

# Ethnicity and Race in a Changing World: A Review Journal



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## A Review Journal Volume 1, Issue 1, 2009

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# Contents

<b>Editorial Statement:</b>	
by Associate Editor, Professor Emeritus Louis Kushnick	i
<b>Essays:</b>	
<b>Community Health Centers in US Inner Cities: From Cultural Competency to Community Competency</b>	2
by James Jennings, Tufts University	
<b>'We Shall Crush Apartheid': Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko and the Rhetoric of the South African Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad</b>	13
by Willie J. Harrell, Jr., Kent State University	
<b>Comment and Opinion:</b>	
<b>Community Health Centers in US Inner Cities: Additional Commentary</b>	29
by Aneez Esmail, University of Manchester	
<b>Blacks and the 2008 Elections: A Preliminary Analysis</b>	31
by David A. Bositis, The Joint Center for Political and Economic Activities	
<b>Miseducation and Racism</b>	40
by Marika Sherwood	
<b>Creating a Safe Learning Space for the Discussion of Multicultural Issues in the Classroom</b>	47
by Katherine M. Helm, Lewis University	
<b>Extended Book Review:</b>	
<b>Midnight: A Gangster Love Story, Sister Souljah</b>	52
by Kristina Graaff, Center for Metropolitan Studies, TGK Berlin	
<b>Book Reviews</b>	55





## Editorial Statement

I am proud to be contributing the first Editorial Statement in *Ethnicity and Race in a Changing World: A Review Journal*.

This new journal provides an extensive collection of reviews of contemporary literature dealing with issues of ethnicity and race from a global perspective. We will also publish peer-reviewed cutting edge essays by leading scholars and practitioners and additional contributions in our section Comment and Opinion, concerned with analysing contemporary events and providing reflections on trends and movements. We are fortunate in enlisting the support of a range of senior scholars who have agreed to serve on our Editorial Committee and to shape our development. This is an exciting new venture assisted by our experience of editing *Sage Race Relations Abstracts* for over a quarter of a century.

This issue's contents reflect the strengths of the team we have brought together. The lead essay is by Professor James Jennings who has been an important member of the Editorial Board of *Sage Race Relations Abstracts*, and a key contributor to the conceptualisation of this new journal. Professor Jennings is one of the most thoughtful and trenchant analysts of structural racism and social policy in the US and his essay in this issue reflects all his strengths. His essay, 'Community Health Centers in U.S. Inner Cities: From Cultural Competency to Community Competency', analyses health outcome inequalities in the US as well as critiquing the idea of multiculturalism in the delivery of public health to low-income and communities of colour as incomplete and limited. Both of these issues have resonance for inequalities in other areas of social policy in the US as well as in other countries. We are, therefore, accompanying this essay with a Comment by Professor Aneez Esmail, who is Professor of General Practice and Associate Vice-President for Equality and Diversity at the University of Manchester. Professor Esmail has extensive experience of studying and combating racism in the British health care delivery system and considers the relevance of Professor Jennings' analysis for the United Kingdom.

The second essay, "'We Shall Crush Apartheid': Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko and the Rhetoric of the South African Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad," is by Willie J. Harrell, Jr. of the Department of English at Kent State University. Professor Harrell analyses and compares the social protest rhetoric of Nelson Mandela and of Black Consciousness Movement founder Steve Biko as jeremiads that 'called for social change in the midst of the apartheid despotic structure.' The essay is an intelligent, jargon-free exploration of this important subject and makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the different strands of the anti-apartheid struggle and to analysis of jeremiads more generally.

We have three further Comments in this issue. David Bositis, Senior Political Analyst at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, has grasped 'history on the wing' in his Comment, 'Blacks and the 2008 Elections: A Preliminary Analysis'. The author identifies the significant developments for black politics on 4 November 2008. He presents a detailed analysis of voting in the presidential election as well as voting in every Congressional election involving an African American candidate, and of Hispanic/Latino voting patterns in this election cycle.

The third Comment is 'Miseducation and Racism' based upon a lecture given in 2007 by Marika Sherwood. Marika was one of the founders of the Black & Asian Studies Association, (BASA), which was formed in 1991 to encourage research and dissemination of information

on the history of black peoples in Britain. BASA worked with archivists and educators to help achieve these objectives. Marika examines racism in schools and the National Curriculum and provides statistics on racial discrimination and, in her conclusion, makes a number of recommendations to strengthen the struggle against racism.

The final Comment in this issue, 'Creating a Safe Learning Space for the Discussion of Multicultural Issues in the Classroom' by Katherine M. Helm of Lewis University, continues our emphasis on education. In this paper she reviews 'best pedagogic practices for creating a safe environment for courses on race, racism, and multicultural issues'.

We welcome contributions from readers and offers of working with the Editorial Board to involve graduate students in writing reviews.

*Professor Emeritus Louis Kushnick*



# Essays

## **Community Health Centers in US Inner Cities: From Cultural Competency to Community Competency**

*James Jennings, Tufts University*

## **'We Shall Crush Apartheid': Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko and the Rhetoric of the South African Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad**

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# Community Health Centers in US Inner Cities: From Cultural Competency to Community Competency

*James Jennings, PhD*

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## **Abstract**

This paper critiques the idea of multiculturalism in the delivery of public health to low-income and communities of color as incomplete and limited. Health activists, and very importantly, community health centers in these places must become more involved with struggles against structural inequalities. Using the theory of social determinants of health, it is proposed that the leadership of community health centers consider how spatial inequalities impact directly on the particular health needs of low-income groups and people of color. Until public health addresses inequality, higher rates of ill health and health disparities will continue to plague economically distressed urban neighborhoods in the US. Based on an earlier study for the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, including a literature review and interviews with key informants, the author argues that public health is a key venue for the empowerment of inner city neighborhoods. Therefore, community health centers should be perceived and supported as community actors involved directly or indirectly with a range of economic and political issues, rather than simply the place - albeit quite multicultural - where poor and working-class people go when they are sick.

## **Introduction**

This essay proposes that the idea of multiculturalism or cultural diversity in the delivery of health services is limited and incomplete in responding to health challenges in US low-income urban communities. In these places, where problems of poverty, unemployment, bad housing, toxic air, and dirty streets are found in greater levels than other places, community health centers must move beyond simply being culturally sensitive or reflective of local groups. Rather, they must enhance their organizational role as community actors and become involved in working with other non-health organizations seeking to challenge the local and spatial manifestations of inequality. The rationale for this claim is founded in the theory of social determinants of health where structural inequality is considered an impediment to good health and wellness. Within this framework public health officials interested in enhancing the well-being of residents in low-income and impoverished neighborhoods must be familiar with discourses and strategies which reduce wealth and power inequalities. Community health centers in low-income communities represent a key venue for linking better health for all people with a more just society.

Community health centers in US urban centers were originally founded as 'community' organizations with broad social and economic missions, as well as the delivery of public health. <sup>(1)</sup> These federally-funded organizations play a special role in the provision of health care to low-income communities and people of color in the US. According to the National Association of Community Health Centers, Inc.:

Minorities are disproportionately represented among health center patients. Of the over 15 million patients currently relying on health centers, 9.6 million are people of color.....Hispanic/Latinos make up the largest minority group at 35% of all health center patients and African Americans make up nearly a quarter of all patients.<sup>(2)</sup>

Two of the first community health centers in the post-WWII period, in Boston, Massachusetts and Mound Bayou, Mississippi, were founded with missions that went beyond, simply, the issue of health as illness or disease. As noted by Taylor:

The history of federal involvement with today's community health centers is integrally tied to the Johnson administration's War on Poverty and the civil rights movement. Initially named neighborhood health centers, these clinics were created in 1965 as part of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to provide health and social services access points in poor and medically underserved communities and to promote community empowerment.....<sup>(3)</sup>

Community health centers were thus envisioned as essentially community institutions that would be an integral part of a neighborhood's social, economic, and institutional infrastructure; they would play the role of agents seeking to politically empower residents as a way to improve living conditions, and thereby reduce ill-health.

This kind of mission for the delivery of public health in economically-distressed urban areas has generally been abandoned, for the most part. As Bonnie Lefkowitz writes:

Today's debates on the public's health are overwhelmed by a preoccupation with genomic advances and market innovations. In contrast, the early centers had a common sense, holistic philosophy that came from understanding that good health is close to impossible if you have to choose among food, rent, and medicine.<sup>(4)</sup>

The last several decades have witnessed greater specialization in the kind of activities defined as public health and government funding streams have narrowed the potential scope of this sector. In spite of this development, community health centers in low-income neighborhoods still face a challenge of delivering quality health services to populations that are impoverished and living in places characterized by high levels of poverty and economic distress. Reports show consistently that people living in these places - in many cases, people of color - tend to have higher incidents of ill-health. One idea for responding to this situation is ensuring that the delivery of health services is racially/ethnically/culturally sensitive to the receiving groups.

### **Theory of Social Determinants of Public Health**

In recent years a 'new' paradigm for achieving quality health for all has emerged in the international arena. Described as the 'social determinants' school, its focus is understanding associations between social and economic inequalities and a range of health problems in poor and low-income communities. As explained by Wilkinson and Marmot:

Health policy was once thought to be about little more than the provision and funding of medical care: the social determinants of health were discussed only among academics. This is now changing. While medical care can prolong survival and improve prognosis after some serious diseases, more important for the health of the population as a whole are the social and economic conditions that make people ill and in need of medical care in the first place. Nevertheless, universal access to medical care is clearly one of the social determinants of health.<sup>(5)</sup>

A recent report published by the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta, Georgia concludes that :

social determinants of health life-enhancing resources, such as food supply, housing,

economic and social relationships, transportation, education, and health care, whose distribution across populations effectively determines length and quality of life.<sup>(6)</sup>

According to social determinants theory, non-health factors like the economic or political characteristics of neighborhoods, and generally racial and ethnic inequality, can be the causes of bad health and therefore should be addressed under public health strategies. Therefore, community health centers - more so than big hospitals - can probably play a more effective role in improving living and health conditions in that they immediately confront the consequences of institutional, economic, and political causes of bad health.

A study supported by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation identified a few organizations across the country that are building and providing community-based health approaches to vulnerable populations within this kind of context. In these handful of cases health centers are reaching out to work with non-health partners, and on non-health issues. In *Addressing Health Disparities In Community Settings: An Analysis of Best Practices in Community-Based Approaches to Ending Disparities in Health Care* the authors suggest that successful programs approach their patients, not as individual consumers but rather an integral part of a community, and thus they are not only serving patients, but providing community-building services.<sup>(7)</sup> According to this view health is approached as an integral part of social, economic, and political frameworks and relationships that define the community.

One leading writer in this area, Dennis Raphael, observes that:

There is increasing interest in the role that community structures play in promoting health and well-being among citizens.....These community structures may involve local services; the presence of affordable housing, healthy food, and public transportation; community activities that support quality of life; or the sense of social cohesion that exists among community members. Attention is also being paid to how political decision-making supports or hinders the establishment and maintenance of these health-enhancing community structures.<sup>(8)</sup>

Another prominent scholar, Vicente Navarro, defends this idea in *The Political and Social Contexts of Health*. His team of contributors provide concrete examples of how health problems are directly connected to political and economic decisions, and inequality, in some countries.<sup>(9)</sup>

Alas, this is not a new or isolated call. In 1990 Frances Baum, Director of the Southern Community Health Services Research Unit at Flinders Medical Centre in South Australia, proposed a 'new public health' which is 'predicated on the belief that threats to the health of the public are not confined to disease and lifestyle risk.....they also emanate from social organization and structures' and '.....threats to health are not confined to direct causes of illness but extend to the structures at the heart of society. New public health workers should be prepared to challenge these.'<sup>(10)</sup>

Broadly speaking, this means that the leadership and staff of community health centers in US impoverished and low-income neighborhoods should approach a neighborhood's social and economic distress as relevant in responding to the health problems that clients bring to the center. In fact, a number of initiatives reflecting this approach have been founded across the country as described in a report, *Promoting Health Equity: A Resource to Help Communities Address Social Determinants of Health*.<sup>(11)</sup> It also presents (nine) case studies of initiatives across the US as a basis for showing how individual organizations pursue

implementation of social determinants theory in attempts to improve the health status of residents in low-income and impoverished areas.

### **Limitations of Multiculturalism**

In order to make health services more responsive to people of color, some scholars and health officials encouraged that this sector adopt and operate within a framework of what can be referred to as cultural competency. This can be defined as the capacity to understand and acknowledge cultural and racial differences between those delivering public health services and those who receive such services. The providers of health, in other words, should be able to communicate and utilize the cultural resources that are part of groups being served in inner cities and impoverished communities to advance health goals.

While this idea is not contradictory with the social determinants school described above, it has the capacity to obscure the importance of focusing on structural inequalities in poor communities. It can serve to sustain hierarchical relationships of power between public health bureaucracies and impoverished groups needing health services. While cultural competence can be attained by providing professional development and training to the providers of health services so that they become more cognizant and sensitive to racial and ethnic differences, it does fail to challenge the distribution of wealth or power in local neighborhoods. Yet the latter, in a sense, can represent the independent variables, which impact on the quality of health.

The idea of community competency is more conceptually aligned with social determinants of health. This suggests a situation where the community health center is recognized and accepted as a key participant and leader in community struggles seeking to address issues of economic, educational, or political inequalities for the residents of a community. The difference in cultural competency is the focus on social change. Cultural competency can be designed and implemented in ways that reflect appreciation of 'multiculturalism', but say little about the attainment of equality at the local level, in other words. There is an acknowledgement in the former term that public health issues in low-income and impoverished communities are strongly associated with inequality and, thus, the issue of health betterment has to be tackled within a context of also challenging political, economic, and educational inequality.

According to the Bureau of Health Professions and the Basic Area Health Education Center, cultural competence strategies focus on racial and ethnic changes associated with specific populations rather than community-wide level changes; recruiting health professionals from different racial and ethnic backgrounds, including encouraging young people of color to pursue health careers. Here, attention is paid to ensuring accessibility of health services to vulnerable populations and communities of color. This approach is emphasized in Section 330 of the Public Health Service Act as amended by the Health Centers Consolidation Act of 1996 (P.L. 104-229) where it stipulates three ideas: first race and ethnicity have to be considered within a broad context that includes other variables such as 'language, gender, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, physical and mental capacity, age, religion, housing status, and regional differences.' A second idea is that cultural competency is a significant proposition as a factor in ensuring quality health care. A third idea is that health centers should seek participation from the 'diverse cultures in their communities' and 'hire culturally and linguistically appropriate staff.'<sup>(12)</sup>

While this is a significant observation it can remain inutile in moving public health towards a



more proactive, rather than reactive stance. For example, the conclusion of Cohen, Gabriel and Terrell is a key point regarding the importance of a diverse workforce:

.....at least four practical reasons can be put forth for attaining greater diversity in the health care workforce: (1) advancing cultural competency, (2) increasing access to high quality health care services, (3) strengthening the medical research agenda, and (4) ensuring optimal management of the health care system.<sup>(13)</sup>

However, this important observation still places the community health center in a sort of 'receiving' end of demographic and community changes. It places the community health center in a conceptually stationary position regarding a distressed social and economic context.

Interestingly, and in spite of the critique just offered, cultural competence should be a critical aspect of the delivery of quality health care in low-income and urban communities. Yet, according to some observers, training for the benefit of medical and public health workers is not widely accepted. One study found that cross-cultural training is lacking and not substantive for residents in training in medical professions. Based on focus groups and interviews with 68 residents across the nation it was reported that at some medical schools:

Residents in this study reported receiving mixed messages about cross-cultural care. They were told it is important, yet they received little formal training and did not have time to treat diverse patients in a culturally sensitive manner. As a result, many developed coping behaviors rather than skills based on formally taught best practices.<sup>(14)</sup>

It seems that although achieving cultural competency is but a piece of the evolving formula for enhancing the effectiveness of health services delivered to consumers in communities characterized by high levels of poverty, the idea is still resisted. This suggests that the issue of resistance to confronting ill health for impoverished and working-class within the school of social determinants is huge. But this is more the reason we should consider community health centers in US inner cities as vanguard spaces for pushing social determinants of health as an approach to improving local health conditions.

### **Community Health Centers as Community Organizations**

In its seminal report, *Unequal Treatment: Confronting Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health Care* (2002) the Institute of Medicine offers strategies aimed at responding to and reducing racial and ethnic health disparities. The recommendations generally touched upon:

.....increasing the awareness of racial and ethnic health disparities among general public, providers, and key stakeholders; increasing the presence of racial and ethnic minorities as health professionals; enhancing patient-provider communication (translation, community health workers); increasing preventive care; implementing patient education; collecting data about health care by race, ethnicity, economic level, language; using measures of racial and ethnic disparities in performance evaluation; using sub-group classifications within broad racial and ethnic categories; and conducting research on ethical issues and other barriers to eliminating disparities.<sup>(15)</sup>

These suggestions still place relatively little emphasis on how economic class and spatial inequality, as played out in neighborhood settings, affects the quality of health or strategies for improving such.



A community health center can be doing an excellent job in making available a range of health services, but if it does not have 'penetration' in the community, the impact of such services can be limited as noted by one researcher. Terence Giovanni interviewed 223 carers of Latino children in the city of San Francisco. As concluded in *Barriers to Primary Care Among Latino Children in a Low Income Urban Community*, the research indicates strongly that community health centers are effective in enhancing access for medically underserved groups and communities.<sup>(16)</sup> The report concludes that 'low penetration' in low-income communities can inhibit this potential role for community health centers. If low penetration is associated with a degree of organizational or institutional 'distance' from community issues, then it is a problem given the potential impact these organizations can have on the quality of health in a neighborhood.

Bailus Walker, et al. are specific about these kinds of relationships and profer that public health leaders should work in greater communication and collaboration with those engaged in local economic development. They write:

Racial/ethnic health status disparities intersect with the economy in numerous places including the distribution of income and other resources. The relationship between disease, specifically infectious disease, and economic development has been of increasing interest to scholars and practitioners in a number of fields.<sup>(17)</sup>

For example, the number and concentration of commercial outlets in a neighborhood with high density rates is a potential health issue. A relationship between commercial outlets and neighborhood health outcomes, including mortality, for example, was reported in a study by Yen and Kaplan. The authors showed that the concentration of commercial outlets over a period of time could be quite detrimental to residents.<sup>(18)</sup>

Researcher Arline T. Geronimus explains that this approach places some emphasis on the evaluation of non-health social policies, like welfare reform, and its impact on the state of health, or accessibility to good health resources. She writes:

In a structural framework, policies that affect the context of urban poverty - such as the distribution of wealth, the built environment, segregation, and access to technologies, information or other resources - influence fundamental causes of health inequality. So, too, do policies that affect the integrity of the autonomous institutions-formal organizations, informal networks, ideologies, and cultural frameworks - that members of oppressed groups work to develop and maintain to mitigate, resist, or undo the structural constraints they face.<sup>(19)</sup>

Public health advocates should have familiarity not just with a community's consumers but also with the discourses and events, and networks, associated with comprehensive community-building strategies, including community and economic development.

E. Richard Brown utilizes a case study to focus on the Tenderloin Senior Outreach Project in San Francisco. He argues that community action, community organization, and community development are key components for influencing local public policy for health promotion. He writes:

.....health promotion programs usually focus on getting individuals to change their personal health-related behaviors and seldom broaden their objectives to empowering people beyond arenas of their individual lifestyles or to changing environmental factors

that shape behavior and influence health status.<sup>(20)</sup>

Another researcher argues similarly that community empowerment strategies:

.....can combat a generalized susceptibility to disease from powerlessness, it then becomes critical for health educators to embrace empowerment education programs. In brief, an empowerment education approach would always engage people through a group dialogue process in identifying their problems; in crucially assessing the social, historical, and cultural roots of their problems; and in developing action strategies to change their personal and social lives.<sup>(21)</sup>

The delivery of public health in low-income communities, in other words, should be framed within a context of community development and empowerment, one that has the potential to elevate the political and economic influence of residents. Supporting this proposal, Richard Hofrichter writes:

Public health must function as an expression of the community, as its representative seeking to advocate for social change that transforms the conditions that cause ill health. The issue demands political will, speaking out and building partnerships with those in need, and recognizing limited resources within rigid mandates in a conservative climate. Collaboration with and support of the community means an ongoing process of relationship building, dialogue, and cooperative action to address community health needs and issues, based on trust and reciprocity.<sup>(22)</sup>

This implies that local health centers should be working actively with community groups to expand the social and economic resources and capacities of the neighborhood.

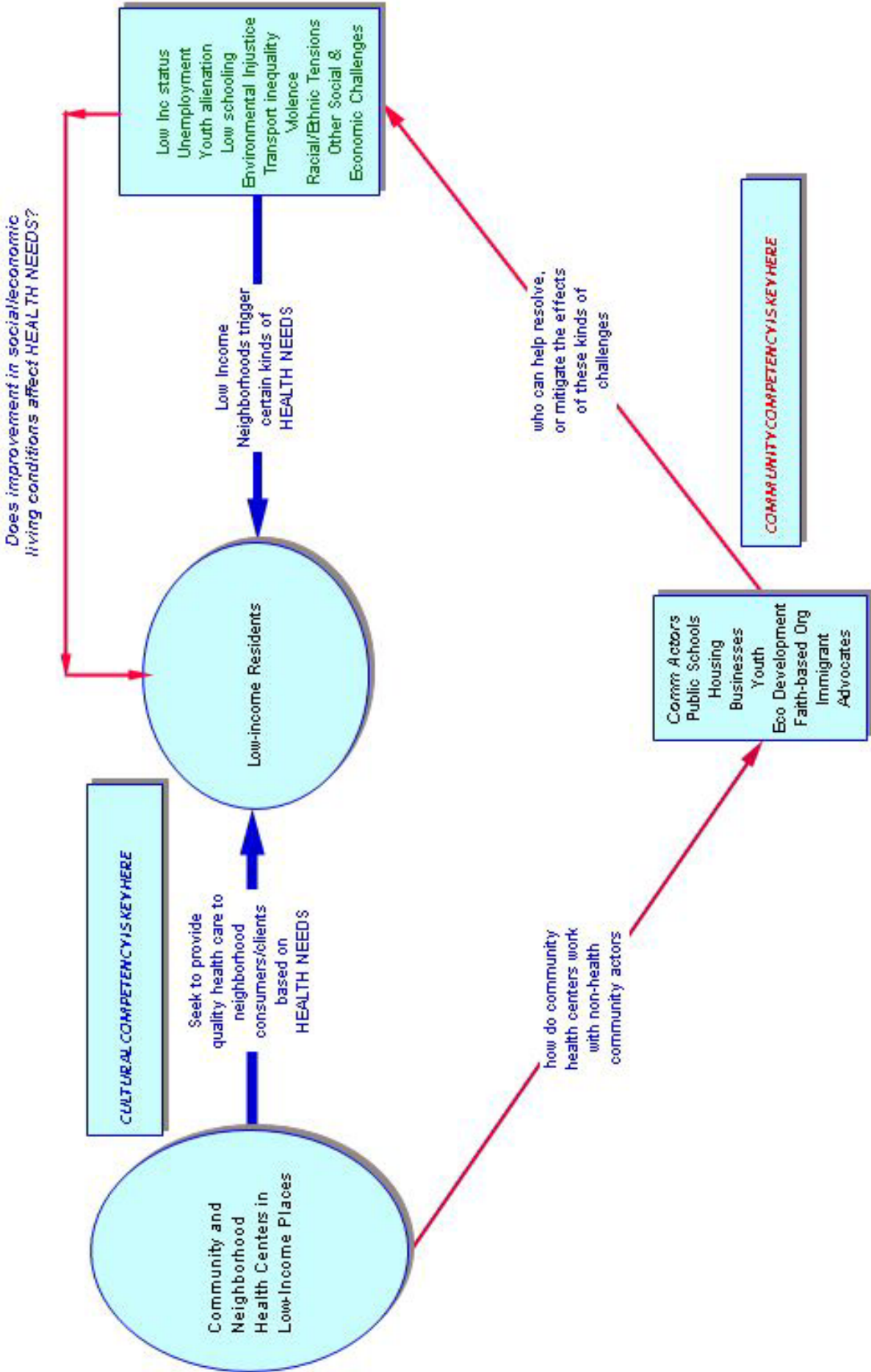
There are hosts of community participants who can help resolve or mitigate against the effects of negative neighborhood characteristics and developments, and thereby indirectly improve the wellbeing of residents. For example, owners of micro-enterprises, or small businesses, can pursue their commercial interests in ways that contribute to health problems of residents; religious leaders can influence how some residents approach health issues; and public schools can be engaged in important informational campaigns aimed at improving the health consciousness of children, youth and families. Community actors are reciprocally impacted by racial and ethnic changes and neighborhood conditions such as low income status, immigration, unemployment, low labor force participation, poor schooling, environmental and transportation inequality, and other challenges.

Diagram 1 illustrates the kinds of relationships proposed in this paper.<sup>(23)</sup> It suggests that while multiculturalism can be a basis for delivery of culturally-sensitive health services to residents in low-income neighborhoods, it can be disconnected from community actors involved with alleviating or reducing a range of social and economic distresses on residents. The concept of community competency helps to reduce this disconnection.

## **Conclusion**

The nurturing of a stronger and more effective presence in neighborhoods as a community player can be a difficult process for community health centers. Roussos and Fawcett observe that:

Partnerships working in communities with concentrated poverty face several unique barriers. Economic problems, such as high unemployment or inadequate housing,



often overshadow the categorical health concerns, such as substance abuse or childhood immunizations, to be addressed by a partnership. Although social and economic problems are likely to be interconnected with health concerns, the community may not have sufficient resources to allocate to multiple and interrelated issues.....Competition for scarce resources and economic and social gaps between low-income residents and those with financial resources may further challenge collaborative and substantial investments in local work.<sup>(24)</sup>

A range of organizational activities would be affected by the seeking of greater community role and presence. These include legal and financial issues, organizational and business regulations, governance, board and personnel issues, federal health regulations, space needs, financial health regulations, quality assurance regarding health services including clinical, oral, pharmaceutical, and emergency services. Additionally, government policies and categorical funding streams generally do not support broad community interventions on the part of local health centers, or activities that are outside traditional health activities.

It is here where foundations could play a particularly important role. They can support innovations aimed at integrating public health and community development. Resources and sustained support would be required for planning and technical assistance to community health centers seeking to build bridges with non-health partners. Such investment could contribute to the discovery and dissemination about emerging best practices regarding this kind of organizational role. Professional development of staff is an area that also would require continual attention and resources. Foundations can also play a major part in the evaluation of innovations pursued by community health centers. Documenting and assessing the relationships between the manifestations of structural inequalities at the local level, and better health could assist in changing how the American public fundamentally thinks about health. The challenge is daunting, but this paper proposes that community health centers are on the frontlines of understanding the association of social and economic inequalities and ill health. They should be allowed the space to explore such associations in responsible ways if it means that a community's wellness can be improved. Public health, as a tool, for challenging inequality may result in much broader and longer-lasting benefits making public health more than merely the place people go to when they are sick.

### **Acknowledgement**

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about 3,500 such centers in the US.

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# **'We Shall Crush Apartheid': Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko and the Rhetoric of the South African Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad**

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## **Abstract**

This essay recognizes the social protest rhetoric of former President Nelson Mandela and Black Consciousness Movement founder Steve Biko as jeremiads that called for social change in the midst of the apartheid despotic structure. Although they employed varying methods while delivering their jeremiads, they sought to fulfill their missions as representatives of justice and social equality. The uncovering of an anti-apartheid jeremiadic discourse in South African social protest—a tradition characterized by a steadfast refusal to adapt to apartheid's perspectives—indicates a complex failure of the established order. Anti-Apartheid jeremiadic discourse in the South African social protest tradition sought to rebuild or restructure community politics void of apartheid's regime.

Apartheid is the embodiment of the racialism, repression and inhumanity of all previous white supremacist regimes. To see the real face of apartheid we must look beneath the veil of constitutional formulas, deceptive phrases and playing with words.

Nelson Mandela

Black Consciousness is an attitude of the mind and a way of life, the most positive call to emanate from the black world for a long time. Its essence is the realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression - the blackness of their skin - and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude.

Steve Biko

## **Introduction: The Jeremiad Materialized in a Changing South Africa**

As two of the most significant and laudable anti-apartheid advocates in South African history, former President Nelson Mandela and Black Consciousness Movement founder Steve Biko demanded and preserved their individual reputations via public speaking engagements, political treatises and actions that allowed them to display their skills as celebrated activists against European colonialism and hegemony. In a changing South Africa, both anti-apartheid activists relied heavily upon their aptitude and skill to shed light on issues concerning the ills of apartheid by using an amalgamation of techniques and styles of social protest rhetoric. The jeremiad, a form of rhetoric which surfaced from a perceived oppression and degeneration of a culture, played a vital role in the development of their anti-apartheid rhetoric. Mandela and Biko unswervingly utilized the jeremiad to criticize the ills of apartheid because it violated the ideas of true democracy. Recent scholarship, however, has placed anti-apartheid discourse into important historical conversations and examined it in terms of present-day global politics (Sheckles, 2001; Grundlingh, 2004; Trabold, 2006; Thörn, 2006; Hostetter, 2007; Gilbert, 2007). Yet, no research has attempted to connect the jeremiad as a significant movement in South African social protest. Serving as an introductory approach to examining jeremiadic discourse in South African remonstrance, this article investigates

and identifies the rhetorics of Mandela and Biko as jeremiads that connected the moral, political and religious lamentations of their communities and held out hope that apartheid would cease to exist in the fully democratic South Africa.

Every nation or culture that has encountered the hands of oppression, imperialism, or expansionism has devised a way to contextualize its hardships and reveal to the public its calamities. Subsequently in a method to achieve social change; embedded in its polemics, a jeremiadic discourse materialized. The jeremiad included laments in which society's morals and ethics were bitterly criticized in a stern tone of continuous criticism, which contained a prophecy of things to come. As a rhetorical device, the jeremiad persistently stressed the need for social change and sought to unite an oppressed people by creating conflict between their envisioned idyllic society and ways in which the oppressors subjugated their culture.<sup>(1)</sup> No doubt a jeremiadic discourse previously existed in South African remonstrations. From the moment Europeans set foot at Cape Town in 1652 and set up a supply station and fortifications for the Dutch East India Company, South Africans formulated ways to contextualize colonization and their persecution.<sup>(2)</sup> Rooted within their voices of dissent, the jeremiad found a place as a driving force for liberation and consciousness. The enforcement of apartheid, however, informed and aided in generating and sustaining Mandela's and Biko's jeremiadic discourse. Both activists, whether consciously or not, exhibited elements of the jeremiadic tradition as they criticized apartheid's despotic structure, called for a remaking or restructuring of South African democracy and lamented the injustices of their countrymen. Mandela's and Biko's command of jeremiadic discourse symbolized the jeremiad's zenith in twentieth century South African remonstrations against apartheid. Mandela's and Biko's advocating of social equality served as the foci for their beliefs that South Africa was indeed in need of social change and that apartheid was a parasitic organism eating away at true democracy. Their rationalization of the displacement of their people found its expression in the development of the Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad, which was a combination of lament and threat that condemned apartheid while at the same time demonstrated optimism for the future, and played a significant role in the development of what was to become the new democratic South Africa.

### **'Temporary Sojourners'; Uncovering Jeremiadic Discourse in the Midst of South African Segregation**

Historically, jeremiadic discourse emerged as societies began to recognize that governments were not working for the betterment of the people. Jeremiadic discourse, then, was a distinguishing form that exchanged with cultures and governments to aid in the shaping of an idyllic society. Jeremiads reflected the perpetual tribulations of an oppressed people and held out hope for a brighter future in times of crisis. In Black South African remonstrations against apartheid, jeremiads were extremely political in nature as they sought to alter the social order of the day. The rhetoric of the jeremiad can aptly be applied to Mandela's and Biko's discourse of dissent as they blatantly attacked the moral fabric and affects of apartheid in South Africa. Of apartheid's structure, Stanley Uys, former political editor of the Johannesburg Sunday Times for the majority of the apartheid years, wrote:

The uniqueness of apartheid...is its assumption that society is a wholly plastic thing, that the economic base is as malleable as the political super-structure. No other political group in South Africa shares this outlook....[Apartheid] has segregated [South Africans] socially with scores of "Whites only" notices; it has denied them freehold tenure in the urban centres and devised intricate laws to emphasise their status as "temporary sojourners"; but all the time it permits the "White economy" voraciously to suck in as many able-bodied Africans as it needs. These contradictions within apartheid must lead at some stage to



conflict, and possibly to the breakdown of government by consent. (p.15)

The outcome of the 'contradictions' and 'conflicts within' the apartheid structure was a discursive jeremiadic discourse displayed through remarkable control of the oppressor's language. Therefore, authorities of Mandela's and Biko's anti-apartheid jeremiads were radically affected by a range of social and intellectual changes in the country.

Although apartheid's policy can trace its roots back to the beginning of European colonialism in South Africa and its terminology to the early 1900s, the attribution of its application laid claim to the 1930s and was used as a political slogan of the Nationalist Party in the early 1940s. After the Nationalist Party, which maintained the support of the majority of the Afrikaner peoples (Thompson, 187), came to power in 1948, the social practice of apartheid - racial segregation - became legalized by law. With the implementation, however, of the *Population Registration Act* (PRA) of 1950, apartheid became more noticeable. For example, PRA placed South Africans into racial classes: Black African (Bantu), White, and Coloured (mixed race) and a fourth class was later added, Asian (Indians and Pakistanis). Other laws passed in the 1950s began to further solidify apartheid's visibility: the Group Areas Act of 1950, which designated races to unique sections in urban areas, and the Land Acts of 1954 and 1955, which limited non-white accommodations to particular regions. These laws further restricted the already limited rights of Black South Africans to own land, entrenching the white minority's control of over 80 percent of South African territory (Thompson, 190, 194, 245).

Apartheid was condemned not only by South Africa's blacks, but also by some black political groups that were oftentimes supported by some compassionate whites (Shepherd, 4). As it began to gain international attention, apartheid's repressive structure was also reproached on a global scale: member states of the British Commonwealth who were judgmental of the apartheid regime required that South Africa withdraw in 1961; both the United States and Great Britain forced selective economic restrictions on South Africa in dissent of its racial policy in 1985 (Thompson 214, 239). The early 1990s, however, marked the beginning of the end for apartheid. President Frederik Willem de Klerk successfully began to dismantle apartheid when he lifted the 30-year ban on the leading anti-apartheid group, the African National Congress (ANC), the smaller Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the South African Communist Party. The year 1990 also saw the National Party government devoting itself to restructuring South Africa and the formerly banned black congresses, and the releasing of imprisoned black leaders of these organizations. South Africa's constitution was amended in 1994 and free general elections were held for the first time in the country's history. Nelson Mandela became South Africa's first elected black president. Upon assuming the position, Mandela took a bold new step. In his inaugural address, Mandela lamented, 'We must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation building, for the birth of a new world' (*In His Own Words*, 'Inauguration as President', 70). Therefore, the uncovering of an anti-apartheid jeremiadic discourse in South Africa's black community—a tradition characterized by a steadfast refusal to adapt to apartheid's perspectives—indicated a complex failure of the established order. And as Biko would lament in *White Racism and Black Consciousness*, 'the powers that be have evolved a philosophy that stratifies the black world and gives preferential treatment to certain groups (p. 61). With this in mind, there was one prevailing objective of apartheid's structure: to control and preserve the exploitation of Black labor, and in the process, enhance and further reinforce a handful of ruling capitalist families in South Africa. Therefore, maintained through force and violence of the South African state (McCartan, 4), apartheid (derived from the Afrikaans word for 'apartness')

was a social and political course of action based on racial segregation and discrimination implemented by the white minority governments in South Africa from 1948-94. Not only a racial premise, apartheid was a way of life that propagated white power (Shepherd, 4). During its apex, the racial waters of South Africa's apartheid regime were fertile grounds for the jeremiad to nurture and flourish. Elements of the jeremiadic structure ascribed themselves effectively in anti-apartheid protest, and it was exactly those ingredients that came to the forefront of Mandela's and Biko's rhetoric forming the Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad. Through all of its transformations, though, the perseverance of anti-apartheid jeremiadic rhetoric substantiated a remarkable nationalized authority that the rhetoric itself revealed and fashioned.

### **'To Speak Together of Freedom': The Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad Emerged**

Because of the creation of the apartheid structure, the complexity of anti-apartheid rhetoric has continued to attract interests today. At its very nucleus, however, apartheid was a domineering and tyrannical structure that impeded every echelon of black life in South Africa. Politically, economically, and religiously, apartheid regarded blacks as less than second-rate to everyone else within South Africa's social order. Opposition to apartheid, however, was an ongoing struggle. Even though Black South Africans detested apartheid, most gravely disagreed on ways to eliminate it (Shepherd, 4). Apartheid's formulation in 1948 gave birth to the cultivation of countless organizations and movements within the black community that sought to 'crush' the regime. It was in the hands of South Africa's black youth to give the movements the momentum needed to strengthen their attacks on apartheid. For example, the traditionalist direction of the ANC was deposed by the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) in 1949. Led by Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, and Nelson Mandela, the ANCYL advocated a radical Black Nationalist agenda which united the Africanist beliefs of Anton Lembede with Marxism. After taking control of the ANC, the ANCYL advocated - for the first time - a policy of open rebelliousness and opposition to the apartheid structure. The result of this 1950s resistance movement was intermittent violent conflicts. When Congress of the People met near Kliptown in June 1955, however, a number of organizations - including the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of the Democrats, and the ANC - sought to 'prepare to send' delegates to 'The Congress of the People' convention. The purpose for the meeting was to bring together 'representatives of all races' to 'speak together of the things their people need to make them free...to speak together of freedom.' The representatives at the meeting, hence, approved a Freedom Charter which expressed a vision for a South Africa inevitably dissimilar to apartheid's separation policy: the Charter's prophetic vision was meant to serve as a 'guide to those "singing tomorrows" when all South Africans will live and work together, without racial bitterness and fear of misery, in peace and harmony' (Nelson Mandela: *The Struggle Is My Life*, 'Congress the People', 48). The Charter became the fundamental document of the anti-apartheid struggle because it necessitated equal rights for all in spite of race. As resistance to apartheid's policies remained persistent, 156 leading members of the ANC and allied organizations were arrested in 1956 by the government in response to 'The Congress of the People.' Those arrested included almost all of the management of the ANC, including Mandela; the resultant 'Treason Trial' ended with their exoneration in 1961.

Social movements like the ones described above have previously been viewed primarily as incidences that occur in the midst of sudden outbreaks of collective behavior and formal structured organizations. Because social movements in South Africa's black communities typically set out to undo or resist existing policies and were usually involved with democratizing the nation, jeremiadic discourse, then, was closely linked with democratic

political systems as it sought to alter the existing philosophies of perceived repression. As a social movement, the Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad developed and emerged because the South African government's system to denationalize its masses was viewed as unjust by activists and the South African populace. Its polemics presented a quandary in that the Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad, as it is customary in jeremiadic discourse, included elements of both peril and optimism. For example, after his release from prison, Mandela lamented:

The majority of South Africans, black and white, recognise that apartheid has no future. It has to be ended by our own decisive mass action in order to build peace and security. The mass campaign of defiance and other actions of our organisation and people can only culminate in the establishment of democracy. The destruction caused by apartheid on our sub-continent is incalculable. The fabric of family life of millions of my people has been shattered....Our economy lies in ruins and our people are embroiled in political strife... We express the hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement will be created soon as that there may no longer be the need for the armed struggle...the future of our country can only be determined by a body which is democratically elected on a nonracial basis. Negotiations on the dismantling of apartheid will have to address the overwhelming demand of our people for a democratic, nonracial and unitary South Africa. (*In His Own Words*, 'Release From Prison', 60-61)

Mandela's speech chimed with echoes of jeremiadic discourse: he critiqued apartheid; he mourned for his people; and he held out optimism for the future of South Africa. As demonstrated in his rhetoric, the Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad called for an array of actions designed at supporting those individuals and organizations that endured most under the apartheid regime. Mandela believed in a future where democracy in South Africa would be selected on a nationalized basis.

The Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad also sought to affect economic demands of the apartheid structure to the degree of influencing political transformation. For example, Mandela lamented 'there must be an end to white monopoly on political power and a fundamental restructuring of our political and economic systems to ensure that the inequalities of apartheid are addressed and our society thoroughly democratised' ('Release from Prison' 62). His faith in South Africa's democracy for blacks furthered the development of the Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad because he offered an extensive agenda for investigating how changes in political outlook, organizational resources, and collective insight gave rise and purpose to anti-apartheid activism. 'We call on our white compatriots to join us in the shaping of a new South Africa,' exclaimed Mandela:

The freedom movement is a political home for you too. We call on the international community to continue the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime. To lift sanctions now would be to run the risk of aborting the process towards the complete eradication of apartheid. (*In His Own Words*, Release from Prison, 62)

When he prophesized that the 'dispute between the government and my people' would be 'settled in violence and by force,' (*In His Own Words*, 'Posterity Will Prove That I was Innocent', 22) Mandela became an influential jeremiadic writer and speaker in South African social protest. His motivational rhetoric laid the framework for future Anti-Apartheid jeremiadic discourse employed by other activists such as Biko.

**Dissent to apartheid further intensified with Biko's stanchion. While maintaining that blacks did not need to work under the umbrella of white liberals, his jeremiadic discourse argued**

that the universal oppressive doctrines of apartheid should have united the entire black community to action. Biko's voice concerning black resistance to apartheid was made clear in 'Fragmentation of the Black Resistance', (Biko, *I Write What I Like*, 1978), which was published in the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) newsletter in June 1971. Among its many aims, SASO - an organization Biko co-founded in 1968 and subsequently became its first president - sought to 'crystallize the needs and ambitions of the non-white students and [sought] to make known their grievances' (*I Write What I Like*, 'SASO—Its Role', 4). In his opposition against apartheid, however, Biko prophesized that blacks in South Africa would one day rise above its despotic constraints. Darkness of the moment was imbedded in his rhetoric:

Slowly the ground is being swept off from under our feet and soon we as blacks will believe completely that our political rights are in fact in our "own" areas. Thereafter we shall find that we have no leg to stand on in making demands for any rights in "mainland White South Africa" which incidentally will comprise more than three-quarters of the land of our forefathers. (*I Write What I Like*, 'Fragmentation of the Black Resistance', 36)

As ominous as the warning and as imperative as the manifesto from which it was delivered, Biko lamented that the problem facing South Africa's black community was that they were so involved in the resistance movement, they would formulate 'even our most well-considered resistance to fit within the system both in terms of the means and of the goals.' Because the 'new generation' had accused anti-apartheid activists with association in their own annihilation, Biko prophesized that if black 'political astuteness' did not sharpen, 'we are fast approaching an impasse.' Although Biko did not consider himself a prophet, his judgment resulted from the declension of the South African government and its failure to protect the rights of its black populace. This position was tantamount with Biko's prophetic rhetoric as he lamented the 'powers that be had to start defining the sphere of activity' of their 'apartheid institutions.' If they had not, Biko further predicted 'a time will come when these stooge bodies will prove very costly not only in terms of money but also in the terms of the credibility of the story the Nationalists are trying to sell.' Blacks were already beginning to 'realise the need to rally around the cause of their suffering—their black skin—and to ignore the false promises that come from the white world' (*I Write What I Like*, 'White Racism and Black Consciousness' 62). The radical reform rhetoric of Biko's Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad, then, discouraged 'people from the left' from joining apartheid's 'various cocoons of repression' (*I Write What I Like*, 'White Racism and Black Consciousness' 62) and warned them of its effects: 'In laying out a strategy we often have to take cognizance of the enemy's strength,' Biko exclaimed, 'and as far as I can assess all of us who want to fight within the system are completely underestimating the influence the system has on us' (*I Write What I Like*, 'Fragmentation of the Black Resistance', 37). The foundation for this type of transformation in apartheid's structure Biko called for would include the South African government's readiness to alter its beliefs concerning ideas of a true democracy.

The evolution of anti-apartheid rhetoric embedded in jeremiadic discourse progressed into a highly structured and effective vehicle that Mandela and Biko utilized to implant a sense of self-importance, which provided a source of inspiration important to the continuance of structures aided to serve their cause. Mandela's and Biko's jeremiadic discourse played a pivotal role in shaping South Africa's changing democratic mission. The structure of their Anti-Apartheid Jeremiads were prescribed by their premise to oppose apartheid as they developed a common rhetoric, formed an array of new political agendas, and eventually created a viable new nationalized place for South Africans.

### **'The Struggle is My Life': Mandela's Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad Reproached Apartheid's Structure**

Mandela exhibited the characteristics that made the jeremiad in South African social protest feasible: he combined lament and call to consciousness in sustaining South Africa's democratic mission. His ultimate success depended upon his rational appeal to those who saw his course of action would be the most sensible choice. Born on 18 July 1918 in a village near Umtata in the Transkei, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was endowed with the prospect to serve and make his 'own humble contribution' to his people's 'freedom struggles.' These resistances helped to shape and formulize not only his politics, but also his jeremiads. His employment of the jeremiad, then, was more conciliatory in tone than Biko's. For example, Mandela revealed that 'the structure and organisation of early African societies' in Transkei 'fascinated' him and 'greatly influenced the evolution' of his 'political outlook.' Mandela's father was the foremost councilor to the Acting Paramount Chief of Thembuland. The council was so 'completely democratic that all members of the tribe could participate in its deliberations.' Although Mandela confessed that in such a society there existed certain primitivisms and because of these the society could never 'measure up to the demands of the present epoch,' he readily admitted that within this kind of society there existed 'the seeds of revolutionary democracy in which none will be held in slavery or servitude, and in which poverty, want and insecurity shall be no more.' It was this kind of 'primitive' society, Mandela declared, that inspired him in his 'political struggle' (*In His Own Words*, 'Posterity Will Prove That I was Innocent', 20). 'The struggle is my life,' he lamented and vowed to 'continue fighting for freedom until the end of my days' (*Nelson Mandela: The Struggle is My Life*, 'The Struggle is My Life', 121).

In his June 1935 article written for *Liberation*, a monthly journal, Mandela lamented that because of the 'recent political events' that had 'split into two hostile camps' amongst South Africa's populace, 'there can be no middle course' between the 'oppressor and oppressed.' His rhetoric was consistent with the common tenor of the Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad: the deniability of rights; the obligation of the government to protect its citizens' rights; and the deviation of apartheid from human rights. Mandela lamented that a commitment to struggle and mobilization was needed to defeat apartheid:

We must accept the fact that in our country we cannot win one single victory of political freedom without overcoming a desperate resistance on the part of the Government, and that victory will not come of itself but only as a result of a bitter struggle by the oppressed people for the overthrow of racial discrimination. (*Nelson Mandela: The Struggle is My Life*, 'The Shifting Sands of Illusion', 44).

Mandela believed that it was up to the 'non-European liberation movement,' which sought 'the complete renunciation of "White supremacy,"' to affect the adamant and unwavering mass struggle to defeat 'fascism and the establishment of democratic forms of government' (*Nelson Mandela: The Struggle is My Life*, 'The Shifting Sands of Illusion', 45).

Mandela's Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad illustrated his sanguinity that blacks in South Africa must come as a united people for national reconciliation to build a new South Africa. His jeremiads mourned the lack of humanity and togetherness. At the onset of his presidential inaugural opine, for example, Mandela expressed hope for South Africa's 'newborn liberty.' He believed that South Africans had to alter the perception of South Africa in order to obtain universal reconciliation:



Our daily deeds as ordinary South Africans must produce an actual South African reality that will reinforce humanity's belief in justice, strengthen its confidence in the nobility of the human soul and sustain all our hopes for a glorious life for all. (In His Own Words, 'Inauguration as President', 68)

In his address, Mandela called for collectivity among the South African people as he reminded them of the anguish they had suffered throughout apartheid's regime: 'That spiritual and physical oneness we all share with this common homeland,' he sermonized, described the intensity of the 'pain we all carried in our hearts as we saw our country tear itself apart in a terrible conflict' (In His Own Words, 'Inauguration as President' 68). Mandela looked forward, though, to the opposition that lay ahead. Believing that South Africa had achieved its 'political emancipation,' Mandela's jeremiads cried out for unity as he implored his countrymen to continue supporting the nation while confronted with the challenges of 'building peace, prosperity, nonsexism, nonracialism and democracy.' The time 'for healing the world,' not just South Africa, Mandela lamented, 'has come' (In His Own Words, 'Inauguration as President', 68).

However, after Mandela was sent to prison in 1962, black politics in South Africa was void of leadership. It was in the later 1960s that Stephen Bantu Biko would fill the void (Wood 45) as he not only strengthened the social movements toward eradicating apartheid, but also continued the employment of the Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad, although he referred to apartheid as 'separate development' ('We Blacks', 27).

#### **'We Blacks': Biko's Anti-'Separate Development' Jeremiad Called for a New Outlook on Black Life in South Africa**

When the Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad sought to disparagingly further condemn apartheid, it found refuge in the rhetoric of one of South Africa's most profound activists. Biko grieved that 'every other facet of [his] life had been carved and shaped within the context of separate development' (*I Write What I Like*, 'We Blacks', 27). Born on the eve of the launching of the Nationalist Party, Biko's life was engrossed in the separation doctrines of apartheid and led him to believe that the 'logic behind white domination was to prepare the black man for the subservient role.' Because of his life experiences, Biko discovered the racial division that made multiracial collaboration and gradual assimilation unattainable (Juckes 123). In his political dissertation 'We Blacks,' the elements of the jeremiad existed and readily articulated Biko's jeremiadic discourse: he expressed grief over the condition of his people; he criticized the structure of apartheid for hindering a true democratic South Africa; and he prophesized the beginning of what he called the 'limits of endurance of the human mind.' For example, Biko lamented:

.....all in all the black man has become a shell, a shadow of a man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity.

Biko criticized the system of apartheid for blacks' lowly condition. Apartheid, he exclaimed, merited 'condemnation and vigorous opposition from the indigenous peoples as well as those who see the problem in its correct perspective. He considered, however, that necessary steps needed to be taken before blacks could begin any 'programme designed to change the status quo.' They must initially accept this as 'the first truth,' he lamented. Biko's aggressive, demanding anti-'Separate Development' jeremiadic rhetoric, then sought to galvanize blacks to a consciousness concerning the attainment of their own liberation. This meant formulating a concrete political strategy based on class interests, by suggesting that

the first step to accepting this 'truth' was to 'make the black man come to himself.' Biko believed that this could be achieved by impelling 'back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity.' His 'inward-looking process,' he wrote, became his 'definition of "Black Consciousness"' (*I Write What I Like*, 'We Blacks', 27, 29, 30).

The rhetoric of Biko's anti-'Separate Development' Jeremiad was not only developed through his ideology of 'black consciousness,' but it also expressed a message of self-respect which would assist him in mobilizing blacks to push forward in their time of crisis. To assist in influencing 'black consciousness' as a collective mass movement, Biko reached back through African struggle and advancement and concluded that 'a people without a positive history is like a vehicle without an engine.' He, therefore, praised African culture in order to move Black South Africans to a consciousness about the oppressive realities of apartheid. If Africans in general could build an awareness of 'belonging to the community within a short time of coming together,' they could also easily organize for a new chapter of struggle and freedom. Therefore, Biko's search for 'black consciousness' sought to:

Show the black people the value of their own standards and outlook. It urges black people to judge themselves according to these standards and not to be fooled by white society who have white-washed themselves and made white standards the yardstick by which even black people judge each other. (*I Write What I Like*, 'We Blacks', 30)

Within the confines of Biko's definition of 'black consciousness,' South Africans could find a progression from the deficiencies of community life to the ultimate South African community, and perhaps the prophetic reassurance toward a promise to end apartheid: "Black consciousness" therefore seeks to give positivity in the outlook of the black people of their problems. It works on the knowledge that "white hatred" is negative, though understandable, and leads to precipitate and shot-gun methods which may be disastrous for black and white alike. It seeks to channel the pent-up forces of the angry black masses to meaningful and directional oppositions basing its entire struggle on realities of the situation. It wants to ensure a singularity of purpose in the minds of the black people and to make possible total involvement of the masses in a struggle essentially theirs. (*I Write What I Like*, 'We Blacks', 30-31).

Biko's 'black consciousness' ideology also entailed an awareness that Black liberation would not only come from envisioning and struggling for formal political changes, as previous movements like the ANC had done, but also from psychological alteration in the minds of Black people themselves. Blacks must 'come to realise the urgent need for a re-awakening of the sleeping masses,' Biko lamented. 'Needless to say,' he continued, 'it shall have to be the black people themselves who shall take care of this programme' (*I Write What I Like*, 'We Blacks', 32). Biko believed that apartheid was a transgression from a fully democratic South Africa and that blacks were moving toward their own 'realisation of self.' He lamented: 'The anachronism of a well-meaning God who allows people to suffer continually under an obviously immoral system is not lost to young blacks' (*I Write What I Like*, 'We Blacks', 31). Biko warned that the 'ground for a revolution is always fertile in the presence of absolute destitution.' Just as Mandela had done in 1962, Biko utilized the prophecy element of the jeremiad to forewarn those who supported apartheid that revolution was the only outcome of the maltreatment of a people:

At some stage one can foresee a situation where black people will feel they have nothing to live for and will shout unto their God "Thy will be done." Indeed His will shall be

done but it shall not appeal equality to all mortals for indeed we have different versions of His will. (*I Write What I Like*, 'We Blacks', 30)

Since 'separate development' was a bold effort which sought to break down the expansive African nationalism (Worden, 128), Biko's anti-'Separate Development' Jeremiad demonstrated the distress for the existential struggle of black people as human beings, dignified and proud of their blackness, in spite of the oppression of colonialism: "'Black Consciousness" seeks to talk to the black man in a language that is his own' (*I Write What I Like*, 'We Blacks', 32).

Within the walls of Biko's anti-'Separate Development' Jeremiad there also existed a call for inclusion into mainstream South African society. Especially revealing in his discourse was his emphasis, however, on the kind of integration he preferred: collective effort. He lamented:

If by integration you understand a breakthrough into white society by blacks, an assimilation and acceptance of blacks into an already established set of norms and code of behaviour set up by and maintained by whites, then YES I am against it.....If on the other hand by integration you mean there shall be free participation by all members of a society, catering for the full expression of the self in a freely changing society as determined by the will of the people, then I am with you. (*I Write What I Like*, 'Black Souls in White Skins?', 24)

In Biko's 'freely changing' South Africa, the aim of his Anti-'Separate Development' Jeremiad was to re-establish 'black consciousness' and South African consciousness, which he felt had been suppressed under colonialism. His investigation into the ills of apartheid proposed that if black people believed in democracy, but did not believe in their own value, they would not truly be committed to gaining power.

#### **'To Attain the Envisioned Self': Biko's Anti-'Separate Development' Jeremiad Underlined His Black Consciousness Movement**

Perhaps one of the most noteworthy organizational developments in the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa was Biko's Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). Formally the SASO, BCM was a proletarian anti-apartheid liberal movement that emerged out of the political vacuum formed by the decimation—jailing and banning—of the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) leadership. Since the 'banning and harassment of black political parties,' Biko lamented, 'a dangerous vacuum has been created' (*I Write What I Like*, 'Fragmentation of the Black Resistance', 34, 35). During this 'brief spell of silence' between the decline of the ANC and PAC and the rise of his BCM, Biko lamented that 'political activity was mainly taken up by liberals' and that 'blacks started dabbling with the dangerous theory—that of working within the system' of apartheid. The BCM represented a social movement for political consciousness among South Africa's oppressed populace and an effort to bridge the gap between the banishment of the ANC and PAC. Biko's leadership, however, in Black politics in South Africa was a different type from the political outlook Mandela envisioned. In his political theory, Biko provided his audience with the prospect of understanding the full constant fight for human self-respect in South Africa (Arnold, xv). Being a unique product of South African's history (Woods, 21), Biko lamented that 'being black is not a matter of pigmentation—being black is a reflection of a mental attitude' (*I Write What I Like*, 'The Definition of Black Consciousness', 48).

Repeatedly in Biko's Anti-'Separate Development' Jeremiad opposition to the many edifices of apartheid surfaced: open and rebellious denunciation of apartheid and unwillingness to associate with its politics. Biko's Anti-'Separate Development' Jeremiad sought to instill in



the Black community self-importance and self-reliance by rejecting 'the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude' (*I Write What I Like*, 'The Definition of Black Consciousness', 49). He intended to illustrate that within whites' consciousness, there existed a tarnished elucidation of what represented the problem of race relations in South Africa. Of all the actions to which Biko's BCM may have contributed, the divisiveness of Biko's Anti-'Separate Development' Jeremiad was profoundly illustrated in his dirge 'The Definition of Black Consciousness.' Biko defined Black Consciousness as:

The realisation by the black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their operation...It seeks to demonstrate the lie that black is an aberration from the "normal" which is white. (49)

In Biko's understanding of 'Black Consciousness,' blacks would find the propensity needed to come to the realization that when they 'emulate the white man,' they, in fact, are slighting the aptitude of 'whoever created them black.' Therefore, his Anti-'Separate Development' Jeremiad offered blacks hope that by accepting his call to realization, 'Black Consciousness' would take 'cognizance of the deliberateness of God's plan in creating black people black.' His perception of black consciousness was nationalistic in nature: he implied that blacks were the chosen people, as it was God's plan to create them that way. To achieve this unity, Biko established the need to instill the black community with 'a new-found pride in themselves, their efforts, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook on life' (*I Write What I Like*, 'The Definition of Black Consciousness' 49).

Believing that the most resilient and successful movement against apartheid should emerge from South Africa's black community, Biko maintained that blacks must join forces to fully defeat all of the systems of apartheid. He stressed that blacks should not be satisfied with any reforms:

Blacks are out to completely transform the system and to make of it what they wish. Such a major undertaking can only be realised in an atmosphere where people are convinced of the truth inherent in their stand. Liberation therefore, is of paramount importance in the concept of Black Consciousness, for we cannot be conscious of ourselves and yet remain in bondage. We want to attain the envisioned self which is a free self. (*I Write What I Like*, 'The Definition of Black Consciousness', 49)

As evident in his rhetoric, Biko believed that a movement of this magnitude was vital to the resistance of apartheid. He proclaimed that racism was so inclusive and all-encompassing in South African society, and that it was so deep-rooted within the white consciousness, whites could never wholly identify with all of the materializations of their perpetuated bigotry. In a classic jeremiad approach, which was to reprimand the white race for their hand in 'separate development,' Biko lamented 'the white man's quest for power has led him to destroy with utter ruthlessness whatever has stood in his way.' Therefore, he encouraged blacks to 'live through these trying times' (*I Write What I Like*, 'White Racism and Black Consciousness', 61, 72). White racism, he lamented, was the cause of South Africa's problems:

We recognise the existence of one major force in South Africa. This is White Racism. It is the one force against which all of us are pitted. It works with unnerving totality, featuring both on the offensive and in our defence. Its greatest ally to date has been the refusal by us to club together as blacks because we are told to do so would be racist. (*I Write What I Like*, 'The Definition of Black Consciousness', 50)

Biko forewarned that White racism would fade against inevitable forces of progress. He combined his messianic nationalism with his millennial South African faith when he prophesized:

Over the years we have attained moral superiority over the white man; we shall watch as time destroys his paper castles and know that all these little pranks were but frantic attempts of frightened little people to convince each other that they can control the minds and bodies of indigenous people of Africa indefinitely. (*I Write What I Like*, 'White Racism and Black Consciousness', 72)

Despite Biko's extremism and the extent of its judgment, there was an element of hope in his jeremiadic discourse: 'The future will always be shaped by the sequence of present-day events,' he believed (*I Write What I Like*, 'The Definition of Black Consciousness', 52). When he maintained his optimistic stance, Biko later wrote that 'one cannot but welcome the evolution of a positive outlook in the black world' (*I Write What I Like*, 'White Racism and Black Consciousness', 72). His prophetic vision, however, was not pragmatic for the times but was intended to 'work out schemes' to not only correct 'false images' of blacks' 'in terms of Culture, Education, Religion, Economics,' but also to further become their 'own authorities rather than wait to be interpreted by others' (*I Write What I Like*, 'The Definition of Black Consciousness', 52).

Biko's BCM sought to continually implant blacks with the optimism needed to eliminate the 'various cocoons of repression' maintained by apartheid's fascistic structure. Throughout all of this, however, Biko still held out optimism:

[Black Consciousness] is more than just a reactionary rejection of whites by blacks. The quintessence of it is the realisation by the blacks that, in order to feature well in this game of power politics, they have to use the concept of group power and to build a strong foundation for this...The philosophy of Black Consciousness, therefore, expresses group pride and the determination by blacks to rise and attain the envisaged self. (*I Write What I Like*, 'White Racism and Black Consciousness', 68)

Biko's Anti-'Separate Development' Jeremiad effectively called for black solidarity—that blacks must connect in order to affect any transformations in South African politics. It was, in his own eyes, 'the most positive call to come from any group in the black world for a long time' (*I Write What I Like*, 'White Racism and Black Consciousness', 68).

#### **'To Create a Climate of Understanding': Mandela Continued the Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad**

If black self-reliance in South Africa could be gauged by the vivacity of the presence of a jeremiadic tradition, the rhetoric and public address of Mandela seemed to indicate that such faith flourished throughout anti-apartheid protest. As President of South Africa from May 1994 until June 1999, Mandela officiated over the switch from marginal rule and apartheid to gaining international admiration for his promotion of national and international reconciliation. During his inauguration as president, Mandela concluded his Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad by combining lament and prophecy. Interestingly, he passionately exhibited humility for all of Africa, not just South Africa:

Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world. Let freedom reign. The sun shall never set on so glorious a human achievement!  
God bless Africa! (*In His Own Words*, 'Inauguration as President', 70).

Mandela not only sought to demolish the ills of apartheid and serve his people, but he also sought to build and instill within his people optimism about the future. In his 'Inauguration as

President's speech, Mandela illustrated that the time had come to:

".....enter into a covenant that we shall build a society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity" (69).

In 1996, the newly formulated South African government adopted a new, more liberal constitution that would protect gender and human rights. The last days of apartheid opened doors for the prompt development of South Africa's previously small black middle class in commerce and other vocations, promoted by affirmative action procedures and strategies (Worden 164). Mandela lamented:

We cannot build or heal our nation if - in both the private and public sectors, in the schools and universities, in the hospitals and on the land, in dealing with crime and social dislocation - if we continue with business as usual, wallowing in notions of the past. Everywhere and in everything we do, what is now required is boldness in thinking, firmness in resolve and consistency in action. (*In His Own Words*, 'Healing and Building', 157).

Mandela's jeremiadic discourse successfully transformed from the 'freedom fighters speaking the language of opposition to a statesman speaking the language of inclusion and commonality' (Sheckels, 87). The ethos of Mandela's jeremiads was recognized through the words he employed in his discourse. For example, on Freedom Day, 27 April 1995, Mandela lamented:

The ultimate goal of a better life has yet to be realised. But if any one day marked the crossing of the divide from a past of conflict and division to the possibility of unity and peace; from inequality to quality; from a history of oppression to a future of freedom, it is 27 April 1994.<sup>(3)</sup>

On this day, you the people, took your destiny into your own hands. You decided that nothing would prevent you from exercising your hard-won right to elect a government of your choice. (*In His Own Words*, 'Freedom Day', 71)

Embedded in Mandela's discourse was a display of harmony as his rhetoric undeniably encouraged pride and compassion. Even in his speech commemorating the twentieth anniversary of Biko's death delivered 12 September 1997, Mandela held out hope that by 'forging a new and prosperous nation,' South Africans were 'continuing the fight in which Steve Biko paid the supreme sacrifice' (*In His Own Words*, 'Steve Biko', 456). In his jeremiadic discourse, Mandela never vacillated in his dedication to democracy and egalitarianism for all South Africans. Mandela continues to employ the jeremiad as social protest whether on education, national building, culture, health, peace or AIDS, making him a preeminent Jeremiah protesting for South African democracy.

### **Conclusion: Symbols of Optimism for South African Democracy**

With the application of apartheid in South Africa, Nelson Mandela and Steve Biko utilized the jeremiad as driving forces to decrease the universal suffrage of South Africa's non-white populace. As Mandela's rhetoric transformed from radical to conciliatory in tone while seeking to unite all South Africans, Biko's radical message sought to mobilize Black South Africans in the common cause of eliminating apartheid in a collective effort. The jeremiad was inextricably embedded in their social protest rhetoric as they sought to fulfill their missions as negotiators of justice and social equality. Their anti-apartheid jeremiads as social protest could not have functioned as well as they did had it not been for their actions and

their structured organizations. Recognition of anti-apartheid jeremiadic rhetoric in South Africa, then, must identify the importance of the jeremiad and its role in the continuing changes in restructuring South African politics. Anti-Apartheid jeremiadic discourse in the South African social protest tradition imagined the continuation of customs, communal beliefs, and collectivity, as it sought to rebuild or restructure community politics void of apartheid's regime.

What an examination such as this adds to the discussion of anti-apartheid rhetoric is a sense of what Mandela and Biko accomplished in unifying South Africans and keeping them optimistic about their nation's future. To uncover the jeremiads found rooted within Mandela's and Biko's anti-apartheid rhetoric would reveal that their employment of this distinctive rhetoric signified that resistance to apartheid was more than just a movement; it was a way of life as they positioned themselves as symbols of optimism for South African democracy.

### Notes

1. For a discussion on the social and religious implications of American jeremiadic discourse, see Perry Miller's *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, 1956); Sacvan Bercovitch's *The American Jeremiad* (Madison, 1978); Wilson Jeremiah Moses', *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms: Social and Literary Manipulations of a Religious Myth* (University Park, 1983), and David Howard-Pitney's, *The Afro-American Jeremiad: Appeals for Justice in America* (Philadelphia, 1990), and his revised edition, *The African American Jeremiad* (2005). Although these scholars discuss the development of the American Jeremiad, I argue here that the jeremiad was appropriate for Mandela's and Biko's social protest rhetoric. I am not suggesting, however, that there is a connection between the South African Anti-Apartheid Jeremiad and the American Jeremiad. The associations, I believe, are palpable. Biko, for example, connected William Edward Burghardt Dubois' 'double-consciousness' ideology to the struggles of Black South Africans and echoed many of DuBois' ideas, who, as Howard-Pitney suggested, utilized the jeremiad to 'criticize white racism and demand[ed] black civil rights' (*The Afro-American Jeremiad*, 87).
- 2 See T. Keegan's *Colonial South Africa and The Origins of the Racial Order* (Charlottesville, 1996) and L. Thompson's *A History of South Africa* (New Haven, 2000).
3. April 27th commemorates freedom and is held in observance of the first democratic post-apartheid elections held on that day in 1994. Although the speech quoted is from 1995, Mandela was therefore referencing the historical event of April 27th in 1994 .

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# Comment And Opinion

## **Community Health Centers in US Inner Cities: Additional Commentary**

By Aneez Esmail, University of Manchester

## **Blacks and the 2008 Elections: A Preliminary Analysis**

By David A. Bositis, The Joint Center for Political and Economic Activities

## **Miseducation and Racism**

by Marika Sherwood, co-founder of the Black and Asian Studies Association (BASA)

## **Creating a Safe Learning Space for the Discussion of Multicultural Issues in the Classroom**

by Katherine M. Helm, Lewis University

## Comment and Opinion

### Community Health Centers in US Inner Cities: From Cultural Competency to Community Competency Additional Commentary

*Aneez Esmail, Professor of General Practice, University of Manchester*

It would seem strange that the first issue of a journal devoted to the study of issues around ethnicity and race should give prominence to an article which challenges the idea of multiculturalism and cultural diversity in responding to the challenges of delivering healthcare. However, because of the relationship between race and inequality it is right that consideration is given to questioning the effectiveness of one of the main policy responses to health inequalities and the way that they impact on different racial and ethnic groups.

Multiculturalism as a policy response to racism has certainly been the dominant ideology used by the Government and its public institutions to tackle the significant racial and ethnic disparities that were highlighted in Britain in the early 1980s. and which have persisted to this day. The policy is based on a misguided assumption that targeting resources which focus on ethnicity and culture can mitigate the effects of racism which as Sivanandan has pointed out has been 'woven, over centuries of colonialism and slavery, into the structures of society and into the instruments and institutions of government, local and central'. It was only with the publication of the McPherson report into the murder of Stephen Lawrence that some public institutions began to acknowledge the role of institutional racism.

The corollary of multiculturalism for healthcare was the development of cultural competency as a policy response to health inequalities identified in racial and ethnic minorities. In the UK, its genesis can be traced back to the election of Margaret Thatcher and its attempt to suppress the findings of The Black Report on Inequalities in Health. Commissioned by a Labour Government in 1977 and published by a Conservative Government in 1980 on a Bank Holiday weekend, the Black report was a rare example of an attempt to explain trends in inequalities in health and relate these to policies intended to promote as well as restore health. The thrust of the recommendations in that seminal report were concerned with improving the material conditions of life of poorer groups, coupled with a re-orientation of health and personal social services towards public health. What became apparent through the nearly twenty years of Conservative government between 1979-97 was the disappearance of health inequalities from the lexicon of explanations for differing healthcare outcomes. Instead policy interventions were targeted at areas such as quality improvement within medicine and an emphasis on commercialisation and entrepreneurial medicine. Cultural competency as a policy response therefore found favour in many circles because it created the façade of tackling inequalities through measures of quality improvement, targeting under-represented groups and focusing on issues of culture and personal health rather than societal inequalities. The reason why such policies have failed are best exemplified by Bertolt Brecht's 1938 poem when he castigates the doctor for asking the worker to put on weight. In his commentary, Jennings is, if anything, being generous to the proponents of cultural competency when he says that the effect was 'limited and incomplete in responding to health challenges'. Total failure may be a better epitaph. Forty-six million uninsured



Americans, mainly African Americans, Hispanic and poor white working class and irrefutable evidence of increasing health inequalities in most Western countries is the reality of modern healthcare and its obsession with quality and culture.

Does community competency offer a solution? Only in so far as it shifts the focus for health improvement away from the individual and quality improvement towards community action and empowerment. The authors of the second self claimed alternative health report - Global Health Watch 2 - are more explicit as to what needs to be done when they talk about the politics of resistance and the levers of change being the active resistance of poor people and their organisations. This is perhaps not a solution for wealthier countries where Jennings' notion of community competency may find more traction and crucially may be more acceptable to sponsors and donors. However, in my view the greatest barrier lies in the training of health professions – something that Jennings only briefly alludes to. Community competency will only remain an idea unless curricula for training of healthcare professionals explicitly endorse the teaching of social justice and its role in tackling health inequalities.

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4. "A Worker's Speech to a Doctor" (1938), Brecht wrote: "The pain in our shoulder comes/You say, from the damp; and this is also the reason / For the stain on the wall of our flat. / So tell us: / Where does the damp come from? // Too much work and too little food / Make us feeble and thin; / Your prescription says: / Put on more weight. / You might as well tell a bulrush / Not to get wet."
5. <http://www.ghwatch.org/>



# Blacks and the 2008 Elections: A Preliminary Analysis

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What follows is a brief review of some of the available evidence on what happened during the US presidential election of November 4, 2008. In particular, this review will focus on the election of Barack Obama, the behavior and significance of African American voters in the 2008 elections, and the changing numbers and profile of black candidates for federal office, as well as their performance at the polls.

## Introduction

There were several significant developments for black politics in November 2008, the most significant being the election of Barack Obama, the first African American President. A great deal of effort was made to bring black voters, especially young black voters, to the polls and black turnout in the 2008 election increased substantially from 2004 to a historic high. The total share of the national vote represented by black voters between 2004 and 2008 increased from 11 percent to 13 percent according to reports on the exit polls, and the black share of the vote in many individual states increased substantially. In addition to record setting turnout, President-Elect Obama received a record setting 95 percent of the black vote - bettering President Lyndon B. Johnson's 94 percent in 1964. The number of black major party federal candidates on the ballot in 2008 was similar to that in 2006.

## Turnout: National

According to preliminary figures published by the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate (CSAE), overall turnout in the 2008 election was up from 2004. In 2004, 122 million people voted, while in 2008 (with ballots still being counted), CSAE estimated that when the count was completed between 16.5 and 128.5 million voters will have cast ballots. Using CSAE's mid-range figure (127.5 million), overall voter turnout was 61.2 percent in 2008, slightly better than 2004's 60.7 percent, which was the highest level since 1968.

In 2008, according to the Edison/Mitofsky exit polls, the principal exit polling organization, black voters cast 13 percent of all ballots cast, or (based on assumptions about the final vote turnout numbers from CSAE) approximately 16.6 million votes. In 2004, according to Edison/Mitofsky, black voters cast 11 percent of all ballots, or approximately 13.42 million votes; thus the increase from 2004 to 2008 was about 3.16 million voters, or 23.5 percent. The Census Bureau's November 2006 Current Population Survey reported that there were 24.81 million voting-age eligible African American Adults, and with 16.6 million black votes cast, 2008 black turnout would be 66.8 percent - smashing the previous record of 58.5 percent in 1964; the post-Voting Rights Act turnout high was 57.6 percent in 1968. While the final vote for the 2008 Presidential election was yet to be determined at the time of writing, it is likely that black turnout - for the first time in history - will surpass white turnout in a US presidential election. Of the total black vote cast in 2008, black women represented 58 percent, while black men represented 42 percent of the total vote.

According to the exit polls, Hispanics voters increased their share of the total vote from six percent (2004) to eight percent (2008). The share of the total 2008 Presidential vote cast by non-hispanic white voters declined since 2004 from 79 to 74 percent; the 74 percent represents the lowest share of the Presidential vote cast by nonhispanic whites in history.

**TABLE 1. The Black National Electorate By Demographic Group, 2000 v. 2004**

SHARE OF TOTAL ELECTORATE			GROUP	PRESIDENTIAL VOTE 2000		PRESIDENTIAL VOTE 2004		PRESIDENTIAL VOTE 2008	
2000 %	2004 %	2008 %		Gore %	Bush %	Kerry %	Bush %	Obama %	McCain %
82	79	74	Whites	42	54	41	58	43	55
10	11	13	Blacks	90	8	88	11	95	4
7	6	8	Hispanics	67	31	56	43	66	32
			African American Voters						
2	3	3	18-29	91	8	86	13	95	4
4	4	4	30-44	91	7	89	11	96	4
3	3	4	45-59	89	9	88	11	96	3
2	2	1	60+	87	11	90	9	94	6
4	5	5	Men	85	12	86	13	95	5
6	7	7	Women	94	6	90	10	96	3

SOURCES: (2000/Voter News Service) N.Y. Times, 11/12/00; (2004/Edison/Mitofsky) [www.nytimes.com/2004/11/07/weekinreview/07conn.html?ex=1108098000&en=fag1695cdadb2f1e&ei=5070&ex=1102568400&en=bbf8f44820e65ea7&ei=5070&oref=login](http://www.nytimes.com/2004/11/07/weekinreview/07conn.html?ex=1108098000&en=fag1695cdadb2f1e&ei=5070&ex=1102568400&en=bbf8f44820e65ea7&ei=5070&oref=login); (2008/Edison/Mitofsky) [www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/polls/#USPoop1](http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/polls/#USPoop1)

### Turnout by State

While the black share of the national vote increased from 11 to 13 percent from 2004 and 2008, the changes in individual states varied considerably. There were six states that witnessed very large increases in the black share of the statewide vote between 2004 and 2008. In the two states with the numerically largest black voting-age populations, New York and California, the black share of the vote increased sharply - from 13 to 17 percent in New York and from 6 to 10 percent in California. In Alabama (from 25 to 29 percent) and Georgia (25 to 30 percent) the share of black voters rose strongly. In the swing-state of Missouri, the black share rose from 8 to 13 percent of the total, and in President-elect Obama's home state of Illinois, the black share of the state vote increased from 10 to 17 percent of the total. In two important battleground states, the black share of the vote declined slightly, although the number of black voters increased. In Virginia, the black share of the state vote declined from 21 to 20 percent, but overall turnout was up. In North Carolina, which had the largest increase in turnout of any state in the country, the black share of the vote declined from 26 to 23 percent. In both states, black voters over-voted their share of the Black Voting-age Population (BVAP). In Ohio, the black share of the total state vote increased by 10 percent.

### Partisan Voting

The Democratic share of the black vote in 2004 increased to its all time high in 2008 with 95 percent of African Americans voting for the Democratic ticket; conversely Senator John McCain received a smaller percentage of black votes than any GOP nominee in history - only 4 percent. President-Elect Obama broke President Lyndon B. Johnson's record established in the fateful year 1964, when the Civil Rights Act was passed.

There was no variation outside the margin of error among black subgroups (see Table 1) in



2008. There was no black gender gap, nor any generational differences among black voters as President-Elect Obama was the overwhelming choice of all African Americans.

In the states where most African Americans live, Barack Obama generally received a considerably higher percentage of the black vote in 2008 than did Senator Kerry in 2004 - despite Kerry's strong black support in that election. President-elect Obama received a larger share of the black vote than Senator Kerry in all states. A few states are illustrative of the shift in black voting between 2004 and 2008. In the key state of Ohio, Obama received 97 percent of the black vote in 2008, while Kerry received 84 percent in 2004; in Pennsylvania the shift was from 83 to 95 percent; in North Carolina the shift was from 85 to 95 percent.

The states where black voters represented important contributions to President-elect Obama's victory were Florida, North Carolina, Ohio, and Virginia; black voters were key to his wins in these states. In other election contests, black voters were critical to the election of Senator-elect Hagen - North Carolina (NC), Senator Landrieu - Louisiana (LA), and Governor Purdue (NC). Black voters in Georgia were also critical to Jim Martin in the US Senate race there, where he advanced to a runoff with Senator Chambliss in early December.

The influence of black voters on competitive US House elections was especially strong. In Joint Center Guide's to the Democratic and Republican National Conventions published this summer, 15 highly competitive US House elections were highlighted because the districts had black voting-age populations of at least 10 percent. These 15 districts included 6 Democratic seats (five incumbents and one open seat) and nine Republican seats (six incumbents and three open seats). The Democratic candidates won in five (Alabama [AL] - 5, Georgia [GA] - 8, GA - 12, Kentucky [KY] - 3, Mississippi [MS] - 1) of the six seats currently held by a Democrat, including the open seat (AL-5); the one Democratic loss was incurred in an contest with a third-party black candidate (LA-6). The Democratic candidates also won in six of the nine districts presently held by the Republicans (AL-2, Connecticut [CT] - 4, Maryland [MD] - 1, NC - 8, Ohio [OH] - 1, Virginia [VA] - 2); in a seventh seat held by Republicans (VA - 5), the Democratic candidate leads by about 750 votes pending a recount, and in the eighth seat (LA-4) the election will have been decided in a run-off on December 2, 2008.

### **White Voters For and Against Obama**

Nationally, President-elect Obama received 43 percent of the white vote - up only marginally from Senator Kerry's 41 percent in 2004. However, the national numbers are deceiving because in all states outside of the South, Obama received significantly more of the white vote - more than any Democratic nominee since Lyndon Johnson. President-elect Obama received an absolute majority of the white vote in 16 states and the District of Columbia. In the rest of the states in the US outside of the South, (with the exception of the Republican candidates' home states of Alaska and Arizona [where Obama ran one point worse than Kerry], in Kerry's home state of Massachusetts, and its neighbors Connecticut and Rhode Island; where Obama won all three with 60+ percent of the vote), Obama ran ahead of Senator Kerry among white voters. This includes reliably Republican states as Utah (nine points better among whites) and Idaho (seven points better than Kerry).

In two southern states, Obama received an increased share of the white vote - North Carolina and Virginia - both of which he won. However, in four southern states, Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi, he received a smaller share than John Kerry received in 2004. Given the political environment of 2008, those declines can only be attributed to race.

There are three factors that reliably predict election results in US Presidential elections: the state of the economy, the approval/disapproval ratings of the incumbent party, and the proportion of voters who think the country is going in the right direction or is off on the wrong track. It was these factors that explain why in 2008, all voters, including white voters, moved in Obama's direction in most of the country. In the remaining five southern states, Obama matched Kerry's white vote. Obama did not improve on Kerry's white vote in Florida, but in 2004, Florida was above the national average for white support for Kerry (43 percent). Obama won Florida by flipping the Hispanic vote there; in 2004, Bush won Florida's Hispanic vote by 15 percentage points, but in 2008, Obama won Florida's Hispanic vote by 12 percentage points.

### The Black Contribution to Obama's Vote

The black contribution to President-elect Obama's total popular vote in 2008 was approximately 23.5 percent. In 2004, the black share of Senator Kerry's vote was 22.1 percent. Since black women were a larger share of the electorate (almost 7.5 percent) than black men (almost 5.5 percent) their contribution to Barack Obama's total vote (13.6 percent

**Table 3. Statistical Profile of Black Major Party Nominees for Federal Office, 2008**

	Democrats		Republicans		Total	
	Won N (%)	Lost N (%)	Won N (%)	Lost N (%)	Won N (%)	Lost N (%)
Total	42 89	5 11	0 0	9 100	42 75	14 25
Incumbents	41 100	0 0	0 0	0 0	41 100	0 0
Challengers/Open Seats	1 17	5 83	0 0	9 100	1 7	14 93
Women	14 87	2 13	0 0	2 100	14 78	4 22
Men	28 90	3 10	0 0	7 100	28 74	10 26
Majority-Minority district	30 100	0 0	0 0	4 100	30 90	4 10
Majority White District	12 71	5 29	0 0	5 100	12 55	10 45
White Oppisition	20 80	5 20	0 0	2 100	21 75	7 25
Black Opposition	7 100	0 0	0 0	7 100	7 50	7 50
Unopposed <sup>h</sup>	15 100	0 0	0 0	0 0	15 100	0 0
House Candidates	42 93	3 7	0 0	9 100	42 78	12 22
Senate Candidates	0 0	2 100	0 0	0 100	0 0	2 100
Average Vote	N=42 80	N=5 39	N=0 N/A	N=19 190	N=42 80	N=14 26
H Unopposed or no major party opposition in geneeral election Average vote is for candidates with opposition						

Table 4. Statistical Profile of Black Major Party Nominees for Federal Office, 1990-2008

	Democrats										Republicans										Total									
	90 N %	92 N %	94 N %	96 N %	98 N %	00 N %	02 N %	04 N %	06 N %	08 N %	90 N %	92 N %	94 N %	96 N %	98 N %	00 N %	02 N %	04 N %	06 N %	08 N %	90 N %	92 N %	94 N %	96 N %	98 N %	00 N %	02 N %	04 N %	06 N %	08 N %
Total	30 100	40 100	42 100	42 100	39 100	46 100	45 100	47 100	48 100	47 100	11 100	15 100	24 100	16 100	18 100	24 100	10 100	15 100	9 100	9 100	41 100	55 100	66 100	58 100	57 100	70 100	55 100	62 100	57 100	56 100
Incumbents	21 70	22 55	35 83	35 83	38 97	37 80	34 76	38 81	39 81	41 87	0 0	1 7	1 4	2 13	1 6	1 4	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	21 51	23 42	36 54	37 64	39 68	38 54	34 62	38 61	39 68	41 73
Challengers/ Open Seats	9 30	18 45	7 17	7 17	1 3	9 20	11 24	9 19	9 19	6 13	11 10	14 93	23 96	14 87	17 95	23 96	10 0	15 10	9 10	9 10	20 49	32 58	30 46	21 36	18 32	35 46	21 38	24 39	18 32	15 27
Women	6 20	10 25	11 26	14 33	15 39	15 33	13 29	16 34	17 35	16 34	2 18	4 27	7 29	7 44	7 39	8 33	3 30	5 33	4 44	2 22	8 20	14 26	18 27	21 36	22 39	22 33	16 29	21 34	21 37	18 32
Men	24 80	30 75	31 74	28 67	24 62	31 67	32 71	31 66	31 65	31 66	9 82	11 73	17 71	9 56	11 61	16 67	7 70	10 67	5 56	7 78	33 80	41 74	48 73	37 64	35 61	47 67	39 71	41 66	36 63	38 68
Majority- Minority district	24 80	37 92	37 88	34 81	31 80	29 67	30 67	31 66	37 77	30 64	7 64	13 87	14 58	11 69	11 61	12 46	4 40	5 33	3 33	4 44	30 73	50 91	51 77	45 78	42 74	41 60	34 62	36 58	40 70	34 61
Majority White District	6 20	3 8	5 12	8 19	8 21	17 33	15 33	16 34	11 23	17 36	4 36	2 13	10 42	5 31	7 39	12 54	6 60	10 67	6 67	5 56	11 27	5 9	15 23	13 22	15 26	29 40	21 38	26 42	17 30	22 39
White Oppisition	18 60	17 42	22 52	27 64	17 44	22 48	30 64	22 47	23 48	25 53	5 46	3 20	11 46	5 31	6 33	8 33	5 50	6 40	3 33	2 22	23 56	20 36	33 50	32 55	23 40	30 43	35 64	28 45	26 46	27 48
Black Opposition	8 27	16 40	13 31	11 26	14 36	16 35	5 11	9 19	8 17	7 15	6 54	12 80	13 54	11 69	12 67	16 67	5 50	9 60	6 67	7 78	14 34	28 51	26 39	22 38	32 46	10 18	18 29	14 26	14 25	
Unopposed <sup>h</sup>	4 13	7 18	7 17	4 10	8 21	8 17	10 22	16 34	17 35	15 32	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	4 10	7 13	7 11	4 7	8 14	8 11	10 18	16 26	17 28	15 27
House Candidates	29 97	39 97	40 95	41 97	38 97	45 98	44 98	45 96	46 96	45 96	11 10	14 10	24 10	16 10	17 95	23 96	10 0	13 87	8 89	9 10	40 98	53 96	64 97	57 98	55 97	68 97	54 98	58 94	54 95	54 96
Senate Candidates	1 3	1 3	2 5	1 3	1 3	1 2	1 2	2 4	2 4	2 4	0 0	1 0	0 0	0 0	1 6	1 4	0 0	1 11	0 0	1 2	1 2	2 4	2 3	1 2	2 3	2 3	1 2	4 6	3 5	2 4

H Unopposed or no major party opposition in general election Average vote is for candidates with opposition

**Table 5. Black Major Party Nominees for Federal Office, November 2008**

**US House of Major Representatives**

District	BVAP %	Democrat	Dem Vote %	Rep Vote %	Republican
AL 7	57.8	/Artur Davis I	-	-	Unopposed
CA 9	24.5	/Barbara Lee I	86	10	<u>Charles Hargrave</u>
CA 33	29.6	/Diane Watson I	88	12	David Crowley
CA 35	35.0	/Maxine Waters I	83	13	Ted Hayes
CA 37	24.7	/Laura Richardson I	76	-	Unopposed
D.C.	55.7	/Eleanor Holmes Norton I	93	7	<u>Adrian Salsgiver</u>
FL 3	45.1	/Corrine Brown I	-	-	Unopposed
FL 17	51.3	/Kendrick Meek I	-	-	Unopposed
FL 22	24.6	<u>/Ron Klein I</u>	55	45	Allen West
FL 23	46.2	/Alcee Hastings I	82	18	Marion Thorpe, Jr.
GA 2	40.9	/Sanford Bishop I	69	31	<u>Lee Ferrell</u>
GA 4	48.8	/Hank Johnson I	-	-	Unopposed
GA 5	51.0	/John Lewis I	-	-	Unopposed
GA 13	37.3	/David Scott I	69	31	Deborah Honeycutt
IL 1	63.2	/Bobby Rush I	86	14	Antoine Members
IL 2	59.4	/Jesse Jackson, Jr. I	89	11	Anthony Williams
IL 7	55.9	/Danny K. Davis I	85	15	<u>Steve Miller</u>
IL 10	6.7	Dan Seals	44	56	<u>/Mark Kirk I</u>
IN 7	26.7	/Andre Carson I	65	35	Unopposed
LA 2 <sup>1</sup>	59.3	William Jefferson I	Runoff 12/2/08		<u>Anh "Joseph" Cao</u>
LA 7	22.7	Don Gravins, Jr.	34	62	<u>/Charles Boustany, Jr. I</u>
MD 4	55.3	/Donna Edwards I	85	14	<u>Peter James</u>
MD 7	57.0	/Elijah Cummings I	79	19	<u>Mike Hargadan</u>
MI 13	57.9	/Carolyn Kilpatrick I	74	19	<u>Edward Gubics</u>
MI 14	58.9	/John Conyers I	92	-	Unopposed
MN 5	10.2	/Keith Ellison I (DFL)	71	22	Barb Davis White
MS 2	58.9	/Bennie Thompson I	69	31	<u>Richard Cook</u>
MO 1	45.8	/William Clay, Jr. I	87	-	Unopposed
MO 5	21.8	/Emanuel Cleaver I	64	36	<u>Jacob Turk</u>
NJ 10	54.3	/Donald Payne I	99	-	Unopposed
NY 6	51.1	/Gregory Meeks I			Unopposed
NY 10	60.0	Edolphus Towns I	94	6	<u>Salvatore Grupico</u>
NY 11	56.8	/Yvette Clarke I	93	7	<u>Hugh Carr</u>
NY 15	30.5	/Charles Range I	87	9	Ed Daniels
NC 1	47.6	George K. Butterfield	70	30	<u>Dean Stephens</u>
NC 12	41.9	/Mel Watt I	72	28	<u>Ty Cobb, Jr.</u>
OH 11	51.6	/Marcia Fudge	85	15	<u>Thomas Pekarek</u>
PA 1	42.2	<u>/Robert Brady I</u>	91	9	Mike Muhammad
PA 2	56.5	/Chaka Fattah I	89	11	<u>Adam Lang</u>



Table 5. Black Major Party Nominees for Federal Office

US Major Representatives					
District	BVAP %	Democrat	Dem Vote %	Rep Vote %	Republican
SC 6	53.5	/James Clyburn I	68	32	<u>Nancy Harrelson</u>
TX 9	36.5	/Al Green I	94	-	Unopposed
TX 18	40.3	/Sheila J. Lee I	77	20	<u>John Faulk</u>
TX 30	41.0	Eddie B. Johnson I	83	16	<u>Fred Wood</u>
VA 3	52.7	/Robert Scott I	-	-	Unopposed
VA 4	33.3	Andrea Miller	40	60	/Randy Forbes I
V.I.	61.4	/Donna Christian-Cristensen I	-	-	Unopposed
WI-4	27.8	/Gwen Moore I	89	-	Unopposed

US Senate					
State	Black VAP %	Democratic			Republican
Alabama	24.0	Vivian D. Figures	37	63	<u>/Jeff Sessions I</u>
Mississippi	33.1	Erik Fleming	38	62	<u>/Thad Cochran I</u>

KEY:

Non-African American Candidates' names are underlined; I incumbent / Winner

of the national total for Obama) was higher than the contribution of black men (almost 10 percent).

### Black Candidates for Federal Office

There were 56 black major party nominees for federal office in 2008 down one from 2006 [Tables 3 and 4]. There were 47 black Democratic nominees (one off from the all-time high), and nine black Republican nominees (tied for the lowest number since 1990); there were 24 black Republican nominees in 1994 and 2000. There were also two black nominees for the US Senate in Alabama and Mississippi, who needless to say were not elected.

The number of black members in the 111th Congress will decline by one from the present congress as Obama departs the legislative branch to assume control of the executive; if an African American were appointed to fill either of the Democratic ticket's vacant US Senate seats, the number of black members would remain the same. There were 47 Democratic nominees, and 42 or 89 percent won with an average vote of 80 percent; 15 US House incumbents were unopposed. All of the nine black Republican nominees lost while averaging 19 percent of the vote in the districts where they ran. Among the black Democratic nominees, 64 percent ran in majority-minority districts, and 36 percent in majority white districts. There will be forty black Democratic U. Representatives in the new Congress, one black US Senator, Senator Roland Burris (D-IL), and two black Democratic delegates. Of course, Barack Obama will have become the 44th President on January 20, 2009. There is only one new black member of the US House, Marcia Fudge (OH), who was elected to the seat held by the late Stephanie Tubbs Jones. Information on all black major party nominees for federal



office in 2008 is provided in Table 5.

## Miseducation and Racism

*Marika Sherwood, based on the Inaugural Marika Sherwood Lecture, 2007*

The Black & Asian Studies Association, (BASA), was formed in 1991, with the aim of encouraging research and disseminating information on the history of Black peoples in Britain; and by 'Black' we mean people of African origins and descent. We also knew that an organisation such as BASA might, just might, have some influence on government and its quangos. So we set up a committee to work with archives, attempting to convince archivists that their holdings would, without a doubt, include material on Black peoples and thus need re-cataloguing. We also emphasised the need to collect material from local Black organisations and peoples and to revise the training of archivists to incorporate these points. We did similar work with the Museums Association. As I am sure you are all aware, there has been considerable progress during 2007 in many museums and archives; but this momentum must be maintained. Whether the actual university training courses have improved, I doubt.

To attempt to influence education issues, we met many times with the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA), the regularly renamed Department of Education (now known as the Department for Children, Schools and Families, (DCFS) and with one Secretary of State. These were almost a total waste of time, though this year BASA member Martin Spafford was part of a QCA panel re-working the history curriculum for pupils aged 11 to 14 years (Key Stage 3). This latest version actually suggests that Blacks in Elizabethan England as well as the Black Chartist leader William Cuffay could be incorporated in the 'mainstream' curriculum, and uses the innovatory work of another BASA member, Dan Lyndon, in his school as an example. However, unless I am much mistaken, the reading list, which is very short indeed, lists three books which are out-of-print.

Our meetings with the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (OFSTED) have not resulted in the acceptance of our suggestion for compulsory training in the history of Black peoples in the UK for all their inspectors and we made this same suggestion to the DCFS, (as well as suggesting courses training archivists and museum curators). A certain level of ignorance at Ofsted was clearly demonstrated when one head of Ofsted replied to my questions about the absence of Black Britons in any section of the syllabus by pointing out that one of Maya Angelou's novels was on the literature reading list.

It was explained to us that much of OFSTED's inspection is contracted out, so they have no influence on the training of inspectors. This seems to me to be a wonderful way to avoid responsibility. Why would inspectors, the products of the same (mis-)educational institutions as classroom teachers, be any more knowledgeable? Our attempt to influence the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) has been equally unsuccessful. And, of course, the government says it has no influence on what is taught at the teacher training institutions.

### **So Where Are We Today In These Areas?**

#### **Britishness**

One government reaction is well worth citing: the definition of Britishness. In January 2006 Gordon Brown defined this as 'liberty, fairness and responsibility'; some thirteen months later this had metamorphosed into 'British tolerance, the British belief in liberty and the

British sense of fair play'.

Let us examine how Britain lives up to these definitions of its core values. Historically, there is nothing much to substantiate Mr Brown's claims. When children were taken from the workhouses and marched up to the Lancashire factories in the mid-nineteenth century, was that 'liberty'? Or when children on the streets were picked up and shipped out to the colonies as cheap labour? Or when political activists in Britain were exiled and those in the colonies jailed? When the 'surplus population' in Britain was, one way or another, encouraged to emigrate to the colonies of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa? Last, because it is anything but the least, just how many millions of enslaved Africans did Britain transport across the Atlantic and Indian Oceans? And would the 40 year period of 'apprenticeship' for 'freed' slaves in the West Indian colonies have been reduced had Britain been able to deal with the many costly revolts there? Was it 'fair' to use 'contract', i.e. forced labour, in the colonies up to the late 1940s?

As for 'fairness' or 'fair play'? Maybe on the playing fields of Eton! What is there in the history of Britain that substantiates such a claim? Just look at the class and gender divisions! The use and abuse of workers! Look at attitudes to women, who even today often earn only a proportion of the salary of a man doing the same work. Look at how long it took for Ireland to regain its independence. I am sure you do not need me to give more examples, in Britain or within the Empire which was, of course, a great example of exactly the opposite of 'fairness'.

As for 'tolerance'! I, as a Hungarian, as a woman, as someone with a list of writings on somewhat unorthodox subjects - I do not want, thank you, to be 'tolerated'. I am every bit as good as you, Oh Englishman - or Scotsman! How about a little equality?

### **'Responsibility'? Historically, What On Earth Would That Mean?**

I have to ask: as Gordon Brown is by no means the only minister speaking about it, why is the government so concerned with defining 'Britishness' suddenly? Is it because of the move by Scotland, and slowly by Wales, to return to independence? And is that why it is 'Britishness' and not 'Englishness' that the government tries to define? Is it also because of the many immigrants from Europe, who, according to many accounts, in fact bring not only wealth but 'attitudes to work' long forgotten by the English? And because, as they are Europeans, and the UK is part of the EU, Britain can no longer denigrate continental Europeans as it used to? Certainly when I came to live here in 1966, the 'English' never saw themselves as 'European' (and many didn't know where Hungary was!). Now that they have to, do they feel inadequate? Or just not know where they fit in?

But let me look at Britain today, and look at it from the perspective of BASA's - and my - concerns.

Should I begin by saying that it is very 'interesting' that we no longer have a government department for education. Equally 'interesting' is the reduction in the amount of history taught in schools. Given the realities of the history of the UK, this is hardly surprising: it might just contradict the much-lauded virtues of 'Britishness'. And if world history would be taught, can you conceive of schools actually teaching that both Iraq and Israel were created by Britain? And examining what responsibilities Britain thus ought to accept?

As Sir Keith Ajegbo, a Home Office Advisor, previously gave his own definition of 'Britishness'

for school use: that 'pupils should study free speech, the rule of law, mutual tolerance and respect for equal rights', let us take a glimpse at our schools. By applying under the Freedom of Information Act, a researcher discovered that in 90 education authorities nearly 100,000 racist incidents had been recorded between 2002 and 2006. It should be noted that some authorities only began recording such incidents after 2002, and, as Professor Heidi Mirza argued, 'there are a lot of young people who don't want to report this because they are too embarrassed or frightened to do so'. And, in my experience, in the county in which I now live, some children just give up reporting because the teachers dismiss their complaints. Whether all complaints made by children actually appear in the schools' official reports is also, to my mind, questionable.

### **Racism In Schools**

That racism in schools is alive and well was recognised by the Focus Institute on Rights in their report *Right From The Start* which states that the 'Government has not paid sufficient attention to the implications of racial disadvantage, discrimination and, in particular, institutional racism in the way the early years services operate in practice'<sup>(1)</sup>. A report by Peter Wanless, *Getting It. Getting It Right* for the now defunct Department for Education and Skills (DfES) found that staff in many schools are unwittingly racist, with black youngsters three times more likely than white to be expelled permanently. Furthermore, 'black pupils are routinely punished more harshly, praised less and told off more often than other pupils'<sup>(2)</sup>, and are 'disproportionately put in bottom sets - due to behaviour rather than ability'. How does the research explain this? It is the 'largely unwitting but systematic racial discrimination in the application of disciplinary and exclusions policies'<sup>(3)</sup>. This 'unintentional racism stems from long-standing conditioning involving negative images of black peoples, particularly black men'<sup>(4)</sup>.

Data for permanent exclusions by the DfES shows that in the years 2003-04 and 2005-06:

26 out of every 10,000 pupils of Mixed ethnic origin were permanently excluded from school. This was the same rate as the exclusion rate for Black pupils which was around twice that for White pupils..... Almost 8 in every 100 pupils of Black or Mixed ethnic heritage were excluded for a fixed period in 2004-05. This compares with almost 6 in every 100 pupils of White ethnic origin and around 2 in every 100 Asian pupils.

Are schools in breach of their duties under the Race Relations Act of 2000, which requires public bodies to eliminate racial discrimination? That that is precisely what schools are doing is further evidenced by research findings in *Minority Ethnic Teachers' Professional Experiences*. The *Research Brief* issued by the DfES (RB853, June 2007) concludes by stating that:

.....minority ethnic teachers, particularly African Caribbean teachers, have argued that their communities have, for the past few decades, been consigned to the outskirts of the education system by a profession which has consistently formed preconceived and stereotypical notions of their communities based on unfair assessments and the mis-education of their children.<sup>(5)</sup>

It is thus hardly surprising that in 2005 only '21% of African-Caribbean boys in England obtained five GCSE passes at grades A\*- C..... The percentage for all pupils was double that.'<sup>(6)</sup> All teachers must know that pupils generally live up to their expectation. Expect nothing and you'll get nothing. It is basically as simple as that.

### **The National Curriculum**

But it is even worse than this. Racial discrimination is rife in the National Curriculum, which generally lauds the achievements of the English (no, not the British) and then Europeans, with barely a glance at the non-White world except for the US. All inventors, painters, scientists, explorers, designers, poets, writers, mathematicians, astronomers, chemists, sculptors - everything that is worth anything comes from the genius of Whites. Thus, by omission, the public bodies known as 'schools' reinforce the racism that has been promulgated in this country for at least the past 150 years. If this were not intentional, why is 'Black Peoples of the Americas' still on the curriculum, while, despite BASA's protests, there is no course on 'Black Peoples of Britain'?

In April 2007 the QCA published online *Mutli-ethnic histories: a bibliography for teaching and learning at key stages 2 and 3* which is supposed to 'support the teaching of the multi-ethnic dimension of British history in the national curriculum' <sup>(7)</sup>.

For the section on 'The African and African-Caribbean communities', they offered two websites (only one of which is concerned with history), two publications on Mary Seacole, a novel by Stella Osammor, and Hakim Adi's *The History of the African and Caribbean Communities in Britain*; but nothing for the teachers' own education. 'The Transatlantic Slave Trade' section listed a book on anti-slavery, histories of Mary Prince and Robert Wedderburn, Equiano's *The Life of Olaudah Equiano*, the *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho*, two novels on Abraham Hannibal and one website.

Section 12, 'The First World War', offered my article on the BBC website, while Section 13, 'The Second World War and after', lists the Channel 4 *Black and Asian History Map*, a book on the Windrush, and the book I produced with Martin Spafford *Whose Freedom?*, which is now long out of print. Should I suggest - yet again - some in-service training for QCA staff? Aren't they also in breach of the Race Relations Act, or if not, then doing the least possible to avoid this?

So what does the QCA say about history in its lavish *National Curriculum: statutory requirements for key stages 3 and 4*, published jointly with the new DCFS in 2007? Pupils are expected to 'investigate Britain's relationship with the wider world and relate past events to the present day' and 'explore cultural, ethnic and religious diversity and racial equality'. Thus 'British history' is to include 'the impact through time of the movement and settlement of diverse peoples to, from and within the British Isles', which has helped to shape Britain's identity'. How teachers are supposed to do this from the bibliography provided is completely beyond my comprehension <sup>(8)</sup>.

The great advance in this curriculum is that it includes:

'the development of trade, colonisation, industrialisation and technology, the British Empire and its impact on different people in Britain and overseas, pre-colonial civilisations, the nature and effects of the slave trade, and resistance and decolonisation' <sup>(9)</sup>.

But again, we have to ask: given their own mis-education, how are teachers supposed to teach these topics? In their outline, the QCA only notes the work of Olaudah Equiano and William Wilberforce - and recommends that teachers should link with 'emancipation, segregation and the twentieth century Civil Rights Movement in the USA' <sup>(10)</sup>

So now we know. Just return to teaching what was in the curriculum from day one, the

US. From where are teachers supposed to get reliable, well-researched information on the rest of these excellent suggestions? Undoubtedly sooner or later a new bibliography will be issued for the slave trade and slavery, which will ignore my ample demonstration of the inefficacy of the Acts of 1807 and 1833.

It is further recommended that pupils should study 'the ways in which the past has helped to shape identities'<sup>(11)</sup>. Can you imagine teachers approaching this topic with confidence? Will they, for example, look at the multi-fold legacies of slavery, which of course includes racist ideologies and practices, as well as the obverse, the engendering of White superiority?

The 'programme of study' for the KS3 course Citizenship in this publication goes on for twentyfour pages, whereas History deserved only nine. What conclusions can we draw from this? Perhaps that 'history' is too political, too threatening? Or that 'Britishness' i.e., 'citizenship' has to be reinforced while we live in a state of 'War on Terror'? The curriculum is supposed to encourage 'respect for different national, religious and ethnic identities and..... encourage pupils to challenge injustice, inequalities and discrimination'<sup>(12)</sup>. Furthermore, one focus should be on the 'fairness and the rule of law as part of justice'<sup>(13)</sup>. I wonder just how many 'BEM' pupils there are who have not had experiences demonstrating the unfairness of many aspects of the worlds they inhabit in the UK.

While I could make the judgements I made above about the impossibility of the task being placed on untrained teachers, I shall only note two extraordinary statements made by the QCA. One advises that when teaching 'Identities and Diversity: Living Together in the UK', 'the historical context.....should be considered where appropriate.' Could the QCA explain when this context is not 'appropriate'? The second statement explains - at least to me - the rationale behind teaching 'Citizenship': 'All pupils, regardless of their legal or residential status, should explore and develop their understanding of what it means to be a citizen in the UK today'. That definition might sound very different coming from a Zimbabwean asylum seeker about to be returned home, or someone rotting in our 'detention centres' and hugely overcrowded prisons; or those dealing with daily discrimination <sup>(14)</sup>.

The chances are that teachers will avoid teaching anything considered a 'delicate subject'. The report recommends that 'Initial teacher training should include more attention on how to teach these subjects and a better research base should be made available to teachers'. Is anyone in government listening, I wonder? Anyone with sufficient courage to follow up on this? After all, even Ofsted, in its report *History in the Balance* admitted that in primary schools 'few teachers are specialists and so find it difficult to develop the subject'<sup>(15)</sup>.

Have we moved very much from our first Black head teacher, Beryl Gilroy's assessment of the 1960s: 'so much ignorance, so much prejudice, seemed to be built into the school curriculum'. But before I discourage us all completely, my colleague Dan Lyndon assures me he has:

"been working with teachers on these issues for nearly five years now and more and more are taking steps to increase the amount of Black and Asian British history taught in their classrooms - you only need to see the success of [www.blackhistory4schools](http://www.blackhistory4schools) to see that this is the case - over the last 3 months over 13,000 people have visited the website with over 200,000 hits. The internet is a powerful tool that we can use to change habits and attitudes."

I just hope that those 'hits' result in action! Martin Spafford is also more hopeful, arguing that

the 'wording of the new curriculum allows a way for community groups.....to knock on their school doors and influence or even train teachers'. He is 'more interested in how teachers network on line and in the flesh from their own felt needs to learn in or to teach'. This reminds me, I'm afraid, of the conclusions I drew many years ago after running in-service sessions for teachers: those who attend are fine, but what about the other 90 percent? A different perspective is offered by another colleague, an advisor in Kent. He wrote me that because of the lack of 'training days.....most of the training I have delivered has been.....after school staff meetings..... It's debatable whether these sessions influence practice unless they have some sort of hook built in, such as a resource pack, DVD, etc.'

### **Conclusion**

It is not surprising to me that M15 believes that 'Al-Qaida [is] recruiting teenagers to attack targets in Britain <sup>(16)</sup>'. It does not take a master-mind to conclude that when the 'education' issues outlined above are coupled with the prevalent racism, some young people will be turned against this country. Others are turned against each other: 15 teenagers were murdered by other teenagers between January and June 2007 in London alone. What has surprised me is that these young people, who barely exist in our school curricula, who with their families suffer many forms of discrimination, haven't yet burned down the schools where they are so mis-educated.

So what should we in BASA do? I think it is essential to return to discussions with the (non-existent) DfES, regarding teacher training, both in-service and initial; to take up the issue of the training of Ofsted inspectors and the QCA. We need somehow to encourage universities to offer courses on the history of Black and Asian peoples in Britain and set up research projects. Is the Equiano Centre going to lead the way? If printed books are still being used in schools, then we need, yet again, to hold discussions with the Text-book Publishers Association. We also need to keep an eye on museums, archives and the heritage sector, as I am fearful that the current momentum might well vanish once the 1807/2007 commemorative funding and extravaganza is over. And libraries need to be approached, as I am sure that my county cannot be the only one whose book-display for Black History Month was somewhat worse than abysmal. Should we also consider trying to find ways of working with parents and community groups, perhaps to encourage them to serve on schools' governing bodies and to protest about ethnocentric curricula? Or the lack of Black teachers? (That is, of course, another issue. Some years ago I spoke at a Black teachers' conference and learned about the problems regarding non-promotion. At a Black librarians' conference the same issue was raised.)

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# Creating a Safe Learning Space for the Discussion of Multicultural Issues in the Classroom

*Katherine M. Helm, Lewis University*

This paper reviews best pedagogic practices for creating a safe environment in which to hold courses on race, racism, and multicultural issues. Inherent in these courses are student feelings of angst, vulnerability, guilt, trepidation, and sometimes anger and hostility. The sensitive educator must manage and acknowledge these feelings so that learning can occur without diminishing the power and impact issues of race have on our collective and individual psyches and experiences. Strategies for managing and incorporating students' strong emotions into the dialogue on multiculturalism will be reviewed.

Many scholars have reviewed and evaluated best practices for and challenges in teaching college courses on race, racism, and multiculturalism (Peters-Davis & Schultz, 2005; Cote, Mann, Mukombe, Nielsen, Wahl, 2005; Cohen, Hayes, Inozil, Mendell, Srivastava, 2005). Depending on the demographics of the course, students come expecting different things. Those who are of color, gay, or disabled often want to use these courses as a platform to be heard and understood given their past experiences of being invalidated and misunderstood. White students, however, sometimes come to these courses with a great deal of anxiety, guilt, defensiveness, or confusion. The educator has a significant role in managing these feelings. Little learning and few honest discussions can occur without the instructor's ready acknowledgement that talking about multicultural issues often provokes powerful feelings that can sometimes get in the way of the learning process. Students have often been socialized into the culture of 'political correctness' where they do not want to offend other students. Although this may result in a respectful attitude in the classroom, 'political correctness' tends to inhibit students because it prevents them from asking questions and getting the answers they need to broaden their perspectives given that 'America's classrooms are increasingly diverse and multicultural frameworks are being utilized to address diversity issues in the classroom' (Ravitch, 2005). Issues of race are painful; however, a sensitive and skilled educator can set the tone for safety and empowerment. Arguably, this is a critical component for courses on race, racism, and multiculturalism.

## **What is a Safe Space?**

When students attend multicultural courses, the goal should be that they understand how their knowledge of multicultural issues will shape their professional work and personal worldview. Safe spaces for learning allow students to feel comfortable throughout their process of inquiry and in expressing their opinions, sharing their experiences, and asking questions of their classmates and instructor. Having an environment of emotional safety in a multicultural classroom sets the tone for self-discovery and transformative learning experiences for students. It also allows for the important goal of increased self-awareness and an openness to learning more about multiculturalism.

## **Pedagogical Framework**

Previous models for multicultural courses frequently emphasized a fact-based approach, where instructors teach students about socioeconomic, historic, and geographic facts about specific ethnic groups (Ravitch, 2005). The underlying assumption of these models was that students would automatically apply their multicultural fact-based knowledge to the outside

world. We cannot assume that students automatically do this which is why it is critical that courses on multiculturalism include a multi-pronged approach that engages students intellectually, emotionally, and personally. Courses that engage students on these multiple levels enable the transfer of learning from the classroom environment to the outside world far more easily than fact-based approaches. Personalized learning is transformative. The process of learning about multicultural issues is arguably even more important than the content. The assumption underlying this truism is that courses where students explore multicultural issues are in themselves societal microcosms.

The opinions, values, and experiences of students are representative of many different members of society. Instructors who engage students in the processing of their classmates' different values and experiences, expose students to various opinions in society about "isms" and other sensitive topics. Exploring the classroom process helps students deal with very sensitive issues and differing points of view in the open. It also models the important concept that we can disagree with one another without being disrespectful. Additionally, these discussions model how who we are shapes our worldview and values. For example, an instructor attuned to process issues will regularly monitor the tone of the classroom and the emotional reactions of students. "How did you feel when I said that Affirmative Action is good (or bad)?" and "What do other people in the class think of that example? How does it impact you personally?" Instructors who encourage active processing in their courses need to be comfortable with managing students' reactions and sensitive to how the discussion impacts the group as a whole.

### **Best Practices for Creating Safe Environments**

Instructors who use a balanced approach which involves appropriate emotional monitoring of students and emphasizes important course content, need to explain this approach to students on the first day of the class. The first day of a course is crucial to setting the tone of safety in the classroom. A suggestion for setting the tone might be to ask students "Why do you think racial issues are so difficult to talk about?" After processing students' responses instructors might tell students:

"This course is going to be taught differently than some of the other courses you have had previously. Because talking about multicultural issues can be difficult, I want to check in with you regularly to see how you feel about what we are talking about. I want you to be able to apply this knowledge to your everyday life by helping you understand why issues of culture, sexual orientation, and "isms" can greatly impact who we are and how we perceive our worlds. Everyone's perspective is valuable even though we may not always agree with one another. It is through your sharing that we will learn from one another."

Educators should remember that setting a safe classroom environment begins with building good relationships with students. If the instructor does not have a supportive relationship with his or her students, effective learning will be compromised in a multicultural course. Nichols (2005) discusses the Relationship Teaching (RT) Model. His premise is that students learn more effectively from teachers with whom they have a personal relationship. This is most especially true in a classroom where multicultural issues are discussed. Students will not discuss sensitive issues in a classroom that feels unsafe to them or with a teacher whom they do not trust.

### **Using Yourself as a Teaching Tool**

Creating a safe classroom environment involves being a known entity to your students.

Sharing appropriate personal information with students helps them feel like they know their instructors and helps build important connections with them. This is especially important for multicultural courses where instructors have the expectation that students will share their personal experiences. Teaching through real-world narratives can have a powerful impact on students. For example, I have shared some of my own experiences of discrimination with my students to illustrate that “isms” are alive and well. I have asked other students in the room to share their experiences about being the “only lonely” where they were the only member of their group (gender, race, age, etc.) present in the room and their feelings about it. These approaches allow students to not only understand why the material has real world implications but how learning about different multicultural groups in society has a direct impact on the relationships they will have with other people.

As teachers we have the ability to model important experiences for our students. Teachers can share how they are working to overcome their own biases model: the idea that we all have biases and we are all works in progress. In addition those who share their experiences of discrimination or other personal experiences relevant to multicultural issues help their students to see their teachers as human beings. Such self-disclosures enhance feelings of safety in the classroom environment with both teaching and learning enhanced with these important interpersonal connections.

### **Curriculum Suggestions**

To be effective in teaching courses about multicultural issues, educators should use a multidimensional approach which is respectful of the many ways in which students learn course material. In my courses on multicultural issues, I use a combination of: textbooks, films; assignments within which students interview someone of a different culture or present to the class on their own culture; role-plays about how to talk about multicultural issues with friends; family members and in professional contexts; and reaction papers within which students are asked to react to different topics, films, or classroom discussions. These assignments augment class discussions and help students to process course content on multiple levels. These assignments also facilitate students applying course information to their daily lives. Students’ final papers include self-evaluations of their experience and contributions to the course and, more specifically, how the different activities impacted upon them. Further, students are also asked to consider how they intend to apply the knowledge they have learned from the course to their lives; and its impact on their world views.

### **Real World Applications**

Courses covering multicultural content should be dynamic. If taught well, students bring in examples each week of how the issues they are learning about in class are reflected in the real world (e.g. how they see bias operating where they had not previously; how they have confronted friends, family members or others about usage of discriminatory language and/or behaviors; how they have been personally impacted by a topic we discussed in class). I often begin a class by asking students to respond to the content of a television show, a story on the news, or a recently released film. We talk about how these media relate to the issues we are discussing in class. Students often share a narrative of how they applied our discussion of gender or age discrimination to something they are dealing with currently. Effective teachers build bridges for their students between their studies and potential applications in the real world; and such work fosters intellectual, emotional, and personal learning. Once students are finished with a course, they do not retain many of the details. Instead what they retain are overarching concepts, and so making these concepts relevant to students and their personal experiences significantly impacts their retention of the material.

## **Desired Results**

Multicultural courses that balance process and content approaches are difficult to teach. They cover content that often encourages students to explore their biases and face opinions and values that differ from their own. When taught well, students have found these courses to be transformative. If students have felt safe, respected, and heard by their instructor and classmates, they often leave the course feeling motivated to make a difference in social justice issues. Throughout the course, instructors should capitalize on increasing self awareness for students by suggesting ways to help their students confront their personal stereotypes about particular groups and make other important personal changes, therefore addressing the question of how attending students can serve as agents of change in their families, among friends, in professional contexts, and in their communities.

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# Extended Review

## Extended Review

### Midnight: A Gangster Love Story by Sister Souljah

*by Kristina Graaff, Center for Metropolitan Studies, TKG Berlin*

It has been more than nine years since African American author, activist and hip hop musician Sister Souljah published her first novel *The Coldest Winter Ever* (1999). Having written a best-seller that became one of the founding titles of so-called 'Urban Fiction', Souljah had for a long time promised a sequel to her successful debut. After repeatedly being postponed, it was finally strategically scheduled for an election day release. But street book vendors in Harlem, Brooklyn and the Bronx – knowing the readers' impatience – thwarted marketing efforts and sold many copies of the much-anticipated novel before November 4th.

Yet, unexpectedly, *Midnight: A Gangster Love Story* is not a continuation of Souljah's debut. By depicting the migration of the character Midnight from the Sudan to the US at the age of seven; and his coming of age in Brooklyn, it acts as a prequel to *the Coldest Winter Ever*, (which presents the adult Midnight, working for a prominent drug dealer and already well embedded in Brooklyn's illicit economy). This first-person account thus serves to build up the character of Midnight, who is rather inscrutable in that first novel.

Midnight, together with his pregnant mother Umma, arrives in New York in 1979, though without his politician father, who for unmentioned reasons had to remain in the Sudan. Unfamiliar with the city's race and class bound spatial segregation, he and his mother end up in one of Brooklyn's social housing projects, quickly realising that they have arrived in 'a hell reserved for poor Blacks' (p. 46).

Having been raised Muslim, Midnight is alienated by his new neighbours, African Americans, 'who look just like me' (p. 5), but behave so differently: with their different clothing style, slang and fights over territory. He also must adjust to the presence of unveiled women in the so-called hood. Adapting to or even identifying with American blacks is not considered a possibility.

Having been taught martial arts skills by his father, in his early preparation for his eventual role as the family's protector, and being tall for his age, Midnight quickly acquires a reputation in his new surroundings. Midnight treats the hood as a war zone, and every member as a potential enemy. Part of his survival strategy consists of pre-empting potential attacks, which eventually results in him committing two murders (that surprisingly remain unpunished). The family's apartment is depicted as the only safe place within the ghetto – a space of retreat and prayer, furnished by his mother as a Sudanese palace. The main aim of the family, which now includes Midnight's newborn sister Naja, is to move out of the hood as soon as possible, made more possible by the establishment a small business - Umma Design, a Sudanese clothing and perfume line.

Despite maintaining his Islamic values and resistance to American lifestyles, over time Midnight partially blends into 'hood-life'. Dressed in the latest brands, he has to fight off attention from females in his neighborhood, indistinguishably qualified as 'homegirls,' with



'nice-looking bodies, okay faces, but not a lot of originality, style, or variety' (p. 248). Only Akemi, an attractive Japanese sixteen-year-old artist he meets while working in Chinatown, manages to penetrate his inviolability. Although Akemi does not speak English the two grow closer, with Midnight gradually introducing her to the Muslim faith. The reader is encouraged to engage further with the author's didactic undertaking with the addition of photos of Midnight and his family, as well as Arabic words translated in footnotes.

With the same ease with which the fourteen-year-old Midnight manages to overcome any obstacle throughout the novel, the story seems to be settled to everyone's satisfaction when the young couple decide to marry given that premarital sex is unacceptable for Midnight. However, it is on the last pages when a moment of disturbance occurs, shaking the glossy character of Midnight and setting the stage for Souljah's second prequel.

Unexpected by her readership, Sister Souljah broke with the common 'Urban Fiction' pattern of suspense-packed stories, written from the perspective of the hood's inhabitants utilising their slang language. In her new book Souljah only touches on familiar narratives – such as the representation of the hood as a claustrophobic space, exacerbated by permanent police presence – and instead chooses the outside perspective of an immigrant, a group usually omitted from 'Urban Fiction's' primarily African American world.

Instead of using the distant glance to provide insight into the histories and causes of spatial and economic exclusion, still highly prevalent in America's contemporary inner cities, her protagonist Midnight responds with a mixture of alienation, self-demarcation as well as a certain arrogance towards what he indiscriminately perceives as the American black community. In alluding to their excluded status, use of slang language and supposedly violent behavior, Midnight sees the disadvantaged African American poor as people 'with no homeland, culture, or language' (p. 147) – an assessment consistent with the traditional stereotype of the uncivilised black person.

By depicting the hood dwellers as destructive, anti-communal and consumption-oriented, Souljah taps into the tale of the pathological black urban under-class frequently portrayed in mass media and social science discourses. Following a behavioural understanding, well-known stereotypes, like the pregnant teenager and welfare mother, are thus presented as products of a deficient culture. Without considering the impact of economic deprivation or misguided public policies, the fate of spatially confined communities is represented as primarily self-inflicted. Similarly, gender specific clichés are also perpetuated: the violent, 'tribal' (p. 58) black man and the promiscuous, 'hand-me-down girl' (p. 406), 'lying about who is the father of her children; not knowing who the father is' (p. 4).

Souljah's attempt to present the religion of Islam as the only panacea for this lack of restraint and communal disorder fails. This is not only because of Souljah's didactic approach, in which she seems to want to pre-empt expected prejudices. Female readers, in particular, might be concerned by the mediated gender roles, bordering on misogyny. Married women are referred to as 'somebody else's piece' (p. 79), male polygamy is presented as an acceptable practice, and the protagonist's growing possessiveness over the linguistically silenced Akemi seems to contradict Midnight's belief that 'there is no compulsion in Islam' (p. 453).

On a positive note, Souljah successfully conveys the spatial control of the hood through the omnipresence of police force, regulating inhabitants' public behaviour. Like a constant reminder of the well-known 'No Loitering' sign, police cars transform the public space from a place for lingering to a zone of transit:

Our team stepped out of the gym and into the red and blue lights of the popo, pulled up and parked on the curb in front of the gym. They was eyeing us with a hatred that didn't mean shit 'cause it was an everyday thing. "Keep walking," a cop's voice blasted out over the megaphone. "Keep walking, clear the area, get back to your building," the voice ordered. (p. 218)

Hence, gathering in public is, especially for a black urban youth, equated with a risk of arrest, and for Midnight turns into 'a luxury I couldn't afford' (p. 62). Similarly, Souljah graphically displays the city's racial geographies and prejudices associated with the spatialisation. Hence, during a visit to New York's Museum of Modern Art, Midnight is clearly aware of entering the 'White zone', an area 'where I already know there won't be many Black people, where I will be an obvious standout and automatic suspect' (p. 408). Likewise, entering Akemi's uncle's store in Chinatown, he is not surprised seeing her uncle's 'body jerk, the way every shop owner trembles when a young, strong, Black man enters the door around closing time' (p. 146).

Overall, Souljah draws a pessimistic picture of America's contemporary race relations: black immigrants are shielding themselves from African Americans, who in turn are looking down on immigrants from Africa, and Midnight's interaction with white Americans is reduced to a minimum.

Her narrative reflects that a diasporic identification among blacks is undesired: albeit from the perspective of African Americans or from the side of African immigrants. However, Souljah's attempt to construct Africa as a counter space to an inhuman America is questionable. Surprisingly for a feminist like Souljah, she uses the trope of Mother Africa to oppose the image of 'what Americans consider the worst place in the world' (p.5). Regrettably, this results, not only in a simplified and romanticised account of a multi-faceted continent, but also confines women to nurturing and mothering, once again inscribing the patriarchic notion that *Midnight* conveys so clearly throughout the story.

Presumably, Souljah's primarily African American readership will resist these binary depictions, especially her demonisation of America and portrayal of its black population. It is probable that her readers will be disappointed in Souljah for not having followed the 'Urban Fiction' path she pursued so successfully with *The Coldest Winter Ever*: wrapping her critical perspective in a suspense packed story. But they will likely be curious how, in her next prequel, Sista Souljah will manage to transform Midnight from an infallible character, deeply rooted in Islam, to the right-hand man of Brooklyn's major drug lord.

*Midnight: A Gangster Love Story* (2008) by Sister Souljah is available from Atria Books ISBN 1416545182 for \$26.95.

A black and white photograph of a woman in a white dress standing in a courtyard with a brick building in the background. The woman is on the left side of the frame, looking towards the camera. The building has several windows and a brick wall. The courtyard is paved and has some plants in the background.

# **Book Reviews**

**Louis Bailey  
Bethan Harries  
Agnes Khoo  
Valrie Rowe  
Barrie Stanhope  
Jenny Van Hooff**

## Reviews

### ARTS, LITERATURE, SPORT AND MEDIA

**Bailey, Olga G., Georgiou, Myria, and Harindranath, Ramaswami (eds)**

**TRANSNATIONAL LIVES AND THE MEDIA: RE-IMAGINING THE DIASPORA**

Publisher: New York, Palgrave Macmillan

Year: 2007

ISBN: 978-0230019836

Pagination: 288 pp

Price: £55.00/\$85.00USD

This edited collection provides an account of the relationship between diaspora and media cultures. The contributors draw from various theoretical and empirical approaches illustrated by original case studies. The first section of the book explores key epistemological, conceptual and methodological issues for the study of diaspora, transnationalism and the media, within which Shehina Fazal examines the concept of diaspora and its intersections with transnationalism and multiculturalism. The second part of the book discusses the different aspects of the politics of diasporic and migrant experiences. Here, Eugenia Siapera considers the articulation of transnational Islamic identities, in a context in which Islam is often understood to be diametrically opposed to 'the West'. Section three explores the role of media and communication technologies in the process of developing the cultural identities of various groups. The final part of the volume focuses on the roles of NGOs working with diasporic communities. It considers organisations based in Europe, the United States and the rest of the world.

*Also relates to:*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*History*

*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*

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**Baker, Aaron**

**CONTESTING IDENTITIES: SPORTS IN AMERICAN FILM, URBANA AND CHICAGO**

Publisher: University of Illinois Press

Year: 2006

Pagination: 147 pp

ISBN: 978-0252073540 pbk

Price: \$16.00 USD

Baker looks at the different ways in which multiple social identities, particularly that of race, class, gender and to a less extent, sexuality are portrayed in Hollywood 'Sports Films'. He describes how these identities come into contestation and conflict with one another in these commercialised, full-length feature sound films that base their stories on various kinds of popular sports like football, baseball, boxing and basketball. These films tend to portray their protagonists as outstanding sportsmen or more recently, sportswomen, who have excelled despite all odds, thereby transcending class, gender or racial discrimination.

Baker however, disagrees that such 'Sports Films' are purely entertaining and therefore apolitical. He shows how, on the contrary, they legitimise and reinforce the dominant discourse in American society, which stresses individualism, self-reliance and hard work as the means to personal success. He is critical of the way Hollywood 'Sports Films' ignore the structural forces that impinge upon our identities such as: class, race, gender and sexuality, preventing free and fair competition and in turn, our advancement in life.

By dissecting this 'American mythology' in Hollywood films, he shows how it glosses over the structural and institutional discrimination that continues to exist in American society today.

The book is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 focuses on the use of history in films, discussing how historical contextualisation can create contradictions in the films' narratives. Chapter 2 focuses on the issue of race and how African Americans were excluded or marginalised from Hollywood films despite their prominence in sports. Even if they play prominent roles in these films, their characters are often premised on their acceptance of white control or their assimilation into the dominant culture, which Baker defines as white, male, heterosexual, and middle-class. Chapter 3 focuses on the relationship between gender and sports wherein discrimination against women is not seen as systemic. Therefore, women are told that they can simply overcome obstacles and succeed in sports if they train equally hard and accept the same ethos as their white male counterparts. Chapter 4 focuses on Hollywood's neglect of class as an important determinant in one's success or lack of it in life. The author criticises the 'myth-making role' of Hollywood films in reinforcing the idea of sports as a means to achieve individual upward social mobility, thus dismissing the significance of class deprivation and class solidarity in the process.

Baker surmises that social identities are far more complex than their portrayals in Hollywood films, and that these differing identities are in fact, relational, hybridised and the result of different contesting ideological discourses. Nevertheless, he concedes that due to the influence of liberalism, feminism and post-modernism, some Hollywood films have begun to portray multiculturalism, political pluralities and social diversities in a more sensitive manner.

**Also relates to:**

***Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships***

***Economics and Globalisation***

***Politics and Government***

**Brown, Jayna**

## **BABYLON GIRLS: BLACK WOMEN PERFORMERS AND THE SHAPING OF THE MODERN**

Publisher: Duke University Press

Year: 2008

Pagination: 360 pp

ISBN: 978-0822341573

Price: \$23.95 USD

This volume analyses the significance of African American expressive techniques to sociological scholarship and the creation of popular culture. *Babylon Girls* offers an intellectual post-modern study that features early African American female stage performers as influential procurers of modern art forms. Jayna Brown indicates the efficacy of early twentieth century black female stage performers as progenitors of cosmopolitan art. These women, despite racial prejudice, managed to carve out an indelible cultural space. This study is about the social process which acts as a catalyst in the formation of black stage production as a formidable art form and the source of contemporary scholarship in Performance Studies, African American Studies and Women's Studies. Central to this work is the western politics of gendered race and socio-political contestation for public space, where blacks were denied the right of place. The author explains the tenacity of black female performers like Josephine Baker, Aida Overton and other less known artists, who, despite their low social rank, navigated racism to entertain wide audiences throughout the US and Europe. These trailblazers, some chorus line, cabaret acts and singers challenged the existing protocol and

rules that excluded blacks as cultural connoisseurs and black women as producers.

Jayna Brown theorises the fluidity of culture as a continuous production, which transcends time and space. Despite efforts to contain racial categories, the ambiguities of conurbation and self-indulgence of metropolis audiences, a new phenomenon was created out of the existing social conflicts. Emerging was gaiety, masquerade (minstrelsy) and cross-culture exchange and the expression 'societies' ironies'. Art was imitating realism and the metropolis became the cauldron wherein which black culture gained acceptance. Conversely, the author indicates that this alliance does not negate egalitarianism but plays on the irony of racialised identities of race and gender and the concept of western democracy. Early 1900s stage shows like *The Creole Show* (1890) and *Shuffle Along* (1921) were exaggerated self-narratives of black realism which relied heavily on the use of vernacular. Unpredictably, as both black and white women acted out stereotypical roles of 'picaninny' characters and other hyper-racialised categories across international stages, new urban trends in dance, music (jazz) and fashion emerged. Most notably, dance movements such as the Charleston, the shimmy and the catwalk were invented by black women. These procurers of urban movements developed their talents through extreme material deprivation, often through improvisation. *Babylon Girls* salutes the efforts of the early twentieth century African American female performers in paving the way for the 'modern woman' and urban popular culture.

**Also relates to:**

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Health and Social Care*

*Politics and Government*

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**Burgos, Adrian, Jr.**

### **PLAYING AMERICA'S GAME: BASEBALL, LATINOS AND THE COLOR LINE**

Publisher: Duke University Press

Year: 2007

Pagination: 362 pp

ISBN: 978-0520251434

Price: £15.95

In this book, Burgos takes a historical view of the role of Latinos in organised baseball. He finds that although they have been largely ignored by historians of both baseball in general and the Negro leagues in particular, Latinos have been a significant presence in professional leagues from the beginning. Burgos draws on archival materials from the US, Cuba, and Puerto Rico and draws on Spanish- and English-language publications as well as interviews with Negro league and major league players to support his claims for the centrality of Latinos in the history of baseball from the 1880s. Before Jackie Robinson was signed in 1947, managers manipulated racial distinctions to include Latino players. However, this inclusion did not signify equality, and darker-skinned players such as Orestes (Minnie) Miñoso, Roberto Clemente, and Sammy Sosa continued to be excluded.

**Also relates to:**

*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*History*

*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*

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**Waters, Hazel**

### **RACISM ON THE VICTORIAN STAGE: REPRESENTATION OF SLAVERY AND THE**

## **BLACK CHARACTER**

Publisher: Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Year: 2007

Pagination: 219 pp

ISBN: 978-0521107556

Price: £18.99

In this study of the representation of race in the Victorian Arts, Waters explores the development of black stereotypes during a process of rapid social change. She traces how racial assumptions in Britain evolved from a certain flexibility at the end of the eighteenth century to a greater rigidity by the second half of the nineteenth century. Theatre at the time was mass entertainment and the 70 plays explored by Waters, which were hastily written, surviving only as hand-written manuscripts or cheap pamphlets, were used to discover how 'race' was viewed and how the stereotype of the black was developed and degraded. She reports that slavery was a major theme for many Victorian plays, and it shaped the image of black people as presented for popular consumption. More famous black characters, featuring in Shakespeare's *Othello*, and Southerne's *Oroonoko* are also discussed.

*Also relates to:*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*History*

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**Weisenfeld, Judith**

## **HOLLYWOOD BET HY NAME: AFRICAN AMERICAN RELIGION IN AMERICAN FILM, 1929-1949,**

Publisher: Berkeley, University of California Press

Year: 2007

Pagination: 341 pp

ISBN: 9780521107556

Price: £18-.99

In this book, Weisenfeld examines the complicated ways filmmakers and their films engaged in the ongoing process of articulating race and religion in America in the early twentieth century. From the earliest years of sound film in America, Hollywood studios and independent producers of 'race films' for black audiences, created stories featuring African American religious practices, and particularly music. Weisenfeld explores these cinematic representations and how they reflected and contributed to discourses about race, citizenship, and American identity. Her research is based on analysis of films, as well as studio production files, censorship records and discussions and debates about religion and film in the black press. She argues that religion was central to African Americans' cinematic representations in the 1920s, 30s and 40s.

*Also relates to:*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*History*

*Politics and Government*

## **CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND RACIAL VIOLENCE**

**Aspden, Kester**

## **NATIONALITY: WOG .THE HOUNDING OF DAVID OLUWALE**

Publisher: London, Jonathan Cape

Year: 2007

Pagination: 244 pp

ISBN: 978-0224080408

Price: £12.99/\$17.99USD



In this biography, Aspden explores the life and brutal death of David Oluwale. Oluwale was a homeless man living in Leeds, whose body was discovered in the River Aire in 1969. After a brief police investigation he was buried in a pauper's grave. However, a year later his body was exhumed, at the request of a novice policeman who suspected two of his colleagues of causing Oluwale's death. The two police officers, Sergeant Ken Kitching and Inspector Geoff Ellerker, were charged in November 1971 with manslaughter and assault occasioning actual bodily harm and were found guilty. The police officers were sentenced to just over five years' imprisonment between them. In the trial it was revealed that, as well as beating him in Millgarth police station, whilst Oluwale was living on the streets, they would wake him up by urinating on him or setting fire to the newspaper on which he slept. Aspden links the lack of justice in this case to wider issues of discrimination, and questions whether present-day Western inaction in Darfur, like past slowness in dealing with Rwanda, reveal a hidden belief that black African lives are lesser in value.

**Also relates to:**

***Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships***

***History***

***Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience***

***Politics and Government***

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**Knopf, Terry Ann**

**RUMORS, RACE AND RIOTS**

Publisher: New Jersey, Transaction Publishers

Year: 2006

Pagination: 398pp

ISBN: 978-1412805575

Price: £19.95/\$29.95USD

In the second edition of this book, Knopf updates her 1975 study of how and why rumours emerge in connection with racial disturbances. The study is based on relevant rumours documented in newspapers and other sources in the 1960s and 70s. Knopf developed a theory that race related rumours found in crisis situations formed a pattern that was part of the same process. This included a rigid social structure, hostility between different races and conditions of stress, which enabled the formation of specific rumours to aggravate an already difficult situation. Knopf was persuaded of the book's contemporary relevance by two events: the rioting in Paris in 2005 which involved mainly people from immigrant North African backgrounds, and the menacing rumours that circulated in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in 2005.

**Also relates to:**

***Arts, Literature and Sport***

***Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships***

***History***

***Social theory***

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**Rowe, Michael (ed)**

**POLICING BEYOND MACPHERSON: ISSUES IN POLICING, RACE AND SOCIETY**

Publisher: Devon, Willan Publishing

Year: 2007

Pagination: 196 pp

ISBN: 978-1843922124

Price: £22.00/\$39.95USD

In this volume, contributors address the impact of the Lawrence Report since it was published in 1999. When it was published, Home Secretary Jack Straw promised that the Macpherson

Inquiry would lead to significant change in the policing of minority ethnic communities in Britain. The essays included in the book offer a reflection on some of the key controversies that have developed as the recommendations of the Lawrence Inquiry have, or have not, been implemented. James Whitfield opens the collection with an essay placing the issues relating to the Lawrence case in their historical context. The broader social, political and policing background against which the recommendations of the Macpherson Report have been implemented is reviewed by Eugene McLaughlin. Neil Charkraborti concludes that, since 9/11, discussion of police relations with minority ethnic communities tends to relate to the Muslim rather than the African Caribbean community.

*Also relates to:*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*

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**Winterdyk, John & Antonopoulos, George (eds)**

**RACIST VICTIMIZATION: INTERNATIONAL REFLECTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES**

Publisher: Ashgate

Year: 2008

Pagination: 236pp

ISBN: 978-0754673200

Price: £55.00

This book brings together a collection of essays to provide a clear account of the event, nature, characteristics and reactions towards racist victimization within an international context. It provides definitions of key terms, data, graphs, readily packaged sound bites and case examples as well as detailed study based on the countries of Australia, Canada, England and Wales, France, Germany, Greece, Japan and the US.

The book's goal is to explore racist victimisation across these countries and to examine the different cultural, historical, social and geographic characteristics in relations to who, and why certain individuals/groups are victimized. Although different minority and migrant groups live in the countries of the Western (and Eastern) world, the trend of exclusion, persecution and victimization remains the same. Whether African Caribbean, Aboriginal people, Black, Asian, Moroccan, Turkish, Chinese, Roma or Gypsy, all these groups have something in common: they belong to different types of 'ethnic-making situations' and constitute the 'Other' often identified with danger, fear and national insecurity. As a consequence they have been prejudiced against and victimized.

This collection of essays allows the reader to gain a deeper understanding of: Why younger minority ethnic and/or racial youth are more likely to be the victim of racially biased conflict. Why certain areas are more prone to racial conflict than others. What the mechanism are that predispose certain individuals to racist victimisation. What the likely impact on not reporting racial incidents. How and why racist victimization incidents occur and which policies appear to work.

In addition, each chapter follows a framework of providing an historical overview of the country in question, a discussion of racism within the legal context of that country, a description and the extent of racism married to an overview of the social, cultural and political reaction to racially motivated victimization. Then a conclusion is drawn with observations about the plight and direction of racist victimization within the country.

To give a flavour of each chapter; 'Australia' focuses on the fact that tension and friction amongst ethnic groups has been integral to the country's history, highlighting the contradiction of the country's image of being friendly, welcoming and tolerant with the fact large sectors of the migrant and ethnic population perceive themselves as marginalised.

A subsequent chapter considers Canada's experience as a multicultural nation within

which racial prejudice is prevalent. It examines the country's difficulty in collecting and creating meaningful data to help it steer legislative and social interventions.

The chapter which analyses experiences in England and Wales utilises the murder of Stephen Lawrence and the subsequent Macpherson Inquiry to contextualise. It looks at the wider implications of the changes in legislation and whether or not the Criminal Justice System has deepened its understanding of racist victimization and broadened its response to such situations. France, typically struggling with its race relations, had the debate dramatically reignited with the riots of 2005. The author points out that the absence of political and public debate on racist victimization is a characteristic of French culture. Light is cast on contemporary racist violence in Germany where it seems that there is very little data and statistical evidence on the effectiveness of anti-racist legislation. Policies are, 'not lead by scientific research but guided by normative theory and ideology'. The Chapter on Greece highlights the issue that migrants are primarily the victims of racism; the lack of an effective legal framework, despite great strides to put systems in place, leaves the problem remaining. In Japan, the author focuses on how the 'myth of homogeneity' has simply been denied minority groups. Instead 'foreigner as criminal' seems the predominant mind set with its subsequent ramification. The final chapter on the US examines the four main groups that are victims of racism, how, by law since 1990, data has been collected on racial victimization and the consequent social and political response to 'racial profiling'.

**Also relates to:**

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Health and Social Care*

*History*

*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*

*Politics and Government*

## **CULTURE, IDENTITY, GENDER AND RELATIONSHIPS**

**April, Kurt, and Shockley, Marylou (eds)**

**DIVERSITY IN AFRICA: THE COMING OF AGE OF A CONTINENT**

Publisher: Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan

Year: 2007

Pagination: 316 pp

ISBN: 978-0230006843

Price: £57.50/\$95.00USD

This collection discusses the challenges and opportunities associated with the cultural diversity of the African continent. It argues that culture should not be used to divide Africans from each other and the rest of the world, but should be used to unite people and inspire a prosperous way forward through a shared and collective African vision. The book is an attempt to unite academics and leaders in forwarding the moral call for Africa to become aware of the causes of its oppression, and highlight the potential of Africa through the maximization of the rich diversity existent in the continent. An essay by Lize Booysen explores cultural diversity and its management from a South African perspective, and Nadine Mendelek Theimann discusses the African thought system more generally. Madelein Mkunu explores issues of gender in her essay on the contributions of women to the process of development and unity in Africa. John Clarke's chapter looks at how communities can address the problem of HIV/AIDS.

**Also relates to:**

*Economics and Globalisation*

*Health and Social Care*

*History*

*Politics and Government*  
*Social Theory*

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**Carter, Julian B.**

**THE HEART OF WHITENESS: NORMAL SEXUALITY AND RACE IN AMERICA 1880-1940**

Publisher: Durham and London, Duke University Press

Year: 2007

Pagination: 219 pp

ISBN: 978-0822339373

Price: £13.99/\$21.95USD

Julian Carter demonstrates that between 1880 and 1940, cultural discourses of whiteness and heterosexuality came together to form a new concept of the 'normal' American. The book focuses on the early-twentieth century emergence of the ideal of this 'normal' American, through which a particular kind of person came to be perceived as uniquely modern, natural and healthy. This modern, 'normal' person was largely defined through a powerfully racialized understanding of sexuality, based on an ideal of heterosexual whiteness. At the same time, the affectionate, reproductive heterosexuality of 'normal' married couples became increasingly central to legitimate membership of the nation. Carter bases her research on popular texts, focusing on how sex education for children and marital advice for adults provided outlets for the dissemination of the new ideal of normality.

**Also relates to:**

*Arts, Literature and Sport*

*History*

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**Glaser, Eliane**

**JUDAISM WITHOUT JEWS: PHILOSEMITISM AND CHRISTIAN POLEMIC IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND**

Publisher: Basingstoke, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan

Year: 2007

Pagination: 220 pp

ISBN: 978-0230507746

Price: £45.00/\$69.95USD

Here, Glaser explores the historiography of the readmission of Jews to England in 1656. Oliver Cromwell's decision to readmit Jews to England has traditionally been regarded as a watershed in the history of the Jews in England, and is often argued to represent the culmination of a Christian enthusiasm for Jewish ideas. However, careful analysis leads Glaser to argue that Oliver Cromwell did not readmit the Jews to England in 1656. She acknowledges that Menasseh ben Israel, the prominent Amsterdam rabbi, came to visit Cromwell in 1655 to try to persuade him to readmit them, and the Whitehall Conference was called in December of that year to discuss the issue. However, the conference ended without reaching a verdict. In March 1656, six members of London's Jewish community submitted a petition to Cromwell requesting permission to hold services in private without being disturbed by the authorities, and to establish a Jewish cemetery. Cromwell referred this petition to his Council of State, but it was ignored. It has been argued that Cromwell himself was favourably inclined towards the Jews, and verbally granted the terms of the community's petition. However, Glaser maintains that no proof of this verbal assurance has ever been found, and that there is no evidence to indicate the nature of Cromwell's own attitude towards the Jews.

**Also relates to:**

*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*

*History*  
*Politics and Government*  
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**Noll, Mark A.**

**GOD AND RACE IN AMERICAN POLITICS: A SHORT HISTORY**

Publisher: Princeton, Princeton University Press

Year: 2008

Pagination: 224 pp

ISBN: 978-0691125367

Price: £13.50

In this book, Mark Noll attempts to make sense of what is a complicated history and brings into focus the interconnections between politics, race and religion in America. He argues that 'race and religion make up, not only [America's] deepest and most enduring moral problem but also its broadest and most enduring political influence.' Noll concentrates on three transformative periods in American political history: slavery, the Civil War and the Civil Rights Movement. Defining these political transformations and trying to explain how race and religion dictated the shape of their development are the major concerns of this book. In doing so, Noll tries to show that whilst race and religion have combined differently in America's key transformative eras, their successive combinations have constituted a single, continuous narrative from the slave revolt in 1830 to George W. Bush's re-election in 2004.

Noll demonstrates how supporters and opponents of slavery and segregation have drawn equally on the Bible to justify the morality of their positions. The Civil War was also a battle over how to interpret the Bible and how to promote moral norms in public life. He contends that the American practice of republican democracy has provided a human and enlightened system and that the Christian faith has, on balance, been a force for good at home and abroad. However, Noll goes on to point out that neither politics nor religion have been able to overcome problems associated with race relations. This failure is reflective of America's paradoxical behaviour - that of the 'good' Christian democrat alongside the pervasive exploitation and discrimination of African-Americans. He describes the 'commingling' of paradoxical behaviours such as, domination with liberation and altruism with greed as part of the consistent narrative of American history. The reliance on the Bible for meeting different ends, liberation alongside oppression, is central to the nation's moral problem. Noll concludes that to make sense of this complicated history, full of contradictions and paradoxes, it is helpful to proceed from a standpoint that has a scope wide enough to take in the moral complexities that it generates.

The book is based on Noll's own research on the Civil War period and on twentieth century white American evangelicals combined with a review of the literature on the Reconstruction and the modern civil rights era. Noll acknowledges that this short history does not cover all of the complicated themes and events that have taken place. The book's purpose is really to bring understanding to the way in which race, religion and politics are intertwined and how these connections have developed throughout history. It is illustrated throughout with historical references and covers issues from the period leading up to the Civil War to issues affecting electoral behaviour in the present day.

*Also relates to:*

*History*  
*Politics and Government*  
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**Raymond, G. and Modood, T. (eds)**

**THE CONSTRUCTION OF MINORITY IDENTITIES IN FRANCE AND BRITAIN**

Publisher: Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan

Year: 2007

Pagination: 224 pp  
ISBN: 978-0230522183  
Price: £45.00

This edited book contains contributions from experts that cut across cultural studies and the social sciences. It compares how two countries that have very different attitudes to minority identities deal with the challenge of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism in Britain allows for the possibility that race or faith can be combined with a British identity, whilst the French view is that combining religion and nationality is unacceptable. The book is original in that it compares responses by France and Britain and elucidates the common challenges the two societies face as they endeavour to respond to the subjective needs of all their citizens, in an increasingly globalised world. The first part of the book analyses the characteristics and contradictions of French and British approaches to the understanding of how minority identities are constructed. It then goes on to consider the realities in France and Britain with regard to more recently established and older minorities with distinct identities in both.

In chapter one, Tariq Modood and Riva Kastoryano develop a broad view of the assumptions at the heart of secularism in Western societies. They suggest that the consequence for newly settled communities is that the rhetoric of secular neutrality by the state can be read as a pretext for a bias that militates against genuine pluralism and multiculturalism. Michel Wieviorka provides an overview of the way the understanding of identity and the processes of its construction have evolved, the paradoxes this evolution has generated and the challenges it now poses.

Catherine Wihtol de Wenden offers a broad, historical view of the factors that have shaped modern France and conditioned the peculiarities and paradoxes of the French attitude toward the construction of minority identities. Max Silverman focuses on the ambiguities revealed by the attempt of the French state to police the secular boundaries of the public space in the Republic. The consequences and constraints imposed by the demands of faith-based forms of identification in certain communities are not to be underestimated but, he argues, it is legitimate to question whether they really contribute to fault-lines that are more economic than social.

Nadia Kiwan draws on research carried out in a town on the outskirts of Paris over a 12-month period. Her interviews paint a picture of young people tailoring a sense of self that is the result of continuously circulating between social and cultural forms of identification, while simultaneously drawing on community-oriented and more universal elements of identity. Vincent Latour draws on research among black and minority ethnic groups in Bristol. The evidence from his research suggests that the community-based approach to race relations in Britain offers little scope for complacency in terms of tangible results, vis-à-vis the French approach.

Pnina Werbner draws out the variety and complexity that characterises the operation of notions like honour and shame in Muslim communities; and the tendency of secular Western societies to envisage them in reductive terms. She suggests that the defence of the modern secular nature of the public sphere in France rings hollow given the successful adaptation of Jewish post-war migrants to the ideology of the Republic. Harry Goulbourne discusses the first post-war wave of migrants. The arrival in Britain and the new context in which Caribbeans had to operate were instrumental in engendering a collective identity. The uniqueness of the Caribbean experience lies in the fact that, in socio-political terms, their integration in British life has succeeded arguably to the point of virtual absorption.

***Also relates to:***

***Criminal Justice and Racial Violence***

***Economics and Globalisation***

***History***

***Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience***



*Politics*

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**Robinson, Edward J.**

**TO SAVE MY RACE FROM ABUSE: THE LIFE OF SAMUEL ROBERT CASSIUS**

Publisher: Tuscaloosa, The University of Alabama Press

Year: 2007

Pagination: 212 pp

ISBN: 978-0817315559

Price: £26.00/\$39.95USD

This biography documents the life of Samuel Robert Cassius, the black minister whose ministry helped reveal and shape race relations in the US prior to the rise of Marshall Keeble in the early twentieth century. Robinson describes Cassius's life, from his birth in 1853, his early life as a slave, and his conversion to the Disciples of Christ in 1883. Cassius was a passionate preacher, and relied on white Christians for financial support. However, as an ex-slave, he struggled against racism, and rejected stereotypes of black people in his writings and sermons. Cassius's racial consciousness was as strong as his religious convictions, as he equated saving the souls of black Americans from the wrath of God with rescuing their names and reputations from the condemnation of white Americans. Until now, the work of Samuel Robert Cassius has been virtually forgotten, however Robinson attempts here to restore his place as the most vocal and visible African American preacher in Churches of Christ during the Progressive Era, 1890-1920.

*Also relates to:*

*Arts, Literature and Sport*

*History*

*Social Theory*

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**Sharpley-Whiting, T. Denean**

**PIMPS UP, HO'S DOWN: HIP HOP'S HOLD ON YOUNG BLACK WOMEN**

Publisher: New York University Press

Year: 2007

Pagination: 208 pp

ISBN: 978-0814740149

Price: £19.95

Taking as her starting point her own position as a self-proclaimed 'feminist academic of the hip hop generation', T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting examines the complex ways in which young black women negotiate the misogynist and male-dominated realm of hip hop. At the heart of her exploration is the contradiction that hip hop relies upon women whilst simultaneously rejecting them. Indeed, claims Sharpley-Whiting, hip hop depends on young black women – they are indispensable to its mass-media-engineered appeal and commercial success. What is needed, argues Sharpley-Whiting, is a radical shake-up of the sexual politics of hip hop. With a more 'gender inclusive' approach, as outlined here, hip hop, the author claims, has the potential to shirk its 'profane' public face in order to have its weighty political agenda and artistic legacy accorded the scholarly legitimacy it deserves.

The book starts out by exploring the complexities of the representation of women and women's own investment in hip hop music videos. Here Sharpley-Whiting makes an interesting connection between hip hop's packaging of women-as-sex-commodities and the position of women in the diasporic sex tourism trade. Whilst acknowledging that women are presented in a less than ideal light, Sharpley-Whiting nevertheless accords a sense of agency to the female models and actors of hip hop media. In so doing, she highlights the



difficult nature of women's relationship to beauty culture and the million-dollar hip hop media industry.

Chapter two investigates the relationship between hip hop and sexual abuse, drawing on high-profile cases and hip hop generation films to examine the tangled web of gender politics, sexual violence and the murky issues of consent. There follows an examination of the necessity of groupie culture within hip hop and the ways in which women again represent the mainstay of male ego and machismo. In an interesting twist, chapter four puts the spot light on the interaction between hip hop and strip clubs to complicate the term 'pimping' as less about a particular gendered dynamic and more the result of a genderless bartering between music-as-making and music-as-commodity.

The book closes with an analysis of the current situation of feminism and hip hop within contemporary American culture. Drawing on extensive interviews with young, college-educated women, Sharpley-Whiting opens discussion up to the need to redefine a new gender politics within hip hop culture. Dispensing with the degrading 'pimps up-ho's down' ethos of hip hop culture, Sharpley-Whiting interprets the future of hip hop as a promising one – lying within feminism and the reach of the current hip hop generation.

*Also relates to:*

*Economics and Globalisation*

*Education*

*Employment*

*Politics and Government*

## **ECONOMICS AND GLOBALISATION**

**Held, David, and Kaya, Ayse**

### **GLOBAL INEQUALITY: PATTERNS AND EXPLANATIONS**

Publisher: Cambridge, Polity Press

Year: 2007

Pagination: 282 pp

ISBN: 978-0745638874

Price: £15.99/\$22.95USD

In this volume, contributors explore the issue of global inequality. They discuss what global inequality actually is, and how it can be measured. The editors are in no doubt that global inequality is one of the major problems of the twenty-first century, as over 830 million people are seriously undernourished, and the richest 10 percent of the world's population receive around half of the world's income. Such inequalities have motivated many protest movements, from 'Live Aid', to fair trade. Contributors debate whether globalisation has alleviated or exacerbated inequality and poverty, and attempt to move beyond this 'either-or' debate. Authors include Gosta Esping-Andersen, Nancy Fraser, James K. Galbraith, Ravi Kanbur, Branko Milanovic, David Dollar and Anthony J. Venables. They discuss all the major issues that need to be addressed in conceptualising, measuring and analysing contemporary patterns of global inequality.

*Also relates to:*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Employment*

*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*

*Social Theory*

## **EDUCATION**

**Richards, Sandra**

### **THE WAY WE SEE IT**

Publisher: Trentham Books

Year: 2008

Pagination: 169pp

ISBN: 978-1858564203

Price: £16.99

Employing an African-centred approach, Richards makes an important challenge to the British educational system and the ways in which it excludes, and ultimately fails, Caribbean-African children. According to Richards, the persistent exclusion of Caribbean-African boys, in particular, is linked to institutional racism which, in turn, is here tied to a broader historical framework of British Colonialism and Imperialism. Richards shifts the blame away from the boys themselves – who often become convenient scapegoats to Britain's continued reliance on and profiting from Colonialism – and instead throws the hard and oppressive gaze of the British school system back on itself. The result is an uncomfortable but necessary look at the ways in which UK schools represent sites of enduring post-colonial trauma for young British Caribbean-African students, their parents and their communities.

The book starts by revealing the social inequalities and educational injustices concealed within the veiled system of school league tables. Here, Richards uncovers shocking statistics pertaining to the exclusion rates of Caribbean-African pupils and the consequent downward spiral of poverty, crime, violence, social disadvantage and high mortality rates within their communities.

Richards details how, within the British school system, enslavement has been replaced with a fear and consequent exclusion of pupils which, in addition to the misrepresentation of African culture and the consequent erasure of African history, has led to the emotional, social and intellectual isolation of Caribbean-African students. This in turn, claims Richards, has the potential to lead to underachievement, social disorder and social exclusion.

Richards urges the need for difficult conversations which address the gap between the theory and practice of inclusion. This would take as its starting point the need for adults not to pathologise and blame children whilst absolving themselves of accountability. Instead, claims Richards, both teachers and practitioners need to take responsibility for their own position and affect on the educational lives of the children in their care. Often, stresses Richards, it is the discomfort of this realisation which makes teachers choose their own careers over the education of their pupils.

The book concludes by setting out a model of a socially inclusive practice in an attempt to support excluded pupils and to start a dialogue between pupils, parents, teachers and practitioners. Drawing on examples of socially inclusive practice recommendations for teachers and policy makers, Richards urges a paradigm shift towards an African-focused pedagogy which makes it the responsibility of teachers and policy makers to work in partnership with the Caribbean-African community in order to address cultural ignorance, miscommunication, and misunderstanding. According to Richards, it is only by acknowledging, and truly understanding, African cultural history and contemporary culture that the real reasons behind the marginalisation and exclusion of Caribbean-African pupils can be properly addressed and rectified. In this way, Richards reverses the claim that British Caribbean-African sub-culture is to blame for the high exclusion rates of descended pupils and instead argues that these pupils need to have a sense of belonging and a connection to their cultural heritage in order to thrive and reach their full academic potential.

**Also relates to:**

*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Health and Social Care*

*History*

*Social Theory*

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**Weekes-Bernard, Debbie**

**SCHOOL CHOICE AND ETHNIC SEGREGATION: EDUCATIONAL DECISION-MAKING AMONG BLACK AND MINORITY ETHNIC PARENTS**

Publisher: London, The Runnymede Trust

Year: 2007

Pagination: 68 pp

ISBN: 10 0-9548389-12

Price: £9.95

This report explores the factors affecting black and minority ethnic (BME) parents' choice of school and the implication of these choices for segregation or cohesion. It also explores whether current educational reform adequately promotes race equality. It presents research based on interviews with BME parents and children, admission officials and senior teachers to examine what impact the choice agenda has on their educational decision making. The report finds that the choice agenda actually works against efforts to increase the educational attainment of BME pupils. Choice policies tend to support the aspirations of middle-class parents, enhancing their access to high-achieving schools. The report concludes that race and diversity continues to have little impact on educational policy development in Britain.

*Also relates to:*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*

## **EMPLOYMENT**

**Pai, Hsiao-Hung**

**CHINESE WHISPERS: THE TRUE STORY BEHIND BRITAIN'S HIDDEN ARMY OF LABOUR**

Publisher: London, Penguin Books

Year: 2008

Pagination: 262pp

ISBN: ISBN 978-0-141-03568-0 PBK

Price: £8.99

An interesting and timely book by freelance journalist, Hsiao-Hung Pai about the realities of hundreds of thousands of undocumented migrant workers from China in Britain today. The book contains eight case studies of Chinese workers in different types of menial, casual work such as selling pirated DVDs in the streets, picking cabbages for big supermarket chains, housekeeping in brothels, sex work, cooking in the busy Chinese restaurant kitchens or waiting at tables. Pai wrote this book because of the tragic deaths of Chinese migrant workers who tried to enter Britain or work in Britain without legal papers. Invoking incidents such as the suffocation of 58 Chinese immigrants trapped in a locked container from Holland to Dover and the drowning of 23 cockle pickers in Morecambe Bay in 2004, the book highlights the inhumane working conditions of undocumented workers in Britain today. The author emphasises that this is in fact, a consequence of British immigration laws that aim to keep out migrants and migrant workers who are not from the European Union (EU). Ironically, according the author, government policies such as these are creating the very conditions for the trafficking of migrants into the country and the ever-increasing exploitation of their labour.

Pai shows the causes (the 'push factors') for labour migration out of developing countries such as mainland China where the increasing impoverishment of the rural and agricultural sectors have forced peasants and small farmers to migrate to cities, both at home and abroad, in search of work. She also links the waves of migration out of China today, to the retrenchment of workers from previously state-owned enterprises since the

Chinese economic reforms that began from the late 1980s. Pai contextualises the increased number of migrant workers into Britain as part and parcel of a world-wide trend of globalised migration. Thereby pointing out that what is taking place in Britain today is not unique to the country. The author believes that as long as extreme disparities of wealth exist within a country or between countries, the exploitation of migrant labour is global.

The author criticises the racist discourses that underlie many of the British Government's policies to prevent, restrict and control 'illegal migrants'. In its effort to 'look good' in the eyes of the British electorates, it has implemented what could be considered racist and oppressive measures, to reduce the number of successful asylum cases in Britain, through forced deportations and by ensuring failed asylum seekers who cannot leave Britain remain second-class and invisible in the country. Contrary to the popular beliefs that these undocumented migrants or asylum seekers are 'taking away British jobs' and 'taking advantage of the British welfare system', the book shows their immense contribution to the British economy and people. A fact, according to the author, the politicians and policy-makers has been reluctant to admit publicly. The author's disclosure of the latest EU and British policies to exclude undocumented migrant workers from the protection of universal human rights is shocking. Pai has convincingly shown how British immigration policies, which aim primarily to keep migrants and migrant workers out, are in fact violating the human rights of those who are currently contributing billions of pounds to the economy. By refusing to ratify important international conventions that would protect these workers, the British government has become an accomplice to international trafficking rings, unscrupulous and greedy employers and manpower agencies, as well as criminal elements that thrive on the ever-increasing exploitation of the labour of those who are deprived of any human rights.

***Also relates to:***

***Criminal Justice and Racial Violence***

***Economics and Globalisation***

***Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience***

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**Lutz, Helma**

**MIGRATION AND DOMESTIC WORK: A EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE ON A GLOBAL THEME**

Publisher: Ashgate

Year: 2008

Pagination: 224 pp

ISBN: 978-0754647904

Price: £55.00

The book is based on a simple premise; due to growing employment opportunities for 'middle class' women in Western Europe and North America there is an increasing care deficit. Women, in trying to balance the perennial problem between career and caring, are turning in ever greater numbers towards domestic help. This is creating new problems around migration and the entrenchment of an underclass: low paid, long suffering female migrant care workers. The book is split in to three parts, enabling the reader to expand their perception of 'domestic migrant' and delve beneath surface meanings. The range of chapters consider the gender nature of domestic work, irregular status of female migrants and the way national states address the problem of migrant care workers. Part one deals with the question of whether domestic work in a commodified form can be characterised as 'business as usual'. The section starts with a three country study; Sweden, Spain and Great Britain, examining the differing nature of the childcare services provided by these welfare states and how these services stimulate particular demands and problems. This is followed by an examination of Italy's domestic work sector and how state intervention, in the

organisation of care work through migration regulation and policies, created a utilitarianism in which domestic and care work is considered a market for migrants.

In addition there is a German case study focusing attention on whether or not domestic and care work can be defined as a 'normal job' given its gender characterisation and low status. It concludes that the relationship between 'productive' work and care work needs serious redefinition. The final article in part one of the book, looks at the experiences of Albanian domestic workers in Greece, showing that they are often 'live-in', unprotected by labour laws and are open to the detrimental affects of racist employers. Views echoed by a public racist discourse and lack of citizenship rights for these workers.

Part two of the book pays attention to the analysis of the transnational migration spaces within which domestic workers perform their everyday tasks and manage their experiences and relationships. Essays cover historical perspectives on the globalisation of the European domestic services phenomenon. Long-distance mothering and the need to form transnational households, (for example, that of Filipina domestic workers in Rome), can act as a secondary limitation, after racism, on the migrant worker's ability to successfully integrate into Italian society. In developing this issue, the case of Peruvian workers in Spain reveal the complexity of managing transnational households across the Atlantic and deepens our understanding of the 'care chain'. This is added to by the final article in this section, which is an account of Ukrainian workers in Austria who essentially work abroad as a strategy to maintain their families back home.

Part three of the book explores the relationship between states and markets. It starts with an examination of Ukrainian women working in Poland as carers and illustrates, due to income disparities between the two countries, that there is a clear 'care drain dynamic'. It also points out the legal and technical problems that faced Poland, as an accession country to the European Union (EU) it had to introduce visa requirements for non EU nationals, thus aggravating access to Poland and legalised working conditions for Ukrainians. In continuing the theme of issues around legalisation, an Israeli case is examined which shows that the authority of law, in its allegedly neutral and professional manner, has in fact the power to turn normative choices in to uncontested social truths especially where social values and care practices are concerned. Moving from Israel and looking at the EU, the next article essentially focuses on the unsuccessful attempts to develop and implement a coherent and consistent approach which reconciles the protection of human rights and social standards with employment practices that reinforce the underclass status of migrant domestic workers. The final article in this volume reflects on the various topics raised and compares them to academic discussions in North America and other parts of the world.

*Also relates to:*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Economics and Globalisation*

*Health and Social Care*

*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*

*Politics and Government*

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**Trotter, Jr. , Joe William**

**BLACK MILWAUKEE: THE MAKING OF AN INDUSTRIAL PROLETARIAT 1915-45,  
URBANA AND CHICAGO**

Publisher: University of Illinois Press

Year: 2007

Pagination: 368 pp

ISBN: 978-0252074103

Price: £19.99/\$25.99USD

Focusing on Milwaukee between 1915 and 1945, this book examines the African American

experience as an instance of proletarianization. Defined by Trotter as the process by which blacks became urban industrial workers, this proletarianization involved complex interactions of racial and class consciousness and behaviour. He focuses not only on the making of a ghetto, but on the making of an African American industrial working class. This industrial working class represented a move from southern farm labourers and northern domestics, and non-industrial labourers to factory jobs. However, conditions for black workers were harsh, with industrialists and unionists making room for them only on the floor of the urban economy in dangerous and dirty jobs that white workers often refused to perform. This second edition includes essays by William P. Jones, Earl Lewis, Alison Isenberg, and Kimberly L. Phillips, who explore the impact of the original Black Milwaukee on the study of African American urban history over the past twenty years.

**Also relates to:**

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Health and Social Care*

*History*

*Social Theory*

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**Wrench, John**

### **DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT AND DISCRIMINATION: IMMIGRANTS AND ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE EU**

Publisher: Aldershot, Ashgate

Year: 2007

Pagination: 156 pp

ISBN: 978-0754648901

Price: £50.00

In response to the growing demographic diversity of the European workforce, diversity management as a business practice has emerged as a policy to facilitate the recruitment and inclusion of employees from diverse backgrounds. This book aims to clarify concepts relevant to the practice of diversity management and provide information about this practice in European countries. Wrench examines the origins of diversity management in the US, and the context for its development in Europe. He also summarises the critiques of diversity management proposed by academics and equality activists. The relationship between diversity management and the issue of combating racial discrimination is ascertained, and Wrench concludes with an evaluation of the successes and failures of diversity management in the EU.

**Also relates to:**

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Economics and Globalisation*

*Politics and Government*

*Social Theory*

## **HISTORY**

**Adams, Clarence, Adams, Della & Carlson, Lewis H. (eds.)**

### **AN AMERICAN DREAM: THE LIFE OF AN AFRICAN AMERICAN SOLDIER AND POW WHO SPENT TWELVE YEARS IN COMMUNIST CHINA**

Publisher: Amherst and Boston, University of Massachusetts Press

Year: 2007

Pagination: 155 pp

ISBN: 978-1-55849-595-1

Price: \$22.75 USD



An autobiography of Clarence Adams, written after his death by his daughter, Della Adams and friend, Lewis Carlson. This is a moving life chronicle of a black man born in 1929, in the racially segregated city of Memphis, in the South of the US. He joined the US army on September 11, 1947 to avoid police arrest and was sent to Japan and South Korea at the end of the Second World War. Clarence witnessed the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 and was captured by the Chinese People's Army as a Prisoner of War (POW). When the Korean War ended in July 1953 in an armistice signed between America-backed South Korea and Chinese and Russian-backed-North Korea, Clarence decided to go to China instead of returning to the US under the care of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. As a poor, working-class black who saw no future in Memphis where racial discrimination dominated the lives of his community, he wanted to start anew. Clarence wanted an education and the People's Republic of China under the Communist Party of China, welcomed foreigners.

As a high-school dropout, Clarence became a student at the People's University in Beijing to study Chinese language and Chinese Literature. He later graduated from Wuhan University with majors in Chinese Language and Political Economy. He socialized with both local and foreign students, particularly the Koreans, many of whom were high-ranking officers and civil servants sent to China to study and promote Chinese-Korean relations. Clarence's marriage to his Chinese wife Lin, was welcomed by many fellow students and friends from amongst the general population, but certain high-ranking officials and party bureaucrats treated their union with scepticism and disapproval. This was not only because of Clarence's political and racial background but also because Lin came from a former landlord and warlord family, which was then regarded as an 'unreliable class' in revolutionary China.

After the birth of Della, Clarence got a job at the prestigious Foreign Languages Press and moved to Beijing where the family enjoyed a stable life. They worked alongside eminent figures like Israel Epstein and Rittenberg, non-Chinese Revolutionaries who had joined the resistance against the Japanese during WWII and later, the Mao Tze Tung-led communist struggles against Chiang Kai-Shiek.

During the Vietnam War, Clarence engaged in an anti-war action, which was controversial in the eyes of the US government. He volunteered to speak in a public Vietnamese broadcast to black soldiers in the US Army, in the hope that they would not continue to fight in the war. Clarence's message was; the African Americans were not enjoying equal rights as human beings and as US citizens back home, so why should they fight for a government that would willingly sacrifice their lives (as he had experienced during the Korean War)? Clarence also questioned the purpose of waging such devastating wars against Vietnam and Korea, who could not threaten the security of the US.

Because of his action, when Clarence and his family decided to leave China during the Cultural Revolution to return to the US, he was subpoenaed to the House of Un-American Activities Committee, to ascertain if he had acted unpatriotically during his stay in China. Even though he was released without charge, public opinion was against him. The press slandered him as 'turncoats and traitors' and the white racists threatened to kill him and his family. The overt and covert persecution by the US government and its army also took a toll on his family. He was repeatedly denied employment and it was not until late 1968 that he finally got a job despite the resentment of his white colleagues and the all-white trade union. Eventually, Clarence and Lin saved enough money to run their own Chinese Restaurant.

Della published this book because "my father wanted Americans to understand why he went to China. He did not adhere to some abstract or subversive political ideology. To the contrary, he based his decision solely on his inalienable right to live as a human being. America denied him that right, whereas China assured him open and equal opportunities. It was just that simple"



*Also relates to:*

*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Education*

*Employment*

*Health and Social Care*

*Politics and Government*

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**Black, Jr., Timuel**

**BRIDGES OF MEMORY: CHICAGO'S SECOND GENERATION OF BLACK  
MIGRATION, VOLUME 2**

Publisher: Evanston, Il., Northwestern University Press

Year: 2008

Pagination: 392 pp

ISBN: 0-8101-5194-4

Price: £22.50/\$34.95USD

In the second volume of his collection, Jazz historian and civil rights activist, Timuel Black presents the oral histories of sixteen African Americans living in Chicago. African Americans first migrated to Chicago in the first part of the twentieth century, in an effort to escape the Jim Crow system of racial prejudice, discrimination, and segregation in the South. This migration fundamentally changed Chicago and American history more generally. Black illustrates this movement through these oral histories with individuals who are part of the first generation of African Americans to move to Chicago. The personalities interviewed include an artist, a corporate lawyer, a musician and a professor. The personal histories explore lives prior to coming to Chicago, the discrimination they have experienced as residents in the city, and the way that the Civil Rights Movement challenged and eventually overturned segregation.

*Also relates to:*

*Criminal Justice and Social Violence*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*

*Politics and Government*

*Social Theory*

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**Brown, David, and Webb, Clive**

**RACE IN THE AMERICAN SOUTH: FROM SLAVERY TO CIVIL RIGHTS**

Publisher: Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press

Year: 2007

Pagination: 392 pp

ISBN: 978-0813032023

Price: £18.99/\$24.95USD

In this book, Brown and Webb offer a comprehensive account of the way that race has shaped the history of the United States. Beginning with the colonial South, the book explores the power of race in the American South, identifying shifting notions of blackness and whiteness and the ways in which both have shaped southern race relations. The authors reject interpretations of race as a timeless, fixed category, instead identifying race as a social construction, which fluctuates and transforms in different contexts. The role of race in the course of southern history is detailed, with attention given to slavery, the impact of the Civil War and reconstruction to the Civil Rights Movement of the twentieth century. All groups in the history of southern race relations are included, and the authors note that various groups are more prominent at different times. While Native Americans were particularly influential in the first two centuries of European settlement, by the nineteenth century slavery meant

that African Americans became the focus of race relations. The book is illustrated by detailed maps of the areas discussed.

**Also relates to:**

*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*

*Politics*

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**Marable, Manning**

**RACE, REFORM AND REBELLION: THE SECOND RECONSTRUCTION AND  
BEYOND IN BLACK AMERICA, 1945-2006**

Publisher: New York, Palgrave Macmillan

Year: 2007

Pagination: 312 pp

ISBN: 978-0230545144

Price: £20.99/\$22.00 USD

In this updated edition, Marable brings his text on African American social and political history into the twenty-first century. Taking the end of World War II as its starting point, Marable traces the divergent elements of political, social, and moral reform in non-white America to the present day. He traces the emergence of a black working class in the 1950s and 60s, and the Civil Rights Movement and its achievements. The major focus of the book is the period he terms the Second Reconstruction. He considers the increased participation of blacks and other ethnic groups in politics, during this period and the subsequent white reaction. More recent developments analysed in the book include black neo-conservatism, welfare reform, the mainstreaming of hip-hop culture, 9/11, and Hurricane Katrina. He notes that blacks are faced with different issues today, including mass unemployment, mass incarceration and mass disenfranchisement, which pose as great a threat to democracy as the horrific lynchings of the early twentieth century.

**Also relates to:**

*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Employment*

*Health and Social Care*

*Politics and Government*

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**Maltz, Earl M.**

**DRED SCOTT AND THE POLITICS OF SLAVERY**

Publisher: Kansas, The University Press of Kansas

Year: 2007

Pagination: 182 pp

ISBN: 978-0700615032

Price: £10.95/\$15.95USD

In this biography, Maltz discusses the contribution of Dred Scott to the politics of slavery in the nineteenth century. As a slave Dred Scott claimed that his residence in a free state transformed him into a free man, and filed a lawsuit arguing as much. Eventually, his lawsuit made its way to the Supreme Court in 1856. However, the Court ruled against him, sending shock waves through the nation and contributing to the beginning of the Civil War. The Chief Justice Roger Taney argued that blacks were not and never could be citizens. In reviewing this landmark case, Maltz presents Dred Scott as a turning point in an already controversial national debate. The book describes Dred Scott as both a contributing factor to war and the result of a political climate that had grown increasingly threatening. Southerners became

progressively more anxious of the free states' growing political influence. In this context, the ruling from the Court contributed to the political turmoil that eventually exploded into civil war.

**Also relates to:**

***Criminal Justice and Racial Violence***

***Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships***

***Politics and Government***

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**McCarthy, Timothy Patrick, and Stauffer, John (eds)**

**PROPHETS OF PROTEST: RECONSIDERING THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN ABOLITIONISM**

Publisher: New York, The New Press

Year: 2006

Pagination: 382 pp

ISBN: 978-1565848801

Price: £37.50

This edited collection of essays explores American abolitionism. Recent scholarship has portrayed the abolition movement as dictated by the evangelical impulses of white, male, middle-class reformers, however, McCarthy and Stauffer show how this has undermined the role of black abolitionists and women. In fact, abolitionism is described as one of the most diverse movements in American history. The first section of the book summarises the state of scholarship on abolitionism, how it has developed over the past two centuries, and contemporary interpretations. The essays in part two re-examine the origins of American abolitionism, highlighting its interracial features and emphasising continuity between the different phases of the movement. Part three of the volume focuses on the role of John Brown, one of the most controversial abolitionists because of his use of violence. The final section of the book explores the representations of abolitionism, and the strategies used to attract people to the cause.

**Also relates to:**

***Arts, Literature and Sport***

***Culture, identity, Gender and Relationships***

***Politics and Government***

***Social Theory***

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**McDonald, Jason**

**AMERICAN ETHNIC HISTORY: THEMES AND PERSPECTIVES**

Publisher: Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press

Year: 2007

Pagination: 260 pp

ISBN: 978-0748616343

Price: £16.99/\$29.95USD

In this text, McDonald offers an introduction to American ethnic history, in which he compares the histories and experiences of the nation's diverse ethnic groups. He focuses in particular on definitions and explanations, making the distinction between 'race' and 'ethnicity', and explaining what is meant by 'ethnic groups'. The first part of the book explores these conflicting meanings. Part two examines broad perspectives and theoretical positions on the origins and nature of American ethnic diversity. Here he considers whether this diversity originated from hegemonic acts of conquest and forced rather than voluntary migration. The third part of the book focuses on the dominant society's attitudes towards and treatment of all ethnic groups, and whether this has been consistent with America's supposed egalitarian ideals. The final section looks at how ethnic groups have responded to

life in the US. The importance that language, religion, class, gender and intermarriage play in ethnic identity and solidarity is considered here.

*Also relates to:*

*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*

*Politics and Government*

*Social Theory*

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**Wendt, Simon**

## **THE SPIRIT AND THE SHOTGUN: ARMED RESISTANCE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS**

Publisher: Tallahassee, University Press of Florida

Year: 2007

Pagination: 279 pp

ISBN: 978-0813030180

Price: £26.50

Wendt explores the role of armed self-defense as it existed in the 1950s and 60s in conjunction with non-violent direct action. Wendt presents evidence based on archival research and oral testimony to prove that while southern blacks adopted non-violent resistance as a tactic, they also armed themselves against the violent attacks by the Ku Klux Klan and other racist terrorists. Self-defence units were mobilised to patrol black neighbourhoods and protect the homes of significant figures in the Civil Rights Movement. Self-defence in this form was necessary to sustain local movements in the face of white hostility and aggression, however, non-violent organisations such as Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Congress of Racial Equality, and the National Association for the Advancement Colored People were engaged in constant debate over the patrols.

*Also relates to:*

*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Social Theory*

## **HOUSING AND PLANNING**

**Neill, William J. V., and Schwedler, Hanns-Uve (eds)**

## **MIGRATION AND CULTURAL INCLUSION IN THE EUROPEAN CITY**

Publisher: Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan,

Year: 2007

Pagination: 308 pp

ISBN: 978-0230007642

Price: £55.00/\$95.00USD

This collection deals with issues of social inclusion. In particular, the contributors focus on the question as to how cities might be able to contribute to integrating immigrants and other cultural groups, and how this has been addressed until now. The editors argue that the future success of Europe will depend on the effectiveness of the project of integration and inclusion, particularly in the cities where native populations are in the minority. Hugo Priemus explores the Dutch approach to planning for multiculturalism after the death of right-wing politician, Pim Fortuyn. Claude Jacquier discusses the challenges and issues faced by French cities in the twenty-first century. Janice Morphet writes about how London has largely embraced multiculturalism, and Peter Shirlow examines segregation and division in Belfast. The editors conclude that cultural inclusion is on the agenda, and that cities will play

a central role in this context.

**Also relates to:**

*Arts, Literature and Sport*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Economics and Globalisation*

*Education*

*Social Theory*

## **MIGRATION, IMMIGRATION AND THE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE**

**Brettell, Caroline B., Hollifield, James, F.**

**THEORY: TALKING ACROSS DISCIPLINE**

Publisher: Routledge

Year: 2008

Pagination: 304 PP

ISBN: 978-0415954266

Price: £65.00

This volume is specifically focused towards engaging the viewpoints of multi-disciplinary studies on migration theory to further coherent scholarship. Issues surrounding migration have caused great concern in recent times and have precipitated tensions between immigrants and recipient countries, as well as exacerbating welfare problems. The authors have indicated that the magnitude of this phenomenon has caught the attention of sociological analysts and has attracted enquiries from different academic disciplines. However, with each discipline having autonomy over specific research standards, procedures and vocabularies, valuable information oftentimes get overlooked, resulting in narrowness and inefficiency of analyses. Notwithstanding, the authors believe that dialogue across disciplines will bridge the gap in multidisciplinary migration inquiry. The writers have agreed that such a feat may be overly ambitious, considering the magnitude of the task of synthesising disciplinary tropes. Yet, nevertheless, exploring the possibility could only be of value to Humanities and the Social Sciences.

This study offers a provisional examination of the interdisciplinarity of migration theory, as well as providing the trajectory for multidisciplinary and multimethod research. With dialogue across disciplines, the authors intend to highlight core theoretical assumptions of the individual fields of study. This volume has laid the foundation for further exploration in international migration and adds resonance to subjects like political science, anthropology, economics, sociology, geography and law. By focusing on the existing theories and methodologies, the writers have stimulated interest in joint studies. Sociology and political science readings are needed to broach the structural background of immigration and the incorporation process. Studies in anthropology and geography further the investigation into transnational processes. It is imperative for academic disciplines that the theory forwarded should be reliable. However, one must not assume that one paradigm will ultimately suit all processes.

**Also relates to:**

*Criminal Justice and Social Violence*

*Economics and Globalisation*

*Health and Social Care*

*Politics and Government*

*Social Theory*

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**Kalra, Virinder S., Kaur, Raminder and Hutnyk, John**

## **DIASPORA AND HYBRIDITY**

Publisher: Sage

Year: 2005

Pagination: 168 pp

ISBN: 978-0761973973

Price: £21.99

This volume offers an insight into debates surrounding the subject of transnational migration and hybridism. After 9/11, transnational movement and immigration to the West has become strained. Western neo-liberal conservatism came under threat and the repercussions were translated into strict border control and censoring of immigrants. This subsequent crisis has had far-reaching effects on issues surrounding civil liberties, multiculturalism, social policy, nationalism, the economy, labour, gender and ethnicity. The authors are particularly interested in how diaspora and hybridity are used as tools to implement social change. Therefore, this study's trajectory is focused on matters concerning identity, social relations and historical change. More importantly, this study investigates pertinent issues surrounding the status of the naturalised immigrant population, especially those of the Asian community, in the light of today's race agitations fuelled by the national security crisis in the West. The authors believe that the focus on nationalism and identity is a valuable starting point for investigating allegiance, which is the catalyst in the quest for causes of tension between immigrants and host countries. Hence, the authors consider that by focusing on the nature of the dialogue between nationalism and identity, the full effect of the association would be realised and the extent of hybridity be measured.

The volume evaluates unease associated with immigration within multicultural societies, where institutions reinforce the values of the governing group and national boundaries protect the space they occupy. According to the authors, the rights of space can be violently defended on the grounds of politics, culture and economics. These agitations within these sites can invariably determine the degree of integration and hybridity within multicultural and gender specific societies. This study offers a theoretical overview on subject matters such as: the history of whiteness, examining its superficiality as a category of white capitalist supremacist ideology in the development of 'others'. By looking at the diasporic relation between home and abroad, the study underscores the dynamics of networking for purposes of political, economic and cultural mobilization. The study examines states of belongingness and 'diaspora consciousness', 'multivocality' and 'deterritorialization', highlighting matters of hybridity to include economics, cultural creativity and exchange. Issues on gender, women's rights, urbanisation and 'Transnational Terrorism' are also featured topics in this volume. It is the intention of this study to enhance scholarship in Cultural Studies and the Social Sciences and further understanding on the topic of diaspora and hybridity.

*Also relates to:*

*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Economics and Globalisation*

*Employment*

*History*

*Politics and Government*

## **POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT**

**Boafo-Arthur, Kwame**

**GHANA: ONE DECADE OF THE LIBERAL STATE**

Publisher: London, Zed Books

Year: 2007

Pagination: 303 pp

ISBN: 978-1842778289

Price: £19.99/\$29.88 USD

In this book, Boafo-Arthur ascertains the success of Ghana's return to constitutional rule in 1993. He reviews the new demands encountered by the democratic government in an era of globalization and liberal triumphalism. Boafo-Arthur makes it clear that much has been achieved in this era of liberalism. Human rights have been protected, and although the economy has not revived, there are positive signs that the policy measures implemented will begin to drive it forward. However, as the state has encouraged privatization, the most vulnerable in society have found themselves less protected. Boafo-Arthur maintains that this is an unavoidable consequence of neoliberalism, and he suggests that the market could be regulated by the state in order to ensure an equitable allocation of resources and a minimum wage. The fact that Ghana has been able to sustain democracy for over a decade is described as an achievement, and is evidence of increasing civil control over the military.

**Also relates to:**

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Economics and Globalisation*

*History*

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**Hajnal, Zoltan L.**

### **CHANGING WHITE ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK POLITICAL LEADERSHIP**

Publisher: Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Year: 2007

Pagination: 219 pp

ISBN: 978-0521674157

Price: £14.99/\$22.95USD

In this book Hajnal explores how experience with black leadership affects the attitudes, actions and political choices of white Americans. Using the results of national public opinion surveys, data on voting patterns in large American cities, and in-depth studies of Los Angeles and Chicago, he finds that under most black mayors there is positive change in the white vote and in the racial attitudes of white residents. Although the election of African Americans to public office has not yet improved the condition of blacks to the extent to which many had hoped, it has had a significant impact on white attitudes and voting behaviour. Hajnal argues that this occurs because black incumbency provides concrete information that disproves the fears and expectations of many white residents. These findings highlight the importance of black representation in the political system.

**Also relates to:**

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*History*

*Social Theory*

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**Kundnani, Arun**

### **THE END OF TOLERANCE: RACISM IN 21ST CENTURY BRITAIN**

Publisher: London, Pluto Press

Year: 2007

Pagination: 221 pP

ISBN: 978-0745326450

Price: £15.99

In this book, Kundnani asks whether Britain is becoming a more racist society. He argues that the impact of globalization on politics has to be acknowledged. Under the guise of



globalization, multinational corporations have assumed power over most of the World's economies, and western governments have given themselves the right to intervene anywhere in the world. However, there has inevitably been resistance to these structures of power, which has led to 9/11 and 7/7. Kundnani maintains that western governments deny their own role in creating global inequality, and instead cast terrorism as an expression of a fanatical Islamic value system that is culturally at odds with the West. Similarly, the West has refused to acknowledge its role in creating forced migration, and instead demonises migrants and asylum seekers. Kundnani concludes that it is state racism, which through its laws fosters institutional racism and shapes popular racism in Britain. With a foreword by A. Sivanandan.

**Also relates to:**

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Economics and Globalisation*

*History*

*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*

*Social Theory*

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**Murunga, Godwin R., and Nasong'o, Shadrack W. (eds)**

**KENYA: THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY**

Publisher: London, Zed Books

Year: 2007

Pagination: 344 pp

ISBN: 978-1842778579

Price: £19.99/\$29.88 USD

In this volume, contributors provide a comprehensive study of Kenya's political trajectory. The essays included show how the struggle for democracy has been waged in civil society through opposition parties, and traditionally marginalized groups, such as young people and women. The editors begin the collection with a discussion of social movements and the Kenyan transition. An essay by Margaret Gecaga discusses religious movements and democratization in Kenya, and Mshai Mwangola explores youth opposition groups, and the role of young people in the democratization of Kenya. Maurice Amutabi discusses the role and perspectives of Kenyan intellectuals in the changes. An essay by Edwin Gimode looks at the part played by the police in Kenya's democratization process.

**Also relates to:**

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Economics and Globalisation*

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**Porteous, Tom**

**BRITAIN IN AFRICA**

Publisher: Zed Books

Year: 2008

Pagination: 160 pp

ISBN: 978-1842779767

Price: £12.99

*Britain in Africa* examines Britain's role in Africa since 1997 and, in particular, how and why Britain's foreign policies under New Labour have failed Africa. Charting the factors which led to Africa becoming the forefront of British foreign policy during Tony Blair's ten years in office, Porteous summarises a range of influences both within and outside of government - ranging from events in Africa to world events. Underpinning this enquiry is the question of how Britain's interests determined its relationship with Africa during this period. As a result, the book centres on three questions – how did Africa become the forefront of British foreign

policy, what were Britain's policies and what was the effectiveness of these policies?

Chapter one details Blair's sudden interest in Africa's many problems and, in particular, the UK's long-standing business interests, such as the arms trade and oil production. There follows an in-depth analysis of the 2005 G8 summit in Gleneagles, Scotland, during which Blair enlisted the help of the world's richest nations in an attempt to resolve Africa's plight. According to Porteous, this moment signified a turning point in Britain's foreign policies and led to the consolidation of New Labour's approach to the economic development of Africa. The resulting document – namely, Blair's *Commission for Africa* (compiled March 2005) – represents the clearest statement of Britain's intentions in Africa, and is broken down into the categories of 'improved governance', 'conflict prevention', 'human development', 'aid', 'debt', 'relief', and 'trade and investment'.

However, claims Porteous, despite the UK's role in supporting the emergence of the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and the African Union (AU), New Labour's development policy failed to provide satisfactory answers to crucial questions about governance, politics and culture in Africa. Porteous goes on to uncover Britain's real investment in Africa, which he summarises as a vested interest in counter terrorism, energy security, commerce, migration and climate change, all of which were presented under the guise of economic development, poverty reduction, conflict prevention and good governance.

Particularly revealing is Porteous's description of Blair's publicity tour of Africa during his premiership in May 2007. Here, claims Porteous, the former Prime Minister only visited the parts of Africa which boosted the UK's image as being committed to tackling Africa's problems (based on a few successful partnerships) and chose to avoid hotspots of humanitarian catastrophe, which had been let down by Britain's foreign policies. As a result, demonstrates Porteous, the UK government had less impact on Africa than officials appeared to assume.

Porteous shows how Blair chose to focus on foreign policy rather than domestic policy out of a genuine concern to do good but also as a means of potentially boosting votes – the British public, claims Porteous, do not want their own affairs meddled with and would prefer attention to be directed elsewhere. It is a winning formula, claims Porteous – if all goes well, Blair gains credit on the international stage and, if not, then he can still maintain a popular position by blaming extremists, corruption and the incompetence of others. Porteous concludes with a call to increase Britain's co-operation with Africa, urging the government to take a more humble approach – learning from Africa and being more modest (and realistic) about its own influence.

*Also relates to:*

*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Economics and Globalisation*

*Health and Social Care*

*History*

*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*

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**Rich, Wilbur C. (ed)**

**AFRICAN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES ON POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Publisher: Philadelphia, Temple University Press

Year: 2007

Pagination: 444 pp

ISBN: 978-1592131099

Price: £18.99/\$32.95 USD

This edited collection evaluates the discipline of political science from an African American

perspective. The contributors emphasise the importance of race in political science, and argue that as Americans often fail to acknowledge the role of race in their own politics, they also fail to understand the nuances of ethnic and racial differences internationally. The book begins with an essay by Ernest J. Wilson III and Lorrie A. Frasure, who argue that race remains at the margins of American political science. Wilbur C. Rich explores the roles and experiences of African American academics in the field of political science. Ollie A. Johnson examines more specifically black politics in Latin America, and Vernon D. Johnson explores issues of globalisation and development. An essay by Melissa V. Harris-Lacewell discusses approaches to studying African American public opinion within political science. Evelyn M. Simien examines attitudes towards black feminism, and Andrea Y. Simpson evaluates the roles of black women activists within organisations.

**Also relates to:**

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Economics and globalization*

*Politics*

*Social Theory*

## **SOCIAL THEORY**

**Hero, Rodney E.**

### **RACIAL DIVERSITY AND SOCIAL CAPITAL: EQUALITY AND COMMUNITY IN AMERICA**

Publisher: Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Year: 2007

Pagination: 200 pp

ISBN: 978-0521698610

Price: £14.99/\$19.99USD

In this book, Hero considers equality, particularly with regard to race, through the lenses of two theoretical perspectives. He juxtaposes social capital theory, which argues that a general sense of community can improve one's standing and reduce inequalities, with racial diversity theory, which maintains that racial diversity continues to explain important social and political outcomes. Hero finds that the racial diversity theory more accurately explains a range of social and political phenomena in the US. Racial diversity generally surpasses social capital as a discernable influence in several arenas of American politics. Moreover, he argues that a sense of community is not usually associated with greater racial equality, and, on occasion, may actually be linked to worse outcomes.

**Also relates to:**

*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*

*Health and Social Care*

*History*

*Politics and Government*

*Social Theory*

## Additional Resources

We would also like to inform our users about a number of valuable resources provided by the Institute of Race Relations.

The first of these, **STRUGGLES FOR BLACK COMMUNITY**, includes four seminal Black films on Tiger Bay, Leicester, Ladbroke Grove and Southall, which had been made for Channel 4 at the beginning of the 1980s. They chart the milestones for Black people's fight for justice and show African-Caribbeans and Asians coming together in different ways at different periods to carry on a common struggle. Each film portrays the history and strength of one particular area and emphasises a particular aspect of historical Black struggle. But the films complement each other and the series contributes to building a coherent history of Black people in British communities from the nineteenth into the twentieth century. See: <http://www.irr.org.uk/2008/november/ha000017.html>

The second, **Black History Teaching Resource**, consists of five modules: Community and Identity, Community Safety, Media and Racism, Racial Discrimination and Youth and Protest. These consist of a downloadable document, teachers' notes and a linked online presentation. See: [http://www.irr.org.uk/black\\_history\\_resource](http://www.irr.org.uk/black_history_resource)

The third, the Institute of Race Relations' **Black History Collection**, is based on the IRR's unique collection of posters, leaflets, flyers, newspaper cuttings, campaign materials and more than 160 journals from black community and grassroots groups in the antiracist struggle. It covers topics such as black workers' struggles for representation at work and in their unions, anti-deportation campaigns, policing and racial violence, the Black Power movement, the education, health and social welfare of black children, the 1958 Notting Hill riots, anti-fascism and uprisings. See: <http://www.irr.org.uk/bhacatalogue>



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