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Editor's Note

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## Editor's Note

G. Reginald Daniel

**Abstract:** In the late 1980s and early 1990s, numerous scholarly works were published on the topic of multiraciality and mixed-race experiences in the United States and Great Britain.<sup>1</sup> There has historically been limited research on Nordic Europe. This analysis contextualizes the importance of the articles in this special issue, which seek to help further research on Nordic Europe in terms of critical mixed race studies.

**Keywords:** racially mixed people, multiracial identity, mixed race identity, mixed race studies, critical mixed race studies, Nordic

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### Introduction

In the early 1980s, several important doctoral dissertations were written on the topic of multiraciality and mixed-race experiences in the United States. Numerous scholarly works were published in the late 1980s and early 1990s. By 2004, master's theses, doctoral dissertations, books, book chapters, and journal articles on the topic of multiracial identities and mixed-race experiences reached a critical mass, attaining viability as a distinct field. Many individuals began describing these works as being part of the field of mixed race or multiracial studies, which crystallized in Jayne Ifekwunigwe's *Mixed Race Studies: A Reader* (2004). These developments served as the foundation for the emerging field of mixed race studies and critical mixed race studies, by extension, and the catalyst for further growth and innovation across disciplines, although this scholarship did not yet encompass a formally defined area of inquiry.<sup>2</sup> What has changed is that there is now recognition of an entire field devoted to the study of multiracial identities and mixed-race experiences. Rather than indicating an abrupt shift or change in the study of these topics, mixed race studies was formally defined at a time that beckoned scholars to be more *critical*. That is, scholars were called on to assess the merit of arguments made over the previous twenty years and their relevance for future research.

In response to these concerns, the *Journal of Critical Mixed Race Studies (JCMRS)* was launched in 2011 and emerged from the inaugural 2010 Critical Mixed Race Studies (CMRS) conference at DePaul University (November 5–6, 2010), which was organized by Camilla Fojas, Laura Kina, and Wei Ming Dariotis. There were no academic platforms or journals specifically devoted to the topic of multiracial identities and mixed-race experiences until the founding of the biannual Critical Mixed Race Studies conferences in 2010, which eventually incorporated as an association in 2015. Cofounded by G. Reginald Daniel, Laura Kina, Wei Ming Dariotis, and Paul Spickard, *JCMRS* is the first academic journal explicitly focused on critical mixed race studies. The journal is transracial, transdisciplinary, and transnational in scope. It places the concept of “mixed race” at the critical center of focus such that multiracials become subjects of historical, social, and cultural processes rather than simply objects of analysis. This involves the study of racial consciousness among racially mixed people, the world in which they live, and the ideological forces that inform their identities and experiences.

CMRS, as an interdisciplinary field that derives from the work of ethnic studies scholars and activists, encompasses interests and scholars from various disciplines, each with its own terminologies and associations. The word “critical” comes from critical race theory and critical legal studies. The latter developed in the 1970s to address the role of society and culture within a racialized and race-driven legal system. Critical race theory borrows from it as well as from conventional civil rights scholarship, but also interrogates both fields. Critical race studies addresses continuing racialized inequities and lack of representation of marginalized communities of color, particularly in education and public discourses.

Critical race studies and ethnic studies are therefore key components of CMRS and continue to advance similar inquiries and scholarly discourses about race, culture, and society. CMRS includes a critical examination of society and culture; the intersection of race, law, and power; racial justice scholarship; and legal practice. CMRS encompasses these areas of analysis with an emphasis on all things “mixed” race. This includes racial mixing, interraciality, multiraciality, transracial adoption, and interethnic alliances, among other topics. CMRS places mixedness, hybridity, liminality, and related phenomena at the critical center in terms of the extensive miscegenation and historical “multigenerational multiraciality” stemming from Western European colonial expansion. It also addresses the contemporary “first-generation” experiences of the multiracial progeny of interracial marriages in the US and elsewhere.

CMRS stresses critical analysis of the institutionalization of social, cultural, and political structures based on dominant conceptions of “race.” In keeping with racial formation theory by Michael Omi and Howard Winant, it acknowledges that the concept of “race” invokes biologically based human characteristics but also that the selection of particular human features for purposes of racial signification has changed over time.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, racial formation is necessarily a sociohistorical process and CMRS emphasizes the constructed nature of race. It underscores its mutability and the porosity of racial boundaries in order to provide a critical examination of local and global systemic injustices. It is particularly attentive to how racial groups and racial hierarchies are constructed through processes of racialization as it interrogates racial essentialism and racial hierarchy.

CMRS also emphasizes the intersection of racial phenomena with gender, sex, sexuality, class, and other categories of difference. As Candice West and Sarah Fenstermaker point out, these are much more than individual characteristics or some vaguely defined and performed set of role expectations.<sup>4</sup> Rather, they are ongoing phenomena that must be situated in social situations and institutional structures. The identities associated with these phenomena normalize and naturalize social dynamics, thus legitimizing various ways of organizing social life. This in turn reaffirms institutional practice, the social order, and power relations.

The accountability of individuals to categories of difference is key to understanding these dynamics. Situated social action therefore contributes to the reproduction of social structures and systems of domination (by extension) based on race, sex, gender, class, and sexuality, among others, as entrenched ideas, practices, explicit decisions, and procedures construct social hierarchies that exclude, control, and constrain human agency. Boundaries, hierarchies, and identities associated with social categories of difference are continually constructed in everyday life.<sup>5</sup> But individual agents or collective subjectivities also resist pressures to conform to these social forces, as is the case with the analyses in the articles of this special issue of *JCMRS*, which focuses on Nordic Europe.

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This special issue also benefited from the efforts of the team of associate editors, Jasmine Kelekay, J Sterphone, and Alyssa Newman, who helped solicit contributors of manuscripts, recommended reviewers, and reviewed submissions to the journal. Kelekay is a University of California, Santa Barbara sociology graduate, visiting researcher at the Center for Multidisciplinary Studies on Racism (CEMFOR), Uppsala University, as well as at the Department of Criminology, Stockholm University. Beginning in fall 2022, she will be a postdoctoral fellow at UC Berkeley in the Department of African American Studies and African Diaspora Studies. Sterphone is a University of California, Santa Barbara sociology graduate and will be a visiting assistant professor in the Sociology Department at Wheaton College starting in fall 2022. Newman is also a University of California, Santa Barbara sociology graduate and a postdoctoral fellow at Hecht-Levi Fellow at Johns Hopkins Berman Institute of Bioethics. In fall 2022, she will be an assistant professor at the Kennedy Institute of Ethics, with a joint appointment in the Department of Sociology, at Georgetown University.

## Mixed Race Studies and Nordic Europe

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, numerous scholarly works were published on the topic of multiraciality and mixed-race experiences in the United States and Great Britain.<sup>6</sup> There has historically been limited research in terms of Nordic Europe. This includes the Scandinavian countries of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, and, more broadly, Finland, Iceland, and Greenland. The topic was, however, discussed, for example, in research on Finland in Rebecca Kihlman's master's thesis, "The Finn Within: An Exploratory Study of Racial Identification among Young Biracial Finns in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area" (2003), in Anna Rastas's article also on Finland, "Racism in the Everyday Life of Finnish Children with Transnational Roots" (2009), and Aino Lapila Marcus's master's thesis "Ethnic Identity of Multiethnic People in Finnish Context: Cosmopolitanism, Multiculturalism, and Self-searching" (2010).

More recently, there have been books and other extended analyses, including Sayaka Osanami Törngren's doctoral dissertation, "Love Ain't Got No Color? Attitudes toward Interracial Marriage in Sweden" (2011), and Rashmi Singla's book, which examines Denmark, *Intermarriage and Mixed Parenting, Promoting Mental Health and Wellbeing: Crossover Love* (2015). There is also Tony Sandset's book, *Color That Matters: A Comparative Approach to Mixed Race Identity and Nordic Exceptionalism* (2018), which provides an analysis of Norway against the broader backdrop of Nordic Europe. Giovanni Nkem Nzeafack's *How do Black*

*Multiracial Swedes Experience Racial Identity Formation in Sweden? Biracial and Multiracial Identity Formation* (2021) examines multiracial identities and mixed-race experiences in Sweden.

Some chapters in edited volumes and journal articles have also been published, such as Anna Adeniji's "Searching for Words: Becoming Mixed Race, Black and Swedish" (2014), Tobias Hübinette and Daphne Arbouz's "Introducing Mixed Race Sweden: A Study of the (Im)possibilities of Being a Mixed-Race Swede" (2019), Ioanna Blasko and Nikolay Zakharov's "Mixed Race and Ethnicity in Sweden: A Sociological Analysis" (2020), Sayaka Osanami Törngren's "Challenging the 'Swedish' and 'Immigrant' Dichotomy: How Do Multiracial and Multi-ethnic Swedes Identify Themselves?" (2020).

## **Nordic Exceptionalism and the Denial of Race**

This special issue of *JCMRS* is the first collection of studies that seeks to examine the topic of multiracial identities and mixed-race experiences in Nordic Europe in terms of commonalities, as well as national differences. One theme reiterated throughout the articles is the notion of "Nordic exceptionalism." This mindset reflects the tendency of countries in the Nordic region to view themselves, and with considerable pride, as being outside the normative colonial legacy of race and racism typified by other European nations and nationalisms.<sup>7</sup>

Despite this official regional narrative, Sweden maintained an extensive colonial empire that included the Swedish Gold Coast colony, which was established in the mid-seventeenth century on the Gulf of Guinea in present-day Ghana. The colony remained under Swedish control until 1663 when it was seized by Denmark and integrated in the Danish Gold Coast.<sup>8</sup> In the mid-seventeenth century, Sweden also maintained colonies in the United States, including New Sweden (1638–1655) on the Delaware River in what is now Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.<sup>9</sup> One of Sweden's colonies, the island of Saint-Barthélemy (commonly known in English as St. Barts), served as a major center for the Caribbean slave trade from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, notwithstanding the island's own small slave holdings.<sup>10</sup> Sweden was also a key exporter of iron used in manufacturing chains, collars, and shackles to restrain slaves during transports as well as hot irons to brand them afterward.<sup>11</sup> Trafficking in slaves was abolished in 1813, but slavery itself was not abolished in all parts of Sweden, including its colonies, until 1847.<sup>12</sup>

From the seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century, Denmark also sustained a sizeable colonial empire that encompassed possessions in parts of China and India, as well as Africa. In Africa, the empire included scattered properties in Togo, Benin, and Cameroon, which were Danish from the mid-seventeenth century until 1850.<sup>13</sup> As previously mentioned, Denmark maintained a colony on the Gold Coast (coastal Ghana), including a string of forts and castles, as well as several plantations, along the eastern coast.<sup>14</sup> Denmark was also an active participant in the Atlantic slave trade and maintained plantation slavery involving Africans on the islands of the Danish West Indies: St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix.<sup>15</sup>

In fact, Denmark was the seventh largest slave-trading nation in the Atlantic during the colonial era; the US was the sixth.<sup>16</sup> Between 1660 and 1806, it is estimated that Denmark transported at least 111,000 and perhaps as many as 120,000 Africans from West Africa to the Dutch West Indies before the official end of slavery in 1848.<sup>17</sup> Smaller numbers of Africans were also enslaved in Denmark.<sup>18</sup> Still, much as in Sweden, the question of African slavery or Africans in Denmark and its history of colonialism has not been at the

forefront of, if not disregarded by, Danish public narratives of national history, including those in the educational system and journalistic practices.<sup>19</sup>

As a corrective to that historical amnesia, the Danish television documentary series *Slavernes slægt* (*Slaves in the Family*, 2005) examines present-day Danes, who, as a result of an interest in genealogical research, discovered their unknown African ancestry. The series challenges the supposed historical homogeneity of Nordic nations by recognizing the historical presence of African-descent individuals.<sup>20</sup> It was only with the 2017 centennial for the anniversary of the US acquisition of the Danish West Indies that the topic finally began to be given some of the public attention it deserves.

Sweden and Denmark were among the nations engaged in not only classic colonialism involving territories external to the Nordic region, which included the institution of slavery in the Americas, but also regional colonialism of other Nordic countries, such as Denmark's colonization of Greenland, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Norway.<sup>21</sup> Rastas argues that Finland's history, initially as part of the Swedish kingdom and subsequently as a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire, has been used to advance what she refers to as "Finnish exceptionalism."<sup>22</sup> Accordingly, claims of historical innocence are used to disengage with race and racism in present-day Finland. Despite this official narrative, Rastas points out that Finnish missionaries were involved in numerous "civilizing missions" in southern Africa, which contributed to notions of Africa as a "primitive" and "heathen" continent in the Finnish national imaginary.<sup>23</sup>

In addition, Nordic countries have perpetuated colonialism within their own borders, that is, internal colonialism, involving the racialization, and ultimately genocidal erasure, of such groups as the Indigenous Sámi.<sup>24</sup> In Norway, women among the Romani, also known as the Roma and more pejoratively in English as gypsies, were sterilized. Roma children were forcefully taken from their families and placed in institutions, and their language was forbidden.<sup>25</sup> Those endeavors were strategic to the calculus of forging national identities in Sweden, Norway, and Finland.<sup>26</sup>

This sanitized narrative of Nordic exceptionalism not only serves to gloss over the Nordic region's history of colonialism but also informs current thinking. It has prompted many scholars in Nordic Europe to promote the notion that ethnicity, culture, and citizenship explain racism and discrimination. Most scholarship approaches this topic obliquely by focusing on the language of immigration and integration. The state typically enumerates the population according to immigrant status. Discussions of discrimination in racial terms are evaded with a firm belief that race does not exist. Research explicitly engaged with race and racialization remains scarce.<sup>27</sup>

The authors of these articles thus waded into thorny questions surrounding the conceptualization of race and ethnicity to argue that "race" and racism matter in Nordic Europe.<sup>28</sup> They tackle head-on the blind spot within the Nordic region, notwithstanding the common view that "ethnicity" is a less "problematic" concept than race and therefore a suitable substitution. This premise is based on the erroneous assumption that racial and ethnic lines are critically different from each other. Ethnicity generally refers to a social subset whose members are thought by themselves and by others to share a common culture that sets them apart from other groups. Yet ethnicity defined solely as culture fails to take into consideration that individuals may be thought by themselves and by others to share a common ancestry or geographical origin—and thus they may have similar geno-phenotypical, that is, physical, traits they use to distinguish themselves. They may also participate to varying degrees in shared activities based in their purported common origin and culture.<sup>29</sup>



### *“Color That Matters”*<sup>30</sup>

Despite the link between race, culture, and ethnicity, the notion of ethnicity experienced as culture (the “culturalization” of ethnicity) is different from the experience of racial, physical, or ancestral differentiation (the “racialization” of ethnicity).<sup>31</sup> Accordingly, the analyses in these articles provide an incisive reading that engages with the idea that ethnoracial difference in Nordic Europe, manifested as physical appearance, has been emptied of legitimate social content and replaced by the supposedly more neutral notion of ethnocultural difference. The authors make it abundantly clear, however, that ethnoracial differences in Nordic Europe have historically been and continue to be more salient than ethnocultural ones in terms of societal attitudes and social structural inequality. Ethnocultural differences remain very much imbued with and wedded to racialized discourse. They thus have an impact on the lives of mixed-race individuals.

These attitudes in Nordic Europe have been heavily influenced by the pivotal United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) statements on race.<sup>32</sup> They rejected the scientific racism, as well as biological essentialism and determinism, reflected, for example, in the eugenics movement of the late nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth century culminating in the Nazi atrocities of World War II.<sup>33</sup> The goal was to further the belief in the fundamental dignity, equality, and mutual respect of all humans as well as support efforts to combat racism and eradicate the ignorance and prejudice that spawned it.<sup>34</sup> This posture delegitimized the notion of biologically “superior” and “inferior” groups. Europeans were ostensibly at the apex of this racial hierarchy by virtue of their supposedly extraordinary accomplishments in the arts, sciences, and technology, including the concomitant sophistication in social engineering involving statecraft and the political economy.

The UNESCO statements also mounted a frontal assault on the concept of “race” and its emptiness as biology.<sup>35</sup> This declaration, along with the subsequent elimination of race as an official, or even an informal, demographic category in Nordic Europe in response to the statements’ directive, also had problematic consequences. That is to say, it complicates any meaningful discussion of race as encompassing perceived physical appearances of biological differences and their social implications. This is especially difficult given that White identity is implicitly, and frequently explicitly, normalized in the national imaginaries of Nordic Europe with the Nordic body always assumed as and synonymous with White.<sup>36</sup> Sandset astutely points out that “the body is in itself made cultural and ‘culture’ and ‘ethnicity’ become, in much the same way as ‘race,’ markers of difference.”<sup>37</sup>

Therefore, race refers to a whole range of complex and intersecting social, cultural, and political discourses that include biological matters. If race is a social construct based on perceived biological characteristics, it is also a cultural, political, and legal construct, which is a contingent and historical development. The selection of particular human features for purposes of racial signification is necessarily a sociohistorical process that groups different geno-phenotypical features for social and ideological purposes. The concept of “race” is an attempt to explain, however fraught with contradictions, observable geno-phenotypical differentiations.

All humans across the globe are descended from the first modern humans who evolved in Africa perhaps as early as 500,000 years ago.<sup>38</sup> Several waves of these first modern humans began moving outside of Africa around 90,000–125,000 years ago. As the people of this African diaspora adapted to various environments, they evolved into geographical populations displaying differences in various bodily features. Some externally visible ones—skin color, hair, and facial morphology—are commonly referred to as “racial

traits.” These physical differences (phenotypes) reflect some of the differences in genetic information (genotypes) that are transmitted through one’s ancestors.

So, there are populations that, taken as aggregates, exhibit higher incidences of particular genetic and physical traits than others, taken as aggregates. Yet all humans share 99.9 percent of their genetic information.<sup>39</sup> Geno-phenotypical differences among humans reflect only 0.1 percent of the genetic information transmitted through ancestors. Notwithstanding the fact that phenotypical traits are thus based on practically “nothing,” meaning a miniscule part of the total human genome, they are composed of millions of bits of genetic information, and are thus composed of “something.”<sup>40</sup> It should not be assumed, therefore, that people have merely taken leave of their senses when they make assumptions based on observation about the continental origins of an individual’s recent ancestors. Still, while geno-phenotypical diversity of racial traits is a biological fact, the boundaries delineating subgroupings are not discrete or fixed entities and have always eroded through human contact and interaction.<sup>41</sup> In fact, a “mixed” lineage is the norm rather than the exception. Indeed, if we trace a person’s lineage back twenty generations each individual has 1,048,576 ancestors, as well as myriad possibilities in terms of their “racial” composition.<sup>42</sup>

The UNESCO statements and other similar directives in the mid-twentieth century addressed these concerns while also overturning the tenets of race based on scientific racism and biological determinism. Yet race has been and continues to be inextricably intertwined with wealth, power, privilege, and prestige, and therefore inequality. Racial formation theory articulated by Omi and Winant encourages us to analyze the processes by which societies determine racial meanings and assign racial identities, categories, and membership in the racial order.<sup>43</sup>

Furthermore, David Theo Goldberg argues that race is integral to the conceptual, philosophical, and material emergence of the state, and to its ongoing management. The state encompasses the political organization of society, or the body politic, and, more narrowly, the institutions of government, which establishes order and security. This also includes the state’s methods, the laws and their enforcement, its territory, the area of jurisdiction or geographic boundaries, and finally, its sovereignty. By interrogating transhistorical shifts in defining the state, Goldberg shows how debates and struggles about race are really about the nature of political constitution and community.<sup>44</sup> Goldberg thus rethinks present-day racial theorizing while providing a comprehensive account of modern state formation through racial configuration. The state has exercised power not only in the politics of racial exclusion and inclusion but also in the enforcement of racial definitions, classifications, and identifications. The racial order thus has a significant impact on the distribution of resources, wealth, power, privilege, and prestige, which in turn determines groups’ social location and status in relation to one another. All of the articles in this special issue implicitly grapple with these concerns more generally. Several of them specifically examine the state’s complicity in these processes.

## **The Articles**

### ***Finland***

Jasmine Kelekay’s “From ‘Something in Between’ to ‘Everything All at Once’: Meditations on Liminality and Blackness in Afro-Finnish Hip-Hop and R&B” examines Afro-Finnish hip-hop as a counternarrative to the



dominant paradigm of Nordic exceptionalism and color-blindness. Kelekay focuses on three works by the Afro-Finnish R&B singer Rosa Coste and Afro-Finnish rapper Yeboyah to study articulations of liminality in relation to Blackness, mixedness, and Finnishness. She argues that these works provide meaningful meditations on Afro-Finnish identity and experience. They also raise questions about the potentials and limitations of multiraciality as a category of analysis in the Finnish context.

## *Norway*

Mari Rysst's "Stuck in Their Skin?": Challenges of Identity Construction among Children with Mixed Heritage in Norway" discusses the challenges of ethnic identity construction among children and youth of immigrant origin in Norway, particularly those of mixed race. Norway has, compared to the US, a short history of immigration involving people of color. Norwegian official policy, since the Second World War, has underlined that "we are all equal," "have the same worth," regardless of gender, sexuality, and skin color. A color-blind ideology has been an ideal.

Today, second- and third-generation immigrants speak Norwegian fluently, have good jobs in radio and TV, but still are classified as "foreigners" because of their physical appearance. The article shows that the cultural schema/model of Norwegian identity includes White skin color only. Children of mixed race may experience this as particularly challenging. This is because they have one foot in White identity, the other in an identity of color. They may feel "White" on the inside but be labeled as "foreigner" ("Black") by others.

Rysst's overall conclusion is that mixed-race children and youth may experience being "stuck in their skin" stronger than those having two parents of immigrant origin, because they also identify with the parent of White, ethnic Norwegian identity. She also concludes that Norway is an "underdeveloped" country regarding racial reflexivity and racial literacy. This would include devoting more research on how White privilege results in "making up people" through racial hierarchical categories, understood as resistance strategies to White majority power and color-blind ideology.

Ida Tolgensbakk's "Speaking Swedish while Black in Norway" examines how Swedes are almost unambiguously considered White in Norway, and, as a result, labeled as non-strangers and non-marked. One of the most striking aspects of studying young Swedish labor migrants to the Norwegian capital is their positioning vis-à-vis the (White) majority, and not least other (Black) minorities; they are immigrants categorized as "not-quite" or "not-real" immigrants. However, this position is contested in different ways, among other things, by othering processes taking place through the microaggressions of "What are you?" encounters, when linguistic differences are noted.

Tolgensbakk argues that Swedes are an invisible, but audible, minority in Norway, categorized as outsiders not through phenotypical difference but through linguistic otherness. This labeling-through-language takes on extra dimensions when the individual migrants in question do not fit phenotypically with the stereotypical understanding of Swedes as the epitome of Northern European Whiteness. Many Swedes arriving in Norway as migrants are neither blond nor blue-eyed; they may be adopted, be of mixed race, or have Middle Eastern, Asian, or African family backgrounds. This article discusses aspects of the negotiations that take place in the intersection of phenotype and linguistic labeling when Swedes are Black migrants in Norway.

## *Sweden*

Katja Antoine's "The Swedish Disconnect: Racism, White Supremacy, and Race" examines how the Swedish state, by eliminating race as an official demographic category, effectively promotes social and legal conditions that allow White racism and White supremacy to proliferate unaccounted for and often also untended. In doing so, Sweden undermines its own anti-racist efforts to counter prevalent racial discrimination, creating a disconnect between the country's progressive liberal image and the lived reality of its residents of color.

Nahikari Irastorza and Sayaka Osanami Törnngren's "Melting Pot or Salad Bowl? An Overview of Mixed Marriages in Sweden" investigates patterns of mixed marriage in Sweden as a first step toward establishing critical mixed race studies in Sweden. This article focuses on mixed marriage in which one individual has a Swedish background and the other has a different ethnic or racial background. It questions whether Sweden is becoming what is metaphorically described as a melting pot (more integrated) or a salad bowl (more pluralistic or multicultural). There has been considerable growth in intermarriages between White majority Swedes, that is, ethnic Swedes and White European immigrants. Yet the lower intermarriage rates of second-generation ethnic Swedes with those from a non-European background raise important questions about the process of integration and the melting pot.

Sayaka Osanami Törnngren's "If I Can't Say I Am Swedish, What Am I?": Freedom within Limits of Choosing Identity" explores the freedom and limitations multiracials experience in asserting their ethnic and racial identity. Based on fourteen qualitative interviews with multiracial Swedes, the article highlights, on the one hand, the flexibility of identification among multiracial Swedes and, on the other, the constraints they experience in how they are identified by others due to racialized understandings of who Swedes are.

## *Denmark*

Birgitta Frello's "Dark Blood: An Analysis of *Slaves in the Family* (*Slavernes slægt*)," which is a slightly revised version of a previously published article, examines the Danish documentary series *Slaves in the Family* (*Slavernes slægt*). Frello demonstrates how an analysis of hybridity can unpack the naturalizations and de-naturalizations of categories of purity. Furthermore, she argues that it is vital to capture the unstable tension, which inheres in the concept of "hybridity," between the mixing of elements, on the one hand, and the displacement of categories, on the other. *Slaves in the Family* criticizes and destabilizes ideas of purity by rearticulating the story of Danish colonial history and of Danish national identity. However, Frello maintains that the series situates itself uneasily between hybridity as displacement and a liberal hybridism. Consequently, notions of purity are reinscribed by how the series articulates "kinship" as the basis of true relations and authentic identity.

Mira C. Skadegård's "Slipping and Sliding: Wielding Power with Slippery Constructions of Danishness" is concerned with structural discrimination (implicit and underlying discrimination) in public and private interactions. It examines how structural discrimination exacerbates exclusion and discrimination in the context of belonging, citizenship, and integration. The article examines two cases: one is an everyday, private interaction of the author at a dinner party, and the second is a case concerning Danish citizenship as presented in news

coverage during the time frame the dinner party took place. Skadegård looks at both situations and examines how they draw on similar constructions of Danishness, citizenship, and entitlement. She discusses the notion of slipperiness (in regard to constructions of Danishness) and the ways this slipperiness maintains and enforces subtle and indirect forms of structural discrimination.

James Omolo's "Crossing the Color Line: Biracial Identity in Sweden and Denmark" delves into how individuals of mixed heritage navigate their identities in the Danish and Swedish contexts. His study draws on qualitative and quantitative data to examine mixed heritage individuals in terms of their sense of identity and belonging as well as the reality of being mixed within the Swedish and Danish contexts. A central finding is that mixed heritage individuals reveal at least two common strategies of identity. They position themselves as displaying an "in-between" identity or one that is simply "Black." Sometimes they use the term "African" to imply Black and "European" to refer to either a Dane or Swede. None of the respondents identified as "White."

### ***Greenland***

Kirsten Thisted's "Blame, Shame, and Atonement: Greenlandic Responses to Racialized Discourses about Greenlanders and Danes" illustrates that many people outside of Greenland believe that the Greenlandic name for Greenland means "Land of the People." However, the Greenlandic word for human being or person is *inuk* (plural: *inuit*), and Greenland is not called *Inuit Nunaat* but *Kalaallit Nunaat*. Kalaallit is the West Greenlandic term for modern-day Greenlanders, who trace their ancestry along two lines: the other Inuit in the West and the Scandinavians to the East. During the first half of the twentieth century, this mixed ancestry was an important argument for the Greenlandic claim for recognition and equality. The article refers to a literary source, Pavia Petersen's novel *Niuvertorutsip pania* (The outpost manager's daughter, 1944).

The novel's female protagonist, who is of mixed ancestry, becomes a national symbol for modern Greenland, as a country that appropriates European culture while remaining Greenlandic. After the end of the colonial period, the Inuit legacy and the Greenlanders' status as an Indigenous people became an important driver of the Greenlandic claim for independence. In present-day Greenlandic film and literature, the Danes are often left out of the story entirely. This delegitimizes much of society's genetic and cultural legacy. Naturally, this is a problem for those Greenlanders who not only number Europeans among their remote ancestors but also live with a dual identity, because they have one Danish and one Greenlandic parent. Thisted argues that the reason the notion of "mixed-breed" or "half" Greenlanders is currently regarded with such ambivalent feelings is that it accentuates unresolved tensions among the ethnic groups. This includes, not least of all, the continued dominance of the outdated (colonial) affective economies in Danish-Greenlandic relations.

### ***Iceland***

Kristín Loftsdóttir's and Sanna Mörtudóttir's "Where Are You From?: Racism and Normalization of Whiteness in Iceland" demonstrates that within European and Nordic contexts, scholars have disputed how to understand racism and racialization within a setting that is historically different from the one in the United States. While their analysis stresses the global characteristics and thus mobility of racist discourse, they seek to understand

how different localities made sense of racial classifications. Their article emphasizes in particular the intersection of racialization and national identity in Iceland, showing the Icelandic subject as always assumed as a White subject.

Their primary data consist of interviews with fifteen adults who are identified as mixed both in terms of race and origin, as well as interviews with other racialized populations and analysis of media and social media discussions on race. The analysis shows that Icelandic identity is strongly normalized as a “White” identity, with the Icelandic body always assumed as “White.” Thus, by definition “non-White” bodies must be from somewhere else. However, the interviews also indicate that these “mixed-race” individuals felt not rejected as Icelandic nor strongly discriminated against, which contrasts with experiences from other European countries. Finally, they also briefly discuss the growing importance of the tourism sector and the ways the intensification of images associated with branding Iceland as a destination works toward further racialization of the Icelandic population as a White population.

### *The Sámi*

Terry-Lee Marttinen’s “Eugenics, Admixture, and Multiculturalism in Twentieth-Century Northern Sweden: Contesting Disability and Sámi Genocide” examines twentieth-century northern Swedish geographical isolate studies in Norrbotten Province involving Torne-Finns and northern Sámi, who have historically shared pronatalist Laestadian religious beliefs pathologized by mainstream eugenicists. Deemed a sign of religious fanaticism, Laestadianism was associated with the stigmatization of Torne-Finns and Sámi people and conceptualized as an early sign of schizophrenia. Geneticists, as an outgrowth of early twentieth-century eugenics, structured schizophrenia as a genetic disease caused by first-cousin marriage.

These consanguineous marriages, which were reported as prevalent in Torne-Finn and Sámi reindeer-herding communities practicing Laestadianism, legitimated race-based sterilization of psychiatricized Tornedalian and Sámi women. Similarly, the Swedish State Institute for Race Biology, established in 1922 by Herman Lundborg, advanced reorganizing race along family lines and populations, which supported gendered disability and Sámi genocide. Torne-Finn, as well as Sámi, religious minority women, who were sterilized at first admission to psychiatric facilities, require redress for colonial violence. Current academic and direct-to-consumer admixture research on Finnish and Sámi peoples is recognized as upholding colonial logics of difference in Swedish multicultural policies. This, in turn, results in ongoing gendered genocide. It is concluded that in a radical break from eugenic theories, major psychoses associated with common infections lie in the neglected half of the human genome rather than according to classical genetic rules.

Finally, Adriana Margareta Dancus’s “Sámi Identity across Generations: From Passing for Nordics to Sámi Self-Exposure” establishes that, following histories of racism and abuse at the hands of Norwegian and Swedish authorities, many Indigenous Sámi have historically chosen to disconnect from everything Sámi and, instead, pass for ethnic Norwegians and Swedes. As a result, their children and grandchildren have grown up with little or no knowledge of their Sámi heritage. In the 2000s, several of these children and grandchildren, who were born after the Second World War, became eager to reconnect with their Sámi identity. This article fleshes out the entangled road back to Sáminess through a close analysis of two Norwegian documentaries in which the women directors discover their Sámi identity in front of the camera: *Suddenly Sámi (Min mors*

*hemmelighet*, directed by Ellen-Astri Lundby, 2009) and *My Family Portrait (Familiebildet)*, directed by Yvonne Thomassen, 2013). A central point in the discussion is how the directors use discourses of biology and genetics to recuperate their Sámi identity in the 2000s. Dancus provides several explanations for this retreat to biology, among others concerns, by putting these two Norwegian documentaries in conversation with the Swedish feature film *Sámi Blood (Sameblod)*, directed by Amanda Kernell, 2016).

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> A list of these publications is included in Daniel et al., “Emerging Paradigms,” 9, 33–47.

<sup>2</sup> See Steven F. Riley’s Mixed Race Studies website at <http://www.mixedracestudies.org/> for previous and current publications in English.

<sup>3</sup> Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*, 110.

<sup>4</sup> West and Fenstermaker, “Doing Difference,” 19.

<sup>5</sup> Daniel, *More Than Black?*, 12, 113.

<sup>6</sup> A list of these publications is included in Daniel et al., “Emerging Paradigms,” 9, 33–47.

<sup>7</sup> Naum and Nordin, “Introduction: Situating Scandinavian Colonialism,” 4–6, 10; Fur, “Colonialism and Swedish History,” 16.

<sup>8</sup> Loftsdóttir and Jensen, “Introduction: Nordic Exceptionalism,” 3.

<sup>9</sup> Haefeli, “Pennsylvania Difference,” 29–30; Fur, *Colonialism in the Margins*, 92; Ekengren, Naum, and Wolfe, “Sweden in the Delaware Valley,” 168.

<sup>10</sup> Naum and Nordin, “Introduction: Situating Scandinavian Colonialism,” 6.

<sup>11</sup> Evans and Rydén, “From Gammelbo Bruk to Calabar,” 53, 54, 57, 60; Ekman, “Sweden, the Slave Trade and Slavery,” 225–27; Edwards, “Little-Known Role.”

<sup>12</sup> Ekman, “Sweden, the Slave Trade and Slavery,” 225–27.

<sup>13</sup> Gøbel, *Danish Slave Trade*, 3–4.

<sup>14</sup> Hernæs, “Frederiksnopel,” 81; DeCorse, “Danes on the Gold Coast,” 161; Marselis, “Descendants of Slaves,” 448; Weiss, “Danish Gold Coast,” 243–59. In 1917, these Danish islands became the US Virgin Islands.

<sup>15</sup> Loftsdóttir and Jensen, “Introduction: Nordic Exceptionalism,” 3; Blaagaard, “Remembering Nordic Colonialism,” 102; Marselis, “Descendants of Slaves,” 448.

<sup>16</sup> Gøbel, *Danish Slave Trade*, 10–11; Blaagaard, “Remembering Nordic Colonialism,” 102.

<sup>17</sup> Green-Pedersen, “History of the Danish Negro Slave Trade,” 197; Gøbel, *Danish Slave Trade*, 11; Hernæs, “Frederiksnopel,” 81.

<sup>18</sup> Green-Pedersen, “Scope and Structure of the Danish Negro Slave Trade,” 152.

<sup>19</sup> Blaagaard, “Remembering Nordic Colonialism,” 101–2; Frello, “Dark Blood,” 69–70.

<sup>20</sup> Marselis, “Descendants of Slaves,” 447; Blaagaard, “Remembering Nordic Colonialism,” 110.

<sup>21</sup> Blaagaard, “Remembering Nordic Colonialism,” 110.

<sup>22</sup> Rastas, “Reading History through Finnish Exceptionalism,” 90.

<sup>23</sup> Rastas, “Talking Back,” 195.

<sup>24</sup> Fur, “Colonialism and Swedish History,” 16, 25; Lindmark, “Colonial Encounter in Early Modern Sápmi,” 130, 132; Chávez, “Aliens in Their Native Lands,” 786; Blauner, *Racial Oppression in America*, vii, 54, 82–110; Hechter, *Internal Colonialism*, 8–22, 30–34; Gutiérrez, “Dependency Theory and Internal Colonialism,” 281–84.

<sup>25</sup> Marttinen, “Eugenics, Admixture, and Multiculturalism” (in this issue of the journal); Ericsson, “Common Starting Points,” 103.

<sup>26</sup> Jensen, *We Stopped Forgetting*, 1; Marttinen, “Eugenics, Admixture, and Multiculturalism” (in this issue of the journal); Dancus, “Sámi Identity across Generations” (in this issue of the journal).

<sup>27</sup> Osanami Törngren, “Talking Color-Blind,” 137–58; Osanami Törngren, “Does Race Matter in Sweden,” 127; Rastas, “Racializing Categorization,” 148.

<sup>28</sup> An important voice in this debate from Norway was the anthropologist, Marianne Gullestad. See *Plausible Prejudice*.

<sup>29</sup> Daniel, *More Than Black?*, xv.

<sup>30</sup> This subheading borrows from Sandset's *Color That Matters*.

<sup>31</sup> In the United States, this distinction dates back to the 1920s and 1930s and is one of the many problematic outcomes of the Black-White paradigm in sociology. The term "ethnic" was used to differentiate the experience of European immigrants from that of African Americans. This originated in two basic assumptions about the US social order. The first was that Black Americans were fully Anglo-Americanized and possessed no unique culture. The second was that European immigrants carried distinctive cultures, supposedly different from Anglo-Protestant Americans. When paired with race, ethnic soon became the accepted terminology in a developing vocabulary of race relations and the study of subaltern groups (McKee, *Sociology and the Race Problem*, 131, 146). But this ignored the fact that African Americans also displayed a unique culture, while European immigrants displayed a White racial affinity with Anglo-Protestant Americans. Consequently, the distinction between race and ethnicity was never an accurate description of Black and White relations. It certainly would not be applicable to Mexican Americans and other groups of color that differ from European Americans and African Americans in terms of both ethnoracial and ethnocultural characteristics.

<sup>32</sup> In 1948 the United Nations asked UNESCO to disseminate facts relevant to racial prejudice. UNESCO convened four meetings of experts—in 1950, 1951, 1964, and 1967—that issued statements on various aspects of the matter. Subsequently, in 1978, the General Conference of UNESCO, consisting of representatives of all member states, adopted by acclamation a "Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice." The Race Question is the first of four UNESCO statements about issues of race. It was issued on July 18, 1950, following World War II and Nazi racism to clarify what was scientifically known about race and to serve as a moral condemnation of racism. UNESCO, "Four Statements on the Race Question," 9–55; Banton, "UNESCO Statements on Race," 1096–99.

<sup>33</sup> Sandset, *Color That Matters*, 119. The original statements in 1950 were criticized on several grounds and revised versions were publicized in 1951, 1969, and 1978.

<sup>34</sup> UNESCO, "Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice," 3–5.

<sup>35</sup> Sandset, *Color That Matters*, 118, 176.

<sup>36</sup> Lundström and Teitelbaum, "Nordic Whiteness," 152–53; Loftsdóttir and Jensen, "Introduction: Nordic Exceptionalism," 7.

<sup>37</sup> Sandset, *Color That Matters*, 65.

<sup>38</sup> Stringer, "Origin and Evolution of *Homo sapiens*," 1. Fossils recently recovered from an old mine on a desolate mountain in Morocco have challenged the belief that *Homo sapiens* arose in a cradle of humankind in East Africa 200,000 years ago. The new findings seem to indicate that humans were already present probably all over Africa by 300,000 years ago.

<sup>39</sup> Banton, *Racial Theories*, 1.

<sup>40</sup> Olson, *Mapping Human History*, 32–48; Forbes, "Manipulation of Race," 37–38.

<sup>41</sup> Olson, *Mapping Human History*, 32–48.

<sup>42</sup> On number of ancestors, see Fedorova et al., "Atlas of Cryptic Genetic Relatedness," 787. On racial composition, see Forbes, "Manipulation of Race, Caste, and Identity," 37–38; Olson, *Mapping Human History*, 32–48.

<sup>43</sup> Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*, 109, 112.

<sup>44</sup> Goldberg, *Racial State*, 74–76, 85, 92, 131.

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