the move strengthened the sense of belonging experienced by seeing her mother's side of the family. Naomi recalled that things that used to be significant events or hardships became normal. For example, she could hop on a bus to see her cousins; when they wanted Caribbean food, they could go down to the markets - it was not such a trial or event.[152] Here, we see the impact that geographical "place" can have on a person's experiences, feelings of "ordinariness", and belonging, in this case, specifically the impact on Naomi's experiences of her "mixedness" and "Caribbean-ness". It moved from feelings of loneliness and difficulty to being eased by having a place "to just *be*". Likewise, it highlights the impact of "space" – "space" in this sense being captured by a familial space with a cultural input, one which Naomi had in Gravesend through her mother but was fortified in London through extended family.

Similarly, Suz moved from the small village of Tadcaster to Leeds and then London, which was a huge transition immersing herself into the Black community. However, Suz also recalled that, though living in a small, predominantly White town, she did not experience racism. Despite this, Suz expressed that she found a place of belonging when moving to Leeds and then London; she was able to identify and belong to a community, she remembered:

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[148] Boddie, E. C. (2018).
[149] Naomi, personal interview, May 10, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.
[150] Naomi, personal interview, May 10, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.
[151] Naomi, personal interview, May 10, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.
[152] Naomi, personal interview, May 10, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.

> When I left home when I was 16, I went to go and live in Leeds [...] so, I used to go to Chapeltown, I used to go to all the record shops ... and I used to work in Chapeltown […] and that's when I kinda got into the Black community […] As soon as I came to Leeds, I felt like I was home.[153]

Image 4: Naomi (top left) with her ballet class in Gravesend

Suz's recollection shows that even when the place a person inhabits is not a negative one, there is a transitional impact in moving somewhere that felt like home, somewhere she belonged. A spatial analysis helps demonstrate that there is not one rigid experience of “mixedness” and helps us understand how experiences differ from location to location. Not only do they differ on the “place” of location, but they can differ depending on the “space” someone is inhabiting at that time in everyday life. It captures how human geography can impact where one can and cannot feel ordinary. Looking at experiences of “mixedness” laterally allows the layered experiences of “mixedness” and the extent they can be ordinary, to be intrinsically impacted – limited and enabled – by the space they occur in. As Santa Arias concludes, while reflecting on the increased study of space and “spatiality” - "in this light, human subjectivity and consciousness can never be understood independently of their historical and geographical circumstances."[154]

Naomi further recalled her experience of becoming the leader of the African-Caribbean society at the students union when no one else wanted to. Here, in this space of political “Blackness”, she experienced what is examined as “Black rejection”. Naomi recalled that she noticed certain people within the society were not turning up to events anymore, her friend told her some of the Black males within the society were not happy with the fact a Mixed-Race woman was running the society, and they called her a "half-caste bitch" behind her back. [155] Naomi recalled that this was "the first time I felt rejected by the Black community."[156] A space for those of African-Caribbean heritage, yet a space where some rejected Naomi's "Blackness" and "mixedness". Naomi emphasised the reason why she shared this memory:

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[153] Suz, personal interview, February 26, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.

[154] Arias, S. (2010). p. 40.

> And the reason why I mention it is — it's just that thing of how I wasn't always accepted in the Black community. So, all what I've speak to you, I felt really accepted in the Black community, my Black family, my Black religion - and then suddenly I came to Bristol and [claps hands] I wasn't supported by my fellow brothers and that really cut me to the core […] Suddenly it was a big slap, it was like oh my gosh not everyone in the Black community accepts me. [157]

Here we see, not only a political dimension with the response of a space of political "Blackness", but also a gender dimension, it was explicitly recalled that those within the space of political "Blackness", that rejected Naomi were Black men, who then referred to her specifically with a combination of misogynistic and racist terminology. Relating to the broader context of the time, this is interesting to explore as the political Black activism movements in the later twentieth century were spaces that were often represented and remembered as male-dominated. Political "Blackness" in the UK is often attributed to movements such as the British Black Panthers and with leading male figures such as Michael X, Darcus Howe, C. L. R. James and Obi B. Egbuna. However, there were several leading Black female figures in Black political activism, such as Olive Morris, Altheia Jones-LeCointe, Elizbeth Obi, Leila Hassan Howe, Claudia Jones and more. Over the 1970s and 1980s, there was also growth and development of several Black women's activism and political groups and networks, which was pushed by Black women who realised that, while there were shared efforts in the Black political movements, their contribution and version of experiences were overshadowed. One foundational text on the experience of Black women in Britain is *The Heart of Race – Black Women's Lives in Britain*, first published in 1985. It is a collaborative work of Beverley Bryan, Stella Dadzie, and Suzanne Scafe that places Black women's voices and lives to "document the day-to-day struggles of Afro-Caribbean women in Britain."[158] In The Heart of Race, Bryan, Dadzie, and Scafe recalled:

> The attitude of the 'brothers', however, often undermined our participation. We could not realise our full organisational potential in a situation where we were constantly regarded as sexual prey. Although we worked tirelessly, the significance of our contribution to the mass mobilisation of the Black Power era was undermined and overshadowed by the men. They both set the agenda and stole the show…[159]

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[155] Naomi, personal interview, May 10, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway. **See Appendix C12.**
[156] Naomi, personal interview, May 10, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway. **See Appendix C12.**
[157] Naomi, personal interview, May 10, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway. **See Appendix C9.**
[158] Bryan, B., Dadzie, S., & Scafe, S. (2018). *The Heart of the Race: Black Women's Lives in Britain*.Verso. p. 25.
[159] Bryan, B., Dadzie, S., & Scafe, S (2018). p. 298.

Thus, while Black women were present within spaces of political "Blackness", it was often overshadowed, battling perceptions of gender alongside race. The result was a network of Black Women's organisations and groups that aimed to speak for themselves and their experiences, such as the Black Women's Group (BWG) in 1973, which later became the localised Brixton Black Women's Group, though there were multiple similar groups across the country.[160] The Organisation of Women of African and Asian Descent (OWAAD) was formed in 1978 which acted as an "umbrella group for the national network of Black women's groups".[161] This links back to the social theory termed "The Triple Constraints" or "Triple Oppression", it is otherwise referred to as "Double Jeopardy" by Frances M. Beal in 1972, referring to race and gender, which was further developed in 1988 by Deborah K. King who argued for the term "Multiple jeopardy" which added a class element.[162] As a theory, it was initially developed in context to Black women's position in America to show light on how society's structure built, as Bernice Mcnair Barnett put it, an "interlocking systems of oppression".[163] Nevertheless, it is a theory that can also be applied to Black and Mixed women's experiences in Britain both on a level of political activism – as seen above – and through individual experiences, as displayed by Naomi's recollection.

This experience showed Naomi she could feel both acceptance in Black spaces such as church but also rejection in Black spaces, just like she felt acceptance in White spaces such as with her White-side of the family but could equally experience the rejection through experiences recalled of loneliness and abuse. Examining these experiences highlights the value of a spatial analysis of "mixedness", as one experience cannot not define how "mixedness" is experienced even within one person, let alone all who identify as Mixed. It contrasts to the spaces of "Caribbean-ness" that Naomi felt acceptance and ordinariness. The experiences recounted from moving from Gravesend to London and then Bristol for university cover living with "mixedness" in a variety of places and also spaces from family space, church space, school space and the student union space. The range of emotions and experiences show that living "mixedness" as "ordinary" could not be absolute, within everyday experiences were intertwined with experiences of Black acceptance, Black rejection, racism and abuse with belonging, happiness and normality. However, while they exist within the same person, they do not negate each other because a single one of these experiences do not define one person's experience of an identity. A spatial analysis to show the limits of "ordinariness", in this context, is equally as important as challenging the narratives that present "mixedness" as wholly a struggle. The reality is that experiences of "mixedness" are intrinsically impacted by the "space" and "place" a person inhabits – each differing from person to person, which harks back to the link to Bourdieu's Habitus, earlier in this chapter. An examination of Naomi's range of experiences from place and space shows the impact of human geography while being supported by other experiences like Suz's to show the different range within examining “place” and “spaces” and its impact on experiences of “mixedness”. In the context of this thesis, it impacts where one can and cannot inhabit the “ordinariness” of mixedness described in Chapter Two. It also highlights the impact of whose gaze can inform and impacts the “ordinariness” of “mixedness”, we see from the oral histories in this thesis, it was often when the outside gaze picked people out that they felt different.

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[160] Foster, K. Francis, A, S. (2020). *Black Women Activists in Britain*. British Library. https://bit.ly/3ICAg7v

[161] Foster, K. Francis, A, S. (2020).

[162] Beal, F. M. (2008). Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female. *Meridians, 8*(2), 166–176; King, D. K. (1988). Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 14*(1), 42-72.

[163] Barnett, B. M. (1993). Invisible Southern Black Women Leaders in the Civil Rights Movement: The Triple Constraints of Gender, Race, and Class. *Gender and Society, 7*(2), 162–182.

NEIL & KAREN L

This section continues to look at the impact of moving location on experiences of “mixedness” with an additional focus on a class dimension. Both Neil and Karen's testimonies open up an interesting analysis of place and how it varies from person to person because they recalled similar experiences of moving yet with different responses to the class of their location.

Neil - born in Southampton in 1962 to a Jamaican father and a Polish-Jewish British Mother – also expressed a strong personal identity. Neil recalled growing up through a Mixed perspective as positive and shared that he grew up with a strong network of Mixed families. Nevertheless, he also recalls the experience of racism from outside the family network space, again displaying the fluctuation of experiences of “mixedness”. Neil remembered:

> I always knew a lot of Mixed-Race people, you understand, so we had these networks of aunts […] So, growing up Mixed-Race was very positive, of course, there's a lot of racism [….] So, as well as all the horrible names they called Black people in those days, they had other ones, other names for Mixed-Race […] mongrel these other ones. So, we had all of the Black ones and the extra Mixed-Race names, but as far as our own little network, it was all very good.[164]

Again, we see an example that experiences of racism do not negate feelings of strong personal identities and that within himself, his family and network, “mixedness” was ordinary. When the external gaze picked people as different and name-called, people started having a negative experience of “mixedness”. When recalling memories of her mum, Sue, recounted similar ideas of a network, or connecting to people in similar situations, she said, “I think my mum sort of like was in touch with people in a similar situation to her, you know, who were White women with a Black man and had Mixed-Race children because, you know, there was like something in common.”[165] Both Sue and Neil’s memories evoke an importance of a familial space in which to connect to others. Furthermore, Neil reflects on the impact “place” has on his experiences; Neil mentioned that he grew up in a working-class, multicultural area nicknamed “The Jungle”, but problems started when they moved to a more middle-class area when he was nine years old. Neil recalled, “I think we were the only family of colour there, in that area. They used to break our windows every other week, bullying, all these different kinds of things, you understand.” [166] Here we see the transition from place to place - from a working-class multicultural space to a middle-class, White space. The additional dimension of class, as well as “place” and “space”, highlights the importance of an intersectional approach, each being intertwined to impact experiences. It reiterates the importance of approaching these experiences as full and complex, as highlighted earlier in the Chapter by the Frankfurt School's advocacy for the value of examining “spatiality”. The intersectionality of linking experiences and the “ordinariness” of "mixedness” to the “lateral mappings” of the field, looking at “space” and “place”, results in a more multidimensional and nuanced examination of what experiences of “mixedness” can mean – that it is not absolute, that there are complexities - and thus avoids defining “mixedness” as one thing or another.

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[164] Neil, personal interview, February 01, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway. **See Appendix C10.**

[165] Sue, personal interview, April 30, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.

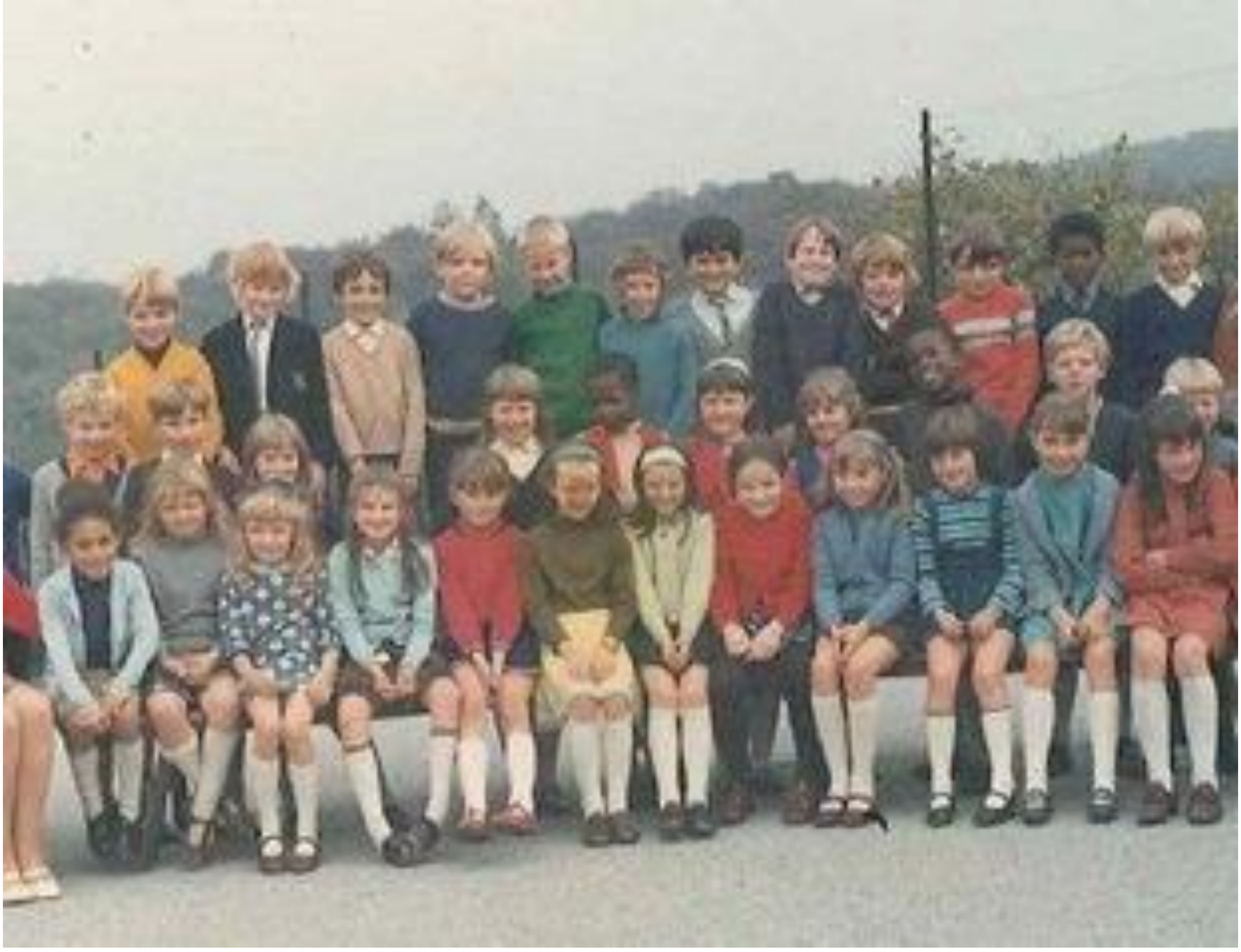

Image 5: Karen, aged 7. Front row, next to the teacher.

Karen was born and lived in Huddersfield and recalled the time in her childhood when she became more aware of racial differences and that the period where she realised “the colour of my skin would be a disadvantage” and would have to defend herself. [167] Karen remembered that they had moved from a private house in a more White area onto a council estate by that point, commenting, “that's when I became more aware of the colour of my skin was different really".[168] Karen recalled memories of the school not being as nice as the other area's school and “a lot more conflict between children”.[169] Despite recalling feelings of realisation that the colour of her skin could have such an impact on life experiences, Karen followed up, “but I always felt comfortable with who I was.”[170] It shows another example that acknowledging difference and difficultly did not instantly take away someone's sense of identity or make them negatively associate with it. The almost opposite situations experienced by Neil and Karen – one moving away from an estate, the other moving to one – highlights the variety of experiences of “mixedness”. It shows that oral history accounts of “mixedness” are useful for explaining the variety of experiences but, equally, will never be able to capture every person's experiences of “mixedness”.

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[166] Neil, personal interview, February 01, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.
[167] Karen L, personal interview, January 20, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.

MULTIPLICITY OF “MIXEDNESS”

The testimonies and survey data explored in this chapter show the multiplicity of experiences of “ordinariness”. Much like development and continuous change of identities, the state of inhabiting a space and feeling “ordinariness” is ever-changing. “Mixedness” can be ordinary, though the space people can inhabit and feel this “ordinariness” is limited. Experiences of “mixedness”, whether being captured through a lens of struggle or “ordinariness”, cannot be generalised for every “Mixed” experience or every Black and White experience of “mixedness”. Not only is there a broad range of experiences across interviewees, past surveys and studies, but there can be a broad multiplicity of experiences throughout a person's life – experienced separately or simultaneously, in different “spaces” and “places”. This chapter showed that the “ordinariness” of “mixedness” explored in Chapter Two was not without nuance and constraints. In fact, “ordinariness” could only be experienced within specific spaces in a person's life, and in other spaces, normality was not possible. Instead, some places enable a more marginalised experience of “mixedness”. It has displayed how comfortability and normality with “mixedness” can change due to “place”, such as geographical movements from country to city, city to city, and spaces such as home to school, school to church. Likewise, incorporating the “spatial turn” into social history enables an intersectional critical analysis and presentation of experiences of “mixedness” – how it can be impacted by class and gender, as well as “place” and “space”. As Arias argues, “spatiality” is now “widely recognised as critically important to understanding the human condition much as time and historical context have long been known to be” - it encompasses more holistic and lateral thinking and examination of what experiences of “mixedness” can be and how they relate to the constructions and responses to “mixedness”.[171]

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[168] Karen L, personal interview, January 20, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.
[169] Karen L, personal interview, January 20, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.
[170] Karen L, personal interview, January 20, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.
[171] Arias, S. (2010). p. 32.

Chapter Two showed that experiences of being different did not define “mixedness”, that being Mixed did not equate to tragedy - it was ordinary. Chapter Three showed that to be ordinary was limited to different “spaces” and “places” within a person’s life; it was not absolute and, for some, was not always the dominating experience of “mixedness”. Together, they show a holistic view to analysing experiences of “mixedness”. It combines experiences of normality with marginality, which is often examined to give the impression that “mixedness” is an intrinsically negative or confused one. Yet here, neither “ordinariness” nor marginality should dominate and define experiences of “mixedness” over the other.

Chapter Four: *Reflections - Oral History and Digital Output*

One of the key research aims of this thesis was to explore experiences of “mixedness” and part of that was through using oral histories. The oral history interviews were recorded over Zoom and collated a wealth of over 13 hours of data. The video data captured experiences not covered within the written thesis but added essential and relevant personal layers to exploring experiences of “mixedness”, which complimented and went beyond the experiences explored in the thesis. The video data also offered necessary visual layers that could not be expressed in transcription extracts. As this chapter will explore, there are many details in the visual aspect of oral history interviews; to neglect them completely would ignore the interviews in their fullest form. The result is a 15-minute short documentary film that accompanies the written research. While allowing the experiences to take a fuller visual form, forming oral histories into an edited documentary brings a new wave of epistemological implications.

On a foundational level, the short documentary film and written thesis are intertwined. Nine interviews were conducted to create a collection of oral history primary sources for this thesis, which would then be utilised in the final digital output to add a layer of visual analysis to the transcriptions. However, before conducting the oral history interviews was the process of researching and learning about the intricacies that come with oral history as content and methodology. The process, the act of interviewing, was as important as the content itself. Understanding what could influence the interviews was essential, including the interviewer's intentions, the questions, how they are asked and all the possible impressions the interviewer and interviewing process could have on the outcome of the oral histories became apparent. By capturing personal testimonies, the thesis and output adds to the first-person sources for “Mixed-Race studies”. Conducting the interviews enabled the scope of the thesis to be realised and narrowed down, rather than the other way around. By conducting interviews on a wide scope of growing up Mixed and trying to avoid impressing interviewees with an agenda or argument, the argument of the thesis was derived from their voices rather than an original argument being fortified by the bits of interviews that happened to fit. This captures the power of using oral histories when possible, as Michael Frisch argued that fundamentally, oral history has the “capacity to generate the very documents it then wishes to study.”[172] Furthermore, the methodological importance of shedding your agendas is also emphasised by Kathryn Anderson and Dana C. Jack. They reflect that good listening and good results depend on shedding your agenda as much as possible, which results in a “freer interview” and giving interviewees space to explore.[173]

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[172] Frisch, M. (1990). *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*. State University of New York Press. p. 71.

[173] Anderson, K., Jack, D.C. (2006) Learning to Listen Interview Techniques and Analyses. In Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). p. 135.

This thesis explores the key questions of how “mixedness” has been constructed, responded to and experienced. The short documentary gives room to touch on experiences beyond the extracts within the written thesis and adds an extra layer of listening and watching a person retell their experiences. The thesis and the output are intrinsically linked; they share content, but both create a new space to discuss topics that could not fit in the other. For example, within the written thesis, the oral history interviews were utilised mainly in Chapters Two & Three, which focused on the idea of “mixedness” as ordinary and its limitations, but the output documentary creates a space to expand on people's experiences beyond the scope of the written thesis. In short, the written thesis and digital output are intertwined and influence each other, but their natures represent the oral history data in very different ways. Within the thesis, the oral history data is represented in text form within a structure and direction of a chapter and the thesis as a whole. It is then analysed and linked to wider context or other interviews. In contrast, the video offers multiple additional layers on top of the text form. Adding audio/visual content encapsulates *how* something is said. As will be explored in the ‘Digital Revolution’ section of this chapter, it offers elements such as facial expressions and body language that can never be captured fully by transcriptions. Similar to the constraints of text within a chapter, the audio/visual elements have their constraints through the editing process - the way clips are chosen and pieced together - which will be explored further in this reflective chapter.

INTERVIEWING IN A PANDEMIC

A perspective of this thesis' research that I think is valuable has been the experience of interviewing for oral histories during the pandemic. When I was conducting interviews and the topic of conversation skewed on to COVID-19 and lockdowns, I panicked a little bit, thinking that I was failing at my attempt of being an oral historian; an oral historian would not sit there and chat. However, on reflection, I think it has great value to examine, as to have an interview amid a situation no one has experienced in our time before and for it not to be mentioned would be most unusual, especially on the first time speaking to someone. In fact, I think behind the interviews, behind the personal connections surrounding “mixedness”, I would argue it is one of the more critical contextual factors behind the interview process of this thesis.

Another impactful factor is that the interviewing process breaks down the usual balance of conversation as give and take. However, I would argue that there is a natural curiosity in meeting and speaking to new people, especially when sharing personal aspects of life. Back to the importance of interviewing during the pandemic, I think there was sometimes a tendency to fall into chat, often about the pandemic and lockdowns, but it was almost unavoidable. In fact, the interview where it did not come up were the ones where they were with family – so the curiosity to find out about someone is not there so much because they already know it, they know my situation, and we have had all the COVID-19 small talk before. While yes, inexperience cannot be separated from this, I would argue that during the times we have lived in for the past year, there has been a desire to connect and talk, the interviewing process became a cathartic-like experience of forging a connection, a break from the strange times we are living through.

The important thing was an ability to reflect on this, even to consider that it was not necessarily a *bad* thing. Alice Kessler Harris stated, "… I think to become emotionally involved, while it's true that it violates the first canon of the historian, which is objectivity, nevertheless, puts you intimately into a situation and thus enables you to understand it in a way, I think, you cannot understand if you remain outside the situation."[174]

ORAL HISTORY IN A TIME OF ZOOM

As this thesis was proposed, researched and written in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic, any intention of face to face oral history interviewing had to change for everyone's safety. Therefore, this project's oral history was conducted remotely over zoom. However, there have been many theoretical and practical considerations over the impact of remote oral history interviewing.

The Oral History Society (OHS) wrote a guide to remote oral history recording during the pandemic. Its official stand was that it recommends "all face-to-face interviewing be postponed until further notice."[175] They went recognised that "… in some cases it may be necessary for oral historians to continue with active interviewing, for example, if a vital interviewee is unwell, if the project is documenting the pandemic itself, or if project deadlines cannot be postponed, and that in such situations the only option will be to make use of remote technology."[176] Like every other section of oral history, remote interviewing had epistemological considerations. For example, the oral history society commented on factors to consider - it takes a different skill set, it may be challenging to build rapport from a distance, interviewees could be less sensitive to mood changes and non-verbal feedback.[177] Additionally, it could result in poor audio quality, digital files that might not be archived, and there was concern over remote recording software and the audio rights and storage questions surrounding them.

Since the OHS's initial advice, there has been plenty of time for oral historians to consider the pros and cons of remote oral history interviewing and, in turn, analyse what they think of the initial OHS guidance. For example, Lauren Kata reviewed *Zoom for Oral History Projects* for The American Archivist reviews portal.[178] Regarding the positives, Lauren Kata mentioned that remote interviewing provides access to a

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[174] Yow, V. (2006). In Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). p. 56.
[175] Oral History Society. (2020). *Advice on Remote Oral History Interviewing During the Covid-19 Pandemic*. Oral History Society. https://www.ohs.org.uk/covid-19-remote-recording/
[176] Oral History Society. (2020).
[177] Oral History Society. (2020).
[178] Kata, L. (2021). *Zoom For Oral History Projects*. The American Archivists Review Portal. https://reviews.americanarchivist.org/2021/03/19/zoom-for-oral-history-projects

"broader narrator pool" and is accessible recording technology.[179] Importantly Lauren Kata identified that Zoom is a tool that is expected to go beyond the pandemic; Kata's concluding points concerned the core purpose of oral history. Oral history intends to hear peoples' voices, memories and stories. Remote oral history provides an enabling platform to reach beyond the usual pool of people oral historians can listen to. Reflecting on my own experiences, this rings true. Due to the remote nature of the research, I was able to interview someone who now lives in Nigeria.

I began my interviewing in January 2021. It was at a point in the pandemic where, for many, Zoom had become second nature. It was accessible for my interviewees; there was no trouble with the links or setting up. Zoom also meant recording was subtle and comfortable rather than a visible audio recorder or camera. Instead, the recording ran in the background unnoticed and enabled a more natural and relaxed recording environment. Regarding concerns for the storage of recordings over remote recording software such as Zoom, I adjusted the settings so that recordings were stored locally, straight to my allocated hard drive, rather than the alternative option of using Zoom's cloud storage.

Additionally, beyond the pandemic, remote interviewing is not a new concept; it is just one that had not been widely accepted or practised until recently. For example, it has also been the chosen methodology for oral historians such as Sarah Dziedzic. Dziedzic has an immunodeficiency condition and conducts research through remote interviewing before it became a necessity during the pandemic. Dziedzic commented that the pandemic postponing face to face interviews was an opportunity to learn 'how to conduct good, remote, safe, and accessible oral history interviews […] and re-evaluating the long-standing insistence on doing this work in person'[180] While there are pros and cons to every methodology, there has been clear hesitance surrounding remote oral history interviewing. The pandemic provoked a broader change to the conventional methods and traditions of oral history practice. The reluctance or hesitance towards remote interviewing echoes similar sentiments of oral historians initial reaction towards the digital revolution paradigm.

To conclude, every circumstance surrounding oral history interviewing impacts the process and the output. Over the past two years, remote recording has developed into another prominent impact on the interview process to consider. However, as Mark Cutler said, remote oral history enables people to make "human connections" just as they usually would, and Lynn Abrams has linked it to being "democraticisng".[181] Cutler concludes that it is "important both the interviewer and the interviewee/narrator to recognize the limitations of remote oral history and accept them as part of the adventure of documenting history in real time, across distance."[182]

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[179] Kata, L. (2021).
[180] Dziedzic, S. (2020). *Immunodeficiency and Oral History*. Medium. https://medium.com/@sarahdziedzic/immunodeficiency-and-oral-history-85695925dd43. In Botcherby, P. (2021). *Best Practice Versus Reality: Arts at Warwick, Coronavirus, and Remote Interviewing in Oral History.* Exchanges (Coventry), 8(4), 113-125.
[181] Cutler, M. (2020). *Remote Oral History: Physically Distanced, Socially Connected*. Nobis Project. https://nobisproject.org/project/remote-oral-history/

ORAL HISTORY - A DIGITAL REVOLUTION

When developing the digital output side of the research, the more I researched, the more I saw criticism of the process of turning oral histories into documentaries. However, evaluating the criticism it became clear that much of the criticism and concern towards filming and making documentaries from oral histories were derived from either outdated fears or fears that can easily be applied to transcription.

Much of the development of oral history came from the second paradigm, which developed in the 1970s and 80s. The second paradigm developed a real analytical awareness concerning the process of oral histories and their impact. Consequentially, the criticisms are often constrained to its own context. For example, frequently, there is criticism of technology such as cameras; cameras would complicate the process and cause expense or inconvenience. However, since these criticisms, technology has come a long way over the 40 to 50 years since the second paradigm. Now, technology such as cameras has become more accessible, less expensive and more engrained in people's daily routines. The reluctance to embrace technology was discussed by Donald Ritchie, who highlights the reluctance of oral historians to videotaping due to their "technophobia".[183] Furthermore, in 1995, Ritchie wrote that "Interviews probably far less put off by camera than you would think – TV, film cameras etc. – common places", so think how nonchalantly they would be received 25 years on.[184] However, with this research, the initial concern of the impact of filming faded away as it became clear that in-person interviews, with the need for a camera, would not happen, and if anything, the online interview helped forget that it was being recorded at all. Thus, the "technophobia" of oral historians arguably became irrelevant to the time and context my project sits in.

Each step after the original oral history interview skims a layer off the outcome: the interview, the recording, the transcription, the segments specifically picked out for the thesis or output. With each layer less of the original authentic interview remains. It is a process that cannot be avoided, but what is important is an awareness of the distortion of the interview with each part of the process. Visually recording interviews as well as audio adds an extra layer; it captures aspects of interviews that would usually be reduced to words – "laughter, sobs, finger points, or fist-shaking," – it always captures complex expressions, gestures that are "too complex or subtle to reduce to words."[185] Alessandro Portelli also argued that the transcript should not replace the tape, because at its core, even if attempted to be written down, transcripts "cannot capture other traits: meaningful tone, volume range, rhythm, which all have ‘implicit meaning and social connotations’ that cannot be reproduced in writing. We add arbitrary additions – punctuation, grammatical and logical rules which is not necessarily easy to follow – confining, changes meaning.”[186] Audio-visual together means that we can look at these non-verbal cues, which are not only insightful of emotion, what a person is thinking and feeling, but are also “nonverbal indicators of affect, indicate the quality of a relationship – fewer of these are actually transcribed.”[187] However, how does the choice between video and audio recording matter if all is reduced to transcription in the end? If nothing was done with the recording, then nothing at all, but to be able to retain original footage remains valuable. Selecting and sculpting oral history interviews into an edited documentary picks chunks of the authentic experience away, just like reducing it to a transcription. At the same time, it provides a glimpse into something that cannot be captured on paper – the tone and emotion in a voice, the intricacies of speech, gestures and facial expressions shared between interviewer and interviewee. It is a delicate balance between adding another layer to oral histories but also requiring further choices of what to include or not in the final output. However, it seems a sticky Catch-22 cycle in what you should or should not do; what processes of taking away from the original interview are acceptable and what are not? If caught in this loop, nothing would ever get done, no results to examine or critique, nor mistakes to learn from. I would argue it is an understanding and awareness of the process that is key – to know that it is a subjective process in what is being selected to be in a documentary, just as it was a subjective process in how someone transcribes, and which extracts are included in the thesis.

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[182] Abrams, L., 2016. *Oral History Theory (2nd ed.).* Abingdon: Routledge. In Botcherby, P. (2021). *Best Practice Versus Reality: Arts at Warwick, Coronavirus, and Remote Interviewing in Oral History.* Exchanges (Coventry), 8(4), 113-125.
[183] Ritchie, D. A. (1995). *Doing Oral History.* Twayne Publishers. pp. 110-111.
[184] Ritchie, D. A. (1995). pp. 110-111.
[185] Ritchie, D. A. (1995). p. 109.

The oral history recordings are currently being preserved on a hard drive still under my ownership. Once this research project is finished, I intend to research what options there are to deposit the recordings so they may be professionally preserved and cared for in the long term. Options include institutional archives, such as the University of Huddersfield’s Heritage Quay, perhaps getting into contact with the Black Cultural Archive in Brixton, London. Further options to explore is supported by The Oral History Society’s guidance on archiving oral history recordings. The OHS suggest the Directory of British & Irish Sound Archives (BISA) resource.[188] BISA maps archives across the UK and shows several options to find an archive where the oral history recordings would fit into existing collections and collection approaches. The possibility of depositing the interviews with an archive was included in the Participant Information Sheet and the Consent form (See Appendix C1 and C2) under how the interview will be used. However, this covered being contacted if the possibility arose. Further discussion on consent and what this means to each participant would need to be completed before any deposits were confirmed.

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[186] Portelli, A. (2006). In Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). p. 34.

[187] Sipe, D. (2006) The Future of Oral History and Moving Images. In Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). p. 410.

[188] British and Irish Sound Archives. BISA. http://www.bisa-web.org/about-bisa

Ultimately, the thesis and documentary try to include parts the other has not or could not and is also bound to its own constraints of deadlines and word limits that truncate the process - in the end it becomes a compromise. Frisch challenges the perceptions that video is intrinsically difficult to work with by exploring technology that expands the ability the browse, access and study audio-visual documents as one would with a transcript. While acknowledging the intricacies, he argued it is "richer" and should "move to the centre of Oral History".[189] While limited by word and minutes for the scope of the thesis, I intend to preserve the raw audio-visual material of the interviews and intend to research, beyond this thesis, into how they can be presented and used as useful primary sources for any future study – with the hope of compromising with the "art of removing" that is inevitable within the documentary editing and thesis writing process and thus, using Frisch's metaphor, allows anyone else the chance to "cook" the collection, meaning to make new interpretations from the raw material.[190]

EVALUATING THE DATA – INTERVIEWER & INTERVIEWEE

Evaluating the data from the nine oral histories interviews that accompany the written thesis falls very much on reflecting on the interview process: what came out of it and what could be improved on in the future. Reflecting on my interview process, it became a very easy process in which to be critical. When I began the interviewing process, I was quite weighed down with both anxious feelings of speaking to new people and equally, all I had read from oral historians about what to do and what not to do echoed throughout each interview. It is fair to say that I was a beginner and would mightily benefit from official oral history training. No official oral history training was taken as part of this project because I was uninformed of any internal training opportunities. With an external organisation there would be an expenses fee that I could not cover at the time of researching. To counter this gap in training, I committed the first chunk of my research project to research my methodology before conducting any interviews. This included researching the work of forefronting oral historians such as Alessandro Portelli, Valerie Yow, Donald A Ritchie, Robert Perks, Alistair Thompson, among many more. On top of this, I also sought internal support within the University's History faculty from researchers with oral history expertise.

Conducting interviews, I was increasingly conscious of the influences and impact that each element of the interview process could have on the outcome. Through all the research and reading, oral historians reflecting on the mistakes they made or experts emphasising crucial elements of an oral history interview stood out. While incredibly essential to building my foundation theoretical knowledge, it created quite an overwhelming weight that I had to get things right when it came to putting it into practice. Though ultimately, it is as much a practice-led experience as theoretical. There were mistakes throughout the process, but what mattered was being aware of them, their impact on the process and outcome and how to learn from them.

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[189] Frisch, M. (2006) Oral History and the Digital revolution. In Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). *The Oral History Reader*. (2nd ed., pp. 102 -114). Routledge. p. 103.

[190] Frisch, M. (2006) In Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). p. 103.

To control critical reflection, I followed Valerie Yow's advice to take field note-type reflections before and after interviews. Two key points I focused on were Yow's suggestions to reflect on: *What am I feeling about this narrator?* And *What similarities and differences impinge on this interpersonal situation?*[191] Often, the nerves and anxieties pre-interview was balanced by the relief and happiness after conducting the interview. I felt quite aware of what an unnatural situation oral history interviews are. It breaks down many of our usual conversational conventions, which can overwhelm both interviewer and interviewee. Kathryn Anderson reflected on her oral history project that focused on women's roles in northwest Washington farming communities. Anderson named “the conventions of social discourse” one of three factors that “thwarted” her expectations of the interview.[192] She continues:

> …my interview strategies were bound to some extent by the conventions of social discourse. The unwritten rules of conversation about appropriate questions and topics – especially the one that says, ‘don’t pry!’ – kept me from encouraging women to make explicit the range of emotions surrounding the events and experiences they related.[193]

The idea that oral histories go against social conventions of conversation is common and links into how I reflected on Yow's question: What am I feeling about this narrator? Often it was feelings of anxiousness before the interview merely because I am asking, largely strangers, to share personal aspects of their life with me; it was an unevenly weighted conversation and the interview process “violated communication norms.”[194] Through these reflective notes, I became aware of my relationship with the interviewee and that it would be forever attached to the interview outcome, as the process is such an active relationship and process. For the interviewees to share their personal stories with me was a strange challenge, but what was reassuring was all the interviewees' enthusiasm to help and to be of use to this project; all were very welcoming in asking anything, being as honest as possible and happy to answer any follow-up questions.

Ultimately, the thesis enabled the collection of nine unique oral histories. With more experience, they would have been conducted with perhaps more nuance and confidence, yet, we all have to start somewhere. With more experience or training comes another impact on the process; it would have impacted the outcome and data but given the interpersonal and active process of oral histories, there is an insurmountable number of elements that could impact an oral history interview and its outcome, being inexperienced being just one of the possible impacts. As Lindsey Dodd discussed while reflecting on “Telling Stories”:

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[191] Yow, V. (2006). 'Do I like them too much?' Effects of Oral History Interview on the Interviewer and Vice Versa. In Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). *The Oral History Reader.* (2nd ed., pp. 54-72). Routledge. p. 63.
[192] Anderson, K., Jack, D.C. (2006). In Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). p. 134.
[193] Anderson, K., Jack, D.C. (2006). In Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). p. 134.
[194] Slim, H., Thompson, P., Bennet, O., Cross. N. (2006) Ways of Listening. In Perks, R & Thompson, A. (Eds.). (2006). p. 143.

> Another day, another interviewer, another set of data, perhaps. In truth, this instability exists inside all historical evidence. The creation of any document is contingent on a range of circumstantial factors, yet we rarely know them. With oral history, we have a chance to try to understand them.[195]

MIXEDNESS AND ME

Furthermore, a significant role in interviewing is intersubjectivity - many have delved into how different interview factors such as age, gender, ethnicity, and more could impact the interview relationship and, subsequentially, the interview result. It is not at fault that the impacts are there, but an awareness and understanding can result in food for rich analysis. For example, aspects such as age, class, gender would naturally have an impact on interviews. However, the factor that takes precedent in my own interview process was ethnicity, as it is an historical look at experiences through an ethnic lens of “mixedness”. “Mixedness” has often been a topic that has been looked at through an “outsider” perspective. Much of the public discourse on “mixedness” reflects on a common experience between people being asked the question of “What are you?”. So, there is a pattern of putting up with intrusive “outsider” perspectives and questions. Thus, within a research lens, if an interviewer was looking to interview people about “mixedness” who was not themselves Mixed, it could have resulted in a reluctance to share – perhaps seen as an exploitative rather than a curious and shared perspective. Of course, it does not mean a rule on who and who cannot research something, but it could impact a person's willingness to participate. For example, before agreeing to an interview, one of my own interviewees asked if my research had a personal resonance. So, regarding factors that can impact interviewing, with regards to interviewing on “mixedness”, a sense of a shared experience or connection could significantly impact interviewee willingness and interview outcomes.

Through History and historical analysis, objectivity is traditionally emphasised. However, my own mixed identity is naturally intertwined with my research, outcome and analysis. The most significant way my own mixed identity impacted the path of my analysis was in helping narrow down the scope of the thesis. From the beginning, the proposal wanted to look at “mixedness” in British history and experiences of “mixedness”. However, my research started wide; it looked at the history of “mixedness” in Britain, research on identity and growing up Mixed. However, when I read Dr Chamion Caballero’s *Interraciality in Early Twentieth Century Britain: Challenging Traditional Conceptualisations through Accounts of ‘Ordinariness’*, I felt an affinity with the idea of “ordinariness” that Caballero explored. [196] Being able to experience "mixedness" as ordinary and just a normal thing was how I had experienced my "mixedness" but never had the chance to explore, reflect on or talk to someone else to unpick this. By reading Caballero's research, I saw my experiences of "mixedness" be articulated by someone else, which was an important moment in realising the validity of exploring the idea of "ordinariness." The concept stuck with me, especially when much of the other research I read focused on quite negative topics of struggle and marginality. Taking this research into my interview process meant that I started to recognise similarities in other people's experiences – as laid out in Chapter Two: *Accounts of "Ordinariness" - Children of the 70s & 80s*. People reflected on the ordinary moments of growing up Mixed, and with each story, the argument of "ordinariness" grew. While it was validating on a personal level, each story also enabled extra layers of analysis such as "spatiality".

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[195] Dodd, L. (2013). Small Fish, Big Pond: Using a Single Oral History Narrative to Reveal Broader Social Change. In J. Tumbled (Ed.) *Memory and History: Understanding Memory as Source and Subject.* (pp. 34-49). London: Routledge. p. 36.

[196] Caballero, C. (2019).

Recognising experiences of "ordinariness" within my own experiences of "mixedness" enabled me to connect to research, recognise similarities in other people's experiences and proceed to focus the analysis of my thesis on the idea of "mixedness" as ordinary and its limitations. This subjectivity intrinsically influences the scope of my thesis. Naturally, this has impacted the analysis and conclusions that run throughout the thesis. This research has been as much a personal learning journey as it has been a piece of research.

FINAL THOUGHTS – IMPACT & A NEEDED SPOTLIGHT

If I ever felt like I was off track, doing the wrong thing, or lacked motivation, not only were the oral history interviews a crucial part of the thesis, but they were also crucial in keeping me focused and encouraged with why I wanted to explore these histories, why I thought it was necessary in the first place, and it showed me that I was not alone in feeling like there was a need for this research. My intended audience for the digital output is everyone who is interested. In particular, it may attract people who wish to see and listen to people like them to hear stories they connect to. Yet, it is also for other people to listen to a new perspective; they may learn something new or think about something in a way they have not before.

Once the official examination process is complete, the public version of the film will be published on public platforms, for example, YouTube and Vimeo. Once published on those accessible sites, I will share the link with the participants of this research project. I will also consider sharing links on social media platforms, sharing the video on the professional platform of LinkedIn to showcase the output. There has also been casual discussion of putting it on a Kirklees Local TV's (KLTV) platform, which is a social enterprise focusing on news and media production.[205] I have forged connections with KLTV, initially through my work placement during my History Undergraduate degree, and much of Kirklees Local TV's work explores history, diversity, and inclusion. This is a potential avenue that will be explored further once the public version of the film is ready to be published.

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[205] Kirklees Local TV. KLTV. https://kirkleeslocaltv.com/about-us/

In short, the digital output is a necessary accompaniment to the written thesis, so the hours of stories collected do not sit idly away once the thesis is submitted. They can live on and be reinterpreted with fresh eyes under new contexts and new perspectives.

Conclusion: *Navigating the "Ordinariness" of "Mixedness"*

This thesis has explored how "mixedness" was constructed, responded to, and experienced in modern Britain. It has examined how "mixedness" and experiences of "mixedness" can be understood - focusing on the Black and White dichotomy of "mixedness" - and is situated within the "third wave" of "Mixed-Race studies" to achieve this. As explored in the Introduction, the "third wave" emphasised the historical, socio-political context of understanding "mixedness", which was an attribute neglected by the "second wave" of studies. The "second wave" focused on challenging the pathology of the "first wave" by focusing on the legitimacy of the Mixed identity, the individual and shared experience. The "third wave" intends to utilise the personal experiences of "mixedness", not alone, but founded on historical context. As a result, this thesis examined not only personal experiences but the constructions of eighteenth and nineteenth century eugenicists, the responses of twentieth century governing figures, and the opinions of the British public. Its foundations of exploring any experience of "mixedness" in Britain was an understanding and exploration of how "mixedness" was constructed and responded to in Britain historically. *Chapter One: "Miscegenation" in Empire: Threat, Fear & Desire*, laid the foundations of understanding how eugenics within empire constructed both empire-related and domestic opinions of "mixedness" in terms of miscegenation and hybridity. It explored how miscegenation was constructed and responded to concerning empire by examining the eugenic theories of people like Arthur de Gobineau, Anthony Trollope, C. L. Temple, and Charles Brooke. Such theories then seeped into domestic reactions; gender became more engrained within racialised views on miscegenation, which was seen as a problem of Black men and White women. Finally, the chapter captures the moral panic towards interracial families and Mixed children. It provided a core understanding that approaches to "mixedness" were pathological and dominantly had a hybrid degenerative lens on the consequences of interracial relationships and the outcome of the "miscegenated child".

While intrinsically intersectional and intersubjective, this thesis used historical methodologies to balance out the dominance of sociological and psychological studies within "Mixed-Race studies". Additionally, it challenges the supposition of a standardised, negative experience of "mixedness" and equally challenges the opposite discourse that "mixedness" is a sign of a post-racial society. Instead, it proposed an expansion to Chamion Caballero's work on "interracial ordinariness" in 1930-39 Britain by exploring "ordinariness" through Mixed experiences in the 1970s and 1980s. Analysing "mixedness" as ordinary enabled a more multidimensional approach to "mixedness", which explored "mixedness" as ordinary but also examined where the limitations of "mixedness" as ordinary lie. The nine oral history interviews at the core of this research enabled the development of this idea of the "ordinariness of mixedness". Here, the definition of "ordinariness" was inspired by the work of Silverstone and Boddie. For

Silverstone, "ordinariness" was examined as "the conventional, the normal, the natural, the everyday, the taken for granted".[206] Equally influential, Boddie captured the complexity of "ordinary" as meaning "the state of being treated as a full, complex person and a rightful recipient of human concern."[207] Using this definition of "ordinariness" captures the essence of the everyday, the normal, a "matter-of-factness" as Caballero states.[208] However, it equally gives space to experiences of "mixedness" that were problematic or difficult to navigate. *Chapter Two: Accounts of "Ordinariness" - Children of the 70s & 80s* highlighted the "ordinariness" of "mixedness" through accounts of everyday experiences within family spaces, the home, school, different towns and cities. It showed that not every experience growing up Mixed is stuck within a lens of ethnicity. There was a sense of "just being" and experiencing life's normality and "everydayness". The chapter highlighted the impact "ordinariness" could have in challenging the frequently negative and harmful tropes that surrounded experiences of "mixedness". It examined that while negativity and problematic issues can be real problems while growing up Mixed, equally, there remains places and spaces to feel ordinary. The boundaries of exploring "mixedness" as ordinary were covered by *Chapter Three: The limits of "Ordinariness" - Space & Place.* It accepts "mixedness" as ordinary but analyses the impact of "spatiality" on such feelings of "ordinariness" and explores how they are limited by space and place. The experience of "mixedness" is multidimensional. For each person, there were physical and figurative spaces that limited their ability to inhabit the idea of "ordinariness" argued for in Chapter Two. Combined, the chapters show the importance of approaching studies on "mixedness" in an intersubjective and intersectional way which avoids grouping experiences into the negative tropes of difficulty, tragedy, and conflict as fortified by the constructions of "mixedness". Embracing the "ordinariness" of "mixedness" along with its limitations presents an entanglement of multiple layers, discussions and experiences of "mixedness".

Combining historical methodologies with original oral history interviews and an examination of "spatiality" all while examining the idea of "mixedness" as ordinary is an essential addition to the existing research on "mixedness". The focus of the "second wave" on topics of sociological and psychological analyses of identity, transracial adoption, self-racial identification, how parents navigate bring up Mixed children, terminology and community rejection left many gaps within the field to fill. By utilising oral histories, the inside voices to the subject of "mixedness" can be used to inform new ideas, which is especially important within a field in which outsider perspectives constructed "mixedness" as pathological and negative. As Caballero also explores the consequences of "much of this history has been told through the perspectives of outsiders and frequently in the negative terms of the assumed 'orthodoxy of the interracial experience' — marginality, conflict, rejection and confusion — first-hand accounts challenge these perceptions allow a contrasting picture to emerge." [209] Using original oral histories combined with the idea of “mixedness” challenges the forged tropes and offers a more lateral, multidimensional presentation of “mixedness”, not presenting it as wholly negative or positive, but ordinary and just as complex as any other identity. By doing this, it avoids the pathology of the “first wave”, adds historical context and analysis that the “second wave” often neglects and avoids sensationalising “mixedness” as a modern phenomenon and signifier of a post-racial future. The combination also helps avoid homogenising “mixedness” as one experience. For example, while “ordinariness” was explored in each personal interview, for each person “ordinariness” was experienced or not experienced in different ways and for different reasons. Likewise, when exploring the limits “place” and “space” have on “ordinariness”, people experience the ability to feel “ordinariness” in different places and spaces. Some feel like they could inhabit a space and feel normality and others have the opposite feeling while it being a similar space such as school. Perfectly summed up in Naomi's interview where she reflected that, "every one of us has a different story, but they are powerful and equal but in different ways."[210]

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[206] Silverstone, R. (1994). p. 944. In Caballero, C. (2019). p. 3.
[207] Boddie, E. C. (2018). p. 57.
[208] Caballero, C. (2014). In Taylor, Y. (ed.) (2014). p. 12.
[209] Caballero, C. (2019). p. 1.

Presenting “mixedness” as ordinary also leaves potential avenues to explore beyond the scope of this thesis. It could be expanded on by conducting more oral history interviews to gather a broader range of experiences to draw on. This, inevitably, would build up the diversity of experiences which would help better understand how the “ordinariness” of “mixedness” could be related to, challenged or rejected by different people's experiences. There are still gaps within “Mixed-Race Studies” to fill, further studies could address different dichotomies of “mixedness” beyond the Black and White dichotomy, beyond Mixed being something seen as having to have a White component at all. It would be interesting to examine if and how the “ordinariness” of “mixedness” is explored under these different dichotomies and contexts of “mixedness”. Similarly, the idea of the “ordinariness” of “mixedness” could be expanded from country to country. As highlighted by the Introduction, the historical context of a country significantly impacted the construction and responses to “race”, miscegenation, and thus “mixedness”. Inevitably, it would also impact experiences, which would be interesting to further examine how far “mixedness” can be experienced as ordinary within alternative historical contexts of different countries. Equally, so would expanding outside the heteronormative lens that dominates the idea of “Mixed-Race studies”, specifically the analysis of interracial families and transracial adoption. With this in mind, there are endless potential avenues to explore “mixedness” further across topics, subjects, and disciplines, which would bring with it a better understanding of the variety of experiences under this umbrella of being Mixed.

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[210] Naomi, personal interview, May 10, 2021. Interviewed by Leah Conway.

Appendix A: Ethics Forms

Appendix A1: Participant Information Sheet

University of Huddersfield

School of Music Humanities and Media

Participant Information Sheet

Provisional Research Project Title: Experiences of Black and White mixed race children growing up in the 1970s and 1980s in the UK
Name of Researcher: Leah Conway

Contact Details of Researcher:
Leah.conway@hud.ac.uk
07807836294

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. May I take this opportunity to thank you for taking time to read this.

You are being invited to take part for a postgraduate research project supported by the University of Huddersfield.

Its aim is to **capture the experiences of mixed race people growing up from the 1970s-1980s**, to create a **tangible piece of history** for public viewing as well as an academic thesis.

A key part of the project is the **creation of a public facing output**, at this present time this is intended to be a **short documentary film or a collection of oral histories**. It will preserve the histories and stories of those who contribute and will be a publicly accessible source.

1. What is the purpose of the project?

The purpose of this research project is to help contribute to a more diverse and inclusive history of Britain. The development and diversification of British history is a continuous one, one that must be constantly added to and pushed until we can see it as a nation's history, rather than a something completely separate.

This project intends to diversify and contribute to this development, through looking at the lived experiences of people from mixed race backgrounds; among other things it will explore their stories, memoires, identities, and feelings. The honour of having a history is no longer a privilege reserved for kings and queens, it's for you and I, it's for everyone, as we all need to see a piece of ourselves in history.

2. Why have I been chosen?

Your stories and memoires of your life experiences is integral to the research project. At the core of the projects' aims is oral history and it cannot be achieved without your contributions.

3. Do I have to take part?

Participation on this study is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any stage without giving an explanation to the researcher.

4. What do I have to do?

If you decide that you would like to take part you will be invited to take part in an interview, which with your permission, will be filmed (or audio-recorded if the participant does not want to be filmed).

The interviews will vary in length, it should take no more than 2 hours of your time. The interview is **an opportunity for you to share your stories and memories of your experiences of navigating life as a mixed race person, touching on, but not limited to, elements of race, ethnicity, belonging and identity for example.**

With your permission, your filmed or recorded interview will contribute to a short documentary and will become part of an oral history collection which could be archived and used for further academic research. It will be preserved as a permanent resource for use in research, publications, education, lectures, broadcasting and internet.

The interviewer may also ask your permission to take your photograph, or copies of any childhood, family photographs that you would like to share. If you agree then the photograph will be included in the public facing output and any of its supporting materials where it will be preserved as a permanent resource for use in research, publications, education, lectures, broadcasting and the internet.

5. Are there any disadvantages to taking part?
There should be no foreseeable disadvantages to your participation. If you are unhappy or have further questions at any stage in the process, please address your concerns initially to the researcher if this is appropriate. Alternatively, please contact Professor M. Adkins **(m.adkins@hud.ac.uk)** at the School of Music, Humanities and Media, University of Huddersfield.

6. Will all my details be kept confidential?
All information which is collected will be strictly confidential. You will have a number of options if you wish to take part and be anonymised, all personal information – such as contact information – will remain private and disclosed. This will be set before the data is presented in any work, in compliance with the Data Protection Act and ethical research guidelines and principles.

All info will be stored on a password protected, private hard drive.

7. What will happen to the results of the research study?
The results of this research will be written up in by the end of the MA course in December 2021. It will be examined internally and externally and deposited in the University repository.

A public facing output will also be produced by this time too and there will hopefully be some form of public showing in which you will be contacted and invited. If you would like a copy, please contact the researcher.

8. What happens to the data collected?

A key outcome of this project is the creation of a public facing output, **a short documentary film**, that will preserve and make publicly accessible the stories, memories, and photos contributed by participants.
With your permission, your recorded interview will be edited into a short documentary film, alongside other participants interviews and will be part of an oral history collection, which will both be a permanent and public resource for use in research, publications, education, lectures, broadcasting and the internet.
We will never use your information without your consent, and you can tell us how it should be used.

You have the following options:
Use my name and film recording: You can tell us to credit you by name when we use your contributions in the public facing output, thesis and oral history collection in print and in public
Use my name and audio recording: You can tell us to credit you by name when we use your contributions (audio only) in the public facing output, thesis and oral history collection in print and in public
Use a pseudonym and voice recording: If you want to contribute but do not want to be recognised, you can choose to use a pseudonym and only your voice recording will be used in the public facing output. The

pseudonym and voice recording will be used to recognise your contribution in the public facing output, thesis and oral history collection in print and in public

Use my name and only use my transcribed words (no film or audio recording to be public) : If you want to contribute under your name but only to thesis and not to the public facing output then your name will be used to recognise your contribution The audio/film recording will not be used in any other way other than to be transcribed. You can decide whether or not you would like your audio recording to be part of the oral history collection.

Use a pseudonym and only use my transcribed words (no film or audio recording to be public): if you want to contribute to the thesis but under a different name then your words will be quoted and used but under a pseudonym. The audio/film recording will not be used in any other way other than to be transcribed. You can decide whether or not you would like your audio recording to be part of the oral history collection. Once the interview is completed the recording will be **stored and backed up on a password protected external hard drives and SD cards** which will be securely stored.

The recordings will only be accessible by the researcher (Leah Conway) and the University of Huddersfield supervision team attached to the research project. If you have chosen to use a pseudonym, your interview will be stored under the pseudonym and all details of your identity will be kept separately to the audio files and the interview summary

The handling of your interview will be used and reviewed under the University of Huddersfield's ethics guidelines.

Archiving
At the end of the project the oral histories and public facing output may be archived. Meaning it can be accessed by researchers in the future. All future use of your contribution will adhere to the same access and privacy conditions that you select now and will only be deposited in an archive with your permission.

What about documents, images and objects?
Some of you may have kept interesting documents, images and objects that you would like to share, the Project researcher would be very grateful if you were willing to share these with them.The project researcher will arrange to scan them or take a photograph to be stored on the hard drive and used in the public facing output (if allowed). We will never use your documents, images or objects without your consent, and you can tell us how it should be used. Your information will be stored under the same conditions as your interview (e.g. if you want to have a pseudonym)

9. Will I be paid for participating in the research?
There will be no payment for participating in the research. Participation on this study is entirely voluntary.

10. Where will the research be conducted?

Interviews will be conducted at a time and place convenient to you. At the present time interviews will be online, conducted over Zoom or Microsoft teams. In the future, if there is a time when face to face interviews will be possible, interviews will be at a place convenient to you.

If plans change throughout the year, interviews will continue to adhere to government guidelines surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic

What about COVID-19?

My initial intention was to complete the interview in person with a camera. However, due to the ongoing pandemic and government guidelines the approach to these interviews has had to be adapted.

However, to ensure the safety of both interviewee and interviewer changes have been made and will now be online.

If the situation progresses over my research and face to face interviews are able to take place, we can make the decision to have an in person interview. This choice will be completely up to you, if you are comfortable and safe to do so.

If you do choose to do an in person interview (if permitted by official guidelines) , it will be conducted in a safe way –socially distanced, adhere to the necessary government guidelines (national and lockdown regulations), facemasks, sanitation of equipment, minimum two metres distance and if it's an option a private garden could be used to hold the interview.

11. Criminal Records check (if applicable)
n/a

12. Who has reviewed and approved the study, and who can be contacted for further information?

The research has been reviewed by the University of Huddersfield's Music Humanities and Media School Research Ethics Committee.

If you have any questions or concerns you can contact the project research, Leah Conway: **Leah.conway@hud.ac.uk /** 07807836294.

If you wish to speak to the Project Researchers supervisor you can contact, Dr Vikram Visana at V.Visana@hud.ac.uk

Appendix A2: Participant Consent Form

University of Huddersfield School of Music Humanities and Media

Participant Consent Form (E4)

Title of Research Study: Navigating "Mixedness": An examination of the ways "mixedness" has been constructed, responded to and experienced in Modern Britain

Name of Researcher: Leah Conway

Name of Supervisor: Vikram Visana

This form is to confirm consent; that you are agreeing to take part in the interview and allowing the interview to be stored and used in the future of this research project

After the interview there will be a 'Recording Agreement', which will allow you to review anything after the interview and will go over how you would like to consent to the interview being used.

Subject to your consent (below) the interview will be recorded over Zoom, transcribed and stored on a password protected hard drive. Your words may be quoted in the final thesis, public output and any other follow up academic publication.

☐ I confirm that I have read and understood the participant Information sheet related to this research and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

☐ I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

☐ I agree to take part in the above study

☐ I agree for interviews quotes to be used in thesis and any publication

☐ I understand that my responses will be anonymised if requested

☐ I give permission for members of the research team (Researcher + supervisor) to have access to my responses. (anonymised responses if requested)

Recording, terms of participation and usage of footage:

Please tick the following in accordance to how you would like your interview to be used.

☐ I agree to the interview being recorded for academic purposes to be used in the written thesis only
☐ I agree to the interview being recorded for academic purposes to be used in the written thesis and in the public facing output (i.e short documentary) that could be shown to a public audience through online event and/or published online as an academic resource: YES/NO

Option for anonymity:

Tick here if you would like interview to be used under a pseudonym:

☐ I agree to the interview being used in the thesis and documentary but wish to be anonymised under a pseudonym.

Would you mind being contacted in the future to gain your consent in depositing your interview as part of an oral history collection into an archive:

☐ I agree, I would like to be contacted if this opportunity arises
☐ I disagree, I do not want the interview deposited

Name of Participant:
Signature of Participant:
Date:

Name of Researcher: Leah Conway
Signature of Researcher:
Date:

Appendix B: Tables

Appendix B1: Table 1

TABLE 1: INTERVIEW SAMPLE

Name	Year Born	Heritage	Gender	Location – where they grew up	Length of Interview (minutes)
Karen L	1963	While English & Black Caribbean	Female	Huddersfield	87 minutes
Neil	1963	White Polish & Black African - Nigerian	Male	Southampton	52 minutes
Suz	1963	White Irish & Black African - Nigerian	Female	Ripon, Tadcaster, York	92 minutes
David	1970	White Irish & Black Caribbean - St Kitts	Male	Birmingham	111 minutes
Rob	1968	White Irish & Black Caribbean - St Kitts	Male	Birmingham	83 minutes
Nina	1967	White English & Black Caribbean	Female	Surrey	68 minutes
Karen J	1964	White & Black Caribbean	Female	London	87 minutes
Sue	1965	White Irish & Black Caribbean - St Kitts	Female	Birmingham	76 minutes
Naomi	1973	White English & Black Caribbean - Jamaica	Female	Gravesend, Kent & London	106 minutes

Appendix C: Extended Quotes

Appendix C1: Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed People by Dr Maria P.P Root, 1993

Bill of Rights "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 multi-racial or multi-ethnic.
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 C2: *Nottingham Evening Post*, 17 June 1919

…arisen through friction between coloured men and other residents owing to the former being seen in the company of white women and girls

Appendix C3: Black and White at Liverpool, *The Times*, 10 June 1919

The Head Constable begs to report to the Watch Committee that for some time there has existed a feeling of animosity between the White and coloured population in this city. This feeling has probably been engendered by the arrogant and overbearing conduct of the negro population towards the White, and by the White women who live or cohabit with the Black men, boasting to the other women of the superior qualities of the negroes as compared with those of the White men. Since the Armistice the demobilisation of so many negroes into Liverpool has caused this feeling to develop more rapidly.

Commenting on the situation in Liverpool, *The Times* stated that “the intermarriage of black men and White women, not to mention other relationships, has excited much feeling.”

Appendix C4: *The Taunton Courier and Western Advertiser:* 18 June 1919

The coloured men in Cardiff are mostly seamen who have for years been voyaging to and from this country. They seem to have grown more arrogant of late. They have earned good wages and have been able to give free rein to their love of display and ostentation and to make themselves attractive in the eyes of a class of women who infest seaports. Some of the negroes in Cardiff own their houses, and demobilised Cardiff men who are lucky if they get a back room feel aggrieved at the black man’s flourishing state. The fact that the negroes are nearly all armed and fires on the slightest provocation intensifies the swiftness with which isolated encounters swell into street battles.

Appendix C5: Sir Ralph Williams to *The Times,* 14 June 1919

It is an instinctive certainty that sexual relations between White women and coloured men revolt our very nature. But fairness to colour demands that we should realise the position to-day. Large numbers of black and coloured men have been gathered together in the Mother Country. They are here without their women, and it is not wonderful that their passions should run high after a long period of abstinence. These men now find White women of a certain temperament encouraging their attentions, and allowing themselves to be taken as paramours, or sometimes as wives. What blame to the coloured men if they take advantage of it? And what blame, too, to those White men who, seeing the conditions and loathing them, resort to violence?

Appendix C6: David

… ‘cause Perry Common was … the mix of different cultures there was hardly any , I couldn’t even put a percentage on it, ninety-five percent, ninety-eight percent White… juniors and infants and then when I went to secondary school it was like whoa, what’s happened here man, where’s all these people come from, it was like fifty/fifty or like sixty/forty, it was like gosh, jeeez, because the estate was the same it was like ninety-five percent White and that and school was the same, and so it was just estate, school and of course I wasn’t oblivious to — [gestures around himself] because my cousins, seeing cousins and seeing families and seeing lots of Black people but then when it went to secondary school it was like gosh there's hundreds because there were so many classes it's like what?[…] It was more quantity wise, you know, because you'd have … a good thousand people and it was forty/ sixty or sixty/forty where I was used to ninety-five/five or something like that, gosh, so that was like wow… you didn't stand out, that was it, you weren't ... there you were just a number … you just blended in with everyone else where infants and juniors you was stood out, in my opinion , thinking back then, I didn't feel like I stood out in the infants and juniors cause I just, it was normal but looking back now I'm thinking we must have stood out but going to secondary school you was just — cos of the area it was more of just of number, everybody blended in because the mix was a closer mix, I wasn't a minority, it was just, you know, yeah looking back then you were few in infants and junior where secondary it was — you just blended in.

Appendix C7: Rob

When I say, where were lived, Birmingham's multiracial, but where we lived, i.e., on our estate, there weren't many Black people. There was only a few families but again colour only comes into it when there's a dispute and where we were, we all lived in harmony. I think we were quite young and there were a lot of older Black families that kind of took us under their wings, we didn't have any big brothers and stuff like that, so we were kind of looked after as youngens so, if anyone bigger picked on us the bigger kids would step in in and stuff like that, kind of, which was kind of nice, but yeah, I think there was five families [thinks and counts on fingers] four or five families, maybe, at the time, at that time that lived on an estate, where there were hundreds of houses, but you didn't feel like you were the odd one out at that time, because you were all we were all friends playing football and whatever.

He continued, "I think, the old topic about racism, and I think you probably were a bit blinkered to it at the time or, like I said, if you had a fall out, the colour of your skin got mentioned, but at the times you were all mates, but then it was just a reaction to get a reaction, kind of, if you know what I mean.

My junior school, teens, I it was, my junior schools there was only a handful of Black and Mixed-Race children, but when I went to secondary it was a more fifty/fifty which was like [mouthed 'wow']. I suppose you could say to us, a culture shock, because we came from a school where it was mainly White to integrate over to where it was fifty/fifty and then meeting other races as well, you know, so it was, it was, it was school, school was just school, you got on, but I think at the time, I think going back, people just would use colour as a reaction it was just a part of growing up and I think it's changed over the years.

Appendix C8: Nina

To be honest, I think when you're a kid, you don't notice it, you don't, you know, it's your friend Jane or your friend Lorraine. It's not my White friend, this because they were all White, all my friends were White, I didn't know anything else, when I came home, I'm with my sister, but we didn't kind of identify ourselves as the "brown kids", until you get older.

The only experience I can remember of realising that I was a different colour, and I was different was because when we were at one of my first schools, I can't really remember how old I would have been, but it would have been you know infants sort of 6, 7 something like that maybe. There was a boy who used to pick on me and at first I didn't really get it, but he used to pull my hair, you know, I used to wear hair [gestures] in, my mum would do it in two bunches with plaits and there'd always be ribbons or one ponytail or something and he used to pull my hair and he used to sort of push me in the playground, and call me names, probably derogatory names, and I remember mum having to come down to school and speak to the headteacher and quite soon after that we moved schools, now, I don't think it was directly as a result of that but it probably contributed and she also, like I said, wanted to get us into the church school system, so this was a state, this was just a normal, everyday primary school, so soon after that we went into the local catholic primary school. I don't ever remember there being problems there and I think that's probably where the other girl, who was the one from Sri Lanka, she as at that school already.

But there literally were no other kids that looked like us, that looked like me and my sisters, but like I said, we wasn't aware of it just we were just kids, your friends were the ones who, oh they've got that bike, oh they live down the road there, oh their names are Jade or Peter or whatever, Lorraine, or whatever, their names were. It wasn't until we got slightly older and then I'd be allowed to walk to school, so it was at the end of our road, you know, just round the corner and we used to get called names by the secondary school kids, you'd get called the n-world, you'd get called other things and you're slightly older so I guess I was starting to become aware of it but again it wasn't, it wasn't the awareness that would say people have now, I think it was still upsetting and probably went home and said to mum oh we got called this name, but again, it wasn't, like I said, we were the only family so it was very much she would talk to us and tell us how to deal with it and tell us about different things, you know, speak to us about it. But there weren't any other children you'd got to and go oh we got called...because we were the only ones if that makes sense. So, I only became aware of it when other people started to identify me as being different because of my colour if that makes sense.

Appendix C9: Naomi

So, I lived in Gravesend Kent for the first ten years of my life… when I was in Gravesend Kent the only other Black person, I saw was my mother, there was no one else who had colour. At my school I was the only Black chid and I went to a school that was like massive, it was huge, and I was the only Black child. I think there were two boys from Cambodia in my class, I only know that because I've still got the class picture, but I was the only Black girl, little Mixed race girl there and it was really difficult, it was really really difficult […] my mum was a very very strong woman, a very strong Jamaican woman, but obviously going to school I was very much on my own but the rest of the time I was with mum but going to school was really difficult…

So, I think probably within the first month of being in Bristol I remember I was walking to the student union from where I lived and a group of White lads in a car drove past and shouted out "nigger", that hadn't happened to me for a very long time, to be called a "nigger." Erm when I was younger I used to get called half caste a lot erm and that was kind of the way I was identified and then I started to think actually I'm not half of anything and then other phraseology came in and hence why I stuck with Mixed-Race but I used to get called half caste a lot you know you're half this your half that, go back to where, as a youngster, as a child but then in secondary obviously, then being in London town, even though I was at school in Elton, it was very different I didn't hear that language around me really and then Bristol [claps] bam it came back and that was really startling. And especially you know being a little Mixed-Race woman going about my business in Bristol, I'm new, to suddenly have that assault on me and I was alone, it was hard and obviously I remember it.

Appendix C10: Neil

From a Mixed-Race perspective I would say it was very positive because a number of the White ladies that were married to Caribbean men … a number of those ladies were friends with each other, so therefore growing up I also always knew a lot of [Mixed-Race people] … or 'half-caste' in those days, I always knew a lot of Mixed-Race people, you understand, so we had these networks of aunts […] So, growing up Mixed-Race was very positive, of course there's a lot of racism …. So, as well as all the horrible names they called Black people in those days, they had other ones, other names for Mixed-Race… mongrel these other ones. So, we had all of the Black ones and the extra Mixed-Race names but as far as our own little network it was all very good.

Appendix C11: Karen J

I don’t care about that anymore, we all come from different angles anyway. It’s not one homogenous experience […] you are what you are, and it doesn’t matter how many labels people stick on you, it doesn’t change who you are.

That was really different again because ... south east London, Lewisham area, Catford area there was a lot of Black families. So, I was going to school with Black children and White children, but I still remember being the only child who was Mixed-Race... there might have been in younger years, I don’t want to say that there wasn’t, but I don’t remember any other Mixed-Race children. And of course, I was coming to London and a new home, new life, new school, so everything was quite full on, so I think I, if there was anything else going on outside of my world I wouldn’t of picked up on it so much because I just turned 10 and my world just completely changed.

Appendix C12: Naomi

I started to notice that certain people weren’t coming to African-Caribbean society events and I spoke to a mate of mine and he said to me there's talk going around that a lot of the Black male students don’t like the fact that the African-Caribbean society is being run by a Mixed race woman and he said and the terminology they called you was a ‘half-caste bitch’. And the reason why I mention it is, one it was horrible - because I did it because nobody else did! - but also, it’s just that thing of how I wasn’t always accepted in the Black community. So, all what I’ve speak to you, I felt really accepted in the Black community, my Black family, my Black religion… and then suddenly I came to Bristol and [claps hands] I wasn’t supported by my fellow brothers and that really cut me to the core because as a Mixed race woman I do identify as Black woman and even though I am Mixed race, I’m a Black woman and I’m very proud about that and it probably is a cultural decision but is also a political decision to regard myself as a Black woman [...] But I was really, really hurt by the lack of support because one, I was doing the job that nobody else wanted to do and actually, you know, slapping me down again because of who I am, and I think that was...that was the first time I felt rejected by the Black community. Suddenly it was a big slap it was like oh my gosh not everyone in the Black community accepts me.

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