Rethinking Research on Multiracial College Students:

Toward an Integrative Model of Multiraciality for Campus Climate

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Abstract

Although recent research on multiraciality exposes mixed race experiences in the post-Civil Rights era, higher education scholarship still seems to lack a framework that connects two racial systems of oppression that inform and reinforce each other: traditional racisms targeting monoracially-constructed groups, and monoracism targeting multiraciality (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). Considering that college has the potential to prepare all students to effectively engage in our increasingly diverse society, we must also examine how multiple racisms function around multiraciality in college. Accordingly, this paper reviews race-based theories and frameworks common in American higher education research, and builds upon aspects of them to develop an integrative model for examining multiraciality in a way that accounts for historical and contemporary contexts, individual identities, campus structures, and broader systems of oppression. It draws upon elements of racial formation theory, multiracial identity theory, critical race theory, and campus climate for diversity frameworks. The model purposefully contests postracial perspectives at the same time that it makes multiracial Americans visible in race-sensitive research on the racial dynamics higher education.

Introduction

Higher education has witnessed a recent surge in scholarly literature on multiracial college students (e.g., C. Harper, 2007; King, 2011; Literte, 2010; Museus, Yee, & Lambe, 2011; Renn, 2004a; Renn & Shang, 2008); however it primarily examines racial identity, and often overlooks how it may be integrated with monoracially-framed research to advance broader social justice goals. Accordingly, at times this literature fails to contextualize *multiraciality*, meaning all multiracial phenomena such as identity, persons, scholarship, etc. (e.g. Root, 1997), within its longer history in the United States prior to the civil rights era (for an exception, see Kamimura, 2010). In fact, Elam (2011) suggests the recent increase in popularity of multiraciality unfortunately "has occurred in inverse relation to the perceived irrelevancy of race" (p. xiv), as scholars' attempts at illuminating multiracial experiences were actually "in concert with the quiet dismantling of affirmative action" (p. xiv). Additionally, scholarly and public discourse on multiraciality in the post-civil rights era includes conflicting views of multiraciality as anti-civil rights (Morning, 2005; Omi, 2001), largely for neo-conservative's misuse of it to try to eliminate racial data collection (Daniel & Castañeda-Liles, 2006; Pollock, 2004), as well as evidence of progress toward racial tolerance and equality (Morning, 2005; Olumide, 2002; Omi, 2001). This discourse may signal unintentional disconnect between scholarship and advocacy for multiracial and monoracially-constructed communities of color. Although higher education research on multiraciality has done much to expose contemporary mixed race experiences (e.g. multiracial identity theory, Renn, 2004a), an explicit and historically contextualized connection to the continued struggle against racism, as began in Brunsma (2006) for multiracial scholarship more broadly, might provide a critical lens on multiraciality and better align multiracial scholarship in higher education with challenging all racial injustice.

Higher education is one site where race, racism, and multiraciality get contested often (e.g., through scholarship, student activism, identity development, college admissions), with racial issues being of key importance in evaluating and improving a campus climate for diversity (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998, 1999). Campus climate affects numerous educational outcomes including multicultural competencies, adjustment to college, and degree completion, among others (A. Cabrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Hagedorn, 1999; Hurtado, Alvarez, Guillermo-Wann, Cuellar, & Arellano, 2012; Hurtado et al., 1998, 1999; Hurtado, Griffin, Arellano, & Cuellar, 2008; Museus, Nichols, & Lambert, 2008; Hurtado, Ruiz, & Guillermo-Wann, 2012), and is critical in preparing students for effective engagement in a diverse society toward a more just and equitable future (Hurtado, 2007). However, research examining racial (including multiracial) dynamics in college typically lacks an integrated theory of race and racism (N. Cabrera, 2011; S. Harper, 2012), which seems important for improving negative climates for diversity and eliminating group disparities in outcomes. In addition, studying the climate for multiracial college students is an important next step (Renn, 2004a), but only one known study explicitly does so (Guillermo-Wann, 2010). Therefore, this article seeks to address how multiraciality can help fight racism through higher education by connecting multiracially- and monoracially-framed scholarship on race in modeling a relationship between race, racism, and multiraciality in the campus climate for diversity.

Specifically, we argue for an integrated model that connects two interwoven systems of oppression in college contexts: *traditional racisms* targeting monoracially-constructed racial groups, and *monoracism* targeting multiraciality (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). We contend that educators must better examine and understand multiraciality within higher education as one of several ways to work toward collectively improving campus climates, and exposing systems of

racism. An awareness of the interrelated nature of traditional racisms and monoracism in the campus climate might help align the scholarship and advocacy on multiracial and monoracially-constructed groups. This is particularly crucial as perspectives within public discourse use (and potentially abuse) multiraciality for different purposes within the larger racial landscape. Accordingly, we build upon aspects of race-based theories and frameworks common in American higher education research to develop an Integrative Model of Multiraciality (IMM) for campus climate that more comprehensively accounts for historical and contemporary contexts, social identities, college campus structures, and societal systems of oppression.

Multiraciality and Higher Education

Higher education's interdisciplinary nature encompasses a wide literature on diversity and equity in college including matters pertaining to specific racial groups. However, the body of scholarship on racial groups in higher education presents at least three interrelated limitations regarding racial theory, methodology, and multiraciality.

First, the literature generally tends to be atheoretical regarding race, and racism in particular (N. Cabrera, 2011; S. Harper, 2012), other than the cursory acknowledgement that race is a social construction (López, 1994; Omi & Winant, 1994), and that students from racially minoritized groups might have more negative experiences or inequities in outcomes than others. A growing body of higher education research on racial groups employs critical race theory (CRT), which centralizes race and racism in educational experiences and processes, and focuses on exposing how social, political, and educational structures produce racial inequality (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). However, CRT is not exactly theory, since it offers more of a perspective than a relational model of interconnected concepts such as race, racism, educational processes, and outcomes (N. Cabrera, 2011; Duncan, 2006; Gillborn, 2006), although some scholars are

moving in this direction (e.g. Yosso, 2006). By not explicitly acknowledging the influence of racism outside of CRT work, research may not effectively expose or address the roots of racial oppression in educational settings. This is particularly important for campus racial climate research, which aims to improve higher education contexts for learning and student outcomes (S. Harper, 2012).

The lack of theory on race and racism influences the second issue, whereby the higher education literature typically lacks consideration of multiraciality, aside from multiracial identity research (e.g. Renn, 2004a). This limitation is a methodological issue that will be increasingly important considering the rising number of youth identifying multiracially who are or will soon be college students (Renn, 2009; Saulny, 2011). While the importance of continued examinations of diversity and equity issues for monoracially-constructed groups is paramount, higher education research tends not to address how students indicating multiple racial groups are accounted for in the sample of a study (C. Harper, 2007). For instance, quantitative research typically "controls" for race methodologically by including racial groups, yet the continued operationalization of only discrete racial groups to investigate important topics such as equity in outcomes (e.g., academic achievement, career placement, and various indicators of student development) may also perpetuate thinking of racial groups as being essentially, and potentially biologically, different (Johnston, 2011). This masks similarities and differences students may be experiencing based on how race is operationalized (e.g. Inkelas, Soldner, & Szelényi, 2009), and reflects the atheoretical nature of the literature regarding race. To be clear, examining structures of inequality across racial groups is crucial, however, researchers mush be transparent about how multiple-race data is classified for such quantitative analyses (Johnston, 2011). In contrast, CRT's primary methodology of qualitative counterstorytelling, as empowering as it may be for

oppressed groups, often relies too heavily upon "data derived from subjective ontological categories… that refer to existing states of mind and feelings to which only one actor has access" (Duncan, 2006, p. 192, 198), such as the singular use of narrative data uncorroborated with other forms of data, which render counterstories vulnerable to rejection by dominant group members whose lived experience does not encompass such states of mind or feelings (Duncan, 2006, p. 205); this could apply to multiracial counterstories as well. Ultimately, higher education research must address multiraciality and tackle methodological complexities.

Third, the nascent body of higher education literature on multiraciality generally lacks a focus on racism and instead, explores the "experiences" of multiracial students (e.g. Nishimura, 1998; Sands & Schuh, 2004) or identity (e.g. Renn, 2004a), without explicitly examining the role of racism or campus climate as a context for development. Understanding the influence of racism, and climate as distal and more proximal contexts in experiences and developmental processes, can inform how to improve the climate for multiraciality and link it with combating racism. Although multiracial literature makes an important contribution, its relatively narrow scope may reinforce the idea that race is solely an individual "choice" (e.g. Hollinger, 1995) separate from systems and structures of oppression.

In sum, higher education scholarship on racial groups lacks a critical connection between theories of race and racism, multiraciality, and campus climate, and is therefore ripe for theory development to begin to fill this gap. Therefore, we bring prominent theories together under a lens of monoracism to examine the nexus of these topics in American higher education literature. First, we employ Omi and Winant's (1994) theory of racial formation to clarify key racial concepts. Then we use the notion of monoracism to evaluate and augment three relevant racial frameworks used in higher education research: critical race theory (e.g. Delgado & Stefancic,

2001), multiracial identity theory (e.g. Renn, 2000, 2003, 2004a), and the campus climate for diversity framework (Hurtado, et al., 1998, 1999; Hurtado, Alvarez et al., 2012; Milem, Chang, & Antonio, 2005). This process of reviewing and evaluating theory moves us towards introducing the IMM for campus climate, which integrates aspects of the aforementioned theories, and adapts them in light of multiraciality as it has evolved over time. Finally, we suggest implications for research and practice.

Clarifying Concepts Through Racial Formation Theory

Before critiquing or drawing upon current theory and frameworks, it is important to clarify some often conflated or misunderstood racial concepts to avoid reifying race in an essentialist sense (Renn, 2004b), and to subvert colorblind erasures of race (Gallagher, 2003). We apply Omi and Winant's (1994) theory of racial formation to clarify commonly misunderstood racial concepts. We incorporate additional perspectives to arrive at our understanding of *race,* including *monoracial* and *multiracial*, and our conceptualization of *racism(s)*, including *monoracism* and its relationship to *traditional racisms*. Racial formation offers an integrated theory of race and racism that exposes the fallacy of earlier biological understandings of race, and de-essentializes socially-constructed racial groups.

Race

The concept of race is central to theory development around multiraciality. According to Omi and Winant (1994), "*race is a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies*…. Race is a matter of both social structure and cultural representation" (pp. 55-56), and serves to oppress and privilege members of formed groups. The socio-historical process of racial signification, often called *racialization*, is what Omi and Winant specify as *racial formation*, or the "process by which racial categories

are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed…. A process of historically situated *projects* in which human bodies and social structures are represented and organized… tied to the evolution of hegemony, the way in which society is organized and ruled" (1994, pp. 55-56). The concept of *racial projects* allows the theory to distinguish between race and racism, and can be understood as the ideological "linkage between structure and representations. *A racial project is simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines*" (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 56). Therefore, race and racial categories are not static, but rather their scope can change in different places and times. Consequently, we conceptualize racial groups to encompass not only those legitimized by federally designated categories, but also groups that have been stigmatized in society due to racial markers (e.g. Arabs, Latina/os), and follow Renn's (2000) suggestion to only capitalize racial terms if they pertain to a nation or continent of origin to "minimize the notion of racial categories as immutable entities" (p. 399).

From a theoretical perspective of racial formation, throughout U.S. history, racial formation has consistently created and maintained falsely discrete racial categories, obscuring centuries of racial intermixing. Thus *mixed racial ancestry* signals that one's family descent stems from more than one racial group, which may signify perceived biological markers (such as blood, genes, etc.), but the groups to which these markers may belong are socially constructed. Although rules of hypodescent (e.g., the "one-drop" rule) have applied differently to groups over time (Davis, 1991; Gomez, 2007; Smith, 1999), typically, persons of mixed European and non-European ancestry have been categorized exclusively as "non-white," which serves to keep the "white" racial group 'pure' (Omi & Winant, 1994; Spickard, 1989). For example, monoracially-constructed groups that often have African, indigenous, and European ancestry include black

Americans (Daniel, 2001; Feagin, 2006; Fishkin, 1995), Native Americans (Smith, 1999), and Latina/os, the latter whom often have Asian ancestry as well (Gomez, 2007). Pilipinos have a long history of mixing of Spanish, indigenous, and Asian ancestries (Nadal, 2009), and perhaps more obscured is that many individuals categorized as white in the U.S. typically have non-white racial ancestry (Morning, 2000, 2005). Racial formation theory asserts that race is fluid and changing across time and place through political struggle; it is not an essence, nor is it static, and in this way the theory demonstrates anti-essentialism in conceptualizing race – a key foundation for developing an integrative model of multiraciality.

Monoracial and multiracial. Also at the core of this work are the terms *monoracial* and *multiracial* in considering forms of racial oppression that play out in college contexts. We define *monoracial* as a modifier for nouns referencing, pertaining to, or ascribing to only one racial group. Presently, this could include the combination of monoracially-constructed groups in the U.S. such as Arab, Asian, black, Latina/o, Native, and white. Although racial groups are not truly distinct in any biological sense (American Anthropological Association, 1998; Daniel, 2006; Montagu 1964), and any so-called racial group is also biologically and socially heterogeneous (Feldman & Lewontin, 2008), terms like *monoracially-identifying* and *monoracially-constructed* are useful for demonstrating how monoracial categories have been created and recreated over time. Monoracial categories may or may not accurately reflect an individual's or group's ancestry(s) or racial identity(s), but reflect the dominant way race is currently conceptualized and operationalized in most higher education research.

Similarly, we argue for the use of *multiracial* as an adjective referencing, pertaining to, or ascribing to the combination of two or more monoracially-constructed groups, as "understood in [one's] day as combining distinct races regardless of whether this intermixture stemmed from

their parents' generation or farther back" (Morning, 2005, p. 42). Accordingly, who or what is considered multiracial depends on what groups are considered races in a particular time (Morning, 2000). Thus, multiracial may be used as a *moderating term* for a number of *concepts* (e.g., identity, ancestry, identification, classification, and category; Johnston, Ozaki, Pizzolato, & Chaudhari, 2009; Rockquemore, Brunsma, & Delgado, 2009; Wijeyesinghe, 2001). This allows the concepts rather than the term to indicate generation of racial intermixture or specification in identifying as multiracial (e.g., in a given situation vs. a more permanent self-perception). A spectrum of applications of the term multiracial is necessary to undermine the fictitious assumption that there are biologically distinct races, keeping in mind that how people and groups are "raced" has real consequences for lived experience (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). Some might use the term multiracial to indicate the presence of many monoracially-constructed groups, however, we prefer the use of campus climate language *compositional diversity* (Milem et al., 2005) to describe the relative presence of multiple monoracially-constructed groups. Using multiracial as a modifier as defined here allows for various operationalizations of race in theoretical and empirical work in order to examine specific educational issues around multiraciality, such as multiple-race data collection at institutional and national levels.

Racism(s)

The literature on *racism* supports the idea that there is an overarching racism, which encompasses *multiple racisms* that are contextually based in time and place, and that also intersect with additional social identities such as class, gender, sexual orientation, etc. (e.g. Garner, 2010; Phoenix, 1999; Rattansi, 2005; Solomos & Back, 1994, 1996). Regarding racism, Garner (2010) says insightfully,

> Racism is a multi-faceted social phenomenon, with different levels and overlapping forms. It involves attitudes, actions, processes, and unequal power relations. It is based on the interpretations of the idea of 'race,' hierarchical social relations and the forms of discrimination that flow from this. Racism is not confined to extreme cases, but is present in a whole continuum of social relations. (p. 18)

From a racial formation perspective, political, economic, cultural, and social forces ultimately produce racial projects that may or may not be racist (Omi & Winant, 1994). According to the theory, a racial project is "*racist* if and only if it *creates or reproduces structures of domination based on essentialist categories of race*" (p. 71). Thus racial projects and forms of racism, or racisms, vary over time and place.

The social nature of the forces at play in racial formation that create racist racial projects can be seen in historical accounts of multiple racisms. For example, particularly in U.S. contexts, racism began and continues from white supremacy - that is, the belief in the superiority of those deemed white and/or the power structure maintaining their social, cultural, economic, and political dominance - which first hideously oppressed and exploited blacks through slave labor, and continues to systemically oppress black Americans in contemporary society (Feagin, 2006). This original white-on-black racism in the U.S. from which other racisms likely evolved (Feagin, 2006) can be thought of as biologically "justified" racism, perpetuated through "scientific" ideologies such as eugenics, that has since morphed into various culturally justified racisms (Fredrickson, 2002; Phoenix, 1999). Changing racisms thus reflect the racial formation process and general understandings of what race means at specific points in time. Omi and Winant (1994) highlight the shifting aspects of race and racism, and importantly contend that not

all racisms are the same, particularly regarding power, which is crucial for being able to identify their fluctuating complexities.

The notion of multiple racisms allows for changing forms and sites of racism that can be distinguished in how they manifest, who the targeted groups are, and who the agent groups, or perpetrators, are. First, to oversimplify, the literature on how racisms manifest seems to describe three attributes (see also Blum, 1999; Garcia, 1997): 1) racism that is systemic, institutional, cultural, or structural, 2) racism that is interpersonal, ideological, or discursive, and 3) the extent to which racism is subtle or explicit. Examples of systemic manifestations of racism include structural or systematic racism (Feagin, 2006; Jones, 1997), institutional racism (López, 2000), and cultural racism (Jones, 1997). Examples of interpersonal, ideological, or discursive racism include colorblind racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2010), interpersonal racism (Jones, 1997), discursive or discourse-manifest racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Goldberg, 1993; Solomos & Back, 1996), and volitional racism (Garcia, 1997), among others. Omi and Winant (1994) contend racism is both structural and ideological. Regarding the subtlety of racism, it can manifest as overt or covert (Ture & Hamilton, 1992), although scholars suggest racisms have become more covert (e.g. colorblind racism, Bonilla-Silva, 2010; laissez-faire racism, Bobo, Kluegel, & Smith, 1997; symbolic racism, Sears & Henry, 2003; aversive racism, Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; racial microaggressions, Sue, 2010). Second, diverse examples of who the targeted groups can be include African Americans (Feagin, 2006), Muslims (Modood, 2005), and immigrants (e.g. racist nativism, Huber & Lopez, 2008), among others; monoracism falls into this set of examples although we will distinguish it slightly from other forms momentarily. Third, scholars hotly contend the question of which racial groups can be agents in generating racism; this is the question of power. Some assert that within the U.S. context, only whites can be racist because

they are the dominant racial group with power (Hacker, 1992; Marable, 1992). Others challenge this position by illustrating ways in which people of color can and have also exhibited and contributed to racism, whether through colluding with white supremacy or other less-powerful and situational forms (N. Cabrera, 2011; Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Omi & Winant, 1994). Still others suggest that people of color can be prejudiced on an interpersonal level but not racist due to a lack of power to oppress other groups (Bonilla-Silva, 2010), or distinguish between horizontal racism by people of color and vertical racism by whites (Harris & Ordona, 1990). The possible perpetrating group(s) largely depends on the conceptualized form(s) and site(s) of racism, and relative group power.

Following Omi and Winant (1994), we contend that racism is both ideological and structural, can be directed at various racial groups, and by anyone or any structural process, although not all racisms are the same in power. At its core, racism is about oppressing and privileging racial groups, which change over time and place. In the U.S. context, racism works to maintain white supremacy and hegemonic whiteness (N. Cabrera, 2009). We use racism (singular) to refer collectively to all forms of racism, and racisms (plural) to draw attention to different forms. The severity of racism's outcomes lies heavily in the reality of the agent racial groups' historical and contemporary power – hence not all racisms are the same, but this does not preclude members of less powerful groups from creating and perpetuating racisms. Racism also intersects with additional social identities, which guards against essentializing racial groups (Adams et al., 2000; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Garner, 2010; Omi & Winant, 1994; Rattansi, 2005). That is, "no person has a single, easily stated, unitary identity…. Everyone has potentially conflicting, overlapping identities, loyalties, and allegiances" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 9). Accordingly, in order to dismantle one system of oppression necessitates

dismantling them all (Adams et al., 2000; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). In addition, we contend that racism need not always be ideologically intentional – that is, racial inequity in outcomes (e.g. educational attainment, health disparities, etc.) is still a marker of institutionalized racist processes and structures, whether intentional or not. This guards against claims of "reverse racism" against whites that focus on equal treatment while overlooking equitable outcomes resulting from structural oppression of people of color (N. Cabrera, 2009; Feagin & O'Brien, 2003). Such an understanding of multiple racisms allows one to conceptualize various forms of racial oppression for a wide spectrum of racial groups in the U.S. context, including the unique oppression facing individuals who may not fit neatly into monoracially-constructed groups.

Monoracism. *Monoracism* (Johnston & Nadal, 2010) builds upon the understanding of multiple racisms and is another key concept in linking multiracially- and monoracially-framed scholarship. Monoracism asserts that there is a "social system of psychological inequality" based on monoracial constructions of race "where individuals who do not fit monoracial categories may be oppressed on systemic and interpersonal levels because of underlying assumptions and beliefs in singular, discrete racial categories" regardless of whether or not they may have mixed racial ancestry or identify multiracially (Johnston & Nadal, 2010, p. 125). This earlier focus on psychological inequality highlights that the evaluation of whether or not an individual fits into a monoracial category is proximally a psychological process, but is informed by the social construction of race *as discrete monoracial categories*. The inability to categorize individuals into a single race, and subsequently considering them phenotypically ambiguous (regardless of whether or not they may actually identify as multiracial), reflects the "common belief in the essentialist nature of discrete racial categories" (Johnston & Nadal, 2010, p. 127) but more importantly, may lead to differential evaluation and treatment on behalf of the perceiver

(e.g. Sanchez & Bonam, 2009). Monoracism works to maintain the invisibility of monoracial norms since the privileges accompanying those who fit monoracial constructions of race often go unnoticed or unchallenged. Monoracism also promotes and perpetuates thinking of race monoracially by calling on members of society or communities to (1) believe in discrete monoracial categories; (2) maintain group boundaries by not intermarrying across monoracially-constructed racial groups (e.g. through historical anti-miscegenation laws and contemporary cultural norms); and (3) when offspring are produced, to promote their following of strict rules of hypodescent (e.g., the "one-drop rule") in terms of racially identifying and group membership. Monoracism is particularly concerned with the "who" racism can target, and suggests a commonly overlooked demographic – persons who do not easily conform to monoracial norms – and more generally, multiraciality. We also suggest monoracism can manifest in structural and interpersonal forms, covertly or overtly, and can be perpetuated by members of any racial group. Our understanding of multiple racisms therefore allows for the identification of monoracism, both historically and contemporarily, and how it may have been changing over time and in different contexts (such as college) along side other racisms.

The relationship between racism and monoracism. Given that traditional racisms targeting monoracially-constructed groups have necessitated maintaining a myth of racial purity, both biologically and socially, in order to oppress racial minorities for centuries in various countries (Feagin, 2006; Fredrickson, 2002), monoracism has likely been working in tandem with traditional racisms in the oppression of non-white groups over time in the U.S. context, including those with mixed European and non-European ancestry (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). That is, the forces creating traditional racisms as well as monoracism seem highly interrelated, although they may evolve, converge, and diverge over time.

In the U.S. context, we suggest that multiple racisms have evolved and intertwined in a way that ultimately maintains white supremacy; hence the importance of modeling their intersections. First, this may occur by the racial formation of erroneously distinct racial groups (racial formation incorporating monoracism) with the purpose of oppressing people of color and privileging whites (traditional racism), next by the policing of those racial group boundaries through the oppression of racially mixed bodies (monoracism), which then perpetuates sustained group-based racial oppression (multiple traditional racisms). Elam (2011) specifies that persons of mixed racial ancestry throughout U.S. history were most certainly oppressed as the physical sites of this hyper-anxiety around racial purity, particularly in the pre-civil rights era. However, the intertwined relationship we postulate between traditional racisms and monoracism in the pre-civil rights era likely had little need for distinction given that the perpetrators of both were overwhelmingly those categorized as white (even if they had non-European ancestry, see Morning, 2003), and the victims those ascribed to be black and other racial groups of color. That is, apart from an overt monoracist belief of racially mixed persons/bodies as deviant and inferior made prominent by the eugenics movement (Black, 2003; Pascoe, 2009; Sommerville, 2000), little distinction can likely be made between traditional racisms targeting monoracially-constructed groups and monoracism in the pre-civil rights era that would not be entirely anachronistic; their manifestations, targets, and actors were nearly identical, given the usual classification of mixed bodies as non-white in light of whites' hyper-anxiety over racial purity (Morning, 2003).

Conversely, in the post-civil rights era, race and multiraciality seem to be in an extended period of what Omi and Winant (1994) call *rearticulation* (Brunsma, 2006), in which racial social meaning is redefined - as questions about what race is and about multiraciality's

relationship to racism have begun to distinguish monoracism from other racisms. As the post-civil rights era pertains to multiraciality, it is characterized by the legality of interracial marriage in all states since 1967 (*Loving v. Virginia*), and that multiracial as an identity, category, and classification has become a viable social possibility (e.g. U.S. Census 2000, Renn & Lunceford, 2004; DaCosta, 2007; Renn, 2004a). However, it is critical to keep in mind that identity options may be limited for some based on physical appearance and additional factors (Wijeyesinghe, 2001). As multiracial identities are claimed, contested, and viewed with suspicion, multiraciality's rearticulation appears to be complicated by pervasive neo-conservative colorblind and liberal post-racial ideologies that question the validity of the concept of race, which have generated fear within communities of color of multiraciality (e.g. Thornton, 2009).

In particular, manifestations of neo-conservative and liberal racial ideologies (e.g., anti-affirmative action and race-neutral policies; see Bonilla-Silva, 2010; N. Cabrera, 2009; Morfin, Perez, Parker, Lynn, & Arrona, 2006) seem to be new forces distinguishing monoracism from other forms of racism. For example, neo-conservative politics has at times co-opted multiraciality as a justification for erasing race, racial groups, and racial identity (e.g., the use of multiracial persons by Ward Connerly to promote the 2003 "Racial Privacy Initiative" in California; Pollock 2004). On the other hand, liberal racial ideology champions multiracial persons as evidence that society is "post-racial," or beyond race (e.g. President Obama's ability to garner support across racial groups; Morning, 2005). When thus viewed as representative of neo-conservative and liberal racial ideologies, multiraciality has understandably fueled fears amongst people of color, and black Americans in particular, that racial identities will become obsolete; these groups certainly have much more at stake than white Americans, for whom the loss of racial identity may be a welcome shedding of a racist history rather than feeling

accountable to a history of oppression that created and defined these groups (Morning 2005; Nayak 2006; Thornton 2009). Hence, when stemming from within communities of color, monoracism seems to be a reaction to neo-conservative and liberal racial ideologies that have rearticulated multiraciality to justify their interests. In fact, the unfortunate collusion of aspects of the multiracial movement with white interests (Elam 2011) probably allows many advocates of racial colorblindness and post-racialism to interpret multiraciality as a sign of the irrelevance of race and racial identity; these assumptions likely reinforce suspicion of multiraciality amongst communities of color and perpetuate monoracism. Such assumptions have been documented on the interpersonal level as multiracial microaggressions (e.g., Johnston & Nadal, 2010).

Multiracial Microaggressions

Multiracial microaggressions are "daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, … that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative slights towards multiracial individuals or groups…. [They] involve individuals' mixed-heritage status and are experienced by multiracial persons of any racial makeup or phenotype" (Johnston & Nadal, 2010, p. 126). Although Johnston & Nadal (2010) originally state the actors are monoracial persons, in light of our discussion on multiple racisms, we contend that multiracial persons may internalize monoracism and perpetuate monoracial constructions of race as a social norm. Categories of multiracial microaggressions include occurrences of exclusion and isolation, exoticization and objectification, assumption of monoracial identity and mistaken identity, denial of multiracial reality and experiences, and pathologizing of identity or experiences (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). Multiracial microaggressions may be interpersonal or structural, and may or may not be intentional. They may also change based on intersections of other social identities; this shows that there is no single multiracial experience, but rather

highlights the importance of intersectionality and anti-essentialism (e.g. Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Garner, 2010; Omi & Winant, 1994) even in finding commonalities in experience. Johnston and Nadal's (2010) taxonomy of multiracial microaggressions and their concept of monoracism are useful in critically evaluating prominent racial theories used in higher education research because they allow us to make visible monoracial norms and privilege that dominate relevant racial theories and frameworks in higher education. The taxonomy has been empirically validated, with an important observation that multiracial persons also experience stereotypes targeting monoracially-constructed groups (Guillermo-Wann, 2010; Nadal et al., 2011).

Relevant Racial Theories and Frameworks in Higher Education Research

Considering Critical Race Theory

A way that higher education scholars have examined racial matters is through employing critical race theory (CRT), which has its roots in legal scholarship (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), and has been applied to education (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). In education, CRT has been used and often modified to address monoracially-framed community issues for African Americans (e.g., S. Harper, 2009; S. Harper, Patton & Wooden, 2009; Solórzano, Ceja & Yosso, 2000), Asian Americans (e.g., Teranishi, 2002; Teranishi & Behringer, 2009), Latina/os (e.g., Delgado Bernal, 2002; Villalpando, 2003; Yosso, 2006), Native Americans (e.g., Brayboy, 2005), and even critical whiteness studies (e.g., Owen, 2007). Critical race theory centralizes race in the law and in educational experiences, and asserts that the structure of the law as well as educational systems perpetuate white privilege (Dixon & Rousseau, 2006). Drawing upon the articulated theory by several CRT scholars (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993; Solórzano, 1997, 1998; Solórzano et al., 2000), key concepts of critical race theory that we incorporate include: 1) that racism is ordinary,

pervasive, and permanent in daily life in the United States; 2) interest convergence; and 3) different racializations. We extend these areas by including other key concepts such as the social construction of race, intersectionality and anti-essentialism through racial formation theory and theories of multiple racisms (Garner, 2010; Omi & Winant, 1994), and social justice by integrating monoracism (Johnston & Nadal, 2010) with traditional racisms. We also recognize CRT tenets were developed primarily on studies of monoracially-constructed populations. They still seem viable, however, as the model we advance maintains that students experience multiple forms of racism as potential members of multiple racial groups. We focus our discussion on these three concepts and how they may be augmented to better account for multiraciality in college contexts.

Racism is ordinary, pervasive, and permanent. CRT posits that racism is ordinary, pervasive, and permanent in daily life in the United States. From a CRT perspective, racism is a system of power that privileges whites over people of color and positions all groups in relation to whiteness; racism permeates institutions and cultural norms (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001: Ladson-Billings, 2006; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). The ordinariness means that racism manifests through colorblind, formal conceptions of equality, where the focus is on equal treatment rather than equal outcomes (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Dixon & Rousseau, 2006; Gillborn, 2006); it is endemic to the everyday functions of society rather than being seen as isolated rare incidents, and is thereby pervasive. Racism's permanency is not one of despair, but rather reflects a balance between struggle and hope recognizing much remains to be done (Dixon & Rousseau, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 2006). Thus, CRT challenges the dominant ideology of objectivity, neutrality, colorblindness, and merit, which mask underlying structures of racism (Gillborn, 2006).

From a perspective of multiraciality, we question CRT's focus on a singular racism - one which seems to suggest that only whites can be racist (e.g. Marable, 1992), by drawing upon the concept of multiple racisms in which non-white groups may also be racist (e.g. Garner, 2010; Omi & Winant, 1994), adding that monoracism is also ordinary, pervasive, and permanent in U.S. society. Although we agree that racism positions all groups in relation to whiteness, we add that monoracism also positions all groups in relation to monoracial norms, and that in tandem they maintain white supremacy. This is a definite break from a CRT concept of racism, but we find the assertion that only whites can be racist incompatible with multiracial experiences with racism (e.g. Guillermo-Wann, 2010; Johnston & Nadal, 2010; Nadal et al., 2011). As suggested earlier, monoracism and traditional racisms targeting monoracially-constructed groups interact to oppress persons based on mixed racial ancestry as well as monoracially-identifying persons of color. Paradoxically, when some persons with mixed racial ancestry may be classified as white (rather than self-identifying singularly as monoracially white), monoracism marginalizes the person by reinforcing monoracial norms, yet traditional racism grants white privilege to the person with mixed ancestry at the same time. This type of nuance seems important for research examining multiraciality, since the lived experiences of students of color (monoracially- and multiracially-identifying) are filled with such complexity.

Interest convergence. Interest convergence draws from the concept of material determinism, and posits that because racism provides material benefits to white elites, and psychological benefit to the white working-class, white Americans will rarely be motivated to eradicate racism as a system of privilege and oppression, but may support specific changes within the system when it serves their interests (Bell, 1980; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Interest convergence may have played out between two distinct threads of the movement to change U.S.

Census racial data collection (J. Spencer, 1997; R. Spencer, 2010). First, multiracial individuals' desire for more accurate racial identification options fueled the initiative to allow individuals to "mark one or more" racial categories. Even if unintentional, those interests likely converged with a second thread, which was the early push to have a "multiracial box" in data collection processes that was eventually defeated. The desire for a multiracial box largely stemmed form monoracial white individuals (especially parents) wanting to allow multiracial others (especially their offspring) to be able to identify as something other than a person of color (particularly other than black) (J. Spencer, 1997; R. Spencer, 2010). So although a multiracial box was not created, white interests likely converged with multiracial individuals' desires for more accurate representation to accomplish the change that did occur, because it still provided opportunity to identify as something other than a person of color. In such ways, interest convergence with regard to multiraciality works to maintain the hierarchy of monoracially-constructed whites in a more powerful social status.

Different racializations. Different racializations result from the social construction of race (e.g. Omi & Winant, 1994), meaning that there are different consequences for people based on the historically derived meanings attached to their racialized groups (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). That is, what it means to be white, for example, is very different from what it means to be Asian American, which is different from Arab American, black, Latina/o, Native American, multiracial, etc., and the lived experiences derived from these attached meanings differ as well.

With multiraciality, the racial classification of multiracial persons into racial categories may result in multiple different and sometimes contradictory classifications, particularly in relation to how the legacy of rules of hypodescent work for different racial groups. That is, as potential members of multiple racial groups, multiracial persons might also experience the

different racializations attached to dissimilar racial groups when classified in different ways. Thus, we acknowledge potential differences in classification, and subsequent racializations and experiences, for persons based on their particular racial ancestries. We thus incorporate both racial ancestry and racial classification into the proposed model (Figure 1), acknowledging the resulting different racializations that can ensue.

In sum, we draw upon and modify CRT's concepts of racism, interest convergence, and different racializations in light of the concept of monoracism, as they prove useful to move towards a model for examining multiraciality in American higher education. CRT is not without other constructive criticisms (e.g. N. Cabrera, 2011; Dixon & Rousseau, 2006; Duncan, 2006), although it remains a useful perspective (Duncan, 2006). As mentioned, like other higher education research, CRT's current conceptualizations of race and racism are limited to discrete monoracial constructions. CRT also relies on a definition of racism that posits racial power is only located within the dominant white group. When considering monoracism, relative power may also be located within monoracially-constructed communities of color that can intentionally and unintentionally marginalize persons based on their multiraciality (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). Even so, we still agree racism ultimately positions all groups in relation to monoracial whiteness as the norm, as suggested by CRT (Ladson-Billings, 2006). In essence, this can be understood through interest convergence and the internalization of the dominant monoracial norms, which may uphold white privilege and power through the maintenance of a racial hierarchy; although the social positions of multiracial persons within that is another topic of discussion (see Bonilla-Silva, 2010) that also has yet to account for monoracism. It is not that traditional racisms based on monoracial constructions of race do not exist, but rather that traditional racisms and monoracism intersect with other forms of oppression. Through the human psyche and social

structures, these multiple racisms intersecting with additional oppressions work together to oppress all people of color, and may surface in the experiences of multiracial persons. These will depend on racial classification, which in turn may result in experiencing multiple different racializations. The model we develop maintains that mixed race students can experience multiple forms of racism as potential members of multiple racial groups, the latter being a key feature of multiracial identity theory.

Theorizing Multiracial Identity

There has been a long history of researching multiracial identity, from the problem-based approaches of the "marginal man" hypothesis (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1937) to more recent ecological approaches in higher education (e.g. Renn, 2004a). Recent work examining the ecology of multiracial identity places students and their developmentally instigative characteristics at the center of a model, acknowledges the component of time, and highlights factors, processes, and contexts influencing multiple racial identity patterns (Renn, 2004a). The latter four in particular each inform the building of an integrative model of multiraciality for campus climate, which hypothesizes what happens in proximal processes in Renn's (2004a) ecological identity model, but understanding campus climate as a context for development that is influenced by racism.

Identity patterns. Students acknowledging multiracial ancestry will identify along five patterns: one monoracial identity, two or more monoracial identities, a multiracial identity, extraracial identification (opting out), or a situational identity that changes between at least two of the four other patterns (Renn, 2000, 2003, 2004a). In reviewing the research on multiracial identity both within and outside of higher education, Renn (2008) notes that these patterns were similarly found in work by other researchers (e.g. Kilson, 2001; Rockquemore & Brunsma,

2002; Root, 1990; Wallace, 2001). Renn's (2000, 2003, 2004a) five racial identity patterns show they are normal and healthy; we specify that this is true within the post-civil rights era, and that student self-selection and/or classification into the patterns likely reflect differences in racial formation processes and racial projects pertaining to multiraciality in college contexts.

Influential factors in multiracial identity. The prominent factors that contribute to how mixed race college students identify are physical appearance, cultural knowledge, and the fluidity or rigidity of peer culture, particularly regarding "peer-supported ability" of students to move between various social identity groups on campus (Renn, 2008, p.19). Additional factors influencing multiracial identity include racial ancestry, early socialization, political awareness and orientation, spirituality, other social identities, and the social and historical context (Wijeyesinghe, 2001). Focusing on the first of the three prominent factors in addition to racial ancestry, if a student's physical appearance is congruent with the underlying conception of what a person from a specific monoracially-constructed group should look like (Omi & Winant, 1994), they may be more likely to associate with the group, and that group may be more likely to grant them in-group status (Tajfel, 1981; see also Morning, 2003). Physical appearance in this sense is "cognitively economical" (Wimmer, 2008, p. 979). Similarly, if a student's cultural knowledge fits with the cultural knowledge of a specific monoracially-constructed group, they may also gain access to that group membership at that place and time. More recently, research has also demonstrated that socioeconomic status may play into a student's cultural knowledge and representation (Khanna, 2010). The notion of a rigid or fluid peer culture (Renn, 2000; Renn & Arnold, 2003) is perhaps the most intriguing factor influencing multiracial identity patterns. If a peer culture is rigid, there may be stricter expectations as to what it means to be racially classified as a valid member of a specific monoracially-constructed group. In a more fluid peer

culture, monoracial-conforming expectations may be relaxed, allowing students to move between and within monoracially-constructed communities with more ease (Renn, 2008). Renn (2004a) suggests that students will identify situationally where there is a more fluid peer culture, which implies that the fluidity of a peer culture may be telling of a campus' racial climate. In sum, physical appearance and cultural knowledge including socioeconomic status may conform to monoracial expectations to various extents; differing fluidity of peer cultures may render some racial identities more or less available to different students, which may be indicative of a climate for multiraciality.

Processes. Renn's (2003, 2004a) ecological model of multiracial identity also describes proximal processes that influence multiracial identity development. The proximal processes are ongoing, progressively complex, reciprocal between the person and environment, involve influential persons, objects, and symbols, and occur in contexts containing the person (Bronfenbrenner, 1995; Renn, 2004a). However, the proximal processes as they pertain to multiraciality are not explicitly outlined, which we aim to do by drawing upon multiple theories and frameworks, and are a major contribution of our work.

Context. Lastly, processes occur within multiple interrelated contexts in micro-, meso-, exo-, and macro-systems that inform the relative importance of various influences on identity development (Renn, 2004a). "Three important ones are the *degree to which settings are diverse*, the *degree to which settings are congruent*, and the *existence of ecological niches that favor different developmentally instigative characteristics*" (p. 43). While a strength of the ecological model is that it does not divide contexts into the typical curricular/co-curricular dichotomy (Renn, 2004a), it does not overtly consider how racism and the campus climate for diversity

permeate each of the more proximal contexts. In fact, Renn (2004a) states that studying the climate for multiracial college students in an important and next step for research.

Campus Climate for Diversity

The campus climate for diversity is a conceptual framework that allows educators to assess several dimensions of college campuses as they pertain to race in order to improve educational environments (Hurtado et al., 1998, 1999, 2008; Hurtado, Alvarez et al., 2012; Milem et al., 2005). It originally developed as the campus racial climate but has since incorporated multiple social identities, and has been broadened as the MMDLE to account for multiple contexts of compositionally diverse learning environments (Hurtado, Alvarez et al., 2012). The MMDLE is distinct in that it places student identity at the center, is focused on multiple identities including multiracial identities, faculty and staff identities, and acknowledges multiracial research. Campus climate dimensions include an institution's historical legacy of inclusion and exclusion, compositional diversity, psychological attitudes and values, behavioral interactions (Hurtado et al., 1998, 1999), and organizational structures that embed privilege for some groups and oppress others through institutional processes (Milem et al., 2005). The historical, compositional, and organizational dimensions reflect institution-level aspects of the climate, whereas the psychological and behavioral dimensions comprise individual-level aspects (Hurtado, Alvarez et al., 2012). We understand all five dimensions as permeating contexts that inform proximal processes in multiracial identity development (e.g. Renn, 2004a). Externally, the climate framework situates the college environment within contemporary socio-historical and policy contexts (Hurtado et al., 1998,1999). These are similar to Renn's (2004a) exo- and macro- systems, which we also specify including racial formation (Omi & Winant, 1994), traditional racism, and monoracism (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). More recently, climate models

have also incorporated the local community context, as well as internal curricular and co-curricular contexts, much like Renn's micro- and meso- systems, which are all conceptualized to inform the campus climate as well as equity and diversity outcomes along additional multiple social identities (Hurtado, Alvarez et al., 2012). We understand hostile climates to be the fruits (or thorns) of racisms and their intersections with other systems of oppression (e.g. sexism, heterosexism, etc.).

The campus climate for diversity is an important aspect of higher education to continually improve, as research shows it influences cognitive and socio-cognitive outcomes, such as values, attitudes, and competencies for citizenship in a multicultural world (Hurtado et al., 2008; Hurtado, Ruiz et al., 2012), adjustments to college (A. Cabrera et al., 1999; Hurtado et al., 1998, 1999, 2007), retention (Rhee, 2008), and degree completion (Museus et al., 2008).

The extant research on campus climate for racial diversity has focused almost exclusively on monoracially-constructed groups, although the MMDLE acknowledges multiraciality and does not stipulate that the climate is particular to any one group. Some research related to the racial climate shows that multiracially-identifying college students express not feeling accepted by their monoracially-identifying peers (Renn, 2004a), report experiencing more prejudice compared to their black and white peers (Brackett et al., 2006), and indicate the lowest perceptions of institutional supportiveness and the second lowest levels of supportive relationships on campus (Laird & Niskodé-Dossett, 2010). One study examines the campus racial climate for fourteen multiracial college students, who describe multiracial microaggressions across all dimensions of the campus climate, illustrating interpersonal, institutional, and societal aspects of monoracism (Guillermo-Wann, 2010). Participants also report experiences of traditional racisms, and white privilege for some, although this was not a

major focus of the paper. Research suggests that traditional racisms and monoracism intersect in the lives of multiracial students across multiple dimensions of the campus climate. However, campus racial climate research would benefit from more explicit uses of racial theory (see also N. Cabrera, 2011; S. Harper, 2012), whether examining monoracially- or multiracially-identifying students because it could then identify and address the root causes of negative climates and unequal outcomes where they persist. Therefore, the integrative model we propose draws upon an understanding of multiple racisms and elements of racial formation theory, critical race theory, and multiracial identity theory to better understand multiraciality in the campus climate.

Toward an Integrative Model of Multiraciality

In light of the theoretical void connecting multiraciality, race, racism, and campus climate in higher education research, the aim of developing an Integrative Model of Multiraciality (IMM) for campus climate is to help scholars and practitioners constructively address issues of race and racism as they pertain to multiraciality in college contexts. The primary focus and contribution of the IMM is to show that traditional racisms targeting monoracially-constructed groups and monoracism intersect in the campus racial climate, and to propose proximal climate processes that can be followed in order to appropriately assess and improve campus racial climates for multiraciality. Specifically, we hypothesize how racial formation, traditional racism, and monoracism inform proximal climate processes leading to students' quality of experience that involves components of multiracial identity theory, interest convergence, racial classification, and subsequent racializations, with multi- and mono- racial microaggressions and racial privilege for some. The model is broad enough to allow for different components to work differently based on one's racial ancestry and interpretations of the

legacy of how so-called rules of hypodescent (e.g., the "one-drop" rule) work differently for different groups. Although not the primary focus here, the IMM also acknowledges that the campus climate for multiraciality influences various student outcomes, much like previous climate research (Hurtado, Alvarez et al., 2012). Intermediary and final college outcomes in turn influence the college context and societal process of racial formation, and thus challenge or maintain systems of racism including monoracism; the time elapsed in these cyclical relationships naturally vary, so although it depicts processes, it is helpful to also maintain an ecological mindset in conceptualizing the effects of the process on students' contexts. Using the IMM, scholars may zoom in on any particular aspect (e.g. climate), while maintaining an understanding of the interrelatedness of monoracism and traditional racisms in the campus climate in relation to a host of educational outcomes. In this way, the IMM calls scholars and educators to remain mindful of traditional racisms targeting monoracially-constructed groups when examining and addressing monoracism and multiraciality.

We walk the reader through the IMM (Figure 1) in two steps in order to draw upon the literature reviewed earlier and integrate different aspects of the theories and frameworks. First, we explain the lower and middle portions of the figure, which cover the concepts of societal contexts, systems of racism, and campus climate. Second, we describe the upper and far right portions of the figure, which detail processes leading to students' quality of experience in college and of the climate more specifically, and acknowledges climate effects on outcomes.

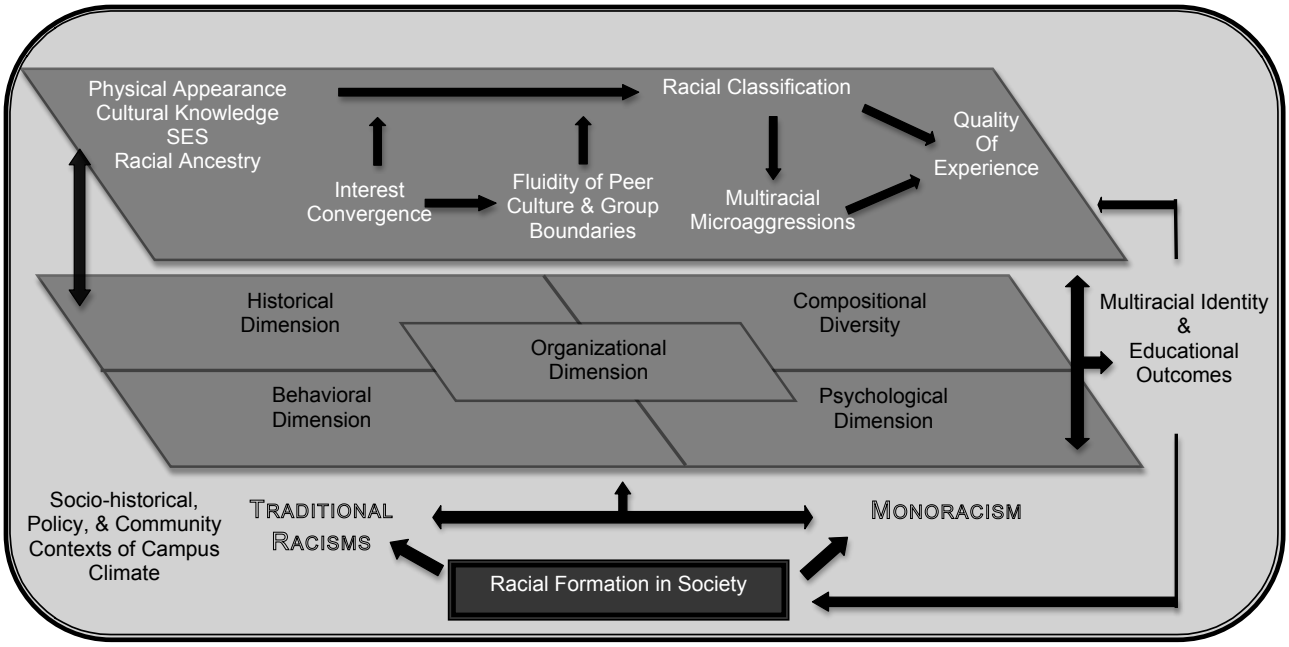
Societal Contexts, Systems of Racism, and Campus Climate

An institution's socio-historical, policy, (Hurtado et al., 1998, 1999; Milem et al., 2005), and local community contexts influence the campus racial climate (Hurtado, Alvarez et al., 2012), and are indicated by the light grey background in the IMM (Figure 1). Renn's (2004a)

ecological model of multiracial identity accounts for these external contexts as aspects of more distal systems from the student (i.e., exo- and macro-systems), which also influence multiracial identity. For example, across time the socio-historical context could shift from the pre-civil rights era to the post-civil rights era, policies might reflect this evolution, and local community demographics might also change. The various contexts that frame campus climate and multiracial identity in college likely contribute to the social, economic, political, and cultural forces at play in racial formation throughout society and across time.

Drawing upon an institution's external contexts, we theorize that racial formation produces traditional racisms as well as monoracism, depicted at the bottom of the figure; together, these racisms in turn influence the campus racial climate, shown by the respective arrows connecting each of the concepts. Racial formation serves to create racial groups to privilege the dominant white group and oppress groups of color (Omi & Winant, 1994). As hypothesized earlier, we also suggest racial formation has established monoracial norms in various ways throughout U.S. history that marginalize multiraciality through the co-existence of traditional racisms and monoracism, conceptualized as interrelated systems of power, privilege, and oppression (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). Together multiple racisms operate within and manifest through the five dimensions of the climate shown in the lower grey plane. We suggest that structural or institutional racisms particularly permeate the institution-level dimensions (i.e., historical, compositional, and organizational), whereas interpersonal racisms are more evident in the individual-level dimensions (i.e., psychological and behavioral), although they are not mutually exclusive (Hurtado, Milem et al., 1998, 1999; Hurtado, Alvarez et al. 2012; Milem et al., 2005). These foundational components contextualize the main processes regarding multiraciality highlighted in the IMM.

Figure 1. Integrative Model of Multiraciality



Adapted from Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen (1998, 1999), Hurtado, Alvarerz, Guilermo-Wann, Cuellar, and Arellano (2012), Milem, Chang, and Antonio (2005). Additional concepts from Bell (1980), Johnston and Nadal (2010), Omi and Winant (1994), Renn (2004a, 2008).

Proximal Climate Processes for Multiraciality

The campus racial climate is thus intertwined in processes we propose can be followed in order to appropriately assess and improve campus climates for multiraciality, shown next in the upper grey plane. We also suggest these may be processes important in racial identity development that occur in various contexts over time. Each of the concepts in white text is a part of the processes determining the quality of multiracial students' experiences in college, particularly as they pertain to the racial climate. We will explain each concept and briefly indicate its relationship to following concepts.

Physical appearance, cultural knowledge, socioeconomic status, and racial ancestry. The first concept encompasses individual-level characteristics, particularly one's physical appearance, cultural knowledge, socioeconomic status, and racial ancestry, which are important components influencing multiracial racial identity (Khanna, 2010; Korgen, 1998, 2010; Renn,

2004a; 2008; Wijeyesinghe, 2001). Also implicit within these concepts are family and pre-college socialization, which are important factors in identity salience and development (Sanders-Thompson, 1999; Wijeyesinghe, 2001). These individual-level characteristics are most clearly illustrative of a campus' compositional diversity and likely play out differently for students of different multiracial backgrounds based on a campus' compositional diversity. Compositional diversity is also influenced through the historical dimension in that it may be dependent upon an institutions' history of inclusion or exclusion (Hurtado et al., 1998, 1999), and specifically how prospective multiracially-identifying students are categorized in admissions processes, if such identification options are available. Individual-level characteristics may be thought of in part as pre-college characteristics, although they may change through a students' time in college as racial identity develops. A student's physical appearance, cultural knowledge, socioeconomic status, and racial ancestry are thought to be important characteristics influencing racial classification (to which we will return), which is also informed by interest convergence as well as the fluidity of peer culture and group boundaries on campus.

Interest convergence. Interest convergence is the next concept and is a driving force identified by critical race theory that attaches dominant group intentions to subordinate group initiatives to produce outcomes favorable to the dominant group (Bell, 1980). In the IMM, interest convergence sheds light on why white and/or monoracial interests would result in racially classifying a multiracial student in various ways, and is propelled by traditional racisms and monoracism through the climate. We suggest that interest convergence may directly and indirectly influence the ways in which the individual-level characteristics get translated into racial classification and subsequent racializations. For instance, direct influence could be at play when a predominately white institution promotes the classification of racially mixed students as

"multiracial" (e.g., through providing a "multiracial" option on institutional racial demographic questions). In such scenarios, multiracially-identifying students may see the campus as a welcoming place for multiraciality, while the institution may see the classification of a multiracial group as a way to break down any "strength in numbers" advocacy strategies of monoracially-constructed communities of color on campus. Interest convergence may also indirectly influence racial classification through the fluidity of peer culture and/or group boundaries that may be less interpersonal (e.g. data systems).

Fluidity of peer culture and group boundaries. Fluidity of peer culture is an important factor in multiracial identity for college students (Renn, 2004; 2008). We consider it an aspect of the psychological and behavioral dimensions of the campus climate because it combines racial attitudes and perceptions (e.g. criteria for legitimate racial in-group status) with interactions across race (Hurtado et al., 1998, 1999). Compositional diversity of campus climate may also influence the fluidity of peer culture depending on the representation of monoracially- and multiracially-constructed groups on campus, as how one self-identifies in different contexts often depends on whom they are constructing their identity against (Wimmer, 2008). The fluidity of peer culture is one way in which traditional racisms and monoracism may intersect – in the determination of the relative importance of individual-level components in racial classification, and the extent to which they serve to maintain white and/or monoracial privilege. Group boundaries may be created in the organizational dimension through racial categorization in data use and storage irrespective of the fluidity of peer culture in the behavioral and psychological dimensions. Accordingly, individual-level characteristics may become more salient in certain climates with a more rigid peer culture that reflects a strict psychological concept of what it means to be a member of a specific monoracial group, and/or inflexible organizational policies

regarding racial data categorization that create group boundaries that may or may not reflect or influence peer culture.

Racial classification. As previously discussed, the racial classification of multiracial persons into racial categories may result in multiple different and sometimes contradictory classifications. Racial classification may also depend on the extent to which there is a critical mass of multiracial students willing to organize around multiraciality, which may influence identity options in college (Renn, 2000); this can be understood as an interaction between compositional diversity, and the psychological and behavioral dimensions. Again, interest convergence, peer culture fluidity and group boundaries influence how important individual-level characteristics are for racial classifications and subsequent racializations to occur.

Multiracial microaggressions and quality of experience. Racial classification can in turn lead directly to multiracial microaggressions or directly to the quality of a student's experience of climate on campus as meaning is attached to classification (i.e. racialization). The concept of congruity is key here (Renn, 2004a). If racial classification imposed by others is *not* congruent with a multiracial students' own racial identity, and/or is *not* congruent with monoracial constructions of race, it may lead to multiracial microaggressions–a tangible manifestation of monoracism that targets a student based on their mixed race status (Johnston & Nadal, 2010). On the other hand, if racial classification *is* congruent with a students' own racial identity, and is congruent with monoracial norms, then traditional racisms likely manifest more visibly than monoracism. In such scenarios, racial classification bypasses the production of multiracial microaggressions, and directly informs the quality of students' experiences on campus as they would for any other monoracially-identifying student. Racial classification may thus also result in (mono) racial microaggressions and/or in white privilege (e.g. Guillermo-

Wann, 2010; Nadal et al., 2011). Given the possibility of multiple different classifications, some multiracial students may experience a combination of multiracial microaggressions, (mono) racial microaggressions, monoracial privilege, *and/or* white privilege; such multiplicity in experience exposes how monoracism and traditional racisms can intersect within the campus racial climate. Experiences will also differ based on additional social identities, demonstrating anti-essentialism within multiraciality.

Educational outcomes. Finally, proximal campus climate processes resulting in students' quality of experience lead to intermediate and final educational outcomes, including multiracial identity. Students' experiences and perceptions of the campus racial climate have been shown to influence numerous educational outcomes in the literature (Hurtado, Alvarez et al., 2012), which we posit is likely for multiracial students as well. In turn higher education outcomes, especially racial identity as manifested by multiracial students, continually inform racial formation and other aspects of society. In this sense, the model we present creates awareness that higher education institutions, students, and the processes they engage in, in turn impact society in a variety of ways.

In sum, examinations of multiraciality in higher education must challenge the dominant discourse that establishes monoracial constructions of race as a norm, and must be grounded historically to refute rising neo-conservative and liberal racial ideologies that may misappropriate multiraciality to maintain white supremacy. To this end, we offer an integrative model for future research and practice that examines how intersections of monoracism and traditional racisms in the campus climate for diversity may marginalize and/or privilege multiracial students based on different racial classifications. Perspectives from racial formation theory and critical race theory allow us to presume that race is a critical component of lived

experience, and thus interrogate social processes that oppress groups of people based on monoracial constructions of race while making explicit social justice objectives. Our aim is that through theorizing this model, scholars may honor unique and non-essentailized multiracial voices to improve the campus climate and educational outcomes for all students, given the ways traditional racisms and monoracism may manifest in higher education contexts.

Implications for Research and Practice

The IMM begins to address the theoretical void for multiraciality in higher education scholarship by linking race, racism, and multiraciality in the campus climate for diversity as a context for development and learning, and depicting processes that can be examined to assess and address the climate for mixed race students. It aims to challenge the norm of monoracial constructions of race and simultaneously strengthen alliances with monoracially-constructed communities of color by integrating traditional racisms into a multiracial framework. The IMM has several implications for research and practice aimed to advance social justice education.

The IMM offers implications for three overarching areas of future research. First, higher education research on racial groups must be more intentional theoretically regarding race and racism in investigations of campus climate and inequitable outcomes across groups (see also S. Harper, 2012). In doing so, it must consider multiraciality within monoracially-constructed groups of students as one aspect of within-group heterogeneity. This will help scholars wrestle with methodological challenges of effectively and transparently operationalizing race in quantitative and qualitative research. Researchers might problematize who is included in a sample, why, and how that might enrich and inform the study. Additionally, campus climate research in particular might benefit from the IMM by examining the influence of interest convergence in efforts to assess and improve the climate for diversity for all students, the extent

to which climates are inclusive, and who benefits most. It might also examine the fluidity of peer cultures on campus to assess the inclusiveness of informal peer interactions as indicators of the behavioral dimension of campus climate. Campus climate research should also investigate structural processes that perpetuate traditional racisms and monoracism. Second, higher education scholarship on multiraciality may use the IMM to examine matters other than racial identity, such as campus climate, educational practices, and learning outcomes. Research on multiracial identity, and student development more broadly, might also benefit from conceptualizing educational contexts as contexts with a climate for diversity. Moreover, the IMM underscores the importance of locating multiraciality within its long historical trajectory that extends well into the pre-civil rights era so that multiracial scholarship might help curb anxiety around multiraciality, rather than unintentionally contribute to it. Third, research outside of higher education might also test the IMM's proximal processes in other contexts for multiracial and other groups, and examine racial formation in larger societal contexts. Moving forward with the IMM's implications for these three principal areas of research will help align multiracial scholarship with broader social justice aims.

The IMM also proposes four main implications for changing higher education practice in fundamental ways. First, campuses are struggling to define diversity, with legal impetus to do so more broadly (College Board, 2011), but discussions on campus regarding multiraciality are still lacking. The IMM draws attention to how multiraciality has been part of U.S. history and racial formation for a long time, and how monoracism works to maintain monoracial norms that marginalize, obscure, and misuse multiraciality. As institutions define diversity more broadly, integrating multiraciality in a critical way might help campuses expose these norms and move towards greater inclusivity. Second, by integrating the five dimensions of campus climate, the

IMM suggests that where campuses begin to educate around multiraciality will differ based on their unique histories, compositional diversity, curriculum, services, organizational cultures, and where interested parties may be located within campus structures. This allows for decentralized approaches to improve campus climate in niches that initially may be more responsive (e.g. staff development), although this does not underscore the importance of presidential leadership in deep organizational change (Kezar, 2007). Third, the IMM draws attention to the importance of how educators talk about racial oppression when colorblindness, race-neutrality, and monoracial constructions of race are the norm. The racial language deployed in practice and policy can be evaluated for the extent to which it reinforces colorblind and monoracial norms. Accordingly, the IMM supports allowing students to self-identify racially. This might also play out in how student affairs practitioners engage monoracially-based student organizations regarding fluidity of peer culture, even if policy requires all groups be open to all students, to reflect upon how welcoming they might be to multiracially-identifying students in practice. Fourth, institutional policy for how racial data is collected, both in admissions and human resources, might be evaluated as aspects of the organizational dimension of campus climate that have significant impact on racial classification of students and personnel. The U.S. Department of Education's new reporting of student racial demographics creates a separate group for students who mark two or more races, although some flexibility remains in how data is collected (DOE, 2007). Accordingly, educators can examine how campus data systems are structured to allow for multiple race identification, and subsequently how student organizations, services, and even institutional research utilize that data to identify student populations for various purposes. As practice integrates multiraciality into definitions of diversity, the curriculum and co-curriculum,

language around race and racism, and campus data systems as four immediate areas to apply the IMM, it may become more effective in advancing social justice in and through higher education.

Conclusion

In closing, the Integrative Model of Multiraciality (IMM) for campus climate may help improve multiple areas of research and higher education practice in ways that can better align multiracially- and monoracially-framed initiatives toward collective social justice goals in higher education. We have reviewed limitations in the current literature and offer a model that accounts for campus climate as context for student development and learning, and depicts proximal processes of racial classification and racialization in such contexts that influence educational outcomes. In doing so, we explicitly link monoracism targeting multiraciality and traditional racisms targeting monoracially-constructed groups to the campus climate for diversity as a way of exposing racism's pervasiveness in educational environments, and to re-orient multiracial scholarship to a larger vision of challenging all racial injustice. The IMM is thereby designed to aid research and practice to critically address multiraciality, refute neo-conservative and liberal racial claims of a declining significance of race, and develop alliances with traditional communities of color to help move American higher education toward creating a more just and equitable society.

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