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LEARNING FROM ERVING GOFFMAN: UNDERSTANDING THE EXPERIENCES OF "MIXED" INDIVIDUALS IN SWITZERLAND AND MOROCCO AS A STIGMA MANAGEMENT

Abstract

Although mixed origin is experienced as a resource by binational individuals, in some situations it can become a stigma. Through processes of othering, "mixed", individuals experience a sort of stigmatization. It is a specific manifestation of stigma that develops its importance in connection with discourses and social lines of difference. Mixedness does not per se always lead to a stigma, but can become relevant in the intersection with race, ethnicity, class, gender, language, or religious affiliation and social hierarchies. The social contexts and their orders of belonging thus shape the stigma experiences of "mixed" individuals and, concomitantly, their opportunities.

Based on my recent study on "mixed" individuals in Switzerland and Morocco, this article discusses how mixedness can turn into a stigma and how "mixed" individuals manage and resist these stigmatizations. I argue that mixedness can become an experience of stigmatization when processes of othering lead to the painful experience of non-belonging. This experience of discomfort stimulates continual negotiations between social perception and self-perception. In the article four varieties of stigma-management are developed: (1) attempting to unify the different origins, (2) developing an expert attitude, (3) looking for alternative spaces of belonging, (4) normalizing

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the "mixed" origin. The four types describe what I call *subjective balances*: the individual way of dealing with stigmatization, that is, with the problem that multiple belonging is not socially recognised.

Keywords: Goffman, Stigma, mixedness, binational origin, biography, identity mismatch

INTRODUCTION

> You want to belong somehow, and you are looking for your people […] and somehow you don't belong ANYWHERE REALLY, already because of your appearance or your nationality. you are neither fish nor fowl and that is sometimes (3) yes has somehow been difficult. (2) since you are just a bit everywhere. [Mara Reber, Swiss-Brazilian origin]

Questions of belonging are not negotiated in a neutral social space [Breckner 2005] but are permeated by social and national boundaries. "Mixed"[1] individuals challenge these boundaries by placing themselves in between the dichotomies. A "mixed" origin, as Mara[2] expressively describes it in the citation above, leads not only to a tension between the self-perception and the image others have of oneself, but also between the social recognition she seeks and the recognition she actually receives [Frieben-Blum, Jacobs 2000]. The feeling of "in-between" is due to national orders of belonging that leave no room for ambiguity [Mecheril 2003b]. Even if "mixed" individuals may live their mixedness in the private sphere, social recognition for mixedness is largely absent.

In the field of mixedness, Erving Goffman's theory on discredited identity is referred to rather implicitly within the notion of "identity mismatch" [see for instance: Brubaker, Cooper 2000; Childs, Lyons, Jones 2021; Osanami Törngren, Sato 2021; Osanami Törngren, Irastorza, Rodríguez-García 2021; Rodríguez--García *et al.* 2021]. "Identity mismatch" describes the moment when social attributions differ from the self-identification of individuals, in other words, when the claimed self-identification is not approved by the majority society [Aspinall, Song 2013; Choudhry 2010; Rodríguez-García *et al.* 2021; Song 2003]. Racism, ethnocentrism and islamophobia stigmatise and problematise "mixed" identifications, constructing "mixed" individuals as "different" from

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[1] The term "mixed" refers here to any layer of difference that these individuals represent in relation to the dominant social norm around them. However, as will be shown, it is not diversity per se that defines mixedness, but the perception of what counts as mixedness in a society and what does not [see e.g. Varro 2003; Le Gall, Therrien 2022]. "Mixedness" is a social construct, for this reason the term is in quotation marks.

[2] All names of the interviewees are pseudonyms.

the majority society [Osanami Törngren, Irastorza, Rodríguez-García 2021]. This is mainly the case for individuals with "visible markers" such as name, language accent, or phenotype, which trigger ethno-cultural stereotypes [Osanami Törngren, Sato 2021; Rodríguez-García *et al.* 2021]. According to their visibility or invisibility these individuals pass as members of the majority society or are positioned as outsiders, even though they may have dual citizenship and may have been born and raised in the country of residence.

Although stigma seems one of the core concepts needed to understand the experience of "mixed" individuals and their identity choices, scholars on mixedness seldom deconstruct the link between mixedness and Goffman's concept of stigma. The following discussion tries to fill this gap. Based on concrete examples of stigma management by "mixed" individuals in Morocco and Switzerland, I will further show that "mixed" individuals are not powerless victims who are overwhelmed by stigmatization. On the contrary, they learn to maneuver and even to resist stigmatization during their life course. It is this agency, taken from Goffman's concept of stigma, that helps to theorise the experiences of "identity mismatch" of "mixed" individuals from an actor centric perspective.

For this purpose, I will first introduce Erving Goffman's identity theory [1963] and examine to what extent mixedness can be analyzed as a stigma. Second, I will briefly present the research context: my PhD thesis [Gilliéron 2022a], during which I conducted 23 biographical interviews with "mixed" individuals in Switzerland and Morocco. Then I will present my findings by discussing four ways "mixed" individuals deal with stigmatizations: (1) attempting to unify the different origins, (2) developing an expert attitude, (3) looking for alternative spaces of belonging, (4) normalizing the "mixed" origin. The article concludes with a discussion on the enduring pertinence of Goffman's theory for research on mixedness.

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF GOFFMAN'S CONCEPT
OF STIGMA FOR STUDIES ON MIXEDNESS

In his earlier work *The presentation of the self in everyday life* [1959], Goffman considered identity as something constructed by and through others. In his later work *Stigma. Notes on the management of spoiled identity* [1963], however, he takes up these initial ideas, but develops them further, representing it as a negotiation of social and personal identity. He does not examine strangeness itself (unlike Simmel's analysis of *The stranger* in 1908) but focuses on social ascriptions, i.e., question of how otherness is produced in interaction. In doing so, he develops a double perspective on identity in which he constantly relates social and personal identity.

Social identity enables a person to assign him/herself to social roles and collective affiliations [Goffman 1963: 2]. It is normative in nature and involves adapting to social roles, values, norms, and expectations. In social interactions, expectations arise on the basis of the anticipated social identity, which can be confirmed, adapted or refuted in the course of the interaction. *Personal identity*, on the other hand, emphasises the uniqueness of the person, consisting of his/ her appearance, the specific expression of social identity and biographical facts [Goffman 1963: 56, 57]. Thus, while social identity is located more on the level of belonging or social membership, personal identity combines the various biographical data of a life story. Stigmatizations are analyzed on the level of social identity; its management is part of personal identity [Goffman 1963: 106].

For Goffman [1963], identity is a constant negotiation in interaction with others. It is the individual response to identity assignments which has crystalised in the course of a lifetime [von Engelhardt 2010]. Identity work involves the confrontation of the two identity levels, the identity norms (social identity) and the identity pegs (personal identity), from which the Self (ego identity) finally develops. When examining processes of stigmatization and how individuals deal with stigmatization, Goffman's theory makes it possible to analyze the interplay of social attributions and self-identification. It is thus a perspective that seems particularly productive in terms of understanding the identity constructions of "mixed" individuals who are challenged on the grounds that their social identity does not "fit" their personal identity.

In studies on mixedness it is assumed that "mixed" individuals inherit the mixedness of their parents and have to deal with multiple identity choices that differ from mononational, monoracial or monoethnic individuals [Therrien, Le Gall 2012]. These studies mainly analyze questions on identity and problems that arise out of racist social hierarchies and essentialist discourses on culture and religion as they greatly influence identity choices. In this perspective the main challenge for "mixed" individuals is to cope with the discrepancy between social perception and self-identification. Analyses on this "identity mismatch" often employ the term "stigma", yet few authors explicitly rely on the work of Goffman [see e.g. Nowicka 2006; Gilliéron 2022a; Odasso 2016; Osanami Törngren, Sato 2021] and even fewer engage in a theorization of this concept for studies on mixedness [Gilliéron 2022a; Odasso 2016]. However, his theory on identity, and more precisely his analysis on stigma, presents a pertinent perspective to understand the impact of discredited images on the life and agency of "mixed" individuals.

MIXEDNESS THROUGH THE LENS
OF GOFFMAN'S ANALYSIS ON STIGMA

Not all "mixed" individuals are perceived in the same way, and this influences the possibilities of social recognition and acceptance of mixed identifications. Some forms of mixedness are perceived as a resource and prestigious, while other constellations of mixedness are seen as a "dangerous" deviation from the social norm, particularly when mixedness is "visible". Hence, stigma is strongly related to social order and how a social norm is defined. It is the non-conformity to this norm that leads to stigmatizations [Goffman 1963]. As such, Goffman [1963] argues that stigma processes serve to consolidate social order. Stigma describes a situation where the individual is denied full social acceptance. A stigmatised individual possesses:

> an attribute that makes him different from others in the category of persons available for him to be, and of a less desirable kind – in the extreme, a person who is quite thoroughly bad, or dangerous, or weak. [Goffman 1963: 3]

In the context of mixedness, Gabrielle Varro [2003] notes that the term "mixed" has always been employed to design couples or people who do not match the social norm and who are socially undesirable.[3] As such, we may speak of mixedness as a "tribal stigma", a stigma that is based on race, nation, and religion, and which "can be transmitted through lineages and equally contaminate all members of a family" [Goffman 1963: 4]. In this sense, the stigma of the "mixed" couple is passed on to the children [Odasso 2016]. In its continuation, "mixed" individuals, that is, the offspring of binational, multiracial or multi-ethnic couples, are perceived as "others" who differ from what is assumed to be "ordinary" and "normal", and experience non-belonging. Although they have a native parent, the citizenship of the country of residence and have grown up there, they are perceived as "different" from the majority population, and as such are individuals with a "spoiled identity" [Goffman 1963] who have to deal with the fact that their self-identification ("I'm «normal»") does not match the ascribed (virtual) social identity ("you are different"). The heteronomous experience of non-belonging is an experience for "mixed" individuals that is deeply discrediting

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[3]   During colonial times and slavery, the term "mixed couple" was used to describe people who challenged the social order. The term is still used to describe couples who married outside the social norm [Varro 2003; Lavanchy 2013]. It is important to recognise that not all forms of mixedness are discrediting. It is mostly mixedness on the base of race, religion, ethnicity or class that is perceived as a deviance of the social norm.

[Nowicka 2006; Odasso 2016]. It is very upsetting and disturbing for "mixed" individuals and forces them to confront their contested belonging.

Othering of "mixed" people relies on a rigid ordering of belonging, which, according to Paul Mecheril [2003b], leads to individuals with multiple belongings[4] being counted as "impure" or "anormal". They do not correspond to the ideal member that has one unique affiliation and do not fit the common and familiar classifications, which is why such belonging is perceived as ambiguous and sinister [Mecheril 2003a]. Through racialization and ethnicization mixedness becomes a factor of difference; individuals are perceived as "the other" and are met with mistrust. It is this dynamic of othering[5] [Said 2003] and its result of an experience of non-belonging that can be analyzed as a process of stigmatization as understood by Goffman. Othering leads to a situation where the individual is denied full social acceptance and thus evokes stigmatization. Stigmatization presents in this case an interplay of given and denied possibilities of belonging which are structured by social and national orders of belonging.

While the concept of othering focusses on the process of differentiation of racialised individuals, the concept of stigma enables us to take a broader look at social differentiations, and most importantly, how individuals can react to such categorizations. The experiences of "mixed" children also cannot only be traced back to processes of othering but are a result of different interlinking categories such as gender, language, family constellation, social status and biographical resources [Gilliéron 2022a, Therrien 2020].

Stigmatised individuals have an "undesired differentness" [Goffman 1963: 5] that spoils their social identity and cuts them off from society and from him/herself [Goffman 1963: 19]. As a result, individuals are involved in stigma management – a particular form of the otherwise usual identity management between the identity norms and assignments of others and one's own demands, needs and desires [Goffman 1963]. Stigma management is part of personal identity, where the individual deals with the irritating attributions of others and reconciles them with his/her own self-perception. It is an active effort that can be described as *biographical work* [Schütze 2008: 160] because the person must

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[4]   Mecheril [2003b] describes the case of people of migrant descent and not particularly "mixed" individuals. However, his observations apply to all situations of people with multiple belongings and aptly illustrate why and how processes of othering can be understood as processes of stigmatization.

[5]   Othering describes a process of demarcation between "us and them" in order to valorise oneself as "normal". It is based on racialization and aims to consolidate the prevailing norm and power relations.

reflexively confront and process stigmatization [von Kardorff 2009]. In other words, stigmatised people have to process past stigmatizations and develop strategies for future (stigmatizing) interactions.

When the self is challenged, the stigmatised person has to manage his/her differentness. Goffman [1963] identifies three techniques that stigmatised individuals use to meet this challenge and strive to appear "normal" and re-gain social acceptance: passing (e.g., the stigmatised individual could be deceptive and pretend to be "normal"), information control (e.g., concealing or eliminating the stigmatizing trait) or covering (e.g., downplaying or emphasizing the stigma). In the case of stigmatised "mixed" individuals these techniques can take the form of a name change or adaption of the language/accent (passing), of an emphasis on the native parent or a "normal" socialization (covering) or remaining silent over a religious affiliation or the decision to identify with only one side of the mixed origin (information control) [Gilliéron 2022b].

Goffman [1963: 41] differentiates further between discredited and discreditable individuals, between individuals who have a stigma that is visible at first sight and those whose stigma will only be revealed after some time. The stigma management of discredited individuals consists of managing the tensions arising from their stigma, whereas discreditable individuals rather engage in information management, avoiding discrediting situations. The same dynamic can be found among the experiences of "mixed" individuals. Various studies observe a crucial difference between those with visible and those with invisible characteristics of mixedness [Cerchiaro 2022; Haritaworn 2009; Gilliéron, 2022b; Osanami Törngren, Sato 2021; Rodríguez-García et al. 2021; Rodríguez-García 2015; Song 2003; Therrien 2012]. While the former are able to "hide" their mixedness to a certain degree and pass as "normal" or even experience it as prestige (in the case of positive connotations of their mixedness), the latter are confronted with discrediting images which turn visible markers such as physical appearance, a "foreign" sounding name, multilingualism or wearing a veil into a sign of otherness. Hence, identity options depend on where the "mixed" individual is positioned in the social structure [Cerchiaro 2022; Gilliéron 2022a; Osanami Törngren, Irastorza, Rodríguez-García 2021; Rodríguez-García et al. 2021; Therrien, 2020].

However, discredited and discreditable are fluid positions changing over the life course, from context to context and most importantly, "mixed" individuals themselves may influence their position and change from visible to invisible, leading to different possibilities of identification within even the same national context [Gilliéron 2022b]. With the help of language switching, for example,

they can enter different contexts of belonging or mark a differentiation. For illustration, in the context of Morocco I observed that some individuals learned the local Arabic dialect in order to be accepted in the circle of their peers in the neighborhood, but they chose to speak French and thus emphasise their European origin at their workplace in order to be respected[6] [Gilliéron 2022b].

Although we might speak of an "inherited" stigma, it is important to note that a stigma is not innate but socially constructed. It is based on social notions of normality and is therefore dependent on the context:

> The term stigma, then, will be used to refer to an attribute that is deeply discrediting, but it should be seen that a language of relationships, not attributes, is really needed. An attribute that stigmatizes one type of possessor can confirm the usualness of another, and therefore is neither creditable nor discreditable as a thing in itself. [Goffman 1963: 3]

A stigma is always related to the dominant norm in a society, and thus social change may generate new forms of stigma [von Kardorff 2009]. Goffman's conception of stigma as something dynamic and relational, of being constructed in interaction, makes it particularly useful to study the experiences of "mixed" individuals.[7] It makes it possible to show how the notion of mixedness itself is dynamic, changing over time and space [Varro 2003], and how individuals have to adopt to the changing situations of stigmatization. In this regard, comparative studies reveal that "mixed" individuals do not have the same possibilities in different social, national and historical contexts, because the definition of what mixedness is may change [Cerchiaro 2022; Childs, Lyons, Jones 2021; Gilliéron 2022c; Odasso 2016; Osanami Törngren, Sato 2021; Rocha, Aspinall 2020; Unterreiner 2015]. For example, Laura Odasso [2016] highlights the importance of national-political and racist discourses for the construction of stigma in the context of mixedness. In her research on France and Italy, it becomes evident that racist discourses and pejorative images about "Arabs" and "Islam" have led to the continuous stigmatization of "mixed" individuals of Arab descent since the 1990s. Further, my own study on "mixed" individuals in Morocco and

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[6] This dynamic is due to the postcolonial context which attributes European migrants a privileged status.

[7] According to Muller [2020], Goffman employs a broader definition of stigma than the "marginalizing stigma" definition that dominates today. Stigma is a phenomenon that is not static and not attributed to a particular group of individuals but dynamic and constantly constructed in interactions. Everybody has to deal with a stigma at some point in his/her life. Therefore, for Goffman the question is not "whether a person has experience with a stigma of his own, because he has, but rather how many varieties he has had his own experience with" and when and how s/he conforms to or deviates from the expected norm [Goffman 1963: 129].

Switzerland demonstrates that stigmatization processes of "mixed" individuals develop context-specific dynamics [Gilliéron 2022a]. Being "mixed" does not mean the same in Morocco and Switzerland. In Switzerland an essentialist discourse of belonging makes culture, ethnicity and religion the most important categories of social difference. In contrast, in Morocco the perception of "mixed" individuals is a complex process interacting with phenotype, gender, class and language. Further, in the home country of their migrant parent the "mixed" individuals are confronted again with other social hierarchies and thus other stigmatization processes. Hence, experiences of mixedness can be understood as "multidimensional" [Gilliéron 2022c]. In this regard, one of the interviewed "mixed" individuals of Swiss-Congolese descent told me that being perceived as black in Switzerland does not trouble him so much, but being perceived as white in Congo was a painful experience that distanced himself from his father and the people there. This experience had led him to a re-evaluation of his previous "mixed" identity to a more one-sided identification towards Switzerland [Gilliéron 2022c].

A stigma due to mixedness therefore depends greatly on the context; it can become virulent in one situation and obsolete in another, depending on the prevailing norm [Goffman 1963]. While mixedness can lead to experiences of exclusion and non-belonging in some circumstances, in other contexts, it can also be experienced as a resource, e.g., having multilingual competences or a transnational space of possibilities [Nowicka 2006; Gilliéron 2022a]. In other words, the empowering experience of a mixed heritage coexists with experiences of stigmatization.[8] It is thus important to adopt an intersectional perspective on mixedness in order to analyze how, when and why mixedness turns into a stigma [Aspinall, Song 2013; Collet 2017; Gilliéron 2022b]. This means not looking only at obvious categories of mixedness such as race, ethnicity, religion or nationality but also how these dimensions intersect with class, language, gender, social network, transnational ties or family constellation – just to name the most crucial dimensions.

However, Goffman's distinction between the "normal" and the "stigmatised" is an analytical one designed to describe social differentiation and its implication on an individual's life. According to Muller [2020: 3], this distinction points to a "stigma paradox" because Goffman dissolves this first sharp distinction at the end of his work by emphasizing that stigma is a social process which

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[8]   For further illustration on this matter, I recommend the documentary MIXED VOICES (https://youtu.be/RYHKCaERcFs) produced by the INMIX-UAB Research Group from the Autonomous University of Barcelona on multiethnic and multiracial youth living in Catalonia, Spain.

concerns everyone. This means that everybody experiences situations where s/he does not fit the prevalent norm and thus has to engage in stigma management [Goffman 1963: 127]. Consequently, "[t]he normal and the stigmatised are not persons but rather perspectives" [Goffman 1963: 138]. Taking this into account, I argue that examining the stigma management of "mixed" individuals makes the stigmatizations and how individuals deal with them even more visible. This example serves to "analyze the daily complexity of stigma process (…) and how this is shaped by biographies, narratives and actions" [Muller 2020: 24]. In the following section we will take a closer look at how "mixed" individuals resist or even overcome stigmatizations.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Between 2014 and 2018, I conducted 23 autobiographical narrative interviews in the German speaking part of Switzerland (15) and in Rabat, the capital of Morocco (8), in which the interviewees told me their life stories according to their relevance to the general subject of growing up as "mixed" [Schütze 2016b]. The interviews generally lasted over two hours; in the first part the interviewee freely developed his/her narrative, and in the second part different subjects such as school, family, friends, experiences of (non-)belonging and the personal relation to mixedness were discussed in more detail. The interviewees were between 16 and 28 years old at the time of the interview and were selected and recruited according to the binational origin of their parents, meaning that they have one native parent and one migrant parent.[9] The migrant parents of the "mixed" children were from Europe (three in Switzerland and five in Morocco[10]), Asia (two in Switzerland and one in Morocco), Africa (four in Switzerland and two in Morocco), South

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[9] At the beginning of my research, I was looking for all kinds of national mixedness [Gilliéron 2022a], which I narrowed down during the research process according to the relevant social lines of difference in the national contexts (see below). The concept of stigma emerged in the analysis when I observed that mixedness was experienced very differently according to visible markers and social stereotypes attributed to the origin of the migrant parent. In this article I take a closer look at the cases where stigmatization processes were most relevant.

[10] In Morocco binational couples are still a marginal phenomenon. Most of them are formed with partners from Europe. I observed a differentiation of the European origin in the social perception – due to the colonial past with France, the Arab Spanish conquest and close economic relations with some European countries. Hence, I differentiate between individuals with a parent from Central, Southern and Eastern Europe. Binational couples between a Moroccan and a partner of another Arab Islamic country were not considered in this study because these couples are perceived as similar by Moroccans and hardly experience othering processes [see also Therrien 2020].

America (three in Switzerland), the Caribbean (one in Switzerland) and the MENA Region (two in Switzerland). Women were slightly overrepresented in the interview sample (five men and ten women in Switzerland, and five men and three women in Morocco).

The life stories were analyzed following the narrative analysis of Schütze [Kallmeyer, Schütze 2016; Schütze 2016a], in combination with an intersectional analysis[11] [Davis 2014] in order to reconstruct how individuals negotiate (non-)belonging at different stages in their life in the two national contexts. For every case I reconstructed the meaning of mixedness, that is, in which contexts and in which biographical situations the binational origin or other dimensions of mixedness such as "race", ethnicity/culture, language, class or religion became relevant.[12] The aim was to understand how the individuals themselves give sense to their "mixed" origin and integrate it in their biography [Gilliéron 2022a]. Biography is understood as a narrative construction of identity, where an individual interprets, structures and puts together different situations and experiences into coherence [Alheit 2010; Schütze 2016a].

This kind of research requires you to reflect on your own positioning in the research. Being in a mixed couple myself, I was able to construct a trust relationship with my interview partners. Nevertheless, I observed for the Swiss cases that I was positioned as someone who represents the dominant norm, while in Morocco, I was considered a foreigner. Hence, I changed positions within my research field, which influenced the obtained discourses [for a deeper discussion on this subject see Gilliéron 2022a and 2022b].

The two migration contexts chosen, Switzerland and Morocco, allowed a contrastive comparison. While Switzerland has a pronounced migration discourse, in Morocco immigration is a rather marginal phenomena in social and political discourses. In terms of Switzerland, Dahinden, Duemmler and Moret [2012] observe since the beginning of the 20th century an essentialist discourse of belonging, with culture, ethnicity and religion being the most important categories of social difference. Stigmatizations of people with a migration history arise around an assumed "cultural distance" that even evokes unequal political

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[11] Kathy Davis [2014] understands intersectionality as a critical methodology. This approach is used here as a sensitizing perspective for the different dimensions that intersect and turn mixedness into a relevant identity category.

[12] For this reason, I use the term "mixed" and not "binational" in this article because the most salient difference for the individuals was rarely the national origin but more often the interplay of different categories that put them in the position of "the other".

treatment.[13] In this context the in-between positioning of "mixed" individuals is seen as a challenge to the idea of the homogeneous and cultural national community. "Mixed" individuals have to position themselves in relation to their origins and at the same time highlight their "Swissness".

Morocco has experienced a diversification of its population in recent decades. By the beginning of 2000 two major migration movements were emerging: first, a migration from the "North", from Europe – mainly France and Spain – and second, a migration from the South, the sub-Saharan region. In postcolonial Morocco national belonging is constructed around religion (Islam) and ethnic (Arab, Amazigh) categories [Wyrtzen 2016], which lead to a "double perception" of the immigrant population [Mouna 2016]. While immigration from Central and West Africa is perceived as a migration of the poor to Europe, immigration from the Americas, Canada and Europe are linked to "life projects and new experiences" [Mouna 2016: 114]. In this context the perception of "mixed" individuals is a complex process interacting with phenotype, religion, gender, class and language [Gilliéron 2022a; Therrien 2020].

FOUR FORMS OF STIGMA MANAGEMENT
OF "MIXED" INDIVIDUALS IN MOROCCO AND SWITZERLAND

So far it has been argued that othering processes, as produced by national orders of belonging, lead to experiences of non-belonging which can be analyzed as stigmatization. They provoke a discrepancy between the social perception ("you are different") and the self-perception of an individual ("I'm like you"). S/he seems somehow different from the dominant norm and thus has to deal with a "spoiled identity" leading to a stigma management.

One aspect of my research was to understand how "mixed" individuals deal with tensions that arise when foreign and self-perceptions are contradictory with regard to their mixedness. The experiences of "mixed" individuals differ not only according to visible traits such as race, gender, age, class, religious affiliation but also according to national discourses on belonging [Unterreiner 2015], social contexts such as the neighborhood and peers [Song, 2010; Unterreiner, 2015], trans-

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[13]   In 1991 culture was introduced as a category in the Immigration Act by the "three-circles-model" which defined the "other" by his/her cultural difference. Although this model was abolished with the association to the Schengen area in 2008, the notion of cultural difference is still present in the political discourse and in the integration act, for example, forcing people who are assumed to be culturally very different (the former third circle and nowadays all nationals from outside Europe, US and Canada) to sign an integration contract.

national ties [Gilliéron 2022c; Odasso 2016], the migration history of the migrant parent [Odasso 2016], language practices [Therrien 2020], and the knowledge they have about their origin [Gilliéron 2022a]. In my study it became eviden that "mixed" individuals create a sort of *subjective balance* [Gilliéron 2022a] in order to minimise the tensions between social attributions and the self-perception. A subjective balance describes a form of stigma management; it is the individual, *subjective* attempt to deal with the stigma of differentness and non-belonging.

The concept *subjective balance* relies on Lothar Krappmann's work on "identity balance" [1978] in which he shows how identity work is a negotiation between the various (often contradictory) social expectations and the subjective needs and ideas. Keupp et al. [1999] developed this idea further, showing that identity is no longer a balance but rather an everyday negotiation of difference which is established situationally. Yet, while these analyses focus rather on the identity construction as a whole, the here defined concept of *subjective balance* aims at understanding *how* individuals deal with stigmatizations that arise from their mixed origin, and not at reconstructing mixed identities.

In my research on "mixed" individuals in Morocco and Switzerland, I reconstructed four varieties of this "reconciliation" which I will present in the following section. These *subjective balances* subsume the different ways of dealing with the stigmatization resulting from a "mixed" origin. They can be read as a search for an "inner" balance, i.e., a subjective solution to the problem of the non-recognition of mixedness.

ATTEMPTING TO UNIFY THE DIFFERENT ORIGINS

The *attempt to unify the different origins* describes a *subjective balance* in which the individual strives to live his/her mixedness despite the limitations that arise from non-recognition in the respective societies. In the sample, this way of dealing with stigmatizations was found equally in Morocco and in Switzerland. The challenge for these "mixed" individuals is primarily that they cannot and do not want to decide on one origin because, as one interviewee in Morocco told me: "no one can choose between his father or his mother" (Abdoulaye Eden, Moroccan-west African origin[14]). One preliminary condition for the development of this *subjective balance* is that they have experienced mixedness as a matter

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[14] Due to the small sample in Morocco and for reasons of confidentiality, the immigrant's country of origin is anonymised. Regional characteristics are provided, when necessary, for the comprehension of the cases. The names of all interviewees are replaced by pseudonyms.

of course within their family and have been taught by their parents to value both origins. These individuals present particular resources that allow them to adhere to both origins of their mixedness: they are multilingual and have dual nationality, which allow them geographical mobility and future prospects in both countries. In addition, it can be assumed that the intergenerational transmission of both parents' cultures takes place on an equal footing: They grew up speaking several languages, learned about the traditions in both contexts of origin and they maintained transnational relations, such as regular visits and contact with relatives.

Based on the solid personal connection to both countries of origin, they thus develop a strategy of mediation to balance out tensions that arise from stigmatization. Processes of othering are encountered with an attitude of distance; they do not feel insecure and are able to distance themselves from stigmatization, evaluating it as ignorance. As a result, they position themselves in the "in-between" in order to do justice not only to intra-familial but also extra-familial tensions.

As an example of this, I would like to introduce the case of Leyla Bourgiba, a young woman of 21 years who worked as a merchandiser in a small company when I met her. Her mother is Swiss and from a catholic family and her father is Tunisian and of Islamic faith. She grew up with the consciousness of being "mixed" and the discrediting images that her Arab origin may evoke. She experienced otherness in secondary school being called "sultan" and was asked annoying questions about why she would not wear a veil or how she could feel Christian and Muslim at the same time. At home she also felt a growing tension between the origin of her mother and her father. In adolescence, her father began to limit her freedom and interactions with boys, which she interprets as a result of her father's more recent approach to Islam and specific cultural values. Hence, in the case of Leyla, stigmatization is experienced in the intersection of gender, ethnicity and religion. In order to encounter these different tensions, Leyla started to find out more about her father's origin, about religious practices in Islam, learned Arabic, and started to meet with peers of a similar cultural background. At the same time, she learned about the family history from her mother and about the discrimination against her parents at the beginning of their marriage. In doing so, she developed a synthesis of her mixedness, positioning herself as a Swiss-Tunisian Muslim[15].

> I always knew Tunisia was my second home, I go there every year, I know the country, I know the people there, I know the mentality. And I live in Switzerland and I have the Swiss

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[15] Leyla's positioning shows that she can position herself as "mixed" according to national origin – she is Swiss-Tunisian – according to her religious mixedness; however, she has to "chose" one side, positioning herself as Muslim.

mentality as well. I mean, I grew up here, that/ I realise that also now, I know both mentalities. (Leyla Bourgiba, Swiss-Tunisian origin)

Her "in-between" position enables Leyla to do justice to the different attributions and expectations around her. If we understand the two origins of her parents as ensembles in the sense of Goffman [1959], it becomes clear that Leyla has to be familiar with the rules and norms of the different "cultural" contexts – Arab for her father and Swiss for school and workplace – in order to be recognised and to be able to act within them. She appropriates a mixed identification and thereby she maintains and even expands her scope of action.

The *subjective balance* "attempting to unify the different origins" is a constant process in which one's own multiple membership must be continuously shown as livable. Thus, Leyla constantly strives to explain the self-evident nature of her mixedness, whether this is to friends and colleagues at work, on the level of interaction in the interview (to me as a representative of the majority society) or towards her father, showing him that she respects his norms and values.

DEVELOPING AN EXPERT ATTITUDE

Another form of stigma management can be observed in the identified *subjective balance* called *development of an expert attitude*. This way of dealing with stigmatization is characterised by the fact that "mixed" individuals increasingly recognise the particularization of their mixedness and internalise it. However, they do not simply adopt the social identity ascribed to them but develop new sources of meaning for themselves. This is often accompanied by an appropriation of knowledge on their "mixed" origin. They investigate, for example, the origin of stereotypes or learn about the historical and social contexts of their "foreign" origin in order to respond to questions about it. Thus, they develop expert knowledge about their mixedness. It is a form of self-ethnicization that enables them to remain acting subjects, despite rigid orders of belonging and experiences of non-recognition. According to Kien Nghi Ha [2000: 381], self-ethnicization has "to be understood as a response to social racism" which enables individuals "in racially structured societies [...] a positive self-image" [Ha 2000: 379] by productively reinterpreting the negative attributions. In this context, they use, for instance, "exotic" holiday experiences and traditions as a resource to obtain social recognition and hence to balance the discrediting experience of being "different". According to Goffman's terminology, these individuals perform a "self-disclosure" of their stigma and in this way gain control over the situation

[Goffman 1963: 100]. S/he no longer remains in the dark about how the others will classify her or him but proactively controls those classifications.

An expert attitude arises in particular due to discrediting images, while in the family the origin of the native parent was dominant. The expert attitude is a reaction to being constantly addressed as "other", to which they cannot adhere. Racialization is of central importance for these "mixed" individuals. They feel like they belong to Switzerland or Morocco because of their socialization, but their appearance repeatedly calls this belonging into question. As a result, they embark on a quest that is supposed to fill this experience of otherness with significance. Unlike the subjective balance *attempt to unify*, these individuals have limited resources to react to stigmatizations. They have hardly any reference to their "mixed" origin via transnational relations, multilingualism, religious practices or the like. Mixedness was barely transmitted by their parents, be it due to the distance of the migrated parent to his/her own socialization, the separation of the parents or because one parent was absent for longer periods.

As an example, I would like to introduce the case of Sarah Buhmibol. She is 20 years old, had just entered university when I met her and lives in a village in the German part of Switzerland. Her mother is from Switzerland and works in the federal administration. Her father is from Thailand and has experienced longer periods of unemployment and occasionally returns to Thailand to work in a surf camp.

Sarah grew up aware that her "mixed" origin stimulates questions. Unlike an Arab origin individual, Sarah's mixedness is perceived as "exotic". At school, she was encouraged to introduce the Thai alphabet or to write essays about the political context in Thailand, while her friends asked her about her "exotic" holidays in Thailand or how it is to go to temple school every weekend. This exoticizing of her Thai origin as "interesting" enhances a particularization and should not be confused with recognition [Ahmed 2000]. It demonstrates to Sarah her differentness in relation to "normal" Swiss people. The questions of others about her Thai origin put Sarah in an uncomfortable situation as she barely has any knowledge of the Thai culture. At home reference to Switzerland dominates, and due to financial limitations the family hardly travels to Thailand. Sarah feels Swiss but painfully discovers that she does not unquestionably belong to Switzerland:

> I feel more like a Swiss. But you are never seen as that by all, because you just do not look the same. Therefore, you know yourself that you are not 100 % that. No one would ever say: "yes, you are clearly Swiss". [Sarah Buhmibol, Swiss-Thai origin]

As a consequence, Sara wants to learn more about her Thai origin in order to be able to give suitable answers. This new knowledge develops into a resource to resist the stigma that positions her as not quite belonging. She is now informed about existing stereotypes on Thailand (being called Pokémon, asked about sex tourism or transsexuality), which enables her to distance herself from annoying and depreciating jokes and questions: "I can handle a lot when people say things to me like jokes about my name or about sex tourism or whatever." After high school she travelled to Thailand hoping to improve her Thai and learn more about the culture. That was the moment when she developed an expert attitude towards her mixedness, enabling her to manage the tensions that arose as a result of her mixedness. To prevent possible stigmatization, she now presents a counter narrative by self-ethicizing as Swiss with a "special" and interesting accessory. The reference to Thailand then functions as a resource for her self-presentation and to gain social acceptance. In the interview she continuously shows how and why her Swiss-Thai origin is particular and interesting.

By taking an expert attitude, "mixed" individuals like Sarah can establish a balance between her own experience and the – often pejorative – questions about things that are normal and self-evident for them. This allows them to emphasise their belonging to Switzerland and at the same time to influence the images of others through their expert knowledge. In this way, the expert attitude helps "mixed" individuals to distance themselves from stigmatizing questions about their mixed origin and to present themselves as competent experts of their life.

LOOKING FOR ALTERNATIVE SPACES OF BELONGING

The *subjective balance search for alternative spaces of belonging* is a facet of stigma management that I could only observe in Morocco and that consists in the "mixed" individuals' search for spaces in which their mixedness is less relevant. Due to strong stigmatization processes, based on their race, religion, social class or language practices, some "mixed" individuals developed a desire for invisibility. Although they have grown up taking their mixedness as a matter of course, continuous stigmatization has led them to perceive their mixedness as a challenge, if not a problem. In contrast to the other two types of *subjective balance*, they have hardly any resources to positively reinterpret the othering processes for themselves.

In their childhood, these "mixed" individuals have had significant experiences of exclusion and have seldom experienced belonging. This stigmatization is so deeply discrediting and marginalizing for them that they look for alternative

spaces of belonging in adolescence: In doing so, they adapt their environment in such a way that othering experiences can be minimised, and other categories of belonging become relevant. To this end, they look for "sympathetic others" [Goffman 1963: 20], companions with a similar biographical background that to some extent share the stigma, or they move in international and virtual contexts in which their mixedness is of less importance. In these alternative spaces of belonging, they get support and can decide for themselves when their mixedness becomes an issue. However, they have to resign themselves "to a half-world" [Goffman 1963: 21], to the fact that their belonging to Moroccan society is not feasible.

Let me turn to the case of Kamal Jeffri to illustrate this kind of balance. He was 21 years old when I met him and had just finished his bachelor's degree in economics at an international university in Morocco. He has a Moroccan mother who never went to school and worked as a cleaning woman until she met Kamal's father. His father is of south Asian origin, has a university degree in Islamic studies and works in the diplomatic service. Although the family practices the Islamic faith and speaks Arabic, Kamal encounters stigmatizations based on racialization. On the street, in the neighborhood and at school he is called "Chinese" and confronted with stereotypes like eating dogs and frogs or having small sex organs. Furthermore, people on the street are strongly troubled when he speaks Arabic, so he prefers to speak English in Morocco. These are very painful experiences which may gradually lose their importance when Kamal meets other mixed individuals and enters an international anglophone university:

> In university I was a little bit eh more comfortable because many people in my university are international or MIXED or so. and eh there were more international students than Moroccan students, so I was more comfortable that way. I would speak English as much as I wanted (2). (Kamal Jeffri, Moroccan-south-Asian origin)

Kamal develops an indifferent attitude toward othering in order to be less vulnerable. He looks for alternative spaces of belonging, such as the international peer group at university or the virtual space of the video game. In this way he tries to minimise stigmatizations, on the one hand, and positions himself outside the national order of belonging, on the other. This "solution" enables his agency within a socially very restricted set of conditions.

This *subjective balance* arises in Morocco due to rigid orders of belonging. In the case of Kamal, differentiations along the dimension of race dominate over

other categories of Moroccan belonging such as religion and language.[16] These "mixed" individuals are not only positioned as "different" but as "strangers", and they have no possibility to establish national belonging. They solve the problem by looking for spaces in which national orders of belonging are less relevant. This way of dealing with the problem indicates that in Morocco there is (still) no discursive space in which multiple belongings can be negotiated. For these individuals looking for alternative spaces of belonging is the only way to deal with the painful stigma of differentness.

NORMALIZING THE "MIXED" ORIGIN

The *subjective balance normalizing the "mixed" origin* is a stigma management that refers to the discursive context of Switzerland. It points to the influence of the migration discourse on the biographies of "mixed" individuals who have very few resources to fight stigmatization. The Swiss migration discourse with its normative assimilation paradigm confronts "mixed" individuals repeatedly with the fact that they "do not quite" belong. This discourse is particularly powerful for the ones who cannot establish biographical references to their mixedness because they grew up predominantly with the Swiss parent or visits to the migrated parent's country of origin were not possible due to financial restrictions, war or family conflicts. Thus, they have very little reference to their mixedness in everyday life and are oriented primarily to life in Switzerland. In adolescence, there may be an increased interest in their mixedness, but this does not lead to an appropriation of it. They rather distance themselves from the "mixed" origin by emphasizing how "Swiss" or "normal" they are. Switzerland remains the only legitimate point of reference for them; nonetheless, they experience that their sense of belonging is repeatedly questioned by society. Consequently, they have to find a balance between the dominant discourse that positions them as "the other" and their own self-perception as "Swiss".

Gabriella Sarpei is one of the many cases in the Swiss sample to illustrate this type. She was 19 years old when I met her and had just finished attending a sports college that had accepted her due to her skills in basketball. She has a Swiss mother and a Ghanaian father and grew up with her two older brothers in a German speaking city. Her parents divorced when she was in kindergarten,

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[16]   Race is not always the most salient dimension for these cases. Class and religion may also lead to strong experiences of exclusions especially when the individuals do not speak the local Arabic dialect.

but Gabriella stayed in close contact with her father, visiting him every second weekend. During the interview she did not talk especially about any "problems" due to her mixedness, but between the lines it became evident, that she has to legitimise her "Swissness" to her surrounding which primarily positions her as a migrant. She struggles with the stigma of being considered "African", which overwrites her binational, or more precisely, her "white" Swiss origin. She shows her "Swissness" by emphasizing that she has always spoken German and grew up "quite Swiss", not knowing a lot about her Ghanaian origin and having a father who is "quite assimilated". Interestingly, her childhood becomes "Swiss" in comparison to her classmates with a migration history:

> I actually grew up quite Swiss. (.) I think so. Also, according to the food, there has been African food sometimes, but behavior and so is actually quite Swiss. Not so hot-blooded or somehow ((laughing)), which you might think is the case with Africans, it is often still like that. And then my friends were just from (.) Italy, Turkey and so and they always had completely different food that's something I noticed ((laughing)). I've been in the break and I was the only one who just had just a carrot, or an apple and the others had sandwiches and orange juice and EVERYTHING. (Gabriella Sarpei, Swiss-Ghanaian origin)

Gabriella refers to the common stereotypes of "African" migrants and distances herself from them by emphasizing her "Swiss" behavior. She also demarcates herself from her classmates who have a migration background. In this way, she takes up the dominant migration discourse and uses it to underline her "Swissness". In doing so, she uses the technique of covering [Goffman 1963: 102] by downplaying her differentness and showing how "normal" her life actually is.

The individuals who can be subsumed under this type of stigma management have hardly any power to speak against the dominant discourse. Although they themselves feel like they belong to Switzerland, they are constantly positioned as "the other". They feel a pressure to explain why they do not identify as mixed, but as Swiss. They do not question the migration discourse but apply its argumentation to themselves to indicate how "adapted", "normal" or "legitimate" their belonging to Switzerland is. They take up normative images of the discourse about "cultural others" and distance themselves from it, emphasizing their "Swiss" socialization. For example, Gabriella seeks not to affirm the negative discourse about "noisy migrants", positioning herself as the positive exception: being calm, well-educated and eating healthy. Her stigma management results in not attracting to much attention. Other mixed individuals normalise their mixedness by insisting on having an unspectacular life, and others again highlight other dimensions of their identity, such as success in sports and educational careers in order to shift the focus from their mixedness to other areas. Although stigmatization markedly

structures the biographies of these "mixed" individuals, they are not completely determined by it. They succeed in nuancing the assigned positions as "others", and organise themselves as meaningful within the binary either/or structure of the national orders of belonging, such as being a "citizen of Basel [a city in Switzerland]", a "citizen of the world" or calling themselves as "half-half".

CONCLUSIONS

In this article I have argued that "mixed" individuals experience processes of othering leading to experiences of non-belonging which can be analyzed as stigmatization processes. This is a specific manifestation of stigma that develops its importance in connection with national discourses on migration and social lines of difference. This means that mixedness does not per se and always lead to stigma but only becomes effective in the intersection of race, class, gender, language, natio-ethno-cultural or religious affiliation and social hierarchies. As a result, mixedness can be experienced as an empowering resource in some situations, while in others it may turn in to a stigma.

"Mixed" individuals experience harm on their self-image in different situations and on different levels and thus learn that their mixedness can *potentially* develop into a stigma. As such it has to be emphasised that mixedness does not present a source of insecurity or even crisis by itself. Rather, mixedness represents the social perception as to who belongs and who does not, and as such provokes biographical negotiations. Hence, social and political recognition is crucial for "mixed" identification and whether it is experienced as a resource or as a problem [Mecheril 2000].

Utilizing Goffman's framework on stigma enabled me to take a long-term perspective and to understand how the meaning of attributions by others can change over a person's life course. The four reconstructed *subjective balances* present four varieties of how "mixed" individuals may manage stigmatization. Their stigma management and the resulting identity constructions can be understood as "strategic attempts to negotiate external readings of their bodies, names and other racializing factors, as «ambiguous» and «incongruent», «strange» and «non-belonging»" [Haritaworn 2009: 129].

Goffman was mostly criticised for deficiently considering power relations and social structures [Muller 2020]. In the context of mixedness, thinking about the influence of social contexts is indispensable. By reconstructing the contexts of social order of Morocco and Switzerland, it becomes evident that social contexts and power relatios shape the stigma of "mixed" individuals and, concomitantly,

their opportunities to resist discrediting situations. As such, the balance *looking for alternative spaces* in Morocco and the balance *normalizing mixed origin* in Switzerland provide insights into how national contexts are particularly relevant for those "mixed" individuals that might barely connect to the origin of their migrant parent or have little resources to invest in transnational ties. For them, stigmatization due to mixed origin is particularly painful. As a result, they downplay their mixedness in order to become "normal" (in Goffman's terminology). This management is mainly based on the technique of covering [Goffman 1963: 102]. However, the balance *attempting to unify* might develop when "mixed" individuals have close ties to both countries of their parents' origins. They can confront stigmatizations by using the transnational resources they have developed. In these cases, the technique of passing [Goffman 1963: 73] is dominant. The individuals change language, names and behavior in order to fit the orders of belonging in different contexts. The balance *developing an expert attitude* seems to be particularly relevant for those who have little knowledge about the origin of their migrant parent but try to re-connect to it in adolescence in order to understand stigmatization and react to it. The expert knowledge they gathered about mixedness helps them to perform information control [Goffman 1963: 91], which gives them back the control of the situation.

Stigma management is not only a question of social contexts but also strongly dependent on the personal resources of the person: If s/he is bilingual, has developed transnational ties, feels connected to both origins or knows the family history. These findings are in line with other studies which emphasise the local context but at the same time show that "mixed" individuals develop flexible identifications, redefine their identities or adapt them to the surroundings [Choudhry 2010; Cerchiaro 2022; Beck-Gernsheim 2007; Frieben-Blum, Jacobs 2000; Osanami Törngren, Sato 2021; Slany, Strzemecka 2017; Song 2010; Tsiolis 2009; Unterreiner 2015]. In this way, "mixed" individuals resist and question the dichotomous categorizations around them and create counter-narratives of the dominant discourse and its order of belonging. It is not their "mixed" origin that is "problematic" and irritating to them but powerful social discourses that challenge their identity choices.

This is where Goffman's concept of stigma [1963] comes in. It allows us to understand identity constructions of "mixed" individuals from an actor-centric perspective. Individuals are not overwhelmed by discrediting images but find creative strategies to manage the tensions between their self-identification and the social identity. Further, understanding "identity mismatch" as a result of stigmatization enables us to analyze the biographical relevance of social attributions

for the experience of "mixed" individuals. The four forms of stigma management presented here as *subjective balances* demonstrate how mixed individuals find creative ways to deal with limitations and social boundaries in our societies.

One problematic aspect in using Goffmans approach today may be his understanding of identity as a performative act that mainly concerns the impression management of individuals, as it raises questions of authenticity. However, understanding stigma as socially constructed and thus as a reflection of social order means that individuals *learn* to behave in a specific social order and internalise it. They are not just performing a role which they can quit that easily but have to find strategies to remain actors of their identities.

That said, Goffman's concept of stigma may not explain all of the biographical negotiations of individuals according to their "mixed" origin. A "mixed" origin can also be experienced as a resource for identity work [Odasso 2016]. A stigma in relation to mixedness may develop its relevance only in intersection with other dimensions of difference, such as gender, class or language, which is why an intersectional perspective is essential for these kinds of studies [Aspinall and Song 2013; Collet 2017; Gilliéron 2022a; Therrien, 2020]. Further research is needed to identify how and under which circumstances mixedness may lead to stigmatization and even more importantly, how individuals manage stigma in order to maintain agency [Muller 2020].

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UCZENIE SIĘ OD ERVINGA GOFFMANA: ROZUMIENIE DOŚWIADCZEŃ JEDNOSTEK „MIESZANYCH" W SZWAJCARII I MAROKU JAKO ZARZĄDZANIE PIĘTNEM

Abstrakt

Chociaż mieszane pochodzenie jest doświadczane jako zasób przez jednostki binacjonalne, to jednak w niektórych sytuacjach może przekształcić się w piętno. Poprzez procesy zauważania inności (ang. *othering*), „mieszane" jednostki (*'mixed' individuals*) doświadczają pewnego rodzaju stygmatyzacji, która nabiera znaczenia w połączeniu z dyskursami i społecznymi liniami różnic. *Mixedness* (posiadanie mieszanej tożsamości) nie prowadzi wprost do stygmatyzacji, ale może

nabrać znaczenia, kiedy krzyżują się ze sobą rasa, etniczność, klasa, tożsamość płciowa, język czy przynależność religijna i hierarchie społeczne. Konteksty społeczne i ich porządki przynależności kształtują zatem doświadczenia stygmatyzacji osób „mieszanych", i zarazem ich szanse.

W oparciu o moje niedawne badania nad osobami „mieszanymi" w Szwajcarii i Maroku, omawiam, w jaki sposób mixedness może przekształcić się w piętno oraz jak osoby „mieszane" radzą sobie ze stygmatyzacją, a także jak się jej opierają. Twierdzę, że mixedness może stać się doświadczeniem stygmatyzacji, kiedy procesy zauważania inności prowadzą do bolesnego doświadczenia braku przynależności. To doświadczenie dyskomfortu stymuluje ciągłe negocjacje pomiędzy społecznym postrzeganiem jednostki i jej własnym postrzeganiem siebie. W artykule rozwinięte są cztery typy zarządzania piętnem: (1) próba unifikacji różnych źródeł pochodzenia, (2) rozwijanie postawy eksperckiej, (3) poszukiwanie alternatywnych przestrzeni przynależności, (4) normalizacja „mieszanego" pochodzenia. Te cztery typy opisują to, co nazywam „subiektywną równowagą": indywidualny sposób radzenia sobie ze stygmatyzacją, czyli z problemem, że wieloraka przynależność nie jest społecznie uznawana.

Słowa kluczowe: Goffman, stygmatyzacja, *mixedness*, pochodzenie binacjonalne, biografia, niezgodność tożsamości