Ethnicity and Race in a Changing World:
A Review Journal

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Editorial Statement

We are pleased to welcome you to the Second Issue of the journal.
This issue focuses on the role of education and culture in shaping the life experiences and opportunities of ethnic and racial minorities in Britain and the United States and in the reproduction of popular racism in contemporary society.

There is a clear connection between Whitney Naman's essay, *'Who Should Teach Black Students? Research on the Role of White and Black Teachers in USA American Schools'* and Pedro Noguera's Comment, *'Crossing Borders, Breaking Barriers: How Teachers Can Transcend Race, Class and Cultural Differences to Promote Academic Achievement and Engagement for All'*. Professor Noguera identifies the issues he sees as crucial:

> The need to provide teachers with the skills required to teach effectively across differences related to race, class and culture is now widely recognized as an imperative in most teacher education programs. Clear and consistent evidence has emerged over the years that when teachers lack such skills, students are less likely to achieve and classrooms are more likely to be disruptive and disorderly ..... The reason for these problems is also clear - students learn through relationships, and when educators experience difficulty establishing respectful, caring and mutually beneficial relationships and rapport with the students they teach, it is often difficult to create an atmosphere that is supportive of teaching and learning.....

Whitney Naman addresses these issues through a focus on the need to connect teachers with their students, particularly the question of the current disconnect between White teachers and African American pupils across the United States, and concludes:

> As a nation, Americans must examine the teachers who are working with Black youth. If, as studies suggest, Black students are consistently being taught by less experienced and less prepared teachers who have a higher rate of turning over, then we are failing to provide our youth with the education they need to be successful and contributing members of society. In order to address this concern we must determine what best practices are for different groups within American society and truly provide them with a free appropriate culturally relevant education.

These interconnected contributions illustrate the need for, and value of, thoughtful, well-researched projects dealing with crucial issues facing society, which can inform debate and decision-making, leading to change.

Andrew Pilkington's essay, *'The Impact of Government Initiatives in Promoting Racial Equality in Higher Education: A Case Study'* explores 'the mechanisms by which the British state has encouraged in the last decade universities and other higher education institutions to address issues relating to equality and diversity, generally and race and ethnicity, specifically'. This is an important analysis of public policy formation and implementation affecting ethnic and racial inequality in higher education in the United Kingdom. Pilkington's conclusion that these institutions and the British government's prioritisation of the promotion of racial equality was tied to specific pressures and that these have changed and, therefore,

> 'the pressure is now off. Although lip-service continues to be paid in government pronouncements and some strategies to race equality and ethnic diversity, a discourse centred on community cohesion has become hegemonic and has marginalised one concerned with race equality and ethnic diversity. This conclusion is a challenging one and will lead to serious debate in governmental and higher education institutions.

David J. Leonard and C. Richard King's essay, '*Replaying Empire: Racialized Violence, Insecure Frontiers, and Displaced Terror in Contemporary Video Games'* addresses an important arena of US popular culture within which consent is manufactured and contradictions mediated in the wake of 9/11. '......video games have afforded the production of interactive, narrative spaces for the reassertion of race, nation, and gender'. They analyse two video games and show how 'racialised violence, colonial categories and territorial claims work to resecure whiteness, masculinity, and Americanness'. In their conclusion, they suggest an important area of future research.

These contributions are supported by excellent short reviews of the most recent literature in the field. Professor Noguera's Comment piece is supported by short reviews of the literature cited in his article. Those reviews were written by his graduate students at New York University.

We welcome essays, comment pieces and essays from activists, researchers, scholars, faculty in higher and further education institutions, and graduate students. This issue contains contributions from graduate students, ranging from short reviews to Whitney Naman's essay.

I would like to thank all of our peer reviewers for their very professional and thorough reviews and all of our contributors for their creativity and hard work and discipline in responding to the recommendations of the reviewers. I would also like to thank all those who have sent in material and to the staff at the Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre who have worked so diligently to produce the journal and to our colleagues at Manchester University Press for their contribution.

Professor Louis Kushnick, Emeritus, OBE
Director of the Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Education Trust

Essays

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Replaying Empire: Racialized Violence, Insecure Frontiers, and Displaced Terror in Contemporary Video Games

David J. Leonard and C. Richard King
Washington State University

Abstract
In the wake of 9/11, US popular culture has played an important role in the manufacture of consent and the mediation of contradictions. In particular, video games have afforded the production of interactive, narrative spaces for the reassertion of race, nation, and gender. Through a close reading of two video games, *Gun* and *Ghost Recon Advanced Warfighter 2*, we unpack the insecurities of empire and how racialized violence, colonial categories, and territorial claims work to resecure Whiteness, masculinity, and Americanness. Special attention is given to the militarization of video games and rhetorical struggles over the meaning of race and culture amid the 'War on Terror'.

The 'War on Terror' has made visible the desperate imaginings, disputed projects, and deadly networks anchoring the quickening of American empire. The various campaigns launched at home and abroad over the past five years have hinged upon the reiteration of national narratives, stories that celebrate the nation-state, legitimate its violence, and render its history in sanitized, if not mythological terms. Such stories at once reify and reproduce the entanglements of imperiled Whiteness, manifest destiny, and pathological others as they multiply and militarize the range of crisis zones and suspect people through a re-racialization of local and global relations (Denzin 2004; Giroux 2004; King 2008; Puar and Rai 2002; Winant 2008). Although the War on Terror may appear at first blush to be little more than the cynical calculus of imperial geopolitics, an intensification of the political economic cycles of global capital, or an example of a military state formation establishing hegemony in the service of these overlapping projects, culture, particularly media culture, has made this series of conflicts and crises possible, pleasurable, and powerful as sites for the application of force and fantasy, the fabrication of identity and experience, and the consolidation of meaning and community.

In many respects, through its news coverage, complicit creative projects, and largely conservative tone, US media culture has established its accepted understandings and ruling languages (Jackson 2005). Less appreciated has been the role of playful diversions in the War on Terror. Video games, as we argue throughout this essay, offer an instructive instance of the uses of pleasure to reiterate dominant ideologies about race, power, and terror within media culture and extend empire through its productions. According to the Entertainment Software Association, in 2007, video games have surpassed movies in terms of economic success – $18 billion in total sales, half on software (Bangeman 2007). At the peak of US wars in Iraq and Afganistan, war-based video games were central to the video game market. In 2003, *The New York Times*, reported that 5 of 10 bestselling video games involved war or other types of violent conflict (Friedenberg 2003). Two video games, *Gun* and *Ghost Recon Advanced Warfighter 2 (GRAW2)*, grant privileged access to the ideologies and imaginings that animate the articulation of racialization, play, and US imperialism at the start of the twenty-first century. In the United States alone, 1.2 million copies of *GhostRecon Advanced Warfighter (GRAW)* were sold, almost 900,000 for Xbox 360. Its popularity was matched with celebratory reviews and 'British Academy of Film and Television Arts Game of the Year Award'. Its sequel, *Ghost Recon Advanced Warfighter 2 (GRAW2)* netted 1 million in sales for its Xbox 360 edition. Like its predecessor, it also received widespread praise, winning 'Game of the Month' from *Game Informer* in May 2007. Similarly, as of October 2008, gamers had purchased 1.4 million units of *Gun*. Importantly, they allow readings of text and context, prompting a fuller understanding of the force of racial representation in a moment of imperial insecurity. On the one hand, we argue, set on the frontier and across the border respectively, they reiterate a set of colonial clichés about civilization and savagery, the necessity of

violence, and the cultivation of White masculinity. On the other hand, despite visible opposition, corporate rhetoric, fan reception and social context extend the dehumanization of racial violence as well as the broader 'War on Terror'.

Background

Before examining the representational strategies deployed within *Gun* and *GWAR2*, it is important to highlight the powerful cooperative relationships that have developed between America's military, the video game industry, and the American colleges and universities. While war simulations are nothing new, nor are the ways in which the entertainment and academic industries serve the interest of the military industrial complex. Yet, in a post 9/11 environment and given the technological advancements available in virtual reality, the power and presence of virtual warfare are immense.

> Two things have occurred since 9/11. One is that there has been an interesting trend in the kinds of games released, and the second thing is that 9/11 is so culturally significant that the games take on new meaning (Barron & Huntemann 2004).

Moreover, as noted by Nina Huntemann, the ubiquitous numbers of games and their immense popularity reflects the militarization of everyday life, which not only garners consent for the war on terrorism or the budget of the US military, but also has naturalized war as part and parcel of America in the twenty-first century. 'What I find really frightening is that in our playtime – in our leisure time, we're engaging in fictional conflicts that are based on a terrorist threat and never asking questions' (Barron & Huntemann, 2004). Ed Halter, in *From Sun Tzu to Xbox: War and Video Games*, additionally notes the continuity of virtual warfare and 'ancient games that simulated war' (2006, p. xxvi), but sees a greater power in the realistic offerings of the video game industry.

> Since 9/11, commercial game designers are churning out a new generation of realistic games based on historical wars. Now gamers can go to their local mall, pick up a virtual reenactment of the Vietnam War, World War II, the Gulf war, or even something that approximates the current wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. (Halter 2006, p. xxvii)

> While the military is using video games to both train and recruit (Harmon 2003; Slagle 2003; Turse, 2003; Halter 2006; Turse 2008; Huntemann and Payne 2009), the power of virtual warfare rests with its deployment and use of dominant narratives, tropes, and ideologies. Moreover, it rests with the teachings that take place via video games and its impact on its players. According to Dr. Tracy Alloway, war video games are important in training memory. 'I'm not saying they're good for your socialisation skills, but they do make you use your working memory,' she concluded. 'You're keeping track of past actions and mapping the actions you're going to take' (Alloway 2009). While writing about educational games, Rouner (2002) concluded that video games are effective instruments in facilitating behavioral or attitude change because of the narrative component of video game culture. Likewise, Peng's research on video games as a tool of nutritional change among adolescents pointed to similar qualities of video games:

> People are so engaged in the narrative that they experience suspension of disbelief (i.e. they treat all the narratives as well embedded persuasive messages as if they were true) and they make little effort to counterargue because absorption and counterarguing are fundamentally incompatible (Peng 2009, p. 117).

Moreover, according to K.M Lee & Peng (2006) and Lieberman (2006) 'computer game-based instruction has been shown to be effective in attention, and retention rate' (Peng 2009, pp. 116). Given the popularity of war video games within the United States, especially since 9/11, and as evidence in the current scholarship, which has concluded that video games are powerful in their ability to 'translate knowledge into behavior, in a trial-and-error way' (Peng 2006, p. 116) all while providing players a safe space 'to practice behavior change in a safe and entertaining way' (Peng 2006, p. 116), it

is no wonder that the US military, along with its partners inside and outside the video game industry, have sought to use virtual reality as part of its military agenda.

Together, video game programmers/producers and the military have jointly constructed 'an arm of media culture geared toward preparing young Americans for armed conflict' (Turse 2003). For example, in 1997, the US Marine Corps formalized its relationship with Mäk Industries, inking a deal to develop the first combat simulation game jointly funded and developed by an entertainment company and the Department of Defense. Shortly thereafter, the US Army developed a deal with Mäk to create a sequel to their popular tank simulation game Spearhead which would be used at the US Army Center and School for training purposes.

While initially imagined as military training simulations, these cooperative relationships evolved to a point, it ultimately proved to be more dialectical, with 'the military has embraced entertainment titles at the same time the entertainment industry has embraced the military' (Turse 2003). While those initial jointly produced and created war games focused on training already enlisted military personnel, the second wave of games, those immensely popular within civilian populations, served as (1) source of profit for the video game industry, (2) vehicles of recruitment of future soldiers; and (3) an instrument of fostering support for US foreign policy and its increasing reliance on military prowess.

Leonard (2004) offers a helpful summary of the deepening entanglements between the US military and the video games. After initially recognizing the potential instructional use of *Tom Clancy's Rainbow Six: Rogue Spear* in simulated urban combat, Leonard notes:

> In 2003, the Army developed its own tool of recruitment with America's Army, which was developed at the Naval Postgraduate School in consultation with Epic games and the THX division of Lucas films. Costing taxpayers upwards of eight million dollars, America's Army has been a huge success, with over 1.5 million registered users, bringing the training and operations of the military into millions of homes. The Defense Department has also worked closely with the production of games like *Rainbow Six: Raven Shield* and *Socom II: U.S. Navy SEALs*, utilizing each as a means to test and train military personnel, concerning leadership skills (Leonard 2004)

Embracing elements of military simulation trainers, 'squad leaders learn how to command nine soldiers in complex, confusing urban warfare scenarios. The game isn't about sprinting, Rambo-like, through alleys with guns blazing' (Slagle, 2003).

Another example of this powerful relationship is evident with Kuma Reality Games, a company that with the Defense Department and a team of military veterans, launched *Kuma/War*. The game, a first-person shooter, centers on actual military missions - a first in the industry. Kuma/War allows players to combat Al Qaeda and the Taliban as part of Operation Anaconda, or alternately, to enter Iraq theater in pursuit of important figures in the deposed regime. Simulated media coverage of the military missions intensifies their authenticity, producing a slippage between the seemingly discrete domains of war and popular culture. Similarly, Atomic Games has developed (to date it has not been published) a game entitled *Six Days in Falluja*h, which attempts to recreate and propel players into the actual battle that took place in Fallujah in April 2004 (Pauker, 2009).

Such games provide American teenagers and adults, regardless of race, class, gender, sexuality, and geography, an opportunity to join an imagined community of sorts with a principal purpose of defeating global terror. Describing the game *Six Days in Falluja*, Juan Benito, the Creative Director at Atomic Games, captures the importance of these games:
> .....And that's a really important point because we recreate the events as factually and as accurately as we possibly can. And there will be a broad range of reactions and opinions on

the experience itself. And for some, they may have fun. They may enjoy it. We are recreating and presenting these events and people, I think, will have their own individual reactions to it and those will be across the board. And that's what we want. We want people to experience something that's going to challenge them, that's going to make them think and provide an unprecedented level of insight into a great military significance (Qtd. Nelson 2009).

Without leaving one's home, with minimal costs and no danger, these games provide civilian game players the chance to contribute to a national cause, to aid in our collective efforts to defeat the 'axis of evil.'

Allowing everyday citizens anywhere in the world to command a light infantry unit in Tajikistan, which it dubs 'a haven for terrorists and extremists,' *Full Spectrum Warrior* for Microsoft's X-Box system illustrates this deep play. Developed by personnel at the Army's Infantry School at Ft. Benning, Georgia; its importance rests with its ability to demonstrate the ways in which the military develops leaders (as a simulator it teaches important leadership skills) and with its imagination of war as an enterprise without injury, emotional distress, and death consequences. Likewise, this game focuses on the multifaceted dimensions of war, focusing on the heterogeneous nature of the modern US military. Ed Halter notes that the opening moments of *Full Spectrum Warrior* begin with a quote from General Krulak:

> In one moment in time, our service members will be feeding and clothing displaced refugees - providing humanitarian assistance. In the next moment, they will be holding two warring tribes apart - conducting peacekeeping operations. Finally, they will be fighting a highly lethal midintensity battle all on the same day. All within three city blocks. It will be what we call the three-block war (Qtd in Halter 2006, p. 231).

This opening moment not only foreshadows the various types of missions that gamers will experience while playing this game, but provides a strong ideological narrative as to the role of the US military, one that is guided by a clear moral compass.

Collectively, these games, as well as others like *Socom: Navy SEALs* and *Operation Desert Storm*, enable its players to feel as if they were 'defending the country' (Napoli 2003), all while providing stability to the world, and in the process, we would argue, play out their fantasies and work through their anxieties. The cultural, political, and national significance of war video games rests not simply with their ability to simulate American war efforts, to assuage collective anxieties and fears, or the virtual ability 'to cause mass carnage on a grand scale . . . through a carpet bombing' (Stallabras 1993), but in their ability to garner support, consent, and pride in the military and expanding contemporary military-industrial complex.

The production of war via video-games and the celebration of empire as a natural and necessary dimension of worldwide progress are not limited to the traditional wartime virtual playgrounds, but are equally evident in the reimagination of American historical conquest. Despite the already scant literature (Turse 2003; Leonard 2004; Halter 2006; Turse 2008; Huntemann and Payne 2009; King and Leonard 2009) focusing exclusively on foreign military encounters as the basis for discussing war games, we bring into focus imagined fronts in the 'War on Terror': the uneasy frontiers central to imperial campaigns against Indigenous peoples in *Gun* and a near future military intervention South of the border to squash Latin American insurgents in *Ghost Recon Advanced Warfighter 2*. We offer interpretive readings of how these games seize on these alternate theaters of terror and war, illustrating the powerful ways in which racial politics, empire building, and fear of the 'savage other' simultaneously guide the production and consumption of (virtual) warfare, racialized identities, and national narratives.

On the Frontier

Shortly after the initiation of the Second Gulf War, an open letter to the people of Iraq encouraged the formation of a Bureau of Iraqi Affairs (Wasson 2003). It circulated widely on the internet, finding its ways into news outlets and electronic bulletin boards around the world. The ten point proposal juxtaposed the invasion of Iraq and the condition of Native Americans, parodying the manifest destiny powering the expansion of the 'War on Terror', while reminding readers of the force of American empire and its historical transgressions. Although this message went largely unnoticed by a broader public, military leaders and neo-conservative pundits were quick to reiterate a preferred American imperial idiom, 'Indian Country', to reframe Iraq, reinscribing it and the insurgency in terms of the racial policing of the insecure and hostile frontiers. Even as they waged a war of their own making, of and against terror, the military relied upon subdued visions of hostile 'Indians': while US forces fly Comanche helicopters into battle and launch Tomahawk missiles at enemy positions, commanders dub an important assault on insurgents, 'Operation Mayflower'. For its part, the mainstream media devoted much attention to a real American hero, Lori Ann Piestawa (Hopi), who sacrificed herself to protect civilization, particularly the life and honor of her (more famous and celebrated) EuroAmerican compatriot, Jessica Lynch (see Fields-Meyer 2005; Flannery & Reid 2003).

In equally powerful ways, (imagined) Indians and Indianness fueled the 'War on Terror' on the homefront as well. Immediately after 9/11, conservative Comanche commentator David Yeagley (2001) called for the creation and circulation of more images of the brave native warrior, especially American Indian mascots. More explosive, and ultimately reflective of the structure of feeling anchoring the war on terror, was the public panic over a polemic written by activist and scholar Ward Churchill (2001), who claims to be Cherokee and Creek. More than two years later, Churchill became the target of charges of un-American activities, for amongst other things dubbing those who died in the attacks 'little Eichmanns' complicit in an imperial and genocidal order. During the subsequent media firestorm, Churchill was attacked as a radical intellectual, hostile, divisive and dangerous. Politicians and pundits called for his firing from his tenured position in ethnic studies at the University of Colorado, questioning the quality and integrity of his scholarship, his lack of patriotism, his claims to Indianness, his politicization of knowledge, and his extreme incivility in a time of national emergency (King 2008).

In this context, the release of the video game *Gun* affords a powerful occasion to unpack the ideologies and imaginings energizing anti-Indian racism as well as US imperialism at the start of the twenty-first century. Although heralded by critics and enjoyed by countless gamers, unlike many video games, the targets of *Gun* voiced outrage at its depiction of Native Americans. Consequently, *Gun* allows readings of text and context, prompting a fuller understanding of the force of racial representation in a moment of imperial insecurity. On the one hand, we argue, set on the frontier and pivoting around the brutal adventures of Colton White, *Gun* reiterates a set of colonial clichés about civilization and savagery, the necessity of violence, and the cultivation of White masculinity. On the other hand, despite vocal resistance, both corporate rhetoric and fan reception blunted the impact of anti-racist interventions, extending the dehumanization of racial violence as well as the broader 'War on Terror'.

Gun

Activision released *Gun* in early 2006. With a tagline of 'experience the brutality, greed and lust that was the Wild West,' the video game broke with many other titles on the market, leaving beyond the commonplace virtual geographies of a gang-infested ghettocentric imagination, and the foreign theaters of war, to reimagine the 'Western Frontier.' In a world without laws or respect for life, Colton White, following the murder of his father, undertakes a journey in which he 'straddles the line between good and evil in a showdown against corrupt lawmen, a murderous preacher, renegade Army, psychopaths, merciless outlaws, and relentless warring tribes.' While the game's instructions highlight a myriad of evil doers, or individuals who provoke violence from the otherwise peaceful mountain man, *Gun's* narrative and visual representation make clear that savage-Indians (and

animals as well) are the most violent, constant, and unabated threat to peace, democracy, and White masculinity. Importantly, because players play Colton, they simultaneously center the action and activate history, while defending civilization from wildness, treachery, and savagery.

The game's narrative and representational focus on the conquest of 'savage' indigenous populations and the goodness of European imperialism is established from the game's initial moments. Colton White's ancestors are travelling on horseback somewhere in the 'New World.' With one holding a cross in hand, it's clear that they are missionaries, spreading God's word throughout these 'savage lands.' As evident, the members of Coronado's Exposition, including Colton's relative, are viciously murdered by a group of Indian warriors, stereotypically imagined as savages who attack without cause or concern for human life. Even as the priest holds his cross up to the group of indigenous fighters, almost pleading for redemption and the sparing of his life (in some ways the scene reinterprets the crucifixion of Jesus), they beat and ultimately kill him, leaving the cross unattended on the land. Here, the game positions the white player/protagonist as the victims of unprovoked violence, inverting historical relations, while erasing contemporary connections and culpability.

The game jumps ahead three hundred years, where Ned White is seen teaching his son, Colton, the needed skills to survive the dangers presented by the frontier. At first honing gun and knife skills by killing buffalos as well as wolves and other threatening animals, proficiency and the death of his father forces Colton to confront the greatest threat of all: Apache Indians. The game's first mission takes Colton to Dodge City, where he is instructed to kill a group of Apache Indians, who are determined to destroy a bridge that leads the railroad through their land. The benevolence of the mission not only rests with Colton's bravery against the Apaches, taking on and killing many dozens of screaming Indians, who wildly run around, don stereotypical war paint and warrior garb, and use both tomahawks and arrowheads, some of which are on fire, but it also can be found in his determination to protect 'the Chinamen' and 'the coolies' who are building the bridge. Without Colton, their lives would be in jeopardy as would the future of the good, law-abiding settlers of Dodge City.

The game clearly imagines Native Americans as savage warriors, screaming throughout the game, as a sign of both an animal instinct and a determination to kill. Although, it should be mentioned that when Colton does take an Apache hostage, in preparation of execution, an Apache will say, in the calmest possible voice, "Let me go." Through the course of the game, Colton is instructed to not only slaughter (and yes this is the term used in the game), but to scalp those Apaches he has killed using a 'scalping knife' purchased at the local store. Moreover, during those missions where slaughtering Apaches constitutes the goal of the mission (you complete it and unlock achievements when all are killed), Colton can be heard expressing regret or outrage at letting some 'injuns' escape the only thing he can trust: his gun. The game's official strategy guide even makes light of the game's bloodshed and virtual re-enactment of genocide, describing one instance where Colton saves a few 'injuns' from a train as 'Karmic cleansing.'

In completing the mission by not only slaughtering Indians, but scalping them as well, *Gun* not only invokes the ubiquitous sincere fictions of Native American savagery and a benevolent American conquest that have long guided national mythology, but imagines the conquest as a site of masculine pleasure, for both Colton and the game's players, the game offers a powerful message regarding war and conquest. In another instance, Jenny, a prostitute, who provides guidance and sexual gratification to Colton, reminds him of the responsibility of a White masculine imperialistic project: to protect women and nation. She tells Colton as they prepare to travel through Apache lands, to "please promise me you'll put a bullet in my head before THEY ever have their way with me." Securing the uneasy borders of the frontier, here, not only reinforces racial, gendered, and sexual hierarchies, but it also clears a space for the allegorical story, where the Wild West stands in for the Middle East, a story about a 'new world order' imperiled by inhuman savagery that must be stopped for civilization

to thrive on the frontier and closer to home.

Electronic Activism
Almost immediately after the release of *Gun*, Native American activists and their allies used the internet to launch an open challenge to the video game and its treatment of indigenous peoples. While online chatrooms and forums were abuzz with the heinousness of the new title, the Association for American Indian Development called for a boycott of Activision. Understanding the cultural work of play, they outlined a powerful critique. To begin, they noted that the game contained 'derogatory, harmful, and inaccurate depictions of American Indians,' even as the game and corporation appeared unaware of contemporary Native Americans, many of whom play video games. Worse, they asserted, *Gun* encouraged players to kill indigenous peoples, rewarding them for their violence and brutality, while silently reiterating genocidal actions against Native Nations. The anti-Indian racism central to the game, moreover, was according to the Association for American Indian Development, a sad commentary on the plight and struggle of indigenous peoples, precisely because Activision would not make a game in which 'African Americans, Irish, Mexicans, or Jews' were the targets of such grotesque racialized violence. In calling into question the content of *Gun*, online activists sought to cultivate a decolonial movement during an insecure imperial moment. Unfortunately, the prevailing cultural logic of post-civil rights America blunted their efforts, resulting in the reinforced legitimacy of national narratives and imperial ideologies.

New Racism as Counter-Insurgency
Despite the power challenge to colonial clichés marshaled in the call to boycott Activision, corporate rhetoric and public reaction worked to reinforce the contours of new racism, while quelling the insurgent critique of *Gun*.

On the one hand, Activision skillfully manipulated common sense understandings of racism and realism. In its official response to the protests, the gaming corporation stated:

> Activision does not condone or advocate any of the atrocities that occurred in the American West during the 1800s. GUN was designed to reflect the harshness of life on the American frontier at that time...It was not Activision's intention to offend any race or ethnic group with GUN, and we apologize to any who might have been offended by the game's depiction of historical events... (quoted in Gibson 2006).

The game is meant to be life-like and true, not politically correct. Moreover, Activision neither intended nor endorses anti-Indian racism. The apology, like so many other insincere and after-the-fact, press releases, is meant to contain the problem, which is how overly sensitive people feel in this case, while letting the corporation off the hook. And by all accounts, the apology worked. Sales continued virtually unabated and Activision plans to release a sequel in the coming year.

On the other hand, gamers effectively policed the crisis as well. In online chatrooms and electronic forums, they invoked familiar strategies intent to erase the significance of racism and racialization, including charges of reverse racism and playing the race card and assertions meant to minimize or trivialize the critical reading of the game offered by the Association for American Indian Development and other activists. Typical of online comments were those posted by Funky: 'That'll teach Activision to make a game based on history. Now, let's fire up some lawsuits against EA for making those awful Medal of Honor game portraying Nazis as bad people' (Activision Racist shitstorm). Importantly, gamer discourse echoes the corporate commitment to the importance of historical realism and denial of the significance of racism - here glossed as absurdist, while comparing Indians with Nazis.

Across the Border
The rhetoric of the 'War on Terror' has not only fed on the fantasies of the Old West, recoding the moral and racial boundaries embedded in the notion of the Frontier, but it has also projected its racialized theory of civilization and savagery into the future and across existing borders. Most notably, for the past few years, it has seized upon the purported threat of immigration from Mexico, the future demise of American civilization, and the dangers posed by unruly regimes in Latin America to identify the next theater in the 'War on Terror'. Indeed, White nationalists now routinely call for an end to the war in Iraq so that the troops can be positioned on the US-Mexico border. Such extreme rhetoric resonates harmoniously with more mainstream voices. To offer three recent and representative examples:

> It's time to recognize that America's war on terror is being fought in places other than Iraq and Afghanistan. In fact, our most critical theater of war is being fought at the US-Mexico border. Our enemies are unlawful migrants who willfully violate our borders and thumb their noses at U.S. immigration laws.....Most importantly, US national security is in serious jeopardy: Al-Quaida [sic] is known to regard the porous border with Mexico as an attractive venue for entering the country in order to kill thousands, if not millions, of US citizens (Lillpop, 2005).

> [T]he FBI has received reports that individuals from countries with known al-Qaida [sic] connections have attempted to enter the U.S. illegally using alien smuggling rings and assuming Hispanic appearances. An FBI investigation into these reports continues (Rep. John Culberson quoted Dougherty 2006).

> Our main concern is: Who's in our state? This is a critical issue today. They just arrested, down on the border, a couple of weeks ago, three al-Qaida [sic] members who came across from Mexico into the United States (Rep. Sue Myrick quoted in Dougherty 2006).

Such rhetoric has become commonplace in a post-9/11 America, whereupon the discourse surrounding illegal immigration has flowed into the widespread calls for increased security and enhanced military operations as part of America's broader 'War on Terror'. Not surprisingly, *Tom Clancy's Ghost Recon Advanced Warfighter 2 (GRAW2)* entered into this discursive field, providing players (and American patriots) the opportunity to simultaneously work through hegemonically-induced fear and anxiety, and dominant understandings of the 'War on Terror' and the war on illegal immigration.

Ghost Recon Advanced Warfighter 2
GRAW2 continues were *GRAW* ended, a game which concluded with Captain Mitchell (the protagonist and player-controlled character) successfully saving the United States' President, who had been captured by Mexican rebels, inside Mexico City and in doing so defeated a dangerous terrorist cell flourishing right across the US border. Only twenty-four hours removed from this monumental victory, Captain Mitchell is called back to duty after American Intelligence operatives detected activity from the terrorist rebels, who are believed to be planning a retaliatory nuclear attack on the United States within seventy-two hours. While replicating commonly circulated narratives of terrorists getting their hands on nuclear weapons and US heroes having the immediate power to thwart their evil attempts (see Fox's *24*), *GRAW2* imagines this scenario through a particular geographic imagination: a virtually constructed battle on the US-Mexico border.

While in many ways reinscribing and deploying the hegemonic tropes and aesthetics available within practices of virtual warfare - brave White male soldier battling evil; violence without evidence of death or destruction; hyperpatriotism; and a racialized enemy - the power of *GRAW2* rests with its politics, specifically its effort to further spotlight Latin America as the next and most important theater in the 'War on Terror'. For example, *GRAW2* doesn't simply offer players the opportunity to thwart a rebel insurrection lead by Mexican terrorists (who appear to be imagined as anti-American, anti-globalization fanatics), but provides a narrative in which Captain Mitchell - the lone White savior -

protects El Paso from a Mexican invasion. Amid a broader discourse that continually describes illegal immigration as part of a Mexican effort to reconquer the Southwest (King 2007), the representational field and narrative offerings of *GRAW2* are especially powerful. Moreover, the game represents the border in harmony with prevailing imagery as a barren wasteland, an open frontier devoid of civilization, and more significantly the portal through which illegals presumably flow into the United States every day. Moreover, the game imagines Juarez as a lawless city, marked by drugs, prostitution, and crime, yet oddly lacking civilians. Most importantly, the narrative of *GRAW2* chronicles the efforts of Mexican rebels (terrorists) along with their Latin American allies to expel US influence within its national borders alongside anti-US movements in Panama, Brazil, and throughout Latin America. Replicating recent news coverage that paints Latin America (Using Hugo Chavez and Fidel Castro as the most visible symbols) as anti-US, as radical threats to US power and global stability, *GRAW2* provides a visual reminder of the localized threats within the Western Hemisphere. In linking these anti-colonial and anti-US (imperialist) movements to a US global war on terror *GRAW2* offers a powerful reimagination of the geo-political moment, one that homogenizes all who defy US global power, who call for self-determination within their borders, or who question the efficacy of global capitalism within the Third World, depicting them as part of an axis of evil that requires attention within a successful 'War on Terror'. The imaginings of the next front in the war on terror animating *GRAW2* pivot around moralized and racialized rhetorics that blur stereotypes of Latina/o immigrants, cultural difference, barbarism, oppositional politics, policy alternatives, and anti-Americanism together to create a dangerous threat demanding military intervention.

GRAW2, then, inscribes an overt racial text that interweaves accepted understandings of illegal immigration and an imperiled America to recast terror and terrorists as alien, abject, and monstrous. Throughout the game, the Mexican rebels are constructed in absence of a story, instead seen as faceless (and history less) rebels, marked only by their use of Spanish. Rendered as different, foreign and inaccessible (no translation of Spanish used by rebels; Mexican loyalists of course speak English), the game's narrative is through the eyes and narrative of the US military. In juxtaposition to the faceless Mexicans, who are marked by their Spanish accents and their presumed hatred of America, the 'Ghosts' aptly named, are (ironically) a multiracial bunch who are led by Captain Mitchell, the classic White hero, whose intelligence, courage, and masculine qualities prove to be the prefect remedy for the evils plots of these Mexican terrorists. While his 'band of brothers' is named 'ghosts' because their presence within Mexico is unconfirmed and without official sanction of the US government, this nomenclature captures that inscribed whiteness of Mitchell, the US military, and the American empire. 'Ghosts' offer the perfect metaphor for whiteness, which despite extensive critique by activists and academics alike, remains invisible, unmarked, unnamed, the norm. The explicit efforts to racialize, dehumanize, dehistoricize, and demonize Latina/os in *GRAW2* work in unison with the whitened (White American) space of identification it opens for the player as Mitchell. Importantly, in a militarized and imperial cultural space anchored in securing and celebrating whiteness, this space of identification enables an interactive narrative that quite implicitly uses alien and racialized others, hostile to capital, the rule of law, and the mores of civilization to advance an argument for the defense of White supremacy in the twenty-first century.

International Politics of Gaming

Although unheard by most gamers, an increasingly vocal critic of the *Ghost Recon* franchise has crystallized around the globe. In 2004, the North Korean government denounced *Ghost Recon2* for its negative representation of its people, history, and government. Two years later, Gabriella Ramirez, a Venezuelan legislator, condemned *Mercenaries 2: World in Flames* and its producer, Pandemic studios, for its pernicious representation of Venezuela and its 'justification for an imperialism aggression' (Surette, 2007). Most recently and following the release of *GRAW2*, Héctor Murguía Lardizábal called upon Mexican authorities to prevent the invasion of US culture by stopping *GRAW2* from getting into the hands of children. He described the game as 'a criminal act against the intellectual capacity of

the people of Juarez,' painting 'a negative picture of his city' and 'encouraging tensions between the US and Mexico' (Surette, 2007). Heeding these calls, Governor Jose Reyes Baeza Terraces ordered the seizure of all copies of *GRAW2* within the state of Chihuahua. Read against efforts to US politicians to legislate against video game violence and sexual content, online discussants seized upon this opportunity to not only lend support to Ubisoft (the French-based producer of the game) and the game itself, but to deploy commonly-held beliefs about Mexico, and immigration into the United States. On GamePolitics.com numerous posters validated the game's offering, because in their estimation Juarez was 'a shithole, where violent crime was rampant.' However, one poster especially captured the level of animosity in the discussion, and its links to a broader anti-immigrant sentiment when he reminded the Governor of the following: 'Shut up Jose and just make sure my lawn was done right' (Newspaper Report 2007). As evident here, the links between race, *GRAW2*, and the hegemonic discourse concerning illegal immigration have quite a profound place inside and beyond this specific game, simultaneously playing off the anxieties of American audiences, advancing an active defense of White power, unsettling those communities it targets, and ultimately containing efforts to challenge the common sense anchoring it.

Conclusions

In the wake of 9/11, the United States has returned to national narratives that offer certainty, comfort, and security. It has not returned to them without change or complication however. In fact, as this brief discussion of *Gun* and *GWAR2* documents, the rendering of US imperialism increasingly hinges on established understandings of racial difference as well as emergent ideologies. In particular, as our interpretation underscores, the production and reception of *Gun* and *GWAR2* demand the reiteration of colonial clichés and the assertion of new racism to work in a post-9/11 context. Importantly, returning to the Wild West and crossing the border in the near future is not so much an escape from the Middle East as an affirmation of the entanglements of terror and territory anchoring it, re-territorializing the global war on terror and the moral standing of its racialized participants through play.

Indeed, this essay suggests an important avenue for future research: as countless bodies fall injured and dying, shattering families and communities over here and over there, and multinational corporations profit on increased militarism, diminishing natural resources, and public panics, many in the United States seek refuge in fantasy worlds of virtual play. Offering a more interactive cultural medium that provides players with new scenarios, locales, and places of play weekly, virtual reality has taken the lead in terms of providing a sense of security and power otherwise unavailable in this currently unstable moment. Significantly, as our account of *Gun* and *GWAR2* illustrates, these lucid spaces are not all fun and games, but deadly serious reiterations of the networks of power and the ideologies of difference that drive so called 'War on Terror' and less recognized campaigns against communities of color closer to home. We hope subsequent scholarship will take seriously video games set during the Vietnam War like *Vietnam Purple Haze* and *Shellshock Nam*, and those depicting the war on crime in urban America, including *Grand Theft Auto: San Andreas* and *True Crimes: Streets of LA/NY*, focusing on the interconnectedness of militarism, policing, and racialized violence within virtual reality (and those connected discursive fields and institutional formations). Such endeavors, we believe, will detail the ways in which video games, as exemplified here by *Gun* and *GWAR2*, turn on dehumanizing racialized violence directed at bodies of color, pivot around a rhetoric of danger on insecure frontiers, and encourage a reworking of the contours of fear and victimization so that white consumers can occupy them, even when communities of color challenge the signifying practices and social privilege at the heart of dominant force fields.

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The Impact of Government Initiatives in Promoting Racial Equality in Higher Education: A Case Study

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Abstract

This paper will explore the mechanisms by which the British state has encouraged in the last decade universities and other higher education institutions to address issues relating to equality and diversity, generally and race and ethnicity, specifically. Strategies employed by the New Labour government, first elected in 1997, designed to widen (student) participation and promote (staff) equal opportunities will be explicated. It will be argued that these colour blind initiatives had a very limited impact prior to their incorporation into specific duties following the Race Relations (Amendment) Act. The implementation of this legislation initially raised the profile of issues relating to race and ethnicity, but this change proved short-lived and both race and ethnicity, and equality and diversity, issues have subsequently been de-prioritised and fallen down the agenda. While a series of commissioned evaluations suggest that government initiatives have made a significant difference and that universities have made progress in promoting race equality and acknowledging ethnic diversity, deconstruction of the discourses underpinning these official evaluations reveals significant lacunae and remarkable continuities.

This year witnesses the tenth anniversary of the publication of a judicial inquiry chaired by Lord Macpherson into the racist murder of a young Black British man. The publication of the inquiry report (Macpherson 1999) was in many ways remarkable because of its admission that major British institutions were characterised by 'institutional racism' and the widespread acceptance by the State that action needed to be taken. Taking the case of Britain, I shall investigate in this paper pressures emanating on the academy from the State: government strategies for higher education, relating to both widening participation and human resources, and new race relations legislation. I shall focus predominantly, but not exclusively, on the period 1999-2003 when pressure was arguably at its most intense, and concentrate on the impact of these external forces on the sector's approach to and policies relating to race. The impact of each of these external forces identified above will be examined in turn for ease of exposition. It should be noted, however, that this is somewhat artificial since they overlap in practice with the result that it is difficult to disentangle the impact of each.

Universities and the State

In Britain, universities are formally independent and autonomous institutions. Nonetheless, there is little doubt that in the last two decades the state has exerted an increasing influence on higher education and that 'considerable centralisation has taken place' (Davies et al 1997, p. 7). The capacity of the state to influence higher education stems, above all, from the sector's dependence on state funding and the insistence that universities, along with other public bodies, are accountable for the way they spend public money (Davies et al 1997). The approach of the New Labour government to higher education has been underpinned by 'two guiding principles...building economic prosperity and promoting social justice' (Hodgson & Spours 1999, p. 98). In practice these two principles have sometimes been in tension, with the measures being taken to support universities that can compete in the global market place being at odds with those required to provide 'fair access to worthwhile higher education' (Jary & Jones 2006, p. 14). Nonetheless, it is abundantly clear that the government has increasingly been concerned to ensure that higher education is instrumental in serving certain economic and social imperatives.

The government allocates funding for higher education in England through the Higher Education

Funding Council of England (HEFCE). Each autumn, the government confirms the total grant for the sector for the following year and in the subsequent funding letter sent to HEFCE identifies its spending priorities. HEFCE then allocates the funding due to individual Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in February. This takes the form of a block grant covering research and teaching funding allocated in terms of specific formulae. In addition to this, HEFCE also allocates special funding for new initiatives which are reviewed each year and subsequently may be phased out or incorporated into formula funding. These special funding initiatives have included some that are of immediate interest here because they relate to government priorities to widen participation and promote equal opportunities.

The government's concern that universities widen participation for students and promote equal opportunities for staff was made amply clear by the Secretary of State for Education and Employment in his funding letter to HEFCE in November 1999 (HEFCE 2008a). The previous year's funding letter in December 1998, for the first time, signalled the government's 'commitment to widening access' (HEFCE,2008a, para. 18). The 1999 funding letter went further: 'Widening access to higher education is a key priority and critical to tackling social exclusion' (HEFCE 2008a, para. 19). On equal opportunities, the 1999 funding letter expressed itself in no uncertain terms:

> I am deeply concerned about the present position on equal opportunities for HE staff. Evidence suggests that only a minority of academic staff in higher education institutions are from an ethnic minority background, are women, or have a disability, and that relatively few from these groups reach senior positions (HEFCE 2008a, para. 27).

The government's concern to widen participation and promote equal opportunities is only partially concerned with race and ethnicity. This is evident from a comparison of successive funding letters (HEFCE 2008a). Blunkett's 1999 funding letter made no reference to race and ethnicity in the section on 'widening access' (HEFCE 2008a, para. 19-24) and subsequent funding letters, which have continued consistently to prioritise widening participation, have followed suit. When it comes to staff as opposed to students, Blunkett's 1999 funding letter was unprecedented in emphasising race equality in the section on 'equal opportunities for HE staff': 'I am particularly concerned to see institutions make progress on race equality for staff' (HEFCE 2008a, para. 27). Subsequent funding letters, in contrast, when they have emphasised the importance of equal opportunities, have not expressly mentioned race and ethnicity. The emphasis placed on race equality in 1999 reflected the high profile given to the Macpherson report earlier in that year. The absence of any reference to race and ethnicity thereafter indicates that the strategies to widen participation and promote equal opportunities were colour blind strategies focused on social disadvantage.

New Labour and Widening Participation

Since 1998, widening participation has been a key concern of government policy. The government's approach, however, has been criticised because many of the measures taken are based on a notion of the individual student as deficient rather than based on an acknowledgement of system failure. Here are two examples: 'New Labour policies appear to be based on a "deficit" model where initiatives are designed to address the perceived inadequacies of excluded groups' (Hayton & Paczuska 2002, p. 259).

> While the momentum to enhance participation in higher education is laudable…[it] is based on a simplistic access model in which the wire is lifted to allow a small minority of members of under-represented groups to enter the academy. The onus of change is on those groups, rather than the academy as an organisation (Morley 2003, p. 11-12).

In support of such critiques, research evidence on widening participation across the student lifecycle has pointed to little evidence of teaching approaches and assessment methods being adapted for diverse learners but rather an emphasis on students needing to learn to adapt to HE (Thomas, May et

al 2005). A recent review of widening participation research reaches a similar conclusion in pointing out 'how little effect the WP agenda has had in "changing the product" within HE itself' (Watson,2006, p. 5).

There is little doubt that widening participation is primarily concerned with class. Despite the occasional references made by government Ministers to 'BME learners' (NATFHE 2000), their needs are of only marginal concern to key policy makers. The central focus of attention is social class. This is evident in a number of ways. The funding letters never mention race or ethnicity but invariably refer to social class or a proxy measure of it (HEFCE, 2008b). A search of articles that I conducted in the *Times Higher Educational Supplement* for the period 1994-2004 reveals 510 references to widening participation. While only 20 of these references refer to race or ethnicity (and gender for that matter), as many as 201 of these references explicitly refer to class. It is also significant that the three books Universities UK have commissioned on widening participation explicitly focus on class. They address how universities are supporting access to HE for young people from lower socio-economic groups and identify examples of good practice (Woodrow 1998; Woodrow, Yorke et al 2002; Thomas, May et al 2005). While it is true that a few of these cases are targeted at specific minority ethnic groups, the overwhelming emphasis is on class. A final indication that widening participation is in practice primarily concerned with class, relates to the performance indicators used. These are wholly class based.

The Dearing inquiry (1997) commissioned research into widening participation by various groups, with report 5 covering 'ethnic minorities'. This report did identify a number of pertinent issues that related to students from minority ethnic groups. Specific groups, including Afro-Caribbean men and Bangladeshi women, were under-represented in the sector; and students from BME communities were concentrated in the less prestigious post 1992 universities, experienced a sense of isolation and gained a lower rate of return on their HE qualifications than White students. Despite this, the good news identified in the first paragraph was given more prominence: 'Relative to their share in the population...ethnic minorities overall are now better represented in HE than whites' (Coffield & Vignoles 1997, para. 1.1). This emphasis is common in many policy documents. Here are two examples. Firstly: 'Many ethnic groups continue to be over-represented in higher education compared to their population share' (Universities UK (2005) quoted in Aimhigher 2006, p. 2). Secondly: 'Those from non-white ethnic groups are better represented than white people' (National Audit Office 2008, para. 5). The problem with such an emphasis is that it 'selectively uses particular pieces of research to make the case that the under-representation of...ethnic minorities has been largely solved' (Webb 1997, p. 85). As a recent review of BME participation in HE argues, little specific action is being taken in relation to BME needs 'because major bodies are working from headline statistics that are undifferentiated'. The result is that 'the needs of BME learners are mostly rolled up into generic widening participation policies' which effectively means that 'BME participation is dropping off the agenda' (Aimhigher 2006, p. 2).

Despite the fact that the binary divide between universities and polytechnics was abolished in 1992, the higher education sector remains highly stratified (Davies et al 1997). This means that as we 'move to a mass system of higher education...it is increasingly important that we consider the different sorts of higher educations that are now on offer' (Reay et al 2005, p. vii). When we do this, we discover that students from minority ethnic backgrounds are 'far more likely to be negatively positioned within the higher education system and to study less prestigious subjects in less prestigious institutions' (Jary & Jones 2006, p. 7). A recent study which examined students' choices of higher education revealed that 'while more working class and ethnic minority students are entering university, they are generally entering different universities to their white middle class counterparts. Class tendencies are compounded by race' (Reay et al, 2005, p. 162). The focus on admissions to the sector as a whole glosses over the differentiated nature of the higher education sector and overlooks the different rates

of return from going to different institutions.

A recent analysis of what institutions do under the heading of widening participation is revealing. HEIs receive funding for widening access and improving retention but, despite the fact that they receive more for improving retention, most activities focus on access rather than success. Using the student life cycle to identify different stages, Thomas and May (2005) discovered that 64% of activities were related to pre-entry, for example aspiration raising, and that only 13% of activities were concerned with supporting student success and employability. As the authors put it, 'This study suggests that the sector is prioritising pre-entry and access initiatives at the expense of interventions once students have entered HE' (Thomas, May et al 2005, p. 193). This finding is significant and has adverse consequences for minority ethnic groups who are more likely to gain access to the sector but disproportionately face problems in succeeding.

New Labour and Equal Opportunities
The priority given by New Labour to widening participation for students has been accompanied by a concern with equal opportunities for staff. Although the latter has been a much longer standing issue for the sector than the former, Blunkett's funding letter in November, 1999 to the sector, highlighted the need for the sector to take decisive action to promote equal opportunities. HEFCE took the lead, with its two most important initiatives being (co)funding the Equality Challenge Unit (ECU), a new sector wide advisory body, and requiring university human resources strategies to address equal opportunities.

Blunkett's funding letter in November 1999 emphasised the importance of race equality and his words were still fresh at the launch of the ECU in February 2001. Reference was made to the Macpherson report and there was a recognition that the ECU needed to address race as well as gender and disability. As the Macpherson report receded, however, less emphasis was placed on race. The funding letters from 2000 onwards, for example, do not make any explicit reference to race or ethnicity when they mention equal opportunities.

We shall focus here on the two major HEFCE funded initiatives in turn. Firstly, the Equality Challenge Unit (ECU) and secondly, the equal opportunities component of human resources (HR) strategies.

The Equality Challenge Unit
The ECU was launched in February, 2001 and became formally operational in August, 2001. Although the dominant discourse at the launch talked about building on earlier achievements, the creation of ECU entailed an acknowledgement that earlier initiatives in promoting equal opportunities had not been sufficiently effective. The unit initially focused on race, given the requirements of the legislation, but over time, inevitably, attention has shifted from race to other strands of equality as new legislative measures relating to other strands of equality have been introduced.

An independent evaluation of the unit, based on semi-structured interviews with a range of groups, was conducted in 2005 (HEFCE 2005a). It acknowledged that the unit not only had played an effective advisory and awareness role, but also had produced high quality guidance publications. It was critical, however, of the extent to which the ECU had supported individual HEIs in implementing change. In many ways what is most revealing about this evaluation of the ECU is what it reveals about the sector. We are informed that 'there is no opposition to good EO [Equal Opportunity] practice' only for this to be followed in the same sentence by the observation that 'some institutions are more attuned to equal opportunities issues than others' (HEFCE 2005a, p. 3). This hint that 'an awareness of the importance of EO' is not universally shared across the sector is made more explicit later in the report. While it is argued that 'there is an awareness of the importance of EO among senior managers and human resource and EO practitioners...middle managers, heads of school or departments to whom

key human resource functions are often devolved, sometimes have a (perhaps complacent) view, despite some evidence to the contrary, that EO issues have no place in a meritocracy' (HEFCE 2005a:, p. 26).

Human Resources Strategies

Following the government's spending review in 2000, HEFCE provided additional funding to reward and develop staff (R&DS) from 2001-02 to 2003-04. This special funding was designed to modernise HR systems and the processes of recruiting, retaining, rewarding and developing staff. The funding was allocated to each HEI in proportion to its block grant on receipt of a 3 year HR strategy. HEIs were invited to submit either full or emerging human resources strategies to HEFCE by June 2001. Most HEIs submitted emerging strategies which allowed them another year to develop full strategies. These strategies were expected to cover 6 priority areas. One of these pertained to equal opportunities: 'Develop equal opportunities targets, with programmes to implement good practice throughout an institution. This should include ensuring equal pay for work of equal value, using institution-wide systems of job evaluation' (HEFCE 2005b, p. 19).

An evaluation of this initiative was conducted in May 2005. Based primarily on questionnaires to HR Directors, its conclusion was positive. The 'initiative was worthwhile because it provided a focus for change and has had a positive impact across the English HE sector' (HEFCE, 2005b: 4). When we turn to equal opportunities, the evaluation discovered that 'the largest proportion of funding within this priority area had been allocated by institutions to address job evaluation'. In the light of this, it is perhaps not surprising that 'activities undertaken...appear to have had the greatest impact on the role and reward of women in the majority of institutions' and that as a result 'the role of minority ethnic groups...has received much less emphasis...compared to the emphasis on gender equality' (HEFCE 2005b, p. 10). Further evidence that race issues had been sidelined relative to gender issues was submitted by 'some union stakeholders' who 'believed that the race aspects of job evaluation have not been considered' (HEFCE 2005b, p. 56).

Previous research has indicated that equal opportunities policies in higher education tend to focus on gender rather than race (Neal 1998; Law et al 2004). The evidence above that the implementation of HR strategies entailed a greater concern with gender than race issues suggests that this prioritisation persists. Further, albeit limited, supporting evidence along the same lines emerges from a search that I conducted in the *Times Higher Educational Supplement* for the period 1994-2004. This reveals 504 references to equal opportunities. While 97 of these references refer to race or ethnicity (and 56 to class), 186 references refer to gender or women.

The evaluations of both the ECU and the R&DS initiative are, for all their limitations, quite interesting. It is worth deconstructing these discourses. For, while they tend to highlight positive developments and downplay negative ones, a careful examination of them reveals serious lacunae in the way many HEIs are pursuing equal opportunities and thereby race equality. The evaluation of the ECU claims that 'the sector is asking for support in implementing change in equal opportunities practice' but it is doubtful that the sector holds one position. For the evaluation reveals (see above) that many key staff do not believe in the importance of EO, and other research indicates that many staff are in fact highly sceptical of the efficacy of equal opportunities policies (Deem et al 2005). The purported consensus suggested above, in conceiving the sector as a subject, turns out to be spurious. On closer examination, 'the sector' refers to senior managers who are conceived as keen to promote equal opportunities but in need of support. The ECU and HEFCE have both in fact produced excellent guidance, but the analysis of HR strategies identifies significant deficiencies in monitoring (HEFCE 2002/14, para. 143 in HEFCE, 2007) and in target setting HEFCE 2003/37, para. 27 in HEFCE 2007). There is a plethora of excellent guidance documents and yet the implementation of equal opportunities policies is, to put it mildly, uneven.

This research is consonant with other research, showing that equal opportunity policies do not pursue 'the needs of all groups with equal vigour' (Iganski & Mason 2002, p. 151). Insofar as data has been collected on the impact of mainstream programmes on minority ethnic groups, the evidence indicates that these 'have not been as successful for ethnic minorities when compared with Whites' (PIU 2002 quoted in Pilkington 2003, p. 241). It has been widely recognised for a long time that an organisation intent on preventing or detecting racial discrimination needs to undertake both 'ethnic monitoring and the setting of targets' (Sanders 1998, p. 38). Seen in this light, the evidence above, which points to failures in data gathering and target setting, suggests that many HEIs have not taken equal opportunities policies seriously.

Race Relations Legislation
Let us turn finally to an approach that is explicitly concerned with race. The government's major response to the Macpherson report was a legislative initiative, the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (RRAA), 2000. The Act extended the scope of the 1976 Act by covering public bodies which had been previously exempt and making it unlawful for public authorities to discriminate in carrying out any of their functions. While this Act, like previous race relations legislation, prohibited unlawful discrimination, a new approach was also evident. For the first time, a general statutory duty was placed on all public authorities, and specific duties on some authorities, to eliminate racial discrimination (including indirect discrimination), promote good race relations and facilitate equality of opportunity. The Act gave the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) the power to develop a statutory code of practice and provide guidance to public authorities on how to meet the general duty and any specific duties introduced by the Home Secretary. By enjoining public bodies in this way to develop policies and plans which promote racial equality, the Act adopted a very different approach to that embodied in previous race relations legislation: public authorities were now being required to take a pro-active stance to racial equality and thus take the lead in eliminating racial discrimination, promoting good race relations and facilitating equal opportunities.

The deadline in England and Wales for the production of race equality policies with plans of implementation was set for May 2002. The specific duties for HEIs were:
Prepare and maintain a written race equality policy and implementation plan;
- Within the policy and plan assess the impact of institutional policies on staff and students from different racial groups;
- Within the policy and plan monitor the applications, admissions and progression of students;
- Within the policy and plan monitor the recruitment and development of staff ;
- Within the policy and plan set out arrangements for publishing the race equality policy and the results of monitoring impact assessments and reviews.

What is interesting about these specific duties is what they prioritise. They do not, unlike the *Anti-Racist Toolkit* produced by Leeds University (Turney et al 2002), focus on teaching and research, but on widening participation and equal opportunities (Sharma 2004). The colour blind widening participation and equal opportunity policies may, as we have seen, have bypassed minorities, but targeted policies it was hoped would make a difference

In order to fulfil its statutory obligations under the RRAA, HEFCE required HEIs to submit their race equality policies and plans for review in November 2002. The Equality Challenge Unit was asked to review them on behalf of HEFCE, with the review itself being undertaken by the Gus John Partnership in terms of a template devised by the Equality Challenge Unit.

The outcome of the review entailed placing each policy and plan into one of five categories:
- An exemplar of good practice at this stage in the implementation process (E);
- Good/Good with certain areas needing attention (G);

- Developing appropriately but with significant areas needing attention (D1);
- Developing appropriately but with major work to be done (D2);
- Not yet aligned with the requirements of the RRAA; needing urgent revision (N).

While 34 HEIs were categorised as having developed 'exemplary' policies, 45 HEIs (deemed to be N and D2) were categorised as having submitted policies and plans which did not meet the requirements of the RRAA and required further work (John 2005). HEIs judged to be D2 or N were required to resubmit their policies and plans within three months.

The Office of Public Management (OPM) was commissioned to do a subsequent review in 2003. The policies and plans of 45 HEIs who had initially been judged to be D2 or N were reassessed using the same template and grading system as the initial review. The report in July concluded that, although the majority of HEIs had made significant progress, 17 were judged to have policies and plans that were categorised as N or D1 and thus were still not compliant with the legislation. These 17 HEIs were again reassessed in 2004 by OPM by which time only 4 were judged noncompliant (OPM 2004a).

In addition to these compliance reviews of higher education institutions commissioned by the ECU on behalf of HEFCE, the CRE commissioned Schneider-Ross to provide a review of the response of public sector organisations to the requirement to have developed race equality policies and plans. The fieldwork began in November 2002, six months after the date for meeting the specific duties. The research comprised two elements: a questionnaire and an analysis of a random sample of race equality polices and plans (Schneider-Ross 2003). Despite evident progress, implementation of the duty in all sectors was patchy. In the case of HE, 98 HEIs responded to the questionnaire and 12 policies were analysed. 95% reported having a scheme in place but only about a third indicated that monitoring was underway and the proportion indicating that they had in place a timetabled set of race equality outcomes was no better. To put this in some comparative perspective, HEIs scored markedly less well than the police in terms of monitoring and target setting. Analysis of HEI policies and plans revealed a mixed bag: 2 needed development; 4 were partially developed; 4 were mainly developed; and 2 were fully developed.

Finally, OPM was commissioned to review, two years after the original deadline for submission of race equality policies and plans, how HEIs were implementing their policies and plans. The review was upbeat:

> This review of progress, two years after initial race equality policies and action plans were developed, shows the considerable progress travelled by the majority of HEIs…80 per cent are making fair progress, and of these some are showing real innovation and good practice in different areas (OPM 2004b, p. 23).

Given that a report published a mere 5 years earlier indicated that only a few HEIs had a race equality policy at all, such an upbeat position is understandable. However, it should be noted that this review, like the compliance reviews, was desk based and that the reality on the ground may be different. As the third compliance review acknowledges,

> It is important to reiterate that the existence of a strong policy document does not necessarily mean that progress is being made on the ground. Indeed, in some instances…policy documents have been produced by external consultants, and it is not clear to what extent commitments are owned by the university (OPM 2004a, p. 12).

Deconstructing the evaluative discourses
It is instructive to compare the OPM overview report with the initial review of race equality policies

and plans conducted by the Gus John Partnership. There are markedly different discourses at work and these point in turn to markedly different perspectives on the progress HEIs have made.

John, who writes from an antiracist approach, is clearly appalled by the lack of progress made:

> Having regard to the fact that the ECU provided ample guidance and support to HEIs to assist them in drawing up their policy and implementation plan, and that the CRE issued guidance and fielded numerous telephone and written enquiries, the...results suggest that many HEIs were still struggling to come to terms with what the legislation requires and that they remain on a steep learning curve. What is more, it begs the question as to what precisely HEIs had done previously in response to Section 71 of the 1976 Race Relations Act, and as a result of the findings and recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report. In addition to work by the ECU and the CRE, HEFCE itself has promoted initiatives on, for example, widening participation and improving access for people with disabilities. One would have expected, therefore, an approach to meeting the requirements of the RRAA 2000 which at least demonstrated an understanding of the structural bases of social exclusion, and the extent to which institutions could be implicated in the perpetuation of it unless proactive steps were taken to identify and eliminate the conditions that sustain it (John 2003, p. 2).

The ECU, as an advisory body funded by the sector, cannot afford to be as critical of HEIs. Since it would be fatal for it to be at odds with the sector, the approach adopted is to go with the grain and coax HEIs much more gently. The template devised by the ECU to classify institutional policies and implementation plans thus errs on the side of generosity. Of the five categories, only one is manifestly scathing: 'Not yet aligned with RRAA requirements'. The others are labelled 'exemplars'; 'good'; and (in the case of two) 'developing appropriately'.

Gus John uses this template but his discourse is often at odds with the more positive gloss intended by ECU:

> Just under half of the HEIs failed to heed the guidance...For some 60% of those, their policies and plans were so wide of the mark as to suggest a total lack of interest in the issue...Across the sector, and even in the case of exemplars, there were few examples of institutions systematically consulting with black and minority ethnic staff and students...Most troubling is the evidence of an insistence upon reducing the emphasis that the Act places on...race equality, and subsuming the intentions of the legislation under broader and more amorphous and ill-defined concepts such as equal opportunities... Regrettably, much of what is contained in the policies we examined is a reflection of the marginal status afforded black and minority ethnic staff and students in the sector...It would appear that many institutions believe that it does not really matter whether or not they demonstrate evidence of meeting the requirements of the RRAA 2000 (John 2003, p. 3-9).

Given his scepticism about the likelihood of the sector seriously addressing race equality without significant pressure, John recommends the establishment of a 'Black Staff Commission' to generate internal pressure and performance related funding to generate external pressure from HEFCE on HEIs: 'Given the inertia that accompanied the Race Relations Act 1976 and the performance of the sector on "race" issues prior to the RRAA 2000, there is good reason to give HEIs a wake-up call by linking their funding to their performance in respect of the duty under the RRAA 2000' (John 2003, p. 10). John's proposals were not taken up and the subsequent compliance reviews as well as the progress overview were undertaken by a different consultancy company, the Office for Public Management (OPM).

The OPM took their cue from the ECU and adopted a discourse that highlighted positive developments. Hence, as we saw above, the upbeat nature of the progress overview, which pointed to 'the considerable distance travelled by the majority of HEIs' (OPM 2004b, p. 23). The key players at HEFCE, ECU and the HEIs could thus be assured that the sector was on the right tracks and that there was therefore no need for the radical changes suggested by John. Jettisoning any radical proposals, OPM

chose instead to put forward a set of discrete recommendations. While these recommendations may initially suggest that only minor tweaks are needed, a deconstruction of the discourse reveals some serious 'weaknesses...across institutions' (OPM 2004b, p. 23). The recommendations signal the need for improvements in a wide range of areas: 'celebrating the importance of race equality...consultation and engagement...training... monitoring... recruitment ...action plans ...mainstreaming...targets... accountability...sharing good practice...reporting...resources' (OPM 2004b, pp. 23-26). What is more, the weaknesses revealed in many of these areas are fundamental. While OPM may employ a different discourse from John and highlight progress, it is evident from reading between the lines that the sector has a long way to go.

It must be remembered that the secondary research I have drawn upon above to evaluate the impact of government strategies and legislation is limited. It is often based on questionnaires to senior staff or based on analysis of written documents. Both methods have their biases. The first method invariably tends to present institutions in a favourable light; since senior staff are loath to be publicly self critical and are concerned, in a Goffmanesque way, to manage the impression of their organisations. The second method also tends to present institutions in as favourable a light as possible. There is an acute awareness that public documents present images of the organisational ethos. Those responsible for their production therefore are often concerned to massage these images so that they are positive. There is also another danger with documents - that we confuse what is written in strategic and policy documents with what actually happens in institutions. Since strategic and policy documents often serve as the public face of the university, an inordinate amount of time can go into getting them just right. This can mean that writing documents and having good policies becomes a substitute for action: as one of Ahmed's interviewees put it, "you end up doing the document rather than doing the doing"' (Ahmed 2007, p. 599). We clearly need to move beyond such methodologies to assess what actually happens on the ground. That, however, is the subject of another paper.

Summary

The publication of the Macpherson report in 1999 significantly raised the profile of race equality and prompted a series of government initiatives to promote race equality. The focus of this paper has been on higher education. Analysis of the impact of different government initiatives has revealed that the changes afoot are much less remarkable than the continuities. The colour blind initiatives had little impact at all in promoting race equality. The more targeted initiatives stemming from the Race Relations (Amendment) Act initially had an impact. Their impact, however, was short lived, with a deconstruction of the discourses in the official evaluations pointing to significant lacunae. What is more, the pressure is now off. Although lip service continues to be paid in government pronouncements and some strategies to race equality and ethnic diversity, a discourse centred on community cohesion has become hegemonic and has marginalised one concerned with race equality and ethnic diversity (Pilkington 2008). In the light of this, it is scarcely surprising to discover that BME academic staff continue to experience significant disadvantage in higher education ten years after the publication of the Macpherson report (Leathwood et al 2009).

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Who Should Teach Black Students? Research on the Role of White and Black Teachers in American Schools

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Abstract
At seventeen per cent, Black students represent the second largest school age minority population in public schools in America, while Black teachers make up only six per cent of the nation's teachers. Research explored in this paper demonstrates why there is a discrepancy between the per centage of Black students and teachers and how racial mismatches between teachers and students have negative implications for Black students' academic achievement and behavior evaluations. There is a specific focus in the paper on a lack of 'cultural synchronicity' between White teachers and their Black students and how this disconnect may affect the existence and persistence of the racial academic achievement gap on standardized national achievement tests. Recommendations for recruitment and instructional strategies are presented.

There is a growing disconnect in education in the United States between teachers and students. While the percentage of White teachers has remained constant over the past thirty years at approximately ninety per cent, the percentage of non-White or Hispanic/Latino students has grown from less than twenty per cent in the 1960s to more than forty per cent today. Due to shifting population structures influenced by immigration patterns and birth rates, the percentage of non-White and Hispanic/Latino students in public education is expected to continue to rise while the percentage of White non-Hispanic/Latino teachers is expected to remain stable.[1] Although Hispanic/Latino students represent the nation's fastest growing and largest school age population, Black[2] students comprise the largest minority group in the Midwest, South, and Northeast.[3] At seventeen per cent Black students represent the second largest school age minority population in public schools in the US, while Black teachers make up only six per cent of the nation's teaching force.[4] Due to the disproportion of White teachers, all students, regardless of race, are far more often assigned a White teacher than a Black teacher.

Sabrina Hope King of the University of Illinois suggests that Black teachers have particular importance in the lives of Black students as 'African-American teachers represent surrogate parent figures, disciplinarians, counselors, role models, and advocates.'[5] This influence comes from the 'threatened state of many communities composed of people of color' and the emphasis these communities 'place on education as a survival mechanism and the principle means to advancement.'[6] Although certainly not always the case, children of color in the US have higher chances of being from poor or low income families and living in distressed neighborhoods.[7] Specifically, Black children live in poverty at three times the rate of White children, are twice as likely to live in low-income families, and are nearly forty times more likely to live in severely distressed neighborhoods.[8]

Low socioeconomically situated students and students of color may be more dependent on their teachers and more often affected by the expectations that their teachers hold for them than middle class or White students.[9] In *Other People's Children*, Lisa Delpit explains that White children often have greater access to the dominant culture at home and are less dependent on teachers as guides to academic success. White teachers and even some middle class Black teachers unfamiliar with the life experiences of Black or poor children may operate from a deficit perspective and perceive these students as 'other people's children', stereotyping them as 'damaged and dangerous caricatures' rather than 'the vulnerable and impressionable beings before them.'[10] These stereotypes can lead to the lowering of expectations resulting in less rigorous academic instruction and may contribute to the

lower performance of Black students.[11]

This is not to suggest that there are not talented White teachers that greatly impact the lives and education of the Black students that they teach. Nor is it to criticize White teachers as their jobs are often challenging, ever changing, emotionally demanding, and not particularly financially lucrative. It is, however, necessary to investigate the importance of the discrepancy between the percentage of Black students and the percentage of Black teachers with the underlying assumption that Black teachers often serve a special role in the lives of Black students. This paper explores research that demonstrates that these racial mismatches between teachers and students have negative implications for Black students' academic achievement and behavior evaluations.

The Racial Achievement Gap
There is a much discussed measurable achievement gap in national standardized tests in the US that exists and persists between White and Black students. Since 1971, the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) has been used to measure student achievement in reading and mathematics at the fourth, eighth, and twelfth grade levels. Between 1971 and 2004, there was a reduction in the Black-White achievement gap at all three grade levels studied; however, much of this change took place during the 1970s and 1980s. In addition, there was not a significant narrowing of the gap for reading or mathematics after 1990, except at the fourth grade level in reading.[12] In addition to lower scores on national tests, there is also often a gap between White and Black students' grade point averages, course level enrollments, rates of participation in special needs and gifted programs, and graduation rates.[13]

In *The Black-White Test Score Gap*, Christopher Jencks and Meredith Phillips explain that there is no evidence to suggest that these academic gaps are the product of inferior genetic intellectual ability.[14] It is widely accepted within social science disciplines that race is socially constructed and defined. Unlike gender, which has clear biological attributes, racial classifications have no biological determinants and only become meaningful when categories are developed and meanings are ascribed to them. These racial categories are often taught and reinforced in society by the media and governmental policies.[15] Social commentator, Cornell West, argues that despite its social construction, race does matter in the lives of Black Americans. In his 1993 book Race Matters, West posits that race matters, not only because of historical inequities and pervasive cultural stereotypes, but also because our very thought systems and behaviors as Americans are influenced by how we have defined race.[16] Race is significant in American life because 'the meanings people attach to race and racial difference pervade everyday life, shape social action, and are a dynamic component of interpersonal relations'.[17] Race also seems to matter in education, as the White–Black academic achievement gap is persistent even when allowing for disparities in family income, wealth, and schooling; and continues, even when Blacks and Whites attend the same schools.[18] Anthropologist John Ogbu's book *Black American Students in an Affluent Suburb* serves as an excellent case study of the academic gaps persisting between Black and White students despite a school district's high expectations and the middle to upper middle class background of the majority of students.[19]

There is not one encompassing reason explaining why the achievement gap exists and continues. Researchers have attributed the gap to numerous social, cultural, familial, and environmental factors, some of which are difficult to measure.[20] Although it is most likely that the academic achievement gap is due to a number of interrelated factors, this paper explores the theory that teacher characteristics, including race, have an impact on student performance and are one of a number of factors that contribute to the racial achievement gap.

Teacher Qualifications and the Racial Achievement Gap
'Recent studies offer compelling evidence that teachers are one of the most critical factors in how

well students achieve.'[21] As teachers are crucial to student learning, it is necessary for all students to have access to high quality experienced instructors. This section examines Black students' access to experienced teachers with high academic qualifications and how teacher turnover impacts this access.

In a 2004 study examining teacher quality and race, Clotfelter, Ladd, and Vigdor found that Black students in North Carolina are more likely to have a novice teacher than their White peers. Between districts, those serving a greater percentages of Black students had a higher percentage of novice teachers. However, a greater variation was found within districts, where 'novice teachers are disproportionately assigned to schools and to the classrooms within schools that disproportionately serve Black students'.[22] Darling-Hammond demonstrates that teachers gain significant experience over their first five years of teaching, and that this experience increases teachers' effectiveness with students.[23] If being assigned to a novice teacher has a detrimental effect on student achievement, then certainly being repeatedly and disproportionately assigned to novice teachers over time could have cumulative negative effect on student learning and achievement.

In a 2006 study of teacher and principal distribution in North Carolina schools, Clotfelter, Ladd, Vigdor, and Wheeler found that the:

> .....consistency of the pattern across many measures of qualifications for both teachers and principals leaves no doubt that students in high poverty schools are served by school personnel with lower qualifications than those in the lower poverty schools.[24]

Similar studies in New York, California, and Missouri found that high poverty students have teachers with weaker qualifications.[25] In the Missouri study higher ability teachers (determined by ACT scores for college entry) 'sort into schools with lower levels of student poverty rather than higher rates of pay'.[26] As mentioned previously, Black students live in poverty or in low-income homes at much higher rates than Whites (sixty-one per cent to twenty-six per cent); making it even more likely that they will be assigned inexperienced and less qualified teachers.

Often schools serving low socioeconomically situated, high minority, or low performing populations have higher teacher turnover. District policies often allow existing teachers with seniority to transfer to more desirable schools before placing new hires. This creates a pattern wherein the new hires, who are often novice teachers, are then used to replace the experience teachers who have left. This leaves students in the most difficult schools with the least experienced instructors.[27] Stinebrickner, Scafidi, and Sjoquist found that in Georgia, student race plays a part in teacher turnover as White teachers more often leave schools serving predominantly Black student bodies. As the proportion of Black students in a school increases by one standard deviation, the probability that the average White teacher will exit increases more than twenty per cent. By contrast, a one standard deviation shift in student achievement test scores, socioeconomic factors, or teacher salary results in much smaller percentages of teacher exit.[28] In a study of teachers in Texas, Hanushek, Kain, and Rivkin found similar patterns of teacher mobility in which White teachers moved to higher achieving schools with fewer minority students while Black teachers moved to higher achieving schools with more minority students.[29]

High teacher turnover at schools with large Black populations can lead to a lower overall quality of education at these schools.

> If attrition is concentrated at particular types of schools, then certain types of students may systematically receive a lower quality education than other students..... In this case, teachers of all quality will want to leave these schools and it will likely be the better teachers who will be able to find new principals who agree to hire them. Thus, under the seemingly reasonable assumption that

minority schools do not get better new hires than other schools, it seems likely that high attrition rates at Black schools will tend to be indicative of lower quality education in this case.[30]

High turnover can also cause systemic problems in establishing the necessary trust and collaboration between teachers, and disrupting instructional programs and meaningful professional development. Schools with high levels of turnover also often have fewer qualified applicants for each open position, reducing the principal's ability to be selective when making new hires.[31]

Teacher Race and Student Achievement
In addition to research demonstrating that Black students are often instructed by less qualified and less experienced instructors in schools with less stable faculties, there is also some evidence about the importance of the match between teacher and student race on student academic achievement. Thomas Dee, an economics professor from Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, uses data from the Tennessee STAR class-size experiment to demonstrate that 'assignment to an own-race teacher significantly increased the math and reading achievement of both Black and White students'.[32] Dee suggests that there are a number of cultural reasons that influence the racial disconnect between teachers and students. The commonly sited factors can be categorized as passive and active factors. Passive factors include theories that Black teachers serve as role models of academic success for their Black students, Black students feel more comfortable with Black teachers, Black students do not feel stereotyped by Black teachers, and Black teachers may have different expectations for student success. Active factors point to differences in actions taken by Black teachers in their allocation of time, interactions with students, use of examples, use of instructional methods, and in the design of classroom materials.[33]

In an examination of the effect of teacher race on student performance in Texas, Hanushek, Kain, and Rivkin found similar results. Minority teachers were generally more effective with minority students and Black teachers were specifically more effective instructors of Black students.[34] However, other studies found that the race of the teacher does not effect the academic achievement of their students. Ehrenberg, Goldhaber, and Brewer found, in an analysis of the 1988 National Educational Longitudinal Study (NELS), and in the 1990 follow-up data, that teacher characteristics including race do not affect student test scores.[35] Contrary to this, in an examination of the very same data sets with the addition of the 1992 follow-up data, Oates found that teacher race is important to student performance on standardized tests.[36]

> The (mis)match between teacher's and student's race seems primarily consequential to the standardize test performance of African-American students – shaping both the way teachers feel about students, and (to a lesser degree) the extent to which these perceptions ultimately matter.[37]

As there are only a limited number of studies in this area and these studies have contradicting results, more research is needed to determine the impact of teacher race on student academic performance.

Race and Teachers' Evaluations of Students' Behavior
Although the evidence that teacher race has a consistent and sizable affect on student academic performance is inconclusive, there is a great deal of evidence documenting how teacher race affects teachers' perceptions of students of different races. Lewis and Watson-Gegeo noted that teachers often 'assign meanings and motivations to the behaviors of children with whom they do not share racial, ethnic, or cultural backgrounds and invariably, teachers' social and institutional power allows their meanings and interpretations to trump those of the child.[38]

In a study examining Kindergarten and 8th grade teachers' evaluations of students of different races, Downey and Pribish found that White teachers consistently rate Black students as poorer classroom citizens than White students.[39] Behavior ratings and student achievement may be closely related.

Teachers' evaluations of students' social behavior may be tied to academic measures such as time-on-task and work completion. Likewise students are often sensitive to teachers' attitudes toward them and perform in the classroom based on these perceptions.[40] There is also some evidence that Black students may be particularly sensitive to teachers attitudes and 'unfavorable teacher perceptions, even if justified by prior performance and other relevant information, may more strongly undermine the performance of African-American students' than their non-Black peers.[41] The data from the Downey and Pribish study shows that Black students are rated by Black teachers at statistically significantly higher levels. Studies of students from pre-school to adolescence have found similar patterns of Black students being consistently rated lower than White students in White teachers' evaluations.[42]

The Downey and Pribesh study explores theories that might possibly explain why the racial disconnect exists. The researchers disregard the possibility that large percentages of White teachers are overtly racist and act on their racist views in their evaluation of student behavior. The first plausible theory offered is that White teachers rate Black students more harshly than they deserve because White teachers misinterpret aspects of their Black students' behavior. 'Black students may be puzzled to find out that White teachers are angered by behavior that is unnoticed or even rewarded in the students' homes or neighborhoods.'[43] The authors note that there are exceptions to this theory as some minority groups, most notably Asian students, are able to adapt their behavior to meet teachers' expectations.[44] The second possible theory is that Black students actually do act worse in classes instructed by White teachers. 'From this perspective, Black students' behavior is not just different than White students' in a culturally arbitrary way, it disrupts what the teacher is trying to accomplish.'[45] This poor behavior may emanate from Black students resisting participation in a White-controlled institution. The researchers conclude that, as White teachers' evaluations of Black students are as low in kindergarten as in 8th grade, the source of the lower evaluations is not students' resistant behaviors. If resistance to White institutions was the problem, students would, in all likelihood, be more actively resistant at 8th grade than they are in kindergarten. Downey and Pribesh attribute the lower evaluations to a disconnect in which teachers misinterpret students' behaviors.[46]

This disconnect is referred to by Jacqueline Jordan Irvine professor at Emory University as a lack of 'cultural synchronization' in which the culture of the teacher does not correspond to the culture of the students.[47] In *Does Race Matter? A Comparison of Effective Black and White Teachers of African American Students*, Cooper suggests that a learning style that is influenced by Black community norms 'can leave children at odds with White teachers and schools since both traditional practice and institutions most often reflect Eurocentric worldviews, customs, teaching styles, and expectations for student behavior.'[48] Irvine also states that:

> When teachers and students are out of sync, they clash and confront each other, both consciously and unconsciously, in matters concerning proxemics (use of interpersonal distance), paralanguage (behaviors accompanying speech, such as voice tone and pitch and speed rate and length), and coverbal behavior (gesture, facial expression, and eye gaze).[49]

In her ethnography on how children learn language in the Carolina Piedmont, Shirley Brice Heath describes how teachers felt that Black students lacked mainstream manners and were unable to behave 'normally' in the classroom setting. Likewise, the Black students were often bewildered and frustrated by their White teachers' use of indirect hints and requests, which differed from the direct style of instruction found in their own community. Heath describes how White teachers can learn how to be effective instructors of Black children by utilizing some of the communication styles that students are already familiar with from their own community.[50] Black teachers of Black children often utilize this type of communication with their students and are therefore seen as more effective instructors by the Black community.

Teachers of Color – Beyond Role Models
Role models can be important contributors to the formation of students' aspirations. More specifically, same race role models can help students form ideas about opportunities available to 'people like them' and may result in more achievement-oriented goals and increased academic success.[51] Because Black students disproportionately live in poor communities, they are less likely to see high achieving same race professionals; and having Black teachers who may serve as role models for Black students is, therefore, of particular importance.[52]

Black teachers can serve as much more than role models. In addition to being places where academic knowledge is created and disseminated, schools provide experiences which shape students' value systems. Having a disproportionately small population of minority teachers and other professionals in schools is incongruous with the democratic ideals on which the United States was founded. This racial imbalance teaches students that jobs are stratified based on race and that the educational system is complicit in racial inequities. All students need to see non-White teachers in their schools in order to form appropriate ideas about job hierarchies and race.[53] Additionally, a lack of Black teachers promotes the idea that teaching is a White profession and serves as a disincentive for Black students to select the teaching profession for themselves.[54]

Black teachers can also serve as mentors for Black students, helping them to navigate the complex structure of schooling. As mentors, Black teachers can serve as cultural translators for Black students, alleviating the alienation students of color may feel in traditionally White institutions which often results in diminished effort, poor academic performance, and behavioral problems. Black teachers can also assist White and other non-Black teachers in better understanding the motivations and actions of their Black students, as well as draw attention to discriminatory practices.[55]

Successful Educators of Black Students
There is a growing body of literature about the work of Black teachers who are successful at instructing Black students. Understanding how successful Black teachers interact with their students has implications for the types of teachers that should be recruited to work with Black youth and the types of training these teachers should receive. In a meta-analysis of the existing literature, Professor Patricia Cooper found that there are often characteristics shared by these successful Black teachers across studies. Such teachers have an in-depth knowledge of subject matter, hold high expectations for student academic achievement and discipline; and utilize an authoritative-based classroom management style to create a safe and orderly environment. In addition, they engage in the community and act as extended family members or second mothers or fathers to students and promote positive racial identities while acknowledging the racism students continue to face within American society. The teachers are also often explicit about the importance of teaching students how to communicate in Standard English in order to negotiate the dominant culture.[56]

Delpit expounds that often in the Black community a teacher indicates care for their students by:

> .....controlling the class; exhibiting personal power;... demonstrating the belief that all students can learn; establishing a standard of achievement and 'pushing' students to achieve the standard; and holding the attention of the students by incorporating African-American interactional style in their teaching. Teachers who do not exhibit these behaviors may be viewed by community members as ineffectual, boring, or uncaring.[57]

In her experiences, Delpit observes that White teachers may see the practices of senior Black teachers as 'repressive' in comparison to the progressive style of instruction promoted in many teacher education programs. Through experience Delpit has come to believe that traditional, structured practices, such as having students sit at desks and the use of skill-based instruction, are beneficial

to the academic achievement of Black students.[58] Gloria Ladson-Billings notes the similarities often found in the presentation style of Black teachers:

> African American educators may bring a different teaching repertoire to the classroom. They may be more direct in their questioning, more exact in their requirements, or more expressive in their presentation. This is not to suggest that there is a stereotypical Black teacher who exhibits a 'Black teaching style'. Rather, I argue that some of the collective experiences of Black life may find their way into the classroom, just as the home, community, and cultural experiences of White teachers influence their classrooms.[59]

There is far less research on successful White teachers of Black students. The writings that do exist are often auto-ethnographic narratives in which White teachers, rather than members of the Black community, describe him or herself as successful with Black students. Such authors include Kozol, Kohl, Ayers, Hoffman, Meier, and Paley.[60] This genre, often autobiographical in nature, 'depends heavily upon the melodrama and depictions of a cult personality' while 'revealing patterns of injustice' in the American education system.[61] The authors often explore how their cross-racial teaching experiences shaped the way in which they understand their own White racial identity and the implications this has for power and privilege. These narratives generally 'provide an insight that cross-racial teaching is challenging and may require some set of not yet identifiable skills'.[62]

Cooper finds commonalities in these narratives of self-described successful White teachers of Black children, including a belief that White teachers can be successful despite suspicion from Black families and the Black community. These White teachers have a personal awareness of their own race and the race of their students, use of culturally relevant curriculum, and high expectations for student success. The self-described successful White teachers differed from the successful Black teachers in several key ways. These White teachers used a less authoritative style of classroom management and discipline; were less concerned with teaching standardized curriculum, students' achievement in standardized tests, and students' use of Standard English; and used kin metaphors less frequently. Often the White teachers 'voiced shock and outrage at the subpar physical conditions, low expectations for students by fellow teachers, and institutional and educational racism.' Successful Black teachers more often voice the idea that Black students can learn despite these circumstances and saw their schools 'as places where Black culture could be celebrated and transmitted and where survival in the dominant culture could be learned'.[63]

In one of the few studies examining White teachers nominated as successful White educators of Black children by members of the Black community, Cooper also found some commonalities. These White teachers were more similar to successful Black teachers in that they were more likely to use an authoritative voice in classroom management and discipline, use kin metaphors and see themselves as second mothers to students, and focus on standardized curriculum and success in standardized tests. Although these White teachers were racially conscious and were aware of racial injustices, they were less likely than Black teachers to talk about race, often for fear that discussing race would be misunderstood by the community, school administrators, or parents.[64]

Tackling the Racial Disconnect Between Teachers and Students

One obvious way to address the racial disconnect between teachers and students is to create programs that attract and retain Black teachers in order to promote a better balance between the percentage of Black students and teachers. The current characteristics of students in teacher education programs indicate that without intervention the clear majority of teachers will continue to be White females.[65] However, some programs designed to bring teachers of color into the classroom are being implemented at the state and local level through pre-collegiate, paraeducator-to-teacher, community college, alternative certification, and advanced degree programs. Such programs generate interest in teaching and provide educational opportunities and incentives often in exchange for a commitment to

teach for a specified number of years.[66] However, there still remain deterrents to Blacks entering the education field. These include the expanse of career opportunities available to educated Blacks that provide higher social status and financial compensation than teaching, negative school experiences that turn students away from a career in education, and testing requirements for teacher licensure that may be culturally biased.[67] Additionally, the lived experiences of Black pre-service teachers may be in conflict with the formal curriculum of traditional teacher education programs.[68] In order for programs aiming to increase the number of Black teachers to be effective, they must consider and address all of the barriers to becoming a teacher and use a variety of strategies to support pre-service teachers. These should include: using peer recruiters; reducing institutional bureaucracy; guiding pre-service teachers on how to be successful in teacher education programs; and providing viewpoints on teaching which are congruent with the lived experiences of Black pre-service teachers.[69]

In addition to a lack of Black teachers in general, there is a particular lack of Black male teachers as Black males represent only one per cent of America's teaching force. There are a number of explanations why Black men are so underrepresented in teaching. These include the reasons for the under-representation of Black women such as the availability of more career opportunities and greater difficulty with testing requirements, as well as, the reasons that keep White men from teaching such as the lack of financial returns on educational investments, difficulty navigating the feminized world of teaching, and being seen as potentially dangerous to students particularly at the elementary level. An additional difficulty in recruiting Black male teachers is the low rate of college completion among Black males. There do exist, however, some programs, including South Carolina's "Call Me Mister" initiative, designed to recruit and retain Black males in the teaching profession. Such offerings should be researched and reproduced in other localities in order to increase the number of Black male teachers in US schools.[70]

As well as programs that are actively attempting to recruit Black teachers, states and districts must also try to recruit, retain, and create White teachers who are successful at working with Black student populations. There is no clear formula, however, of how to produce a White teacher equipped with the skills necessary to understand and instruct non-White students. Best practice in the area generally begins with a White teacher's self-examination of his or her own race and the benefits that this allows him or her in society and continues with an exploration of the overt and subtle racism present in the United States' education system.[71]

In *Making Meaning of Whiteness*, Alice McIntyre guides White female student teachers in action participatory research in which they explore the 'system of privilege and oppression that structures many of our institutions, shapes U.S. culture, informs our beliefs, and restricts our understanding of what it means to be White in society'.[72] She recommends that a first step for White teachers aiming to best serve their students of color is to identify how their own Whiteness affects how they perceive and interact with society. 'By examining our racial locations within society' we begin 'to recognize the importance of our own racial identities as determinants in how and what we teach.'[73]

In addition to knowing themselves, teachers need to 'know their students and the cultural setting in which a specific group of young people have been learning prior to their arrival in a specific classroom.'[74] In order to teach any group of students, Gloria Ladson-Billings recommends the use of culturally relevant pedagogy, which goes beyond similar-sounding concepts such as 'cultural congruence', 'cultural appropriateness', 'cultural responsiveness' and 'cultural compatibility'. These have their place in promoting connections between students' home lives and school culture.[75] Rather, culturally relevant pedagogy aims to empower students to be able to critically examine and challenge societal norms.[76]

> Culturally relevant pedagogy rests on three criteria or propositions: (a) students must experience

academic success; (b) students must develop and/or maintain cultural competence; and (c) students must develop a critical consciousness through which they challenge the status quo of the current social order.[77]

Not all Black teachers are culturally relevant and not all culturally relevant teachers are Black. Cultural relevant teaching requires teachers to be familiar with and appreciate Black culture and understand the social forces that result in inequitable educational experiences. Although some middle-class Black teachers may be unaware or indifferent to the experiences of low-income students, the underlying assumption is that Black teachers may have an easier time embracing culturally relevant practice due to familiarity with racism from experiences in their own lives.[78]

Although there exist clear recommendations on how students should be taught in a culturally relevant manner in order to improve academic achievement, the implementation of these practices in schools is not mandated by states and districts.

> Despite recent policies aimed at holding schools and teachers accountable for student achievement, the development of a pedagogical practice that addresses the challenge of effective cross-racial teaching and learning remains outside of the national education reform agenda. [79]

If teachers are to be successful educators of Black students (and other students from backgrounds different than their own) they will need systematic guidance on how to translate principals of relevant pedagogy into actual practices in their classrooms and schools. Similarly, critical race theory, introduced by Ladson-Billings and Tate, is a call to acknowledge and address systemic educational inequities in American education.[80] Born out of critical legal scholarship, this theory recognizes that racism is endemic to American life and that racism in education cannot be solved by simply promoting multicultural awareness or colorblind schools. Rather, educational injustice must be reflected upon, and action must be taken to stop inequitable practices. Dixson and Rousseau note that, although there has been much literature written exposing inequity and recommending practice, it is unclear to what extent critical race theory has been able to move beyond recommendations to actual policies and practices.[81]

Conclusion

There are many possible reasons why a racial achievement gap exists and persists between White and Black students in the United States. One reason may be the lack of Black teachers in American classrooms, as Black teachers can serve as important figures in the lives of their Black students. Although there are many talented White teachers who do meet the needs of their Black students, in some cases a lack of cultural synchronization between Black students and White teachers could result in lower expectations and test scores, lower behavior ratings, and higher rates of assignment to special education and behavior management classes.

In order to address this concern we must determine what best practices are for different groups within American society and truly provide students with a free appropriate culturally relevant education. More research must be done on how White teachers successfully (as defined by both the Black and White communities) educate Black children, so that the necessary techniques and skills can be taught in our schools of teacher education and brought to teachers through professional development. Turnover reduction programs, perhaps incorporating financial or other incentives, need to be designed, implemented, and researched in order to reduce teacher turnover in Black and low-income schools with the aim of creating cohesive and experienced faculties. In addition, we need to continue and increase efforts to recruit, train, and retain talented Black educators, both male and female, to serve as leaders in the struggle to close the Black-White academic achievement gap.

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Comment
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Opinion

Comment and Opinion

The Changing Racial Dynamics of the War on Drugs

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For more than a quarter century the 'War on Drugs' has exerted a profound impact on the structure and scale of the criminal justice system. The inception of the 'war' in the 1980s has been a major contributing factor to the historic rise in the prison population during this period. From a figure of about 40,000 people incarcerated in prison or jail for a drug offence in 1980, there has since been an 1100% increase to a total of 500,000 today. To place some perspective on that change, the number of people incarcerated for a drug offence is now greater than the number incarcerated for all offences in 1980.

The increase in incarceration for drug offences has been fueled by sharply escalated law enforcement targeting of drug law violations, often accompanied by enhanced penalties for such offences. Many of the mandatory sentencing provisions adopted in both state and federal law have been focused on drug offences. At the federal level, the most notorious of these are the penalties for crack cocaine violations, whereby crack offences are punished far more severely than powder cocaine offences, even though the two substances are pharmacologically identical. Despite changes in federal sentencing guidelines, the mandatory provisions still in place require that anyone convicted of possessing as little as five grams of crack cocaine (the weight of two sugar packets) receive a five-year prison term for a first-time offence.

At the state level, the most longstanding of the current generation of harsh drug laws are New York's "Rockefeller" drug laws. Adopted in 1973, these laws call for a 15-year prison term for possession of four ounces of narcotics or sale of two ounces. After decades of advocacy the laws were scaled back substantially in 2009, to permit judges to sentence with enhanced discretion in many drug cases.

The dramatic escalation of incarceration for drug offences has been accompanied by profound racial/ethnic disparities. Overall, two-thirds of persons incarcerated for a drug offence in state prison are African American or Latino. These figures are far out of proportion to the degree that these groups use or sell drugs. A wealth of research demonstrates that much of this disparity is fueled by disparate law enforcement practices. In effect, police agencies have frequently targeted drug law violations in low-income communities of color for enforcement operations, while substance abuse in communities with substantial resources is more likely to be addressed as a family or public health problem.

In recent years, there is emerging evidence of potentially significant change in the approach and effects of national drug policy. First, there is increasing public and policymaker recognition of the value of drug treatment as a more appropriate response to substance abuse than incarceration in many instances. In this regard, we can trace the rapid expansion of drug courts. From the inception of the first treatment-oriented courts in 1989, these programs have now grown to more than 1,600 nationally. There is ongoing debate regarding the extent to which these approaches divert defendants from incarceration, but in any case they represent broad support for less punitive policies in regard to substance abuse.

Within the prison system we have seen the beginnings of change as well. In state prisons, from 1999-2005 (most recent data) there was virtually no change in the number of people incarcerated for a drug offence, rising less than 1% from 251,200 to 253,5000 during this time. Without exaggerating

the impact of these figures – still record highs – there is nonetheless a stabilizing of these numbers in state prisons, a far different trend than was seen in the 1980s and early 1990s.

This stability in the number of drug offence incarcerations is intriguing, but hides an even more dramatic change – a significant shift in the racial composition of people incarcerated for a drug offence. Our analysis below documents these striking trends:

The number of African Americans in state prisons for a drug offence declined by 21.6% from 1999-2005, a reduction of more than 31,000 persons. The number of Whites incarcerated for a drug offence rose significantly during this period, an increase of 42.6%, representing an additional 21,000 persons in prison.

This report examines these shifting dynamics in the context of the criminal justice system to explore possible explanations for these changes. We then assess the implications of these changes for both substance abuse policy and considerations of racial justice.

Changing Racial Dynamics of Incarceration for Drug Offences

Since the inception of the war on drugs, African American communities have been subject to high levels of arrest and incarceration for drug offences. As of 2005, African Americans represented 12% of the total population of drug users, but 34% of those arrested for drug offences, and 45% of those in state prison for a drug offence. Many of these disparate rates of supervision in the criminal justice system still persist, but within state prisons there is clearly a change taking place in recent years. We can see this in Table 1 below, examining the number of persons incarcerated for a drug offence by race and ethnicity for 1999-2005.

TABLE 1: DRUG OFFENDERS IN STATE PRISON BY RACE/ETHNICITY, 1999-2005

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Change, 99-05
All Drug Offenders	251,200	251,100	246,100	265,000	250,900	249,400	253,300	0.8%
White #	50,700	58,200	57,300	64,500	64,800	65,900	72,300	42.6%
White %	20.2%	23.2%	23.3%	24.3%	25.9%	26.4%	28.5%	
Black #	144,700	145,300	139,700	126,000	133,100	112,500	113,500	-21.6%
Black %	57.6%	57.9%	56.8%	47.5%	53%	45.1%	44.8%	
Hispanic #	52,100	43,300	47,000	61,700	50,100	51,800	51,100	-1.9%
Hispanic %	20.7%	17.2%	19.1%	23.3%	20%	20.8%	20.2%	

Several trends are striking in this period:

- First, the number of people serving prison time for a drug offence is virtually unchanged, increasing by less than 1% over the six-year time frame. While this may not appear dramatic, it needs to be considered in the context of the 1200% growth in the state prison population for drug offences from 1980 to 1999.
- Second, while the overall number of persons serving time for a drug offence has not changed, the racial composition has shifted significantly. The number of African Americans declined by more than 31,000 during this period, a 21.6% drop. In 1999, African Americans had constituted 57.6% of

those serving time in prison for a drug offence; by 2005 this figure had declined to 44.8%.

- Conversely, the number of Whites serving time for a drug offence rose substantially during this period, a 42.6% increase from 50,700 in 1999 to 72,300 in 2005. As a result, the White share of drug offence incarceration rose from 20.2% to 28.5%. The Hispanic figures were virtually unchanged during this time, with a modest 1.9% drop overall. (Figures do not add to 100 percent due to other race categories.)

Assessing the Decling Black Proportion of Drug Offences

In looking at trends in state incarceration, clearly we are seeing the end result of 50 state law enforcement and sentencing systems that cumulatively produce these figures. Therefore, one needs to be cautious about interpreting trends. But in order to understand these dynamics we can look at a series of indicators to try to identify causal factors, both within and outside the criminal justice system.

Tradeoff with Federal Prison Population

We begin by looking at the composition of the federal prison population. A simple explanation for the declining Black population in state prisons might be that federal prosecutors had enhanced drug prosecutions disproportionately among African Americans, and therefore merely shifted the location of imprisonment. Table 2 below displays data on the racial/ethnic dynamics of incarceration in federal prisons for drug offences from 1999-2005.

TABLE 2: DRUG OFFENDERS IN FEDERAL PRISON BY RACE/ETHNICITY, 1999-2005

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	Change, 99-05
All Drug Offenders	71,757	76,041	80,888	84,674	89,325	91,646	95,211	32.7%
White #	16,492	17,547	18,303	19,346	20,539	21,176	22,251	34.9%
White %	23%	23.1%	22.6%	22.9%	23%	23.1%	23.4%	
Black #	31,097	33,068	35,537	36,718	38,341	39,353	40,812	31.2%
Black %	43.3%	43.5%	43.9%	43.4%	42.9%	42.9%	42.9%	
Hispanic #	23,095	24,337	25,939	27,388	29,010	29,493	30,279	31.1%
Hispanic %	32.2%	32%	32.1%	32.4%	32.5%	32.2%	31.8%	

As we can see, there was a significant increase – just under 10,000 – in the number of African Americans incarcerated for drug offences during this time. But this 31.2% increase was virtually identical to the increase for Latinos and slightly less than that for Whites. This increase, therefore, represents an overall expansion of federal resources for drug prosecutions, but not one with enhanced differential effects on African Americans. The only change of significance was a modest rise in 2001 which included the absorption of incarcerated persons in the Washington, D.C. prison system, into the federal system, but the overall increased number of drug offenders of all races from Washington, D.C. was just an additional 455 persons that year. So, there is no obvious change in the relative proportion of state and federal incarcerations that would explain the decline in the number of African Americans in state prisons for a drug offence.

Rates of Drug Use

A second area of inquiry relates to drug use. If, for example, African American drug use declined

during this time period, then that might ultimately result in reduced incarceration for drug offences. But as seen below in Table 3, there is little change in this regard. Data on regular drug users, compiled in household surveys conducted by the Department of Health and Human Services, has consistently shown over many years that the number of drug users generally reflects the relative racial/ethnic proportion of the national population. That is, Whites, Blacks, and Latinos use drugs at relatively similar rates. African Americans constitute about 12% of the national population, and from 1999-2005 comprised between 11.5-14.0% of all regular drug users. Similar stability can be seen in the White and Hispanic proportions of drug users during this time. So in this case as well, there are no changes that are significant enough to explain the declining African American figures in state imprisonment.

TABLE 3: RACIAL/ETHNIC PROPORTION OF REGULAR DRUG USERS, 1999-2005

Year	White %	Black %	Hispanic %
1999	72.1	13.4	10.2
2000	74.8	11.5	9.1
2001	74.2	11.9	9.9
2002	71.8	13.3	10.7
2003	71.0	12.3	12.2
2004	70.7	12.7	11.7
2005	69.2	14.0	12.4

It is important to note, though, that data on drug use is limited for two key reasons. First, it is much more likely that drug sellers, rather than users, will receive prison sentences. But measuring drug selling is challenging, as there are no reliable surveys that provide data. Persons who use drugs, though, generally report that they purchased their drugs from someone of their own race. Therefore, if drug use is roughly proportional to the overall population, drug selling rates are likely to be in that range as well.

A second limitation of using data on drug use is that it has been widely documented that drug arrests are far from responsive to actual rates of drug use. As a result of a variety of law enforcement policies and practices, people of color are far more likely to be subject to drug arrests than are Whites who use or sell drugs. Nonetheless, the available data at least convey that there are no changes in rates of drug use overall that contribute to the prison data trends.

Trends in Arrest Rates
Following the trajectory of the criminal justice system, we can then examine trends in drug arrest rates that might offer an explanation for the change in Black incarceration. Overall, we see in Table 4 that in the 1999-2005 period, drug arrests continued to rise for all but one year, an overall increase of 19% during this time. This trend continues a pattern that has been virtually unabated since the mid 1980s.

In looking at the potential impact of drug arrests on incarceration, though, it is important to disaggregate the arrest totals. In recent years, there has been a sharp increase in the number of arrests for marijuana offences, which now total more than 40% of all drug arrests. The vast majority of marijuana arrests, more than 80%, have been for possession offences. Since an arrest for marijuana possession rarely results in a prison term, it is more useful for these purposes to analyse arrest patterns without these offences, which lowers the arrest figures by nearly 40%.

TABLE 4: DRUG ARRESTS, 1999-2005

Year	Black %
1999	40.1
2000	39.3
2001	39.1
2002	35.8
2003	33.8
2004	33.1
2005	33.2

TABLE 5: BLACK PROPORTION OF DRUG ARRESTS, EXCLUDING MARIJUANA POSSESSION, 1999-2005

Year	Number of Drug Arrests
1999	1,557,100
2000	1,579,566
2001	1,586,902
2002	1,538,813
2003	1,678,192
2004	1,746,570
2005	1,846,351

If we then examine drug arrests by race, excluding those for marijuana possession, we see a significant shift. As seen in Table 5 the proportion of adult African Americans arrested for one of these drug offences declined from 40.1% in 1999 to 33.2% in 2005, for an overall decline of 17.2% during this period. (FBI arrest data provide breakdowns by race, but not ethnicity. Therefore there is no means of tracking changes for Latino arrestees, most of whom are incorporated in the White category.) The 17.2% decline in the Black proportion of arrests approaches the scale of the 21.6% decline in the number of African Americans in state prison for a drug offence during this period.

Trends in Drug Offence Convictions
Following the changes in patterns of drug arrests we then examine data on felony drug convictions by race. Data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics are analyzed every two years, as seen in Table 6. In this area, from 1998-2004 we can see a significant decline in the black proportion of drug convictions, 13% overall (from 53% to 46%) and 17% (from 57% to 47%) for drug trafficking offences, which are the drug charges most likely to result in a prison term. The decline in convictions for trafficking offences is almost identical to the proportional decline in drug arrests for African Americans. All other things being equal, a declining proportion of Black drug convictions should lead to similar reductions in Black incarceration for drug offences. The decline in the conviction rate is not quite as large as the overall drop in incarceration for African Americans, but clearly represents a substantial portion of that change. (As with data on arrests, drug conviction data do not record ethnicity, so there is no means of tracking convictions for Latinos.)

Factors Contributing to the Decline in African American Drug Offence Incarceration
The trends we are observing are relatively recent and therefore will need to be assessed over time in order to draw firm conclusions regarding the driving forces contributing to the prison declines we have documented. But there are several possible systemic changes that may provide parts of the explanation.

Changes in Drug Use Patterns
While the overall racial distribution of drug users has not changed substantially during this period, there have been some changes in the degree to which various drugs are used. In particular, the use of crack cocaine has declined substantially since the peak years of the late 1980s. An analysis published by the National Institute of Justice documented that crack use had become much less popular,

TABLE 6: PROPORTION OF DRUG CONVICTIONS BY RACE, 1998-2004

WHITE	1998	2000	2002	2004
All Drug Convictions	46%	46%	55%	52%
Possession Convictions	55%	49%	61%	54%
Trafficking Convictions	42%	44%	51%	51%
BLACK	1998	2000	2002	2004
All Drug Convictions	53%	53%	43%	46%
Possession Convictions	44%	50%	36%	44%
Trafficking Convictions	57%	55%	47%	47%

particularly among young people, by the 1990s.

As has been true of other new drug phenomena over many years, the peak years of the crack cocaine "epidemic" were in retrospect relatively short-lived. As historian David Musto has documented, drug epidemics often begin with a new drug becoming rapidly embraced by young people and others. After a few years, the novelty of the drug wears off and the harmful nature of the substance becomes increasingly well understood. This generally results in a change in community norms to produce negative associations with the drug and hence, declining use among potential new initiates.

Changes in Drug Selling Patterns
As use of crack cocaine was declining in the 1990s, so too were the methods of its sale in many cases. In criminologist Richard Curtis' ethnographic studies in Brooklyn, New York, he found that by the late 1990s many drug sellers had shifted their transactions to indoor locations as well as limited their sales to people known to them. Regardless of the level of drug selling, such a shift had consequences for communities and the court system. During the early years of the war on drugs, law enforcement activity had been heavily focused on urban crack markets. This was a contentious strategy. Police officials generally argued that the open-air drug markets that were common in many disadvantaged communities were disruptive to community life and needed to be challenged. Civil rights advocates and others countered that the drug war was unfairly targeting drug activity in communities of color, as well as underemphasizing approaches involving prevention and treatment. Regardless of which position one may have supported, the decline in crack use, along with changes in patterns of distribution, made it both more difficult and arguably less necessary for law enforcement to exert such a heavy presence in these communities.

Changes in Arrest Patterns
As we have seen, there has been a steady decline in the Black proportion of drug arrests (excluding marijuana possession) during the period 1999-2005. Unfortunately, FBI arrest data categories are too broad to permit an analysis of changes in arrest by specific type of drug, so there is no means by which to assess whether changes in relative rates of use of crack cocaine or other drugs are driving these trends. But given the changes in rates of crack cocaine use and distribution patterns we have observed, it seems likely that at least part of the declining African American share of drug arrests is related to these developments.

Impact of Drug Courts or other Diversion Programs
Since the inception of drug courts in 1989 there has been a broad expansion of interest and programming in this area. These courts vary significantly in many ways, including criteria for admission, type of treatment programming, and impact on sentencing. There remains debate regarding the degree to which these courts may have a "net-widening" effect; that is, do they divert people from a term of incarceration or bring under court supervision people who might otherwise not be processed in the

court system? There are not yet definitive findings in this regard, but it is likely that at least in some jurisdictions there are people charged with a drug offence who are diverted from a prison term due to drug court programming. Whether such an outcome disproportionately benefits African Americans is in part a function of the location of such diversion programs. To the extent that they are located in urban areas with heavy concentrations of people of color as defendants, this may be the case. In Brooklyn, New York, for example, the longstanding Drug Treatment Alternative to Prison program operated by the District Attorney's office reports that 46% of its defendant population is African American and 46% Hispanic.   Scholars such as Michael O'Hear, though, contend that the eligibility criteria for drug court programs and length of prison terms for unsuccessful participants may actually disadvantage African American defendants.

Impact of Sentencing Policies
The 21.6% decline in the number of African Americans incarcerated for a drug offence is clearly consistent with declines of that magnitude in the Black rate of arrest and conviction during this period. In addition, to the extent that some portion of this decline was related to declining arrests for crack cocaine offences, this factor may have contributed disproportionately to the decline. At the federal level there has been a great deal of attention to the broad sentencing disparity between punishments for crack cocaine compared to powder cocaine offences. But 13 states also maintain a distinction in sentencing between the two drugs, albeit not as extreme as in the federal system. Therefore, to the extent that African Americans have been disproportionately charged with crack cocaine offences in the past, it is likely that their sentences in these states were more severe than for persons convicted of other drug charges.

It is important to note as well that despite the apparent declining impact of crack cocaine on arrests and incarceration at the state level, there has been no corresponding decline at the federal level. The number of federal prosecutions for crack offences remains substantial, and as we have seen, the overall number of people in federal prison for a drug offence rose by 32.7% from 1999 to 2005. Racial disparities persist as well, with African Americans constituting more than 80% of the people convicted of a federal crack cocaine offence.

The Rising White Proportion of Drug Offence Prison Terms
As we have seen, the decline in Black incarcerations for drug offences has been matched by a substantial rise in Whites behind bars for drug offences. Several possible explanations may be at play in this regard.

First, we have seen over time that drug offence arrest rates are largely a function of law enforcement practices, rather than absolute levels of drug use or selling. That is, police agencies have in many cases concentrated resources on stemming drug traffic in low-income communities of color. This is often justified by arguments that drug selling in such neighborhoods is more likely to be disruptive to the community due to open-air drug markets and therefore requires a law enforcement response. Such an assertion is challenged by the argument that drug selling in many White communities can be harmful to individuals and families as well, and that a heavy emphasis on law enforcement diverts resources from prevention and community-building services that would be more beneficial.

Regardless of how one sees these issues, there is little doubt that law enforcement practices for many years disproportionately targeted minority neighborhoods. But as noted above regarding the changing composition of (non-marijuana possession) drug arrests, it is possible that Whites are increasingly comprising a larger share of the drug arrests that are more likely to result in a prison term.

Another possibility is that with the rise of methamphetamine in some states – a drug used more by Whites and Latinos than African Americans – increasing prosecutions and prison terms are contributing

to the White rise in imprisonment. While there is some data to suggest that there are increasing numbers of persons serving prison sentences for meth offences, it is not clear what proportion of the overall increase is due to this factor.

Looking at data from states with reported high rates of methamphetamine use, we find some significant increases in imprisonment during the years covered in this analysis. In Minnesota, an analysis produced by the Department of Corrections documented a substantial increase in the number of people incarcerated for a meth offence, rising from 230 in 2001 to 1,127 in 2005, although there is no published data on the racial composition of this population. This increase accounted for almost 90% of the growth of drug offence incarceration during this period.

In Iowa, a state with reported significant rates of meth use, the growth in incarceration began prior to this time frame but continued throughout. Methamphetamine offences as a proportion of drug admissions increased from 31% in 1995 to 68% by 2000, but then remained fairly steady through 2005 (66%), although the overall number of persons admitted for a drug offence continued to rise. Extrapolating data from the Iowa report suggests that meth offences accounted for about three-fourths of the 395 person rise in drug admissions for the period 1999-2005. Note, though, that admissions data are not necessarily representative of the offence distribution of people incarcerated in prison, due to differing lengths of stay for various offences.

While the data from these states lends support to the idea that increased imprisonment for methamphetamine offences is likely to have been responsible for some portion of the overall White increase in incarceration, the relatively modest number of states with a significant methamphetamine-using population also suggests that it is probably not the only explanatory factor in this regard.

As with the examination of African Americans in prison for a drug offence, assessing the rise in the number of Whites in prison is a complex undertaking and one that reflects criminal justice processing in all 50 states. Gaining an understanding of these dynamics will require a sustained examination in a variety of jurisdictions to observe trends in programming and decision-making.

Conclusion

The decline in the number of African Americans incarcerated for drug offences is a significant development, coming as it does after several decades of unprecedented expansion in incarceration of people of color. As we have seen in this analysis, available data only suggest some of the factors that may have produced this outcome, and it behooves policymakers and researchers to examine these trends in greater detail.

While these trends are welcome as a possible indication of a change in policy and practice, they need to be tempered by an assessment of the overall scale of incarceration and punishment. Even with the declines noted here, there are still 900,000 African Americans incarcerated in the nation's prisons and jails. To place this in context, at the time of the Brown v. Board of Education decision in 1954, that figure was 100,000. So despite a half century of advances in social and economic opportunity, the role of incarceration in the lives of African Americans persists to a degree that was unimaginable just a few decades ago.

Many of the driving forces that have contributed to these record numbers still remain very much in place. The high level of drug arrests, widespread adoption of mandatory sentencing policies, increase in length of prison terms, and other policies continue to drive the prison population even as crime rates have generally declined for more than a decade. And despite the decline in the number of African Americans incarcerated for a drug offence, the overall record number of people in prison for a drug offence still persists. While the racial dynamics of incarceration for drug offences have shifted,

there remains the question of whether massive imprisonment for drug problems is either an effective or compassionate strategy. If we are to see any sustained reduction in incarceration there will need to be a broad scale re-examination of these policies.

Elements of such a change are beginning to take shape. In recent years many states have begun to reconsider the wisdom of some of their overly punitive sentencing policies and have moved to scale these back or promote a greater array of diversionary programmes. Increasingly, these initiatives are propelled by fiscal concerns, as policymakers recognize that skyrocketing corrections costs cut into public support for higher education and other vital services. At the federal level, the US Sentencing Commission has enacted changes in the sentencing guidelines for crack cocaine offences, and members of Congress are considering proposals to reform the mandatory penalties for crack offences. Legislative action at the federal level is particularly critical since, as we have seen, the number of persons incarcerated for a drug offence continues to rise even as the state figures have stabilized.

It remains to be seen whether these initiatives represent the beginnings of substantial change in the approach to substance abuse and policy safety, or are merely modest reforms with little long-term impact. At a time when the nation is considering broad scale change in a host of areas, this is an appropriate moment to reconsider our public safety policy as well.

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Crossing Borders, Breaking Barriers: How Teachers Can Transcend Race, Class and Cultural Differences to Promote Academic Achievement and Engagement for All

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The need to provide teachers with the skills required to teach effectively across differences related to race, class and culture is now widely recognized as an imperative in most teacher education programs. Clear and consistent evidence has emerged over the years that when teachers lack such skills, students are less likely to achieve and classrooms are more likely to be disruptive and disorderly (Lipman 1995; Irvine 2003; Sleeter 2001). The reason for these problems is also clear – students learn through relationships, and when educators experience difficulty establishing respectful, caring and mutually beneficial relationships and rapport with the students they teach, it is often difficult to create an atmosphere that is supportive of teaching and learning (Bryk and Schnieder 2003).

In the United States, it has taken some time for teacher educators and school districts to recognize what is now widely referred to as 'cultural competence' as a core skill set for teachers. For the longest time, two views on matters pertaining to race and class differences and teaching prevailed. The first and most traditional view held that teachers were in effect emissaries of the dominant culture and as such, their job was to deliberately facilitate the assimilation of students from culturally different backgrounds (Fass 1989; Katznelson and Weir 1994; Cremmin 1988). Under this educational paradigm schools were expected to impart the values, norms and, most importantly, the language – English, of the dominant culture to the immigrant, poor and minority students they taught (Jibou 1988). This was seen as an essential part of preparing disadvantaged and culturally different students for citizenship and integration into mainstream American society. No apologies were offered for such an approach, nor was it common to hear complaints from those who were expected to carry it out. Eliminating cultural differences was typically equated with providing students with the social skills they would need to enter the workforce and assume adult roles in American society (Glazer and Moynihan 1963). 'Americanization' as the process was frequently called in reference to immigrant students, and assimilation generally, was regarded as the price that those whose backgrounds placed them outside (beneath) the dominant classes, had to pay for mobility (Fass 2007).

Though never fully repudiated, and in fact still widely practiced in many schools throughout the United States today, the assimilationist approach to education has been gradually replaced in some schools by what could best be described as the "'color blind'" approach. Unlike its predecessor, the 'color blind' approach grew out of liberal sensibilities that led educators to assume that the best way to educate all children was to essentially ignore differences related to race, class and culture, and to strive to treat all children the same regardless of their backgrounds (Sleeter 2001; Fine, Weis, and Powell 1997). By ignoring differences it was assumed that teachers could minimize the possibility that prejudice and bias would influence their perceptions of students and interfere with their ability to teach. Advocates of the 'color blind' approach envisioned it as a way to insure that teacher expectations would not be determined by the backgrounds of their students, and saw it as linked epistemologically to the civil rights goal of creating a society where race no longer determined a persons status or social standing (Kirp 1982; Delpitt 1995).

Before explaining why both approaches to teaching across social differences have come under attack and gradually been replaced by new approaches to teaching across cultural differences, it is important to at least acknowledge their merits. The assimilationist approach is after all based upon a certain degree of realism – students who do not learn English, who do not become conversant in

standard English and who fail to adopt mainstream social norms, are less likely to be successful in higher education and the workforce. As Lareua (1989) has shown through her important research on the ways in which class differences affect the ways in which children and parents are treated by schools, education is not a neutral process; it occurs in social settings that are necessarily influenced by the hierarchical arrangements that exist in society. Those who do not acquire the cultural capital of the dominant classes are invariably regarded as less suitable for inclusion in mainstream roles in society (Olsen 2000; Garcia 1995). Though critics may regard it is unfair that the onus for change and acculturation is on subordinate groups, it is nonetheless the reality. In a controversial and seminal article entitled: *'The Silenced Dialogue: Power and Pedagogy in Educating Other People's Children'* (1988), noted educator Lisa Delpitt argues that students who do not acquire what she refers to as the 'tools of power', tend to be less successful in school and often find their future options for employment adversely affected. While Delpitt does not endorse the eradication of cultural differences she does recognise, as do a number of language educators and linguists (Ogbu 1988; Fordham 1988) that acquiring the ability to 'code switch' (i.e. knowing when the use of standardized English is expected) is an essential requisite for educational success. According to Delpitt, teachers who fail to impart such skills to their minority students and do not provide them with a critical understanding related to how and when they are to be used, end up short-changing them.

Similarly, advocates of the 'color blind' approach to teaching frequently point out that there is a slippery slope between acknowledging differences related to race, class and culture and lowering ones' expectations to accommodate these differences. While it may be true that adopting a 'color blind' stance is nearly impossible in a society where racism, ethnocentricsm and class snobbery are rooted in historical and contemporary social relations (Fredrickson 1981), acknowledging difference does not guarantee that teachers will not be influenced by biases that continue to be pervasive in American society (Hacker 1992). According to this view, when teachers strive to adopt a stance of neutrality on matters related to race, class and culture they may be more likely to strive for fairness in the way they treat students and to avoid practices that give certain groups of students advantages over others. Of course, critics of the 'color blind' approach frequently point out that such striving rarely occurs; even if they refuse to acknowledge the ways in which their biases may influence their teaching, invariably they do (Sleeter 2000; King 1991). According to the critics, when teachers recognize that differences in student backgrounds may influence their academic needs and possibly even their style and approach to learning, and when they acknowledge the likelihood that personal biases may influence their interactions and their expectations, they will be more likely to take measures to address these issues.

Beginning in the 1980s, a new approach to preparing teachers to teach in ethnically and socio-economically diverse classrooms began gaining credibility and adherents. Advocates of multicultural education argued that the only way to effectively prepare teachers to teach effectively across differences was to expose them to a curriculum that made it possible for them to understand the history of race and class oppression in the United States, and that forced them to recognize and unlearn their biases. According to Enid Lee, one of the leading proponents of multicultural education, multicultural education is essential because 'it provides teachers, students and parents with the tools needed to combat racism and ethnic discrimination, and to find ways to build a society that includes all people on equal footing' (1995).

For the most part, the critics of both the assimilationist and the 'color blind' approach to teacher education and the advocates of multicultural education have won. In most teacher education programmes based in universities throughout the United States, courses on multiculturalism and courses that attempt to prepare teachers to teach effectively across race, class and cultural differences are common (Gay 2000; Davidman and Davidman 1994). There are, of course, colleges that have not embraced this change, but it is now increasingly widely accepted that teachers must receive special

training to enter classrooms filled with students from ethnically diverse backgrounds. This is especially true in programmes designed to prepare teachers for urban public schools, but as the demographic changes caused by immigration and suburbanization have transformed the composition of suburban and rural schools, teacher education programs throughout the country have adopted similar courses (Banks 1981).

Unfortunately, winning the struggle over how to prepare teachers has not guaranteed that teachers who graduate from programmes where mutliculturalism has been embraced are fully prepared or more effective in teaching students from diverse backgrounds. Though numerous studies of such programmes have been conducted, there is no clear evidence that exposure to multicultural approaches to teaching actually results in teachers being either more prepared or more effective in classrooms comprised of children of color and children from low-income backgrounds generally. Courses in multiculturalism do not inoculate those who take them from the influence of bias nor do they provide them with the social and emotional skills required to relate and establish rapport with students from diverse backgrounds. The same is true of the various cultural sensitivity and unlearning racism programmes that some schools and school districts have implemented. Like the pre-service courses offered at colleges and universities, training seminars offered by noted diversity experts such as Glen Singleton *(Courageous Conversations)* and Ruby Payne *(A framework for Understanding Poverty)*, do little to impact that practice of teachers in the classroom even when they do show some degree of success in raising awareness.

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Culturally Responsive Education

In the abstracts that follow, the some of the latest research on the challenges experienced by teachers in multicultural classrooms are reviewed. In some cases, successful practices are featured while in others old problems and challenges are re-visited. Close examination of these abstracts combined with even a cursory familiarity with existing research related to patterns of student achievement and the persistence of the so-called achievement gap, makes it clear that further research on teacher preparation is needed. Perhaps even more important, new approaches to preparing teachers for the classrooms of today and the future must be found if the increasingly diverse population of students in the United States will receive an education that enables them to be prepared to solve the problems they will inherit and the adult roles they must fill. The abstracts are grouped by author.
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Reviews by Justin Bennett

Dultro, E. et al (2008). "What Are You and Where Are You From?" Race, Identity, and the Vicissitudes of Cultural Relevance. *Urban Education*, 43(3), pp. 69-300.
A teacher's attempt to enact cultural relevance in her very diverse classroom produced some unforeseen questions among the students. The specific questions - "Where are you from?" and "What are you?" - posed by one of the students, served as a catalyst for the complex identity work that occurred when students were asked to bring both their home experiences and cultural backgrounds into a classroom where various racial and cultural identities converged. The data collected, which was part of a larger study of children's experiences across subject areas in this particular classroom, demonstrates how the teacher's interpretation and enactment of cultural relevance helped children to review their ideas and assumptions about their own and others' cultural and racial identities.

Gilliar, J.L. & Moore, R.A. (2007). An Investigation of How Culture Shapes Curriculum in Early Care and Education Programmes on a Native American Reservation. *Early Childhood Education Journal*, 34 (4), pp. 252-258.
The presence of family and community culture in the curriculum of three tribal early care and education programmes was the focus of this study. Classroom observations and open-ended interview questions with eight early childhood teachers were conducted at three early learning programmes, two infant and toddler programmes, and one toddler and preschool programme on a Native American Reservation. Four pre-service early childhood teachers collected data as a culminating field experience for a special topic university course called 'Cultures and Communities,' in which the pre-service teachers were enrolled. Culture and education in the three tribal early learning programmes were explored in this study through teacher responses to interview questions, field notes taken during classroom observations, and journals written by the pre-service teachers who collected the data. The research question which guided the study was: 'How does the culture of the family and community shape curriculum?'. The study's findings highlight the value of respecting and honoring parents' beliefs and wishes in a way that transforms curriculum and building belongingness through authentic school participation in family and community cultural rituals for connecting school or classroom culture with student home and community culture.

Stairs, A.J. (2007). Culturally Responsive Teaching: The Harlem Renaissance in an Urban English Class. *English Journal*, 96 (6), pp. 37-42.
The article focuses on a lesson taught by two former student teachers of Stairs in a Boston high school - a school comprised of mostly African-American and Hispanic students from low-income households. The teachers, both White females, had taken an urban methods course in which they learned about culturally responsive teaching. This pedagogical approach is defined by the author as

'particularly suited to urban schools educating linguistically, culturally, and racially diverse students' and is based on the assumption that 'diversity is an asset that enriches the learning of all students, not a deficit to overcome.' The student teachers taught a lesson titled 'Metaphor and Poetry in the Harlem Renaissance,' incorporating the following: rap lyrics to discuss figurative language, a mini-lesson on the Harlem Renaissance and Hughes' poetry, and the playing of jazz and blues music. This culturally responsive pedagogy helped students recognise and discuss elements of racism and prejudice while learning about figurative language.

<u>Reviews by Fernando Camberos</u>

Lipka, J. et al. (2005). Math in a Cultural Context: Two Case Studies of a Successful Culturally Based Math Project. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, **36(4), pp. 367-385.**

Lipka et al. look how teachers' own cultural identification affects indigenous education and empowerment within the Yup'ik population of Alaska. The researchers survey two novice math teachers in the area, one who comes from a similar cultural background to her students and one who does not. The study then asks them to implement Math in a Cultural Context (MCC) in their classrooms. MCC, Lipka explains, incorporates aspects of Yup'ik culture. The teachers were observed before and after they were asked to deliver the MCC curriculum. When they were first recorded teaching without the MCC curriculum, the teacher who shared her students' culture was more effective, and strong differences were observed between the two teachers, especially with regards to how the two incorporated student-home culture. Once teachers began incorporating MCC, the gap between the two was reduced and the teacher from the different background found it easier to teach because she faced less student resistance. The authors demonstrate the power of culturally cohesive pedagogy by showing impressive gains in student comprehension and buy-in from something as simple as one class period and one particular lesson. These effects could be replicated by curriculum choices and multicultural teaching strategies in other places.

Skerrett, A. & Hargreaves, A. (2008). Student Diversity and Secondary School Change in a Context of Increasingly Standardized Reform. *American Educational Research Journal*, **45(4), pp. 913-945.**

This article discusses curriculum and testing standardization and the constraints they levy on school systems that wish to respond to diverse student populations. It focuses on four schools (two American and two Canadian) and their responses to changing student populations as standardization encroached differently upon their options. The four schools vary drastically. One US school is a neighborhood school, while the other is a magnet high school. One of the Canadian schools is an elite collegiate academy, while the other is a traditional, rural, secondary school. The authors conducted interviews with 186 teachers to study the effects of standardization on the increasingly diverse student populations of the different schools. Standardization affected all four schools; however, the effects were different for each school. The authors conclude that standardization reinforces monocultural values and practices and creates barriers for culturally responsive teaching. They recommend allowing teachers more options as research continues to highlight the importance of responding to diverse student populations. This increased flexibility is slowly becoming the norm in parts of Canada.

Trumbull, E., & Rothstein-Fisch, C. (2008). Cultures in Harmony. *Educational Leadership*, **66(1), pp. 63-67.**

In this article, the authors examine teaching styles that differ in culturally cohesive instructional practices. The authors discuss classroom practices implemented in 'Bridging Cultures Classrooms.' Most of the classrooms in the study were culturally mixed with Latino immigrant student majorities. The authors use an individualism-collectivism framework to describe the differences between students. They argue that students from Mexican societies tend to value the collective over the individual, and students from US mainstream culture value the individual over the collective. With those differences in mind, the authors suggest that teachers should work on capitalizing the cultural

skills in order to make all cultures present in the classroom assets to its students. In this case, where the main cultural distinction amongst students is summarised as individualism/collectivism, some of the observed classroom strategies were collaborating to learn (eg. group work) and student management (e.g. students taking on teaching responsibilities). The authors conclude the article with a call to teachers and researchers to consider understanding and incorporating cultural differences as an integral part of teaching. They suggest that teachers visit their students' neighborhoods, speak to their families, and work closely with parent volunteers.

Reviews by Larry Daffin
Cooper, R., & Jordan, W. J. (2003). Cultural Issues in Comprehensive School Reform.
***Urban Education*, 38(4), pp. 380-397.**
This article provides an overview of past and current reforms in education and their inability to positively impact the overall outcome of African-American male students. They discuss the problems of color blind, mono-cultural approaches to education, which frequently ignore the substantial social challenges facing African-American males. The authors contend that before any large scale improvements in achievement can occur, reformers must acknowledge the impact of cultural norms on student success. They make a case for the concerted and strategic effort to recruit highly qualified African- American males to teach and mentor African-American boys.

Tyler, K. M. et al. (2008). Cultural Discontinuity: Toward a Quantitative Investigation of a Major Hypothesis in Education. *Educational Researcher*, 37(5), pp. 280-297.
The misalignment of cultural norms is often cited as a factor in the academic performance of minority students; yet little empirical evidence exists on this topic. The authors summarize several generic characteristics associated with various ethnic groups and discuss the process by which those ethnic norms are discontinued in the public school setting. Asserting that cultural discontinuity precedes academic performance, the authors propose a methodology by which future researchers may empirically assess the impact of cultural discontinuity on the academic performance of minority students.

Ware, F. (2006). Warm Demander Pedagogy: Culturally Responsive Teaching that Supports a Culture of Achievement for African-American students. Urban Education, 41(4), 427-456.
This article extends the literature on successful African-American teachers by providing a case analysis of two distinct, yet similar teaching strategies. Their inquiry addresses the following questions: (1) How did each teacher describe her instructional practices and beliefs? (2) What similarities and differences existed between the teachers' practices and her beliefs? (3) Was there evidence that the shared cultural/ethnic background of teachers and students influenced instructional practices? The study proposes to identify an exceptional African-American teaching style that transcends generations. At the core of this culturally transmitted pedagogy is the teachers' strong cultural/racial identity that compels them to embrace African-American children. Thus African-American teachers with a strong sense of cultural/racial identity are able to take advantage of culturally responsive pedagogy and a warm demander teaching style to establish an achievement- oriented culture of success.

Reviews by Christine James
Bazron, B., et al. (2005). Creating Culturally Responsive Schools. Educational Leadership, 63(1), pp. 83-84.
This short article gives a brief description of what the research says about the issues regarding educating students of color. They mention a few programmes that exist that help to address these issues. The authors then go into a brief discussion about culturally responsive education as defined by Geniva Gay. The second portion of the article gives a bulleted outline of what educators can do to reform their schools to be more culturally responsive. Main points include: align classroom instruction with cultural norms; adjust wait time; be sensitive to cultural shifts students and families may have

to make when moving to a new place; help parents gain cultural capital; and use culturally responsive and respectful approaches in character education, social skill instruction, and discipline.

Johnson, R. & Bush, L. (2004). Leading the School through Culturally Responsive Inquiry. In G. Anderson, & F. W. English (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Education Leadership: Advances in Theory, Research, and Practice.* **Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.**
The authors provide the reader a step-by-step guide to what a culturally responsive school is. They begin by providing a brief history and explanation of theories on culturally responsive pedagogy as they seek to answer the question: What does a culturally responsive school look like? The authors disaggregate data to examine school scheduling, placement, and other factors that do not promote a culturally responsive environment. This data should enable school staff to look at their school practices while examining which beliefs/values may hinder creating a culturally responsive school environment. The authors suggest that getting to the root of the problem is a key element in changing school practices. This article provides school administrators and teachers with the tools - including surveys and assessment tools - to change the school environment into one that is more culturally responsive.

Johnson, L. S. (2003). The Diversity Imperative: Building a Culturally Responsive School Ethos. *Intercultural Education,* **14(1), p. 17.**
This article discusses the importance of providing students with a diverse school environment. Johnson suggests examining the following areas in terms of the authenticity and effectiveness of their diversity efforts: school management, the teaching faculty, curriculum and instruction, pastoral care, and student development. To change school management, Johnson suggests that all stake holders take part in the school reform effort. She suggests creating a diversity task force that would initiate and monitor diversity policies for the school. She also suggests that the school embrace diversity and make it a whole-school effort, thus promoting the value of diversity. The school must also ensure that they are enrolling diverse students and providing the students with adequate support once they get there. Johnson argues that the teachers need to have several professional development sessions that address the changing policies, demographics, and challenges they will face with a diverse student population. These sessions would improve their teaching practices and provide them with an opportunity to examine their own biases and cultural assumptions. The curriculum and instruction portion discusses the importance of meeting the needs of all of the students through rich and diverse curriculum. Johnson also discusses how important it is to have parents as involved as possible, to share their insight on the lives of the students. Parents and students would then feel empowered in response to the school supporting their needs.

Le Roux, J. (2001). Effective Schooling is Being Culturally Responsive. *Intercultural Education,* **12(1), p. 41.**
The purpose of this article is to argue the need for a philosophy and practice shift in schools to be culturally responsive regardless if the school is mono-or multicultural. The author begins with a discussion of effective education and what it is to be effective. Within this discussion, the author focuses on what the purpose of education is and aligns this purpose with what needs to change. The article then provides the distinction between 'culturally responsive' and 'multicultural' education. This discussion argues that 'multicultural' education is a vague term that has several different definitions, therefore creating too much ambiguity. The meaning of 'culturally responsive' education - while having several different names - is clearer. The final section of this article addresses teacher preparation and culturally responsive pedagogy.

Reviews by Sarah Klevan
Godley, A. J., & Minnici, A. (2008). Critical Language Pedagogy in an Urban High School English Class. *Urban Education,* **43(3), pp. 319-346.**
In their article, Godley and Minnici report the results of a language variation unit that they designed,

implemented, and analysed. The unit emerges from critical language pedagogy, a pedagogy which draws heavily upon the concepts of conscientization, dialogic methodology, and the importance of connecting to students' backgrounds, outlined by Paulo Freire. The unit was implemented in three classrooms of 10th grade bidialectical students who spoke both African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and 'privileged' dialects of English. The unit was designed to increase consciousness around the diversity of language dialects as well as dominant language ideologies, and to raise student awareness of code-switching behavior. The unit included a variety of activities such as introducing students to linguistic terms (dialect, accent, etc.), translating sentences from privileged English dialects into AAVE, viewing a documentary about language diversity, and classroom discussions about language use in students' home communities. The authors employed a variety of qualitative methods (surveys, interviews, observation, and field notes) in order to analyse the effect of the unit on the study participants. The authors found that the majority of students in their study held conflicting viewpoints about AAVE, demonstrated by their beliefs that AAVE is just as good as privileged English dialects but that the learning of privileged English dialects is necessary to be successful in academic and professional settings. The authors also report that the unit resulted in increased student awareness of issues surrounding language use and code-switching. Additionally, they report that connecting the unit's content to students' backgrounds and experiences was necessary in order for students to digest the complex concepts covered within the language variation unit.

Rogers, C. (2008). Confronting Coyote: Culturally Responsive Pedagogy in an Era of Standardization. *Democracy & Education*, 17(3), pp. 46-50.

Rogers discusses some of the primary challenges that she faced as a public school teacher during what she calls the 'era of standardization.' She describes the difficult decisions she had to make regarding curriculum content. She presents the example of an internal struggle she faced when forced to decide between critically engaging her students with a text that was culturally relevant, or using instead a canonical text that was a more appropriate fit with the standardized curriculum. She uses this example to highlight the ways in which the 'era of standardization' causes many inspired teachers to choose a path of least resistance in their classrooms which can be detrimental to their students. She further explores the theme by discussing her experience working with pre-service teachers. Rogers ends the article with three considerations for teachers who struggle to teach for social justice while meeting the requirements of standardized educational programming. She recommends that they build confidence in the abilities of all their students, become active in their school communities, and engage proactively in professional development opportunities.

Snyder, C. et al. (2008). Combining Human Diversity and Social Justice Education: A Conceptual Framework. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 44(1), pp. 145-161.

In this article, Snyder, Peeler, and May outline an educational framework that they developed for a Human Behavior and Social Environment course offered as part of their social work programme. The goal of the framework is to use the social work classroom in order to develop student consciousness and motivate students to engage in social justice action. The framework has been in use for the past three years and its success has merited the reframing of their programme's mission in order to centralize the emphasis upon social justice. The framework is discussed in six phases. The first phase is an introduction in which students are shown key concepts and develop a common vocabulary for discussing social justice issues. The second phase is focused on increasing social consciousness about the causes of oppression. The third phase focuses on introspection and incorporates activities that encourage students to reflect upon their own role in the social world. The fourth phase is designed for students to connect with other students of different backgrounds through structured dialogue. The fifth phase introduces students to the concept of alliance building. The framework culminates in the sixth phase, which actually asks students to take some sort of social justice action. The authors assert that their framework is successful because it rests within the tension of pushing students to engage in challenging introspective work while offering structured support along the way.

Reviews by Kristen Lee

Patchen, T. & Cox-Petersen, A. (2008). Constructing Cultural Relevance in Science: A Case Study of Two Elementary Teachers. *Science Education*, **92(6), pp. 994-1014.**

In this article, the authors evaluate two White, female classroom teachers of primarily low-income students of color in order to better understand the progression from constructivism to culturally relevant pedagogy in science classes. The authors believe that science is a subject area that resonates with White, middle class students and alienates students from other backgrounds, and that this alienation has economic repercussions. While constructivism and culturally relevant pedagogy share some goals and practices, culturally relevant pedagogy works to address unequal power relations, more explicitly supports the use of students' native language in instruction, and is seen by the authors as more successful in empowering marginalised students. The teachers were evaluated on three themes identified as common to both constructivist and culturally relevant pedagogy: authority, or support of student participation; achievement, or integration of students' prior knowledge; and affiliation, or the connection of classroom work with outside realities. The study found a gap between teachers' goals and conceptual understanding of the importance of bringing students' lives into the classroom and manifesting these goals in a substantive way. The authors propose that to better meet the needs of students and to begin to shift authority in the classroom, teachers need to diversify strategies, seating arrangements, and student responsibilities to allow students to construct their own knowledge.

Prater, M. A. et al. (2008). Shaping One Traditional Special Educator Preparation Programme toward Moe Cultural competence. *Teaching Education*, **19(2), pp. 137-51**

This article documents the attempts of one special education teacher education programme to both increase the number of diverse candidates enrolled, and to increase the cultural competence of students and faculty members. The authors attempt to resolve what they see as a glaring imbalance between the ethnicity of special education students and their predominantly white teachers. The school initiated a post-Baccalaureate special education/English as Second Language (ESL) programme in fall 2004. They recruited a diverse group of students using targeted outreach and providing financial assistance and academic support. Additionally, the school offered professional development for faculty, so that all faculty members would be facile with the five standards of effective pedagogy from the Center for Research on Education, Diversity, and Excellence, and able to design their curriculum and field work around these standards. Professional development also taught skills, such as ESL evaluations, that faculty members identified as important. While the programme has been considered generally successful, there were challenges in the form of faculty resistance and a lack of resources. The school has begun recruiting diverse faculty interested in forwarding the mission of the programme to meet existing challenges.

Szente, J. (2008). Preparing Pre-service Teachers to Work with Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Children: A Service Learning Experience. *Journal of Early Childhood Teacher Education*, **29(2) pp. 140-45.**

This article is a description of a service learning component of an Early Childhood Education class instituted by a professor in Central Florida. The programme pairs pre-service teachers with culturally and linguistically diverse children as one-on-one tutors. The programme includes key components of successful service-learning experiences as defined by existing literature: providing opportunities for quality reflections, active participation, and activities that address a real community need. The pre-service teachers completed journal entries after each visit and wrote a final paper detailing their teaching strategies and describing how the experience changed their perspective on teaching diverse learners. They reported that they appreciated the opportunity provided by the tutoring experience to apply classroom theories to an early childhood situation, as well as to reflect on what they bring to classroom experiences. Ultimately, Szente recommends that other professors implement service learning to enhance teacher learning and maintain connections with local schools and communities.

Reviews by Marguerite Lukes

Blanco-Vega, C. et al. (2008). Social-Emotional Needs of Latino Immigrant Adolescents: A Sociocultural Model for Development and Implementation of Culturally Specific Interventions. Journal of Latinos and Education, 7(1), pp. 43-61.

The 'social-emotional' needs of adolescents have not been the focus of much literature, though they differ markedly from those of adults. The authors contend that one way to break down the disproportional representation of Latinos in lower socio-economic and educational levels is the delivery of culturally responsive education and mental health services. The authors propose an ecological model based on Bronfenbrenner that addresses the development and social and academic outcomes of Latino immigrant adolescents. Factors to be considered include migration circumstances, socio-economic levels, acculturation levels and accompanying stress, family acculturation, previous education, and host culture context, among others. Within the ecological systems model, the authors posit that 'acculturative stress' is an ecologically embedded issue, not a solely individual one. The authors propose a sociocultural model that indicates risk factors within ecological systems and the zone of intervention in which schools have the opportunity to prevent negative outcomes, primarily because schools play such an important role in acculturation and students spend so much time there. The first few years are critical in promoting and cultivating positive outcomes and preventing immigrant students from dropping out later on. Ecological risks are outlined alongside factors that promote resiliency, and the authors emphasize that a focus on the protective factors of parental involvement, positive school/community involvement, and positive self concept can be foundational in helping health and education service providers design effective interventions.

Fernsten, Linda (2008). Writer Identity and ESL Learners. *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy*, 52(1), pp. 44-52.

'*Writer identity and ESL learners'* lays bare the common tendency of those who teach writing to English Language Learners (ELLs) and former ELLs to focus solely on what is 'broken' in students' writing (as in 'broken English') and the impact this has on students' development of an authentic voice. Fernsten discusses the way in which a negative emphasis can in the long run impact students' self-esteem, and undermines their creativity and desire to express themselves through writing. Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Fernsten examines one student's awareness of how characteristics of first language interference undermine her 'academic writing' and the perception in the minds of her teachers that because her writing is not 'native-like,' that she is less intelligent than her peers. ELLs and former ELLs are often marginalised in the context of academic writing, and 'write at a site of conflict.' CDA is a means of exploring how the complexities of identity, voice, correctness, and first language interference create competing discourses. Writer identity, especially for multilingual immigrant students, is not only personal, but also racial, political, and social. Fernsten stresses that the CDA approach is not a causal equation, and through three microanalyses makes clear the power relations in language and the complex development of second language writer identity. CDA can help students understand their own positioning vis-à-vis social written discourse. Fernsten goes on to discuss specific classroom strategies that can help students not only become 'better writers', but also change their writer identities from negative to positive.

Kenner, C., Gregory, E., Ruby, M., & Al-Azami, S. (2008). Bilingual Learning for Second and Third Generation Children. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 21(2), pp. 120-137.

The authors explore the impact of bilingual schooling and the vast potential of bilingual classroom practices on second and third generation British Bangladeshi children. Most commonly, second and third generation bilingual children are educated in monolingual classrooms with no access or reinforcement of the mother tongue in instruction. Building upon the research on first generation bilingual learners and the proven positive impacts that use of the native language has on learning, this study sought to determine how second and third generation immigrant students, who tend to be more English dominant, might benefit from bilingual instructional practices in mainstream

classrooms. Participants in the study were second and third generation British Bangladeshi elementary school children who had received Bangla instruction in community-based after school programmes but were instructed solely in English during the regular school day. Their teachers, for the most part, were not bilingual. Once bilingual Bangla/English classroom practices in literacy and numeracy were incorporated into the school day, students expressed initial discomfort at using Bangla in the school setting, a space they had internalized to be a monolingual one. Nonetheless, all students in the study expressed that they would prefer to learn in both languages, and welcomed the opportunity to use their native language at school. Strategies including conceptual transfer, translation, meta-linguistic awareness, use of cultural knowledge, and transliteration aided the learning process. An analysis of performance and interviews with students provided strong evidence of the benefits of bilingual instruction for second and third generation immigrant children for whom English is the dominant language. The school use of the native language helped to develop deeper conceptual understanding, activate meta-linguistic skills, and generate new ideas to help students build academic knowledge lacking in their native language, despite the fact that they had used it extensively in social situations in their community.

Reviews by Nicole Simon

Bakari, R. (2003). Preservice Teachers' Attitudes toward Teaching African American Students: Contemporary Research. *Urban Education*, 38(6); pp. 640-654.

This article analyses the effectiveness of multicultural education training programmes for pre-service teachers. The author surveys 415 pre-service teachers enrolled in teacher education programmes at six universities. Participants are divided into three categories: students at a public, mostly White university that do not require coursework related to teaching culturally diverse students; students from historically Black colleges and universities; and, students from private, predominantly White universities that require coursework related to teaching culturally diverse students. Pre-service teachers were assessed in four areas, all pertaining to teaching African Americans: (1) willingness to teach (2) teaching efficacy (3) teacher expectations (4) sensitivity towards student needs. Results demonstrated that all groups, including students at historically Black colleges and universities, were less culturally sensitive towards teaching African American students than they were willing to teach African American students. The study demonstrated what the author refers to as a "boomerang effect:" pre-service teachers from the white universities that required training about teaching culturally diverse students were the least willing to teach African American students and to expend effort cultivating diversity as a resource in their classrooms.

Lynn, M., (2006). Education for the Community: Exploring Culturally Relevant Practices of Black Male Teachers. *Teachers College Press*. 108(12), pp. 2497 – 2522.

While considerable literature has focused on issues concerning Black male students in education, little attention has been paid to the role that Black male teachers play in urban education reform. There are few, if any, studies which focus on the pedagogical practices of Black male teachers whose identities as Black men in the classroom can be especially powerful in the African American community's struggle for social justice. In this study, Lynn modifies Lightfoot's 'Portraiture' method to describe the work of three Black male teachers in California. All three teachers work in the same large urban school public district, which primarily serves Black students. The percentage of Black male teachers in the district reflects the national trend (nationally 1.5% of teachers are Black males). All three teachers see themselves as members of the community they serve and attest to employing culturally responsive teaching methods. The study provides a description of the specific curricular techniques each teacher employs in his classroom. All three teachers draw on their own experiences as Black men as they teach. Two of the teachers were raised in similarly low-income, segregated communities, and are intimately familiar with 'street culture.' Their own identities inform their pedagogy. The study demonstrates that the role of Black male teachers is critical to improving the urban education system; the author asserts that there is no substitute for the unique passion and commitment of Black male teachers.

Woodland, M., (2008). Whatcha Doin' After School? A Review of the Literature on the Influence of After School Programmes on Young Black Males. *Urban Education.* **43(5), pp. 537-560.**

In this article, Woodland focuses on strategies aimed at combating the plight of urban Black males. He discusses three different models of after-school programmes that previous research suggests may improve the social and academic trajectories of Black males. The first programme model is 'extracurricular activities'. These programmes include activities ranging from sports to art to academic enrichment. They capitalise on students' interests and talents and sometimes offer much needed one-on-one academic support. The second programme model is 'mentoring'. Mentoring programmes pair children or adolescents with caring, supportive adults who offer guidance. Mentoring programmes for Black youth that employ Black male mentors may be especially effective. The third programme model, 'Rights of Passage' (ROP), was designed specifically for Black male adolescents by African American adults. ROP programmes are generally facilitated by older Black male adults, or elders, and their basic premise is to give participants a sense of agency, cultural pride, and self-esteem. In addition to discussing these programme models, Woodland outlines the most critical core elements of all effective after school programmes – quality staff, safety, family engagement, an enriching curriculum, and rigorous evaluation – while stressing the importance of ensuring that all elements of after-school programmeming must be culturally relevant to the young Black males they serve. When done correctly, Woodland asserts, after school programmes can 'play a pivotal role in reshaping the social and academic outcomes of young Black males.'

Reviews by Adriana Villavicencio

Durden, T. (2008). Do Your Homework! Investigating the Role of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy in Comprehensive School Reform Models Serving Diverse Students Populations. *Urban Review*, **40(4), pp. 403-419.**

Comprehensive school reforms are widely implemented in high poverty, low performing schools and primarily serve students of color. The author seeks to understand if these school reform programmes allow for culturally responsive education and support the learning needs of the students they serve. She describes the defining characteristics of culturally relevant teaching as believing that all students can succeed, taking student diversity and differences into account, and building connections between their community, national and global identities. Working within this framework, she examines two popular comprehensive school reform models – Success for All (SFA) and Direct Instruction (DI) – to ascertain whether these programmes exhibit the characteristics of culturally relevant teaching and learning. The author argues that there is little to no evidence that SFA meets the cultural and linguistics needs of the students its serves. She writes that SFA prevents teachers from connecting learning to their students' cultural experiences, does not allow for multiple perspectives, and denotes a deficit ideology by labeling children as disadvantaged and ignoring how their cultural capital can increase student achievement. Similarly, the DI programme fails to mention the use of students' cultural references in learning. Nor does it allow for collaborative, communal work (a component of culturally relevant pedagogy). In addition, the prescribed and scripted nature of the programme limits the teacher's ability to make learning culturally relevant to students. The author concludes that these programmes may prove to be culturally subtractive for students and challenges schools to determine whether a reform will complement the needs of their students before they adopt it.

Morrison, K. A. et al (2008). Operationalizing Culturally Relevant Pedagogy: A Synthesis of Classroom-Based Research. *Equity and Excellence in Education*, **41(4), pp. 433-452.**

This article synthesizes the findings of 45 classroom-based studies on culturally relevant pedagogy in order to provide illustrations of what culturally relevant teaching 'looks like.' The authors use three components of culturally relevant pedagogy - High Expectations, Cultural Competence, and Critical Consciousness (Ladson-Billings 1995) - to categorize specific teaching actions exhibited in each study. They find, however, that these categories are not mutually exclusive and often exist as co-requisites. The first component (High Expectations) is illustrated by actions teachers take to not only provide

a rigorous curriculum, but to also support students to succeed within that curriculum. Examples of Cultural Competence illustrate how teachers make the curriculum, classroom environment, and teaching styles more relevant to students' cultural experiences. There were fewer examples in the research they studied of the Critical Consciousness component. Among the limitations identified by the authors is the applicability of these studies to more heterogeneous or multi-cultural classrooms, since many of these studies were about homogenous classes (e.g. all African-American classes). Among the challenges cited by the authors is the clash between culturally relevant pedagogy and traditional education. They argue that in order to enact culturally relevant pedagogy, teachers must often work against hegemonic assumptions about teaching and learning.

Rolón-Dow, R. (2005). Critical Care: A Color(full) Analysis of Care Narratives in the Schooling Experiences of Puerto Rican Girls. *American Educational Research Journal*, **42(1), pp. 77-111.**
Grounded in a historical understanding of students' lives, critical care praxis allows for race-conscious pedagogical approaches that benefit students of color. This ethnographic study focuses specifically on the experiences of second-generation Puerto Rican girls at one urban school. The article begins by providing a historical background of the US-Puerto Rico relationship and its impact on education. It then establishes a framework by describing the tenants of critical race theory (CRT), Latino/a critical race (Lat/Crit) theory, and scholarship on the ethics of care. In her study of a low-performing school undergoing dramatic changes in the ethnic composition of its students, the author found that efforts to provide culturally relevant teaching were limited to actions by individual teachers. Examining the relationships between the Puerto Rican girls and their teachers revealed that racialized perceptions of the Latino community were linked to the amount of care displayed within their classrooms. The girls reported that the teachers' care was limited to pedagogical and academic concerns and did not extend to their lives or communities. In fact, most of the teachers preferred that students separate the classroom from their homes and neighborhoods. Only two teachers in this study demonstrated a willingness to use the community as a learning site and stressed the importance of the connection with students. The author argues that teachers and schools should forge more connections with the communities where they work. Critical care, she states, calls for teachers to care for students authentically by understanding the differences between them and their students, and using the community as an extension of the classroom.

Extended Review

Hate on the Net: Extremist Sites, Neo-Fascism Online, Electronic Jihad
by Antonio Roversi

Review by Louis Bailey

Written by Italian sociologist Antonio Roversi and translated by Lawrence Smith, *'Hate on the Net'* falls within the area of criminology in its exploration of the Internet as a tool for inciting and promoting racially-motivated violence. Here, Roversi builds on his previous research into 'hooligan' football supporters and extreme right-wing groups in order to present the 'darker side of the net' (p. ix). To this end, the author is interested in how Italian Ultra, fascist and neo-Nazi groups self-organise in the age of the Internet. This is followed by an examination of how armed Middle Eastern groups utilise the Internet in a post-September 11th climate. Due to the unexpected death of the author soon after the book was written, the work represents the last of Roversi's ground-breaking forays into the sociology of the Internet. As such, it forms a seminal work for future research into the relationship between hate crime and the World Wide Web.

In the introduction, Roversi describes the methodology behind his research, which he summarises as mere 'desk' research lacking the more pro-active engagement of typical sociological research. However, such humbleness downplays the extent to which the author risked his own safety for the sake of his research and the urgent message communicated therein. According to David Nelken - the book's general editor –Roversi received numerous death threats soon after the book's release in Italy.

With unstated modesty, Roversi describes the emotional affects of conducting such harrowing and traumatic research, and the impossibility of remaining the detached observer. In this way, Roversi's explicitly subjective position can be interpreted as challenging more objective strands of ethnography, which extol distanced and thus allegedly more 'scientific' forms of critical evaluation but which, ultimately, lack the necessary insight which can only come with intimacy and empathy. Graphic descriptions of racial slurs and representations of racially-motivated violence are here interspersed with personal anecdotes and reflections, both in an attempt to communicate the otherwise incommunicable and to provide some light-relief. In so doing, Roversi clears a path for the reader to come face-to-face with dense material of a particularly cruel and obscene nature, material which is fuelled by a lack of respect for humanity and an excessive thirst for violence.

Despite the deeply sickening and horrific nature of the subject, Roversi avoids value judgements and is careful not to impose his own biases and opinions. Illustrative of this is his use of the term 'armed Middle Eastern groups' rather than 'terrorists' in keeping with the groups' own perceptions of their collective identity and codes of honour. Roversi's modest yet perceptive style is refreshing and serves as a necessary contrast to the heaviness of the material presented. To this end, Roversi manages to capture enough detail to successfully convey the gist of each website without dwelling on unnecessary and gruesome details merely for the sake of satisfying morbid curiosity.

In chapter one, Roversi explains the source of his intellectual curiosity pertaining to extremist sites. He describes how, whilst searching online for games created in Flash, he stumbled across a video in which a Middle Eastern Islamic group claimed responsibility for the September 11th events. Whilst anecdotes of this nature make for interesting reading, Roversi has a tendency to drift off subject. Tangential conversations about his internet usage and, in particular, his time spent in various chat rooms are rather long-winded and distracting, and, at best, contribute little to the overall argument.

Chapter two opens with Roversi 'outing' himself as a football fan and, reluctantly, as an ex-Ultra fan. He details the event of 29th May, 1985, a European Cup match between the Italian club Juventus and English team Liverpool in Brussels, to set the scene. On this day, a fatal error of judgement on the part of the organisers' led to Liverpool fans clashing with 'innocent' Juventus fans, resulting in a mass

crush and the killing of thirty-nine spectators. The remainder of the chapter traces the rise of football hooliganism in Italy and the increasing stranglehold of Ultra groups in the area of football violence and racially-mounted violence more generally. There follows an examination of various websites representing Ultra groups, the content of which is divided into three elements – graphics and logos; photographs and videos; and 'the wall' – namely, the news feed. The resulting analysis focuses on notions of group representation and collective conviction. To this end, Roversi manages to avoid the more sensationalist aspects of some journalistic accounts, which reduce the Ultra group members to the status of idiotic barbarians. Instead, and especially worryingly, Roversi shows that this is far from the case, claiming that the groups' members are 'ordinary' citizens who study, go to work and live in the suburbs. He argues that it is the clandestine nature of the group which gives it its power.

The next chapter draws on earlier research into a group of young Nazi skinheads (or 'naziskin' as they are known in Italy) in Milan. The author describes a few nights spent 'socialising' with the group for research purposes. What follows is an insightful and, at times, humorous account of the group's behaviours, their style of dress and general outlook. We are presented with a group of insular and self-segregated youth who rely on 'cameratismo' (Italian for comradeship), nationalism and 'honour' as sustained through violence, xenophobia, racism, fascism and the easy creation of enemies. Commenting on the group's love of 'Oi!' and 'RAC' ('Rock Against Communism') music, Roversi notes that their pogo-style dancing seems like 'an enactment of a brawl to music' (p. 64). This brief ethnographic account provides an interesting snapshot of fascist and neo-Nazi youth groups in Italy and, by extension, serves as a useful introduction to the chapter's main focal point, namely fascist and neo-Nazi websites.

The remainder of chapter three examines a range of fascist websites. Roversi notes wryly that nostalgia is a common feature of the websites and that pictures of Mussolini and Hitler dominate. In addition, the majority of the websites present a revisionist history of the fascist period and not only deny the Shoah (namely, the extermination of Jews in Nazi concentration camps) but also present a range of conspiracy theories, some of which go as far to claim that Nazism was the result of a Jewish plot. Roversi's witty and insightful comments here serve to highlight the bizarre and hysterical nature of these websites, providing a compelling and accessible route into an otherwise harsh and difficult terrain.

The final chapter moves away from Italy altogether and goes on to discuss the use of the web by armed 'Middle Eastern groups', as they are here referred. This section suffers from a few limitations. Firstly, the author admits that he does not understand Arabic and that, as a result, he has been restricted to analysing websites which are in English. As such, the research presented draws on only a fraction of material pertaining to Middle-Eastern armed groups. Moreover, this material could be very different in tone from that presented by Arabic-speaking sites. Whilst the author claims to have enlisted the help of a translator for a few Arabic sites, he notes that something could have easily been lost in translation. Secondly, Roversi claims that he is not an expert in Middle-Eastern affairs. Whilst he tries to justify this point by claiming that as an expert in computer communications he seeks to only examine the role of the web in what he terms an 'unconnected war' (p. 97), there is no getting away from the fact that the current situation in the Middle East is central to the focus of this chapter.

In addition to the points notes above, it would have been valuable to gain an understanding of the author's ethnicity, race and cultural background. In the previous section, he was happy to 'out' himself as a football fan but for some reason does not 'out' his position in relation to the material discussed here. As a Westerner who has chosen to interpret these websites, Roversi undoubtedly would bring cultural and racial bias to bear on his readings and, by extension, analysis. Moreover, as one who is keen to maintain an emotional engagement and subjective positioning, the decision not to 'out' himself in the final section is an unfortunate oversight which is at odds with the original intentions for the book.

Roversi starts chapter four by providing detailed background information pertaining to Internet users in Islamic countries. The author then explains his research methodology and cites his

frustration with the volatile nature of the websites which, he claims, have a tendency to disappear, sometimes altogether and sometimes reappearing elsewhere, under a new web address. As a result, the references provided are not necessarily accurate. However, despite these drawbacks, chapter four contains some fascinating insights, including a description of a video of bin Laden in Afghanistan. According to the author, the website contains two messages – one intended for 'Western' eyes and the other designed only for Muslim viewers. In the first instance, the leader wanted to show that he was still 'at large' and, thus, a threat to the 'Western' world. The latter demonstrates what the author terms the 'Muhammad paradigm', in which bin Laden drew on symbolic passages and descriptions from the Qur'an in order to align himself with the prophet Muhammad. Similarly, Roversi examines a video which is alleged to have been made on behalf of bin Laden and Al-Qa'ida following the September 11th attacks. According to Roversi, taken together, both videos are representative of the kinds of images employed by armed Middle Eastern groups online. Here, images of military heroism and victorious actions abound and are used as a means of boosting the morale of the civilian population. Such images are presented in stark contrast to the alleged inhumanity of the enemy and are shown alongside graphic images of civilian victims and, in particular, child victims.

Roversi goes on to describe the Al Fateh website, an especially disturbing website designed for children by the Palestinian group, Hamas. According to the author, illustrated children's stories preaching Islamic law and old Islamic fables are placed next to images of dead children and children soldiers. The author draws attention to the website's powerful manipulation of propagandist narratives, including martyrdom, in the weaving of children's fable and real-life war-zone. He sees them as brainwashing and warns of its disasterous consequences.

The book concludes with a discussion of the ways in which extremist groups, such as the neo-fascists and the Middle Eastern 'crusaders', have manipulated the Internet for their own violent ends. Roversi draws attention to the paradox of the Internet which, rather than representing a harmonised global community turns out to be nothing but a breeding ground for violence, conflict and division. In so doing, he shows how the Internet – a tool of mass communication and enabler of free speech – has been used as a mouthpiece for the promotion of racial disharmony, violence and war. As the examples here show, hate sites are neither sporadic nor hidden but, instead, are shown to be prevalent and indeed thriving in the present socio-political climate. As such, *'Hate on the Net'* is a timely and extremely significant piece of research which bravely tackles the most pressing issue of our time – namely, racial division and violence. Its message must not go unheeded and it is hoped that it will spur further research on the issue of extremist organising on the World Wide Web.

Book Reviews

Louis Bailey
Bethan Harries

Reviews

ARTS, LITERATURE, SPORT AND MEDIA

AFRICAN WOMEN PLAYWRIGHTS
Ed. Kathy A. Perkins

Publisher: Chicago, University of Illinois Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 384pp
ISBN: 9780252075735
Price: £18.99

This anthology, the first of its kind, celebrates the work of African women playwrights specifically and the creative output of African women generally. The editor links the need to create with a strong story-telling tradition in Africa, of which women have been a driving force historically. The plays in the collection aim to educate and heal, employing theatre as a vehicle for increasing awareness of the continent's socio-political problems. To this end, a range of controversial issues of particular social significance in Africa today, are explored including HIV/AIDS, female circumcision, women's rights, prostitution, cultural differences, and racial tension.

The collection comprises a total of nine plays from African women across twelve countries, including South Africa, Nigeria, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Tanzania and the Ivory Coast. The writers were chosen from English-speaking countries in order to preserve the playwright's original voice. Also, only African women writers who live and work in Africa were selected rather than those who live and work abroad because of the lack of publishing opportunities for women in Africa. It is interesting to note that the women in the anthology consider themselves to be writers rather than playwrights, some of whom additionally identify as spoken word artists and film-makers. Included are a range of theatrical productions, such as radio dramas, staged prose, performance pieces, and group improvised projects. Each section contains background to the writer, excerpt from an interview with the editor, and the play's transcript.

The author claims that given the sheer number of society-imposed obstacles, it is amazing that African women playwrights have managed to find the time and space to create at all. However, this volume is a testament to the diverse and wide-ranging contributions of African women playwrights. And yet, the central issue remains – namely, that so few African women writers have been published and black female writers are severely underrepresented within school and university curriculums. A number of reasons are offered for this: that Africa has a stronger oral rather than written tradition; that written drama is considered to be leftover from missionaries during the colonial period; that publisher's lack the purchasing power to invest in fictional works; and finally, the very reality of gender discrimination in which girls are not encouraged to enter education or to pursue writing. In addition, there are numerous barriers pertaining to theatre, such as the fact that it is so time-consuming; it detracts from women's 'other duties'; and has a negative reputation in which a woman who is involved is considered to be 'loose'. The book aims, in part, to counter the stereotype of the 'primitive' African.
Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Health and Social Care

THE ASSASSINATION OF THEO VAN GOGH: FROM SOCIAL DRAMA TO CULTURAL TRAUMA
Ron Eyerman

Publisher: Durham, Duke University Press
Year: 2008
Pagination: 232pp
ISBN: 9780822343875

Price: £66.00

This book examines the assassination of Dutch filmmaker Theo Van Gogh in Amsterdam, 2004, by a Dutch citizen of Moroccan descent. An anti-Western treatise was found on the body addressed to Ayaan Hirsi Ali, an outspoken proponent of Muslim womens' rights.

In chapter one, Assassination as Public Performance: The Murder of Theo Van Gogh, Eyerman explains the motive behind the murder. Van Gogh had directed *'Submission Part One'*, which was written by Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a Somali refugee and a member of the Dutch parliament. The film was highly controversial and both Hirsi Ali and Van Gogh received numerous death threats in the months following its release. Whilst Hirsi Ali was in hiding, Van Gogh refused to hide and went about his public routine. The murderer, Mohammed Boyeri, was arrested under the new anti-terrorism law in Holland.

In this part crime thriller, part cultural theory exploration, Eyerman examines possible explanations for the murder. However, in order to ascertain the murder's exact motives, Eyerman must first examine the social make-up of contemporary Dutch society and its sinister relationship with anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. There follows an analysis of Van Gogh's actions and influence as well as a detailed examination of the assassination as it reaches local and international artistic and Muslim communities.

In an interesting twist, Eyerman lends much discussion as to whether to classify the murder as a hate crime or as a media performance, moral panic or an artistic transgression on account of the sheer media attention and coverage generated. It is in the intersection of race relations and artistic interest that a social drama quickly becomes a cultural trauma and vice-versa. As such, Eyerman employs a range of analytic conventions through which to interpret the assassination – a performance, a mass media event, and a social/cultural drama.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Politics and Government

BLACKFACE MINSTRELSY IN BRITAIN
Michael Pickering
Publisher: Aldershot, Ashgate
Year: 2007
Pagination: 270pp
ISBN: 9780754658597
Price: £55.00

'Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain' reverses the commonly-held belief that blackface minstrelsy was an exclusively North-American phenomenon and that Britain merely imitated its legacy to instead focus on the cultural significance of British minstrel shows. In this way, the author shifts attention away from the United States to highlight the historical development of blackface minstrelsy in Britain in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Whilst Pickering acknowledges the ways in which British minstrelsy confirmed British colonialism, imperialism and White supremacy by presenting demeaning racial stereotypes of Black people, he nevertheless strives to understand and appreciate the theatrics of its performers. In a particularly unusual claim, Pickering alleges that minstrelsy had a significant impact on popular culture during the ragtime and jazz era and bemoans its recent disappearance from the archives of British popular culture. As a result, Pickering maintains an anachronistic position in relation to the subject and cites the need to acknowledge its artistic contributions in addition to exposing its racist legacy.

The book starts by tracing the impact of voluntary and involuntary migration on the tradition of blackface minstrelsy. Pickering goes on to highlight the ways in which minstrelsy was packaged as an alluring cultural commodity. However, putting aside the contribution of 'nigger' minstrelsy to facets of British racism during the Victorian period, Pickering instead focuses on 'its other interesting aspects', which are here summarised under the themes of 'theatrical conventions', 'symbolic

meanings', and 'the politics of representation'. In so doing, the author outlines the development of minstrelsy on the professional stage and its resultant adoption within more casual forms of everyday culture. Chapter two examines the growth of minstrelsy as an established form of show business, and chapter three charts the rise of the amateur minstrel at popular seaside resorts.

Titled 'British Masks', chapter four presents an interesting social commentary about how the blackface mask cut across English nationalist conceit and, in particular, that all white people are honest and respectable in contrast to 'the black 'other'". He goes on to expands upon the concept of the 'black 'other'" and the ways in which it has been used to affirm white racial identities and alleged 'superiority'. There follows a necessary critique of the ways in which minstrelsy has come to figure as one of the major sources of racist imagery, and how it has contributed to the development and functioning of British racial stereotypes. This aspect is explored in more depth in chapters six ('Black Clowns'), seven ('Early Ragtime') and eight ('Blackface Media').

Also relates to:
History
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience
Politics and Government

THE BRAZILIAN SOUND: SAMBA, BOSSA NOVA AND THE POPULAR MUSIC OF BRAZIL
Chris McGowan and Ricardo Pessanha

An encyclopaedic survey of contemporary Brazilian music, charting current trends such as the development of Samba, the rise of female singer-songwriters and the mixing of Bossa with electronica. As such, it presents a revised edition. The book was first published in 1998 at a time when the Internet was just starting to reach a mass audience. Now, as a result of the development and spread of the Internet – including the rise of music downloading and social networking sites - Brazilian music has become more accessible and its influence more widely spread. This has meant that even the most obscure musicians have the potential for a global following.

The book aims to provide an interesting and informative introduction to Brazil's popular music and, as such, serves as a kind of musical guidebook. It highlights the centrality of music to the Brazilian way of life, showing how music has become a way of escaping the mundane reality of economic poverty. The introduction outlines the three key qualities of Brazilian music: the melodic qualities of Portuguese language, its lyrical poetry, and its Afro-Brazilian rhythms.

The opening chapter outlines Brazil's reputation as a symbol of fun and extravagance, citing the example of Carmen Miranda who sang Sambas and 'Marchas' in a string of Hollywood feature films and who has now, as a result, become a key cultural icon in North America and Europe. There follows a brief summary of the key musical trends in Brazil: firstly, the growth of samba, which was first recorded in the early part of last century and which came to underpin Rio's annual carnival celebrations; and secondly, the development of Brazilian percussion as an essential element of international jazz and popular recordings.

Chapter one provides a comprehensive background to the music of Brazil - charting the ethnographic background of the first Brazilians, the Portuguese conquest and the resultant mixing of European styles and people with Brazilian ways of life and, finally, the arrival of Africans in Brazil as a result of the Slave Trade. As a result, the authors claim, Brazil has a very mixed population. However, they point out that despite a general tolerance for interracial marriage, racism still persists within Brazilian society. At present, the Brazilian population is comprised of a population of Portuguese, Amerindian and African descent.

Chapter two charts the development of the Samba. However, rather than providing a rather cold and technical definition, the authors instead invoke an atmosphere of Samba. The remaining

chapters follow the development of the Bossa Nova, which sprang from Samba; the rise of MPB – namely, the 'Musica Popular Brasileira' (popular Brazilian music) – in the 1960s and 70s; Capoceira; instrumental music and Jazz; Rock and finally, Electronica and Hip-hop.
Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Economics and Globalisation
Science and Technology

DIVERSITY IN THE MEDIA: HISTORY OF THE CULTURAL DIVERSITY ADVOCACY GROUP TO THE MEDIA, 1992-2007
Anver Jeevanjee
Publisher: Waterside Press
Year: 2008
Pagination: 176pp
ISBN: 9781904380429
Price: $39.95 (USD)

This books documents the founding of the Cultural Diversity Advisory Group to the Media (CDAGM) – an independent voluntary group which was set up to ensure quality and diversity within British broadcasting. It was founded in response to the overwhelming racism within British media. Its founders were tired of the misrepresentation and negative stereotyping of Black and Ethnic Minorities (BME) by organisations such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). There follows an account of the group's interactions with the BBC and, in turn, their resistance to the group's pressing demands for racial diversity and a drastic change of attitude. In particular, the group sought better representation of and more opportunities for BME people.

The book starts by charting the group's aims and objectives, its members and its wider vision. Section one contains extensive archival information about the group's recommendations to the British media, including responses to the BBC Green Paper (Royal Charter Review) and the Communications White Paper. Also included within the archive are papers from various conferences, including the 'Building Participation Conference' and 'The BBC: An Ancient Heritage', and seminars, such as the 'Media Forum Policy Seminar' and 'Ethnicity and Media: Organisation and Staffing'. There follows copies of general correspondence between the group and the BBC.

Section two – 'Representations to the Media' – contains a letter to BBC South; the group's own ethnic monitoring exercise; and examples of complaints to the BBC and their responses. The next section details a selection of comments by individual contributors who are involved with the British media but who are not members of the group. Part four contains advice for dealing with the print media before going on to detail factual errors as well as negative and derogative portrayals of minority groups within the British press. The author believes that, in every instance, such misreporting and sensationalism is undertaken at the expense of Black and Asian readers. The book concludes with two essays by Jeevanjee – 'Europe's blatant arrogance towards other cultures' and 'Discussion on the necessity of a balanced presentation of diversity in programmes and the importance of promoting quality role models'.
Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships

EMBODYING AMERICAN SLAVERY IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURE
Lisa Woolfork
Publisher: Chicago, University of Illinois Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 248pp
ISBN: 9780252033902
Price: £29.99

'Embodying American Slavery' explores the re-enactment of American slavery within contemporary

literature, films and performances. This serves two aims: firstly, to highlight the repercussions of cultural trauma in the contemporary moment and to address the prevailing cultural amnesia surrounding America's slave past. In so doing, the author highlights the ways in which both the protagonists and participants are forced to confront the reality of slavery, to physically 'go there' in order to really 'know' and 'understand'.

Central here is the notion of 'bodily epistemology', which refers to the corporeal dimensions of traumatic experience. In this context, it refers to the use of a contemporary body as a means of communicating a traumatic past episode. It emerges as a representational strategy in which the past is enacted by present-day protagonists in order to show that such events are neither dead nor past. Such re-enactments rely on the suspension of disbelief and time travel motifs for their effectiveness. However, the author claims that many people are resistant to these re-enactments due to denial, a sense of futility, and an emerging cultural amnesia. In this way, the separation between past and present is blurred in order to link America's history of slavery with continued apathetic attitudes towards trauma.

According to Woolfork, the history and repercussions of African American slavery serve to redefine notions of trauma, shifting attention away from the private into the public sphere. Viewed this way, the author's highlights the endurance of slavery's legacy, manifested, in part, through contemporary racism and anti-black sentiment.

Woolfork addresses the oversight that slavery is rarely mentioned in discussions of literary trauma theory. However, rather than force trauma theory to fit American slavery, she instead emphasises contemporary African American cultural performances of slavery which engage with trauma theory as their starting point. In this way, the author seeks to extend the work of a group of African American literary scholars who have engaged with psychoanalysis. Building on a theoretical framework of trauma theory, this book mixes psychoanalytic theory with cultural analysis and, in so doing, points to the wider relationship between psychoanalytic theory and African American life/ studies.

'Embodying American Slavery' starts by considering trauma and motifs of time-travel as informed though Octavia Butler's *'Kindred'* (1979) and Haile Gerima's *'Sankofa'* (1993). There follows a discussion of the use of bodily referents to communicate trauma. Chapter three details two films, 'Brother Future' (1991) and 'The Quest for Freedom: The Harriet Tubman Story' (1992), which target younger audiences and which present the slave past through the institution of incarceration. The following chapter considers the ways in which bodily epistemology emerges within contemporary re-enactments of slavery. Here, the author considers the possibilities and limitations of re-embodying American slavery. Chapter five considers trauma theory as implied through the term 'maafa' – a Kiswahili word meaning 'disaster' and a vernacular theory and expression of slavery. Finally, chapter six analyses historical re-enactments of daily slave life at Colonial Williamsburg.

Also relates to:
Arts, Literature and Sport
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
History
Politics and Government

IRA ALDRIDGE: THE AFRICAN ROSCIUS
Ed. Bernth Lindfors

A collection of essays charting the life and career of African-American actor Ira Aldridge and his contribution to both British and European theatre. Known as the 'African Roscius', Aldridge was a widely celebrated Shakespearean actor in the nineteenth century. His acting career spanned a total

of 43 years, during which time he amassed numerous awards, honours and other official modes of recognition. Despite becoming the 'most visible Black man in the world' by the mid-nineteenth century, Aldridge remains forgotten within the histories of British and European theatre. This anthology attempts to address this oversight.

Whilst the first section serves as a short biography, the second half of the book charts the critical reception of the theatrical contributions of Ira Aldridge. Included are early essays, dating from 1848 to the later 1860s, and more recent essays which present new biographical information about Aldridge. A discussion about his private life includes previously unpublished correspondence, such as love letters. There follows an examination of the ways in which theatre served as a medium for his pleas for racial equality and social justice. Particular attention is paid to his role in melodramas which centred on slavery and the slave debate. Other essays focus on his roles in *Macbeth*, *King Lear* and *Othello* as well as popular melodramas, such as '*The Black Doctor*'. Discussion topics range from 'acting black' to performing 'whiteface' and note how Aldridge initially played "black role" but later performed 'whiteness'. The authors highlight how he countered the racial satire of black minstrelsy through his own creation of farcical black roles, which are here interpreted as confronting audiences with their own prejudices. In other words, it is claimed here, his acting forced critics to acknowledge the intelligence, sophistication and sensitivity of Africans and African Americans as a means of questioning their own white supremacist and racist beliefs.

To summarise, this book charts Aldridge's achievements on the British stage in light of racist responses from critics and audiences during debates about the abolition of slavery. Of particular interest for anyone interested in the local history of Manchester are Aldridge's appearances at anti-slavery events in Manchester.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
History
Politics and Government

THE LITERATURE OF THE IRISH IN BRITAIN: AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIR, 1725 – 2001
Liam Harte

Publisher: Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan
Year: 2009
Pagination: 256pp
ISBN: 978-1403949875
Price: £55.00

This is a collection of autobiographies and memoirs of writers of Irish descent, who lived and worked in Britain between 1700 and the present day. The volume contains extracts from a total of 63 works, much of which is either unpublished or out-of-print. The material itself is wide-ranging and consists of contributions of both known and unknown writers in a variety of styles and themes. The book aims, in part, to illustrate the social realities and shifting consciousness of Irish migrants in Britain over the last three centuries. To this end, attention is paid to the imagination, experience and personality of Irish migrant workers, as explored through the concepts of home, place and belonging.

The editor has taken the unusual, but politically important step, of including the work of migrant workers, also referred to here as 'worker writers'. Whilst he acknowledges that the use of the term 'migrant worker' detracts from focusing on the literary achievements of these writers, Harte nevertheless deems its interventionalist stance as a key priority. The bringing together of otherwise marginalised and neglected writers is key to challenging their previous omission within collections of Irish writing. Harte claims that critics have dismissed these writers because they do not possess the necessary autobiographical skills required for critical appreciation. Taking aim at such intellectual snobbery and attempting to widen the parameters of collections of Irish writing, this collection instead aims to make visible an otherwise absent literary contribution.

There follows a brief discussion of the barriers working class writers have faced – such as

constraining working conditions (namely, the undertaking of long, laborious and exhausting work) and economic anxiety, both of which severely distract these writers from achieving their full literary potential. In addition, the prevailing anti-Irish sentiment over the centuries severely restricted employment opportunities and the social advancement for migrants.

Harte focuses on autobiographical writing as a means of giving voice to a group of marginalised and unknown writers. Moreover, he focuses on individual stories and experiences as a means of identifying an otherwise anonymous, and therefore easily dismissed, population. Challenging the homogenising tendency of any exploration of 'the Irish in Britain', Harte instead emphasises the multiplicity of positionings contained within this literary anthology and includes fragments of writing from labourers, intellectuals, tailors, politicians, journalists, domestic servants, street preachers, and chimney sweeps. As such, the material contained within the collection becomes a form of resistance writing through which socially displaced and disempowered subjects take charge of their representations and become autonomous agents of social/cultural and literary history.

Also relates to:
Economics and Globalisation
Employment
History
Politics and Government

THE POWER OF THE ZOOT: YOUTH CULTURE AND RESISTANCE DURING WORLD WAR II
Luis Alvarez

Publisher: Berkeley, California
Year: 2008
Pagination: 336pp
ISBN: 9780520253018
Price: £24.95

'The Power of the Zoot' builds on in-depth interviews with former 'zoot-suiters' to examine the history of 'zoot suit' youth sub-culture in the United States during the 1940s. It analyses its music, fashion, language and social codes, the resulting survey presents a critical engagement with the politics of US urban culture post-World War II. The author focuses both on the stories of zoot suiters as well as the experiences of 'nonzoot' youth, parents and communities

The book starts by defining zoot suit culture in terms of its fashion: broad-rimmed hat, drape pants and oversized jacket for men, short skirt, heavy make-up and long jacket for women; and its music: Jazz, Swing and Jitterbug. However, Luis Alvarez is keen to point out that zoot culture is not just about style and appearance. Indeed, zoot culture, as it emerges here, is a form of social resistance and cultural subversion.

During the Second World War, zoot culture became a means of resisting the war effort and social expectations of passivity and conformity. As such, zoot culture emerged as a popular cultural phenomenon which challenged the boundaries of wartime national policy and American cultural identity. At a time of increasing xenophobia, the multiracial mix of zoot suiters – which included American American, African American, Nisci and White youth – challenged racial segregation and conformity. In contrast to prevailing attitudes that they were anti-American and undermined the effort to assimilate, zoot suiters in fact revealed the plurality of cultural identities. Moreover, rather than being the pejorative of the single-ethnic male, zoot culture was in fact a multi-racial and mixed gendered phenomenon. In the case of the latter, zoot suiters were regarded as an affront to the heroic masculinity of white sailors and soldiers both on account of gender transgressions – male zoot suiters were regarded as feminine because of their attention to fashion and female zoot suiters as masculine because of their seemingly aggressive behaviour – and on account of the inter-racial dating that occurred.

A major discrepancy which emerges is the difference between societal perceptions of zoot suiters as dangerous and anti-social deviants (a feeling that was heightened amidst a growing atmosphere of wartime defensiveness) and the zoot suiters' own attitude of needing to look and

feel good as a means of claiming dignity within a culture which actively excluded and dehumanised them. As soon becomes apparent, zoot suiters were united by a critical stance towards authority, practicing their own cultural politics as a means of gaining self-respect and the respect of others. In this way, the author claims, zoot culture can be linked to contemporary Hip-hop style and its response to discrimination, lack of opportunity and police brutality.

Also relates to:
Arts, Literature and Sport
Criminal Justice and Racial Violence
History
Politics and Government

SILENT GESTURE: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF TOMMIE SMITH
Tommie Smith and David Steele
Publisher: Philadelphia, Temple University Press
Year: 2007
Pagination: 288pp
ISBN: 9781592136407
Price: £12.99

'Silent Gesture' centres on the moment in the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City, when athlete Tommy Smith and his team mate John Carlos raised a black glove fist upon receipt of their medals for first and third place respectively in the 200 metre sprint. The salute has been misinterpreted as signalling Smith's allegiance with the Black Panthers but Smith here dispels this myth, claiming instead that the gesture was representative of his life-long commitment to athletics, education and human rights. This biography is dedicated to the story of Smith's life and the series of events which lead to this iconic moment, charting the significance of the 'silent gesture' as a sign of social change in a turbulent history of race, politics and sports. Smith starts his biography by detailing the night of the Olympic stand on 16th October, 1968, and its significance in terms of his dedication to the Olympic Project for Human Rights. In this way, Smith's victory stand represented more than just winning the gold medal for a world-record sprinting time and instead provided him with a platform from which to make a stand against racial discrimination and injustice. And yet, for Smith, the occasion was not a particularly joyful one. He describes how, at that moment, he strongly believed that someone would end his life. He feared that,as a Black man from the United States who stood up for the human rights of his community, he was a prime target for racially motivated violence and hatred.

Smith goes on to detail the price he paid for his historic 'silent gesture', setting the scene against the backdrop of the rise of the Civil Right Movement in the US. Describing his awakening during an era that witnessed the assassination of Malcolm X and the defiance of Rosa Parks, Smith narrates how his lived experience of racism occurred simultaneously with learning about slavery. As a result, his first experiences of competing professionally coincided with his participation in human rights and Black rights marches. For Smith, the urge to run occurred in conjunction with the need to protest.

Describing his childhood of growing up poor in rural Clarksville, Texas, Smith makes links between struggling as part of a large family who were forced to work long and arduous shifts picking cotton in the fields, and his later life as a black man competing in the field of athletics in America in the 1960s. There follows an account of Smith's move to San Jose State and his growing interest in running and training at the University sports track. During this time, Smith claims, it was the fortuitous encounter with an encouraging professor and supportive coach that enabled him to dedicate his life to professional sports. His dream was sealed with the meeting of his lifelong running partner, John Carlos.

Smith's biography closes with a sombre look at the political build-up to the Olympic victory stand. Here, Smith describes his decision to use the platform as a means of making a stand against injustice rather than a means of boycotting the Olympics altogether, as initially planned. Smith refutes the claim that the Olympic committee confiscated his gold medal; but claims the repercussions of the

'silent gesture' were further reaching – culminating in taunts, death threats, professional rejection and community exclusion. However, despite the heavy price paid for making a stand, Smith continued to lead a successful and productive life in pursuit of racial equality and justice.
Also relates to:
Criminal Justice and Racial Violence
Education
History
Politics and Government

STAGESTRUCK FILMMAKER: D.W GRIFFITH AND THE AMERICAN THEATRE
David Mayer
Publisher: Iowa City, University of Iowa Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 320pp
ISBN: 9781587297908
Price: £42.70

D.W. Griffith was an American actor-turned-filmmaker who, it is claimed here, was one of the first pioneers of modern film. From the 1890s through to the 1930s, he wrote and directed over 570 motion pictures and two stage plays. Prior to becoming a filmmaker he was a vaudeville performer. To this end, he worked as an actor between 1896 and 1907, starting his career in the Midwest before moving on to the East and then West coast of the US. Griffith entered motion pictures out of necessity, a means of maintaining a steady income and a way of continuing his professional standing as an actor. As a result, his films draw on a range of theatrical forms - from melodrama, comedy, minstrelsy, vaudeville and variety. This book is, in part, an exploration of the interaction of stage and cinema, and the influence of American theatre on Griffith's filmic output. Rather than presenting a biographical account of Griffith, the author instead charts his impact on screen acting and staging. As such, the book presents a socio-historical account of the impact of Griffith and his work on the American cultural imagination.

This is a critical study of D.W Griffith and his contribution to modern film. The author responds to well-noted allegations of racism pertaining to Griffith. This is followed by an in-depth discussion about his obsessive interest in ethnic and national 'difference' as related to African Americans, Native Americans, Chinese labourers, Jews, Gypsies, Italians, Hispanics and Mexican migrants. Mayer examines the nature and origin of Griffith's fascination with 'otherness' and the place of immigration and slavery in early modern American society.

According to Mayer, Griffith's 1915 film 'The Birth of a Nation' is indicative of America's cultural and political climate in the early twentieth century. Whilst he acknowledges the film to be racist by contemporary standards, the author urges the reader to understand the racial climate of the early twentieth century and the fact that early audiences would not have necessarily reacted in the same way. To this end, much of the book is dedicated to contextualise the film in an effort to present a more nuanced reading of the film's intentions and reception. For example, Mayer claims that Griffith's presentation of African Americans as lazy, ignorant, drunk, deviant and savage is in keeping with prevailing Southern attitudes as a response of the 'demoralised' South to the Post Civil War Reconstruction. By turns, Mayer traces the gradual disappearance of racial 'otherness' in Griffith's films as connected to an increased awareness of tolerance and assimilation as desirable national goals.
Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
History
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience
Politics and Government

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

HATE CRIME AND THE CITY
Paul Iganski
Publisher: Bristol, Policy Press
Year: 2008
Pagination: 168pp
ISBN: 9781861349392
Price: £21.99

'*Hate Crime and the City'* counters the notion that all racially-motivated hate crime is pre-mediated by deprived and hate-filled bigots to instead make a case for the ordinariness of hate crime offences which, the author claims, are mostly undertaken by ordinary people within their everyday lives. In so doing, the book aims to both further conceptual understanding and to apply empirically-grounded analysis with regards to incidents of 'hate crime'.

Chapter one – 'A victim-centred approach to conceptualising 'hate crime' – explores the conceptual complexity of the term 'hate crime', presenting a victim-centred approach in order to better understand its conceptualisation. There follows a look at the normality of everyday 'hate crime' and how 'hate crime, far from being undertaken by convicted offenders, is often undertaken by friends, work colleagues, family and neighbours of the victim. In this sense, chapter two focuses on what the author terms the 'missing link' between background structures of bigotry and offenders' actions which translates into ordinary people ('people like us') reacting to situational events and acting out values which permeate the social structure. By focusing on the situational dynamics of 'hate crime', Iganski shifts our attention away from abstract notions of 'hate' and 'crime' and instead turns our attention towards the experiential, namely 'hate crime' as it is motivated and experienced.

'The spatial dynamics of everyday 'hate crime' forms the topic of chapter three. The chapter is structured around the case study of London, chosen precisely because it is both the most ethnically and culturally diverse city in the UK yet also the UK's capital of 'hate crime'. Drawing on previously unpublished police data pertaining to 'race hate' incidents in London, the chapter details filed reports of 'hate crime' incidents around the city. The resultant statistical trends are measured through an 'inter-group friction' hypothesis – whereby 'race-hate crime' is proportional to the amount of inter-group contact in each locality. In addition, results are also examined in relation to a 'power differential' hypothesis, which proposes that the rate of 'race-hate crime' is higher in areas where minority communities account for a small proportion of the population. Together, these trends inform 'hot spot' areas of everyday 'hate crimes'.

Whilst chapter four focuses on tensions produced by liberalist attitudes towards criminalising 'hate', chapter five makes a case for a victim-led approach to considering 'hate crimes' within the criminal justice policy process. Whilst the former warns about giving harsher penalties to perpetrators of hate-crime compared with other violent acts, the latter highlights the need for a multi-faceted consideration of the demographics of 'hate crime'.

The book concludes by arguing for the development of 'hate crime' studies within the UK, making a case for the potential of 'hate crime' analysis within a scholarly domain. Such a venture would, the author argues, compliment current policy reports and national police reporting on 'hate crime' incidents.

CULTURE AND IDENTITY

AMERICAN CHRISTIANS AND ISLAM: EVANGELICAL CULTURE AND MUSLIM'S FROM THE AGE OF TERRORISM
Thomas S. Kidd
Publisher: Princeton, Princeton University Press
Year: 2009

Pagination: 224pp
ISBN: 9780691133492
Price: £20.95

Investigates the historical background which gave rise to the denouncing of Islam as "demonic" by many of America's Christian evangelicals following the September 11 terrorist attacks. Written by a practicing Christian, the book is concerned about the ways in which American Christians have written about Islam and how current attitudes and beliefs have been informed through centuries of resistance to Islam.

Chapter one considers the early Anglo-American attitudes towards Islam and the ways in which Islam was used within Intra-Protestant theological debates. Charting the threat of Barbary piracy following the capture of European Christians in North Africa, early American Christians aspired to convert Muslims to ways of Protestant Christianity. Building on this, chapter two draws on this important historical context to highlight how both Barbary piracy and Islam-as-theological challenge have formed the foundations of an American Christian fear of Islam.

In chapter three, Kidd charts how the growing clash between Islam and Christianity resulted in the sending of American missionaries to Muslim lands during the nineteenth century, marking the beginning of the first large-scale British and American missionary movement. This resulted in increasingly popular narratives about alleged incidences of Muslim conversion, which were filled with exaggerated claims. Picking up this deceitful thread, chapter four highlights the American Christian's growing frustration about the lack of missionary success among Muslims during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Attempts to convert Muslims to Evangelism represented a subsidiary goal of the missionary movement's motivation to spread the word of Christ. However, such attempts to convert Muslims to another faith were undertaken in vain.

Chapter five takes a sideways glance at the disintegration of the American Missionary Consensus during the 1920s and 30s, and the resulting rise of conservative missionaries whose sole aim was to convert rather than to provide social aid or education. Following on from this, chapter six examines the situation in the U.S post Second World War. Here, an increased Muslim presence, both as a result of American-born Muslims and, after 1965, Muslim immigrants and students coming to the U.S from overseas. Kidd describes the mixed reactions of the more conservative American Christians, some of whom claimed that 'domestic Muslims' represented a threat whilst others insisted that they could be saved through Christian conversion.

In a rather dramatic turn, chapter seven examines the effects of the collapse of the older American Christian system and the renewed interest in the Evangelical conversion of Muslims during the 1960s. The book concludes with an investigation into the effect of the September 11th attacks on American Christian views of Islam, which resulted in a renewed interest in Muslim conversions in an attempt to end Islam. As a result of this, recent developments in literature place Islam at the centre of end-of-the-world prophecies, in which Muslims are represented as figures of Anti-Christ and Islam depicted as "demonic". In citing the American Evangelists' dealings with Islam, Kidd warns of the dangers and difficulties of maintaining exclusive religious views in a pluralist global world.
Also relates to:
Arts, Literature and Sport
History
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience

THE ARYAN JESUS: CHRISTIAN THEOLOGIANS AND THE BIBLE IN NAZI GERMANY
Susannah Heschel

Publisher: Princeton University Press
Year: 2008
Pagination: 384pp
ISBN: 9780691125312
Price: £20.95

'The Aryan Jesus' charts how, during the Third Reich and fuelled by anti-Semitism, German Protestant

theologians redefined Jesus as an Aryan and, by extension, Christianity as a religion at war with Judaism. The result - the founding of the 'Institute for the Study and Eradication of Jewish Influence on German Religious Life' (1939-1945) in Eisenach, Germany - is the subject of this book. Key here is an examination of how the Institute became one of the most important propaganda organs of German Protestantism, contributing to the production of a Nazified Christianity which placed anti-Semitism at its heart. There follows an analysis of the ways in which the Institute contributed to and actively promoted Hitler's attempts to eradicate all Jews.

In the pages that follow, the author presents a detailed account of the aims, vision and structure of the Institute. Therein it is revealed that the Institute was founded to create a unified, national German Church, which transcended Protestant and Catholic divisions in order to redefine Christianity as a Germanic religion. To this end, it aimed to promote the notion that Jesus was not a Jew and had fought to destroy Judaism but failed. The Institute regarded Germany's task to continue Jesus' own struggle against Jewishness. Central to this premise was the notion of the Aryan as an inner spirit which was simultaneously powerful yet also vulnerable and in need of protection from the degeneracy of non-Aryans, especially Jews. Its main theology was to care for that spirit and the Institute developed new biblical interpretations and liturgical means for this purpose.

The book charts how the Institute came to represent a thriving achievement of the German Christian Movement, achieved, in part, through the pro-Nazi faction of the German Protestant Church. To this end, the author creates an important discussion, which centres on the following questions: 'Why was it so easy to racialise Christianity?'; 'what makes anti-Semitic ideas so appealing to Protestant theologians in Germany during the first half of the twentieth century?'; and 'what are the affinities between theology and racism?'

Also relates to:
History
Politics and Government

BLACK BEAUTY: AESTHETICS, STYLISATION, POLITICS
Shirley Anne Tate
Publisher: Aldeshot, Ashgate
Year: 2009
Pagination: 188pp
ISBN: 9780754671459
Price: £50.00

Here, Shirley Anne Tate undertakes a range of interviews with British women of Caribbean descent in order to gain further insight into their relationship to ideals of Black beauty. Such an inquiry is motivated by the need to question the cultural politics of racial hierarchy and the consequent privileging of White beauty as an ideal state. At the same time, Tate also destabilises given 'truths' pertaining to Black beauty and takes issue with the essentialist tendencies of shaped theoretical debate pertaining to Black beauty. To this end, Tate employs difference as the basis for destabilising the alleged 'certainties' of certain strands of anti-racist, Black atlantic and feminist thought.

Attention is paid to the ways in which Black women negotiate dominant understandings, stereotypes and assumptions of beauty. Working within a theoretical framework of performativity and stylization, a key concern is how these women both work with and against a range of paradigms relating to beauty. Paying close attention to the nuances and textures of skin and hair, Shirley Anne Tate focuses on the ways in which women both embody and perform different kinds of Black beauty. In this sense, Black beauty emerges as a result of the interaction of the performative with aesthetics, stylization and politics, as informed through beauty ideals, feminist intellectualising and diasporic knowledge.

Tate takes issue both with Eurocentric philosophising around the nature of beauty as well as black authenticity versus White winnable debates within Black communities. For Tate, the latter positioning is problematic as it revolves around whiteness. Instead, Tate highlights the variety to be found within Black beauty in order to decentralise the position of White beauty as a marker against

which Black beauty is judged.

The resulting chapters examine Black beauty through concepts of shame, melancholia, hybridity, mimicry and performativity and look towards contemporary anti-racist aesthetics in its investigation of the racial hierarchies of hair and, in particular, debates surrounding the natural/ unnatural hair binary. Later, skin replaces hair as the focus for a discussion about the melancholia of Black beauty and the role of shame in beauty recognition. There follows a discussion of Black diasporic beauty politics as triggered through a disidentification with Eurocentric beauty ideals and the resultant need to return to the roots of one's homeland, as real or imagined. The remaining chapters explore the interaction of beauty, ugliness and shame as related to one's sense of self, and how shame and melancholia become the motivators of change. The book concludes with a discussion of the necessity of a wider and more inclusive Black beauty citizenship in order to enable a Black anti-racist feminist politics to continue.

Also relates:
Health and Social Care
Politics and Government

CHINESE AMERICANS AND THE POLITICS OF RACE AND CULTURE
Eds. Sucheng Chan and Madeline Y. Hsu

Publisher: Philadelphia, Temple University Press
Year: 2008
Pagination: 288pp
ISBN: 978-1592137527
Price: £66.00

This is a collection of essays by historians of Chinese America. In the book's introduction, the editors chart the formation of Chinese American Studies which, they claim, is in keeping with cultural history rather than social history on account of the emphasis on personal life stories and experiences rather than objective statistical analysis. Here it is claimed that although Chinese American Studies represents a popular field of study, it raises a number of problems outside of academia on account of the 'nativist' split of 'Chinese' versus 'American'. However, the editors argue that one way of avoiding this pitfall is to embrace the transformative aspects of these cultural processes rather than be resigned to notions of an allegedly unchanging continuity. Chapter one charts the significance of the Tape versus Hurley case, which upheld the rights of Chinese American children to a public school education during the exclusion era (1882-1943). Of interest here are the ways in which educational access highlighted the inherent contradictions of claiming a Chinese American positioning. In chapter two, attention is paid to the activist organising of leftist and communist Chinese immigrants within the US communist movement from 1927 to 1933. Chapter three shows how China's war against Japan in the 1930s and 40s challenged American perceptions of China and Chinese Americans. This resulted in the elevation of Chinese Americans from a racially inferior position to the status of potential American citizens. In keeping with this, chapter four examines how Chinese Americans became working allies during the Second World War.

In a particularly humorous take on Chinese American nationality, chapter five traces the shift from the racialisation to the ethnicization of Chinese Americans during the Cold War era and the resulting commodification of Chinese culture as palatable cuisine. Chapter six highlights the significance of the 'In Search of Roots' program at the Chinese Culture Center in San Francisco (co-sponsored by the government of the People's Republic of China) in the identity formation of Chinese-American students. Lastly, chapter seven is an ethnographic study of the Changle ren (Changle people) from the Fuzhou district in the Fujian province, China, who have been negatively stereotyped as illegal immigrants due to sensationalist media coverage of efforts to smuggle Chinese people into the US.

Also relates to:

Education
History
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience
Politics and Government

CONTEMPORARY BRITISH IDENTITY: ENGLISH LANGUAGE, MIGRANTS AND PUBLIC DISCOURSE

Christina Julios

Publisher: Aldershot, Ashgate
Year: 2008
Pagination: 210pp
ISBN: 978-0754671589
Price: £55.00

Here, Julios examines the centrality of the English language to both the construction of modern British identity and to the acquisition of British citizenship before moving on to highlight the dominance of English both nationally and internationally.

Part one – Language and Identity – summarises recent debates about definitions of British identity and citizenship before concluding that, in both cases, the acquisition of English language is central. There follows a look at the spread and influence of the English language – the global language - through the processes of colonisation, de-colonisation and globalisation. A case in point is the promotion of the English language through the World Wide Web, which can be interpreted as yet another example of the continued legacy of the British Empire.

This section moves on to explore the ways in which different governments have addressed the policy dilemma of mono and bi-lingualism. Charting the impact of immigration on language and, consequently, within policy decision-making, Julios notes some interesting points of consideration. For example, she claims that, over the past fifty years, governments have oscillated between promoting multiculturalism on the one hand, and reinforcing a majority language, on the other. According to Julios, this has mixed results. In the first instance, cultural difference and diversity is preserved, in one moment, but then consequently assimilated within the dominant culture. However, Julios reminds us that, despite these conflicts and contradictions, the majority (dominant) language nevertheless absorbs 'outside' cultural influences and language. This has its benefits but can also come with many shortfalls, as the author goes on to explain at length.

Part two – Migrants and Public Discourse – takes as its starting point the fact that the last one hundred years have seen the emergence of a distinctive British identity which has been modelled on an English-speaking white Anglo-Saxon Protestant ideal. As a result, claims Julios, the English language has become the British Empire's ultimate tool of cultural domination. This forms the backdrop against which Julios charts the changing notion of Britishness from the 1900s to the present as a result of the impact of the New Commonwealth, the passing of the Aliens Act, the British Nationality Act and the Education Act in the early part of last century, the New Commonwealth Immigration Act and the Race Relations Act in the latter part of that century. There follows a look at the contemporary discourse of integration, as informed through the passing of the Community Cohesion Act.

Lastly, summarising the components of national identity into culture, demographics, economics, politics and mythology, Julios examines the 'challenge' of migration. Examining the notion of 'minority' and 'majority' in relation to both native and immigrant status, Julios focuses on the ethnic immigrant communities which have formed as a result of recent migrating population movements. Here, particular attention is paid to non-English speaking settlements in Britain.

Also relates to:
Arts, Literature and Sport
Economics and Globalisation
Education
History
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience
Politics and Government

Science and Technology

GENDER VIOLENCE: INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES
Eds. Laura L. O'Toole, Jessica R. Schiffman, Margie L. Kiter Edwards
Publisher: New York, New York University Press
Year: 2007
Pagination: 560pp
ISBN: 9780814762103
Price: $30 USD

This is the second and revised anthology on *'Gender Violence: Interdisciplinary Perspectives'*. This collection of essays explores the spectrum of gender violence - from social commentaries on rape, battering, incest, sexual harassment, child abuse and murder, to in-depth examinations of inter-ethnic conflicts and government-sanctioned sex industries. At the root of each example of gender violence is an extreme application of social control – whether by physical force, harassment, ethnic cleansing, or a psychological threat. In this sense, gender violence can be interpersonal or institutional, intimate or state-controlled. It takes many forms – from controlling the public behaviour of men and women to transphobic hate crime and assault (namely the fear of and violence towards people who are transgendered). Gender violence, claim the editors, is pervasive and is central to the current social system.

The book takes an interdisciplinary approach, encompassing both academic and cultural perspectives, to explore the ways in which interpersonal relations and social institutions contribute to the social construction of gender and to gendered violence. Whilst its primary focus is to document the violations of women, the book also considers the more general link between the social construction of gender and gender-related violence. In this way, it also includes essays examining the violence against children, men, and trans people.

The anthology is divided into three parts. The first section – 'Roots of Male Violence and the Victimization of Women' - presents a socio-historical exploration of gender violence, firstly, from a general world-view and, secondly, from a specifically North-American viewpoint. This translates to an exploration of the conditions that give rise to male violence, and the widespread cultural and historical trends of patriarchal domination and its affect on gender relations. Section two – 'Forms of Sexual Coercion and Violence' – breaks down the facets of gender violence under the headings 'Sexual Harassment', 'Rape', 'Domestic Abuse', 'Children and Gender Violence', and 'Pornography and Prostitution'. The third and final section – 'Creating Social Change' – contains important strategies for transforming gender relations and ending gender violence.

Also relates to:
History

'GENDERING MIGRATION: MASCULINITY, FEMININITY AND ETHNICITY IN POST-WAR BRITAIN'
Ed. Louise Ryan and Wendy Webster
Publisher: Aldershot, Ashgate
Year: 2008
Pagination: 224pp
ISBN: 9780754671787
Price: $99.95 (USD)

This survey makes a case for the significance of studying trends related to gender and ethnicity within studies of migration. The collection of essays therein examine the history of migration in post World War Two Britain and, in so doing, draw on a range of sources, from archival research to interviews with migrants. In sum, the essays explore how the intersection of gender and ethnicity affects both the ways in which recent migrants to Britain have been represented as well as how migrants themselves construe their varied identities and experiences. Key here is not only the need to articulate the

different experiences of migrating women and men but also to draw attention to how gender and ethnicity have shaped the experiences of migrants in Britain in the twentieth century. Considerable attention is paid to European migration in order to counter the superficial opposition which has been set up between immigrant/Black and British/White and, by extension, the assumption that Britain is an ethnically homogenous nation. Such superficial divisions have obscured the history of immigration prior to 1945, namely the movement of Irish and Jewish people.

The chapters are summarised as follows: Chapter one examines inter-war moral panics through the burgeoning relationships between Black men and White women as a result of an increasingly visible Black presence in Britain, as sustained through increased employment prospects for African and Caribbean men. There follows a more general look at the experiences of refugees in Europe between 1939 and 1950. In keeping with this context, chapter three focuses on the minutiae of the social circumstances and public attitudes towards the more intimate relations of British soldiers and German women.

Chapter four takes as its case study a consideration of Polishness in post-war Leicester and, in particular, male and female relations and gendered dynamics. Following a similar thematic approach, chapter five explores the impact of the view, historically and continued, that women were economically dependent on men both within the context of immigration policy and within the labour market between 1945 and 1975. Chapter six examines broader ramifications of family dynamics, namely the role of family in the formation of homeland, and the ways in which migrants become both 'strangers' and 'homecomers' as a result of their migrations.

In keeping with one of the original aims of the book, chapter seven claims that the majority of Irish migrants to Britain in the twentieth century were female and that Irish workers – both female and male – have been a major component of the British labour force during that period. Similarly, chapter eight is a reflection of some of the UK findings from a socioeconomic survey of the Spanish emigrant population, commissioned by the Spanish government.

The remaining chapters – nine through eleven – focus on constructions of masculinity in the experiences of Pakistani, Kurdish and East African Asian men.
Also relates to:
Economics and Globalisation
Employment
History
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience

MUSLIMS IN BRITAIN: RACE, PLACE AND IDENTITIES
Ed. Peter Hopkins and Richard Gale

Publisher: Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 224pp
ISBN: 9780748625888
Price: £19.99

This collection of short essays examines the situation of Muslims in Britain in a post 9/11 and 7/7 climate of anti-Muslim and anti-Islamic sentiment. To this end, it explores the politicisation of British Muslim identities as a result of the perceived clash between Islam and the 'West', and by extension, Islam versus 'democracy', 'security' and 'modernism'. There follows an in-depth look at how Muslims in Britain negotiate everyday situations, namely daily experiences of racism and the need to develop supportive networks within their communities.

The book starts by tracing the historical and demographic contours of Muslim presence in Britain as enabled through a spatial approach. This serves a dual function: Firstly, to counteract the sheer amount of negative stereotyping of Muslims in Britain, and secondly to highlight the diversity of the British Muslim experience.

Section one examines gender, place and culture. The resulting essays explore the following issues: the centrality of home in young Muslim women's construction of their identities; the impact of

gender on educational experiences, aspirations and consequent interaction with the labour market; and the experiences of Muslim boys and their negotiations of masculinity and territory within neighbourhood spaces and schooling. All chapters address the ways in which gendered expectations and the social environment impact upon religious and cultural identities.

In section two – on landscapes, communities and networks – the author considers the everyday politics and interactions underpinning urban patterns of belonging and collective identity. The essays address the following themes: the history of social negotiations by British Muslims in the area of religious worship and education; the intersection between politics, public space and Muslim/Arab identities; and the importance of migration, mobility and pilgrimage in the lives of Muslims in Britain.

The third and final section reflects on the wider academic, popular and policy issues connected to Muslims in Britain. To this end, the chapters focus on a range of issues, from the formation of a Muslim identity and contemporary experiences of Islamophobia to an exploration of multiculturalism and a range of emancipatory politics adopted by British Muslims. Particular emphasis is paid to the latter issue as a means of counteracting the tendency to posit a monolithic unity to Muslim political and social identities. Here, the authors take issue with the resulting political pronouncements about the 'responsibilities' of Muslims in the wake of extremist attacks which, they claim, fail to acknowledge the wide-range of strategies adopted by Muslims in response to the changing socio-political climate of Britain.

Also relates to:
Criminal Justice and Racial Violence
History
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience
Politics and Government

STOLEN HONOR: STIGMATISING MUSLIM MEN IN BERLIN
Katherine Pratt Ewing
Publisher: Chicago, Stanford University Press
Year: 2008
Pagination: 296pp
ISBN: 9780804759007
Price: £19.95

'Stolen Honor' examines Germany's portrayal of Muslim women living in Europe as victims of male brutality who need to be rescued from oppressive male control. Such depictions present an implicitly negative image of Muslim men, who are conspicuous by their absence. As such, this study makes visible the continued stigmatisation – through misrepresentation and cultural stereotyping – of Muslim men in contemporary Germany. Attention is paid to the sub-population of Muslims in Europe and, in particular, Turkish immigrants and their descents now living in Germany.

The book is structured around two key questions pertaining to the processes by which such negative stereotyping has become naturalised within the German psyche, to the extent that the stigmatisation of Muslim men in contemporary Germany goes unrecognised, even by the most liberal of people. Building on the consequences from this, the author highlights the impact of such failures to recognise and address the social situation of Muslim men in Germany. The author goes on to highlight the combination of invisible and implicit processes which, combined through the enactment of national dramas of moral panic, have led to the widespread stigmatisation of Muslim men. This, in turn, has become bound up with the national and international imaginary and has, claims the author, been a contributing factor to recent changes in public policy and citizenship legislation, which are explored in more depth in the part two.

Part one is an investigation into the historical sources which have led to the current stigmatisation of Turkish men in contemporary Germany. The author contrasts cultural stereotyping with the everyday image of Muslim men and women living in Germany, juxtaposing the anonymous 'othering' of this community with individual attitudes and experiences. In so doing, this section highlights the processes at work in the reproduction and naturalisation of stigmatising images.

Part two recounts a series of controversies which have resulted in widespread social panic and the further abjection of Muslim men in Germany. The first tells of the extensive media coverage following an honor killing in Berlin in 2005, in which a young woman was murdered by her brothers because they objected to her non-traditional lifestyle. There follows a discussion of the controversy following the introduction of the "Muslim test" in 2006 – a guideline for determining the suitability of applicants for German citizenship. Lastly, this section highlights the 2000 controversy in which a conservative German politician proposed that 'Leitkultur' – namely, the social fantasy of German nationhood - be a standard for assimilation for Muslim men and women in Germany.

Also relates to:
Politics and Government

STREET GANGS, MIGRATION AND ETHNICITY
Eds. Frank Van Gemert, Dana Peterson and Inger-Lise Lien

Publisher: Devon, Willan Publishing
Year: 2008
Pagination: 286pp
ISBN: 9781843923961
Price: £23.75

Produced by the Eurogang Network with the aim of developing a shared framework for studying street gangs, this collection of essays shifts attention away from the US and the allegedly uncoordinated study of American street gangs to instead present a more systematic approach to the study of European street gangs. Europe, claim the editors, provides more varied categories of marginalised populations in the realms of race, ethnicity, nationality and migration status, and henceforth is a more fruitful site of survey. The collection of essays that follow examine issues of marginality, socio-economic disadvantage, youth culture, (im)migration and ethnicity which lead to gang formation and development across twelve European countries.

Part one starts by defining the origins of the phrase 'street gang' before charting the history of migration in Europe. Central this investigation is the relationship between ethnicity and gang formation, and the interaction between individual and collective (subcultural) identity. The essays in this section present a range of methods and approaches for the study of street gangs - from the comparison of American literature with European findings to an overview of sociological traditions for the study of youth formations in Europe. The latter essay draws attention to the ethical problems raised by such research and the consequent need to anonymise research locations during the presentation of research findings.

Part two consists of a series of case studies – from the position of Latin American youth in Barcelona and the formation of youth groups in the Netherlands to the history of racist skinheads in Moscow. Central to each is the need to prove or disprove the statement that the second generation of migrants usually become interested in and involved with gang activities.

Titled 'Ethnicity and Youth Gangs', part three explores the link between ethnic background and social circumstances, and charts gang involvement in terms of minority status, opportunism, family attachment, school commitment and sense of self/cultural heritage. The essays in this section trace the distribution of gang membership in Sydney (Australia), Stuttgart (Germany), and across France, showing how gang involvement/affiliation is constructed as an act of pride and defiance in face of discrimination, inequality, exclusion and social injustice. Central to each case study is the significance of the transition from visible difference to social deviance.

The book concludes by exploring the issues and challenges presented by a consideration of migration and ethnicity when dealing with youth gangs. Looking at the situation of Pakistani gangs in Oslo (Norway), as well as the operation of criminal gangs in Gothenburg (Sweden), the essays in the final section explore the involvement of social institutions, such as schools, in the prevention and/or repression of gang activities.

Also relates to:
Criminal Justice and Racial Violence

Economics and Globalisation
Education
History
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience
Politics and Government

UNEVEN ENCOUNTERS: MAKING RACE AND NATION IN BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES

Micol Seigel

Publisher: Durham, Duke University Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 408pp
ISBN: 9780822344407
Price: £18.99

Here, Micol Seigel charts the exchange of popular culture between Brazil and the United States during the inter-war period in order to trace the effects of such cultural exchanges on the construction of race and nation. Here, race and nation are viewed as mutually-tied rather than single entities in their own right, to be understood as an inter-relationship rather than in isolation. In this way, racial formation is dependent on nation(ality) and vice-versa, to form racialized national categories. To this end, the author claims, the dismantling of racial hierarchies first requires the dismantling of nationalism.

'Uneven Encounters' explores the ways in which people utilise transnational cultural exchange, subconsciously reworking lived ideas of race and nation. Particular focus is on the impact of advertising on the lives of Brazilians and North Americans and the ways in which they have shaped racialized national categories and contributed to international and transnational relations. The resulting chapters show examples of people who have crossed racial and national barriers, reinforcing or undermining notions of race and nation across a range of public, commerce, and popular culture. In sum, the following cultural forms are explored: advertisements, dance, music, vaudeville and other forms of popular stage performance, newspapers and public monuments. According to Seigel, these cultural forms transcend the national. For example, the coffee advertisements are made by both the US and Brazil; Brazilian dances are now widespread throughout the US; North American vaudevillians perform 'foreignness'; the newspapers are organs of the black Brazilian press, reporting on North American news; and lastly, the monument represents the potential of Brazilian history abroad.

Chapter one sketches the political and economic situation pertaining to the coffee trade both during and immediately following World War I. Central here is the cultural exchange between Brazil and the US, and the highly conscious ideological processes of advertising – namely, its production, circulation and consumption within a global market. Chapter two moves on to explore the travels of the Brazilian dance 'maxixe' and the ways in which the popular performance industry panders to an imperialist thirst for exoticism. In keeping with this, chapters three and four examine the ways in which cultural producers have utilised the alleged 'exoticism' of Brazil within artistic creation, professional advancement and political pursuits. Finally, chapters five and six move away from a focus on white North American subjects to highlight the effects of such forms of cultural formation and exchange on Afro-Brazilian and African American citizens.

Also relates to:
Arts, Literature and Sport
Economics and Globalisation
Politics and Government

THE VEIL: WOMEN WRITERS ON ITS HISTORY, LORE, AND POLITICS

Ed. Jennifer Heath

Publisher: Berkeley, University of California Press
Year: 2008
Pagination: 360pp

This collection of essays by women writers, academics and artists explores the socio-cultural and political aspects of the veil and notions of veiling. The resultant body of work represents the coming-together of writers from a range of backgrounds and with diverse cultural experiences. Moving away from an emphasis on the veil as a symbol of tensions between Islam and the West, the contributors instead highlight the traditions surrounding the veil across a range of religious, historical and geographical contexts. The resultant accounts address the ways in which the veil-as-symbol has been misunderstood and the predominant ethnocentrism of critical accounts of the veil and of veiling to date.

The book starts by providing necessary background to the culture and politics of the veil and of concepts of veiling. Here, differing and sometimes contradictory meanings behind the veil are highlighted, from its figuration as a symbol of repression when enforced or forcibly removed to its becoming a symbol of resistance in face of prejudice and discrimination. The opening section goes on to provide a thorough background to the cultural uses and misuses of the veil. In so doing, the author challenges the vilification of women who veil by instead showing that it is, in fact, a combination of war, poverty, lack of education and neo-colonialism which have become the enemies of women's rights, not the veil. Thus, the beautiful and mysterious qualities of the veil are presented in stark contrast to its grotesque representation by the morbidly-fascinated West.

The anthology can be briefly summarised as follows. The essays in the first section examine the sacred aspects of the veil and the notion of the veil as an ancient custom and as a signifier of devotion. The second section moves on to explore the veil in relation to the physical and emotional body. The third, and final, section focuses on the socio-political aspects of the veil. Here, Muslim veiling is decentralised as a means of shifting attention away from the socio-political conflict of Islam to instead highlight the multiple processes at work under the guise of cultural veiling. In this way, the most interesting yet sadly sidelined aspects of the veil are revealed – namely, its metaphysical, mystical and erotic allure.

Section one examines the trauma of forced unveilings in the Middle East before moving on to highlight other uses of the veil besides those within Islam. To this end, the popularity of the veil is shown across a range of cultural and religious affiliations, including those within Papua Near East, India, Greece, and Eastern Europe. There follows a discussion of the dress codes of Hasidic women, the wearing of the Sari in India, the role of the habit in the Roman Catholic church, the Amish veil, and the experiences of an American Muslim woman. Section two explores the artistic life of the veil, from a look at Salome and the dance of the seven veils to concepts of Medieval veiling in Europe and veiling as viewed from an Arab Christian woman's perspective. The final section includes a discussion on female body hair in Iran and the representation of Islamic dress within newspaper cartoons.

EDUCATION

BECAUSE OF RACE: HOW AMERICANS DEBATE HARM AND OPPORTUNITY IN OUR SCHOOLS
Mica Pollock

'*Because of Race'* is an examination of racial inequalities in schools across the USA and, in particular, how young people of colour are denied educational opportunities on account of their race. The resulting work exposes conflicting analyses of harm and opportunity by a range of policy makers working within the present US education system. Of central concern are the resulting debates regarding educational opportunity and provision, in terms of resource allocation and discipline, as

argued between parents, educators and Civil Rights Officers.

Pollock draws on her experiences working in the US Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (OCR). During this time, she worked on a project which investigated whether the denial of key early learning opportunities to students of colour constituted a new area of racial civil rights work. She describes a particularly heated debate concerning whether the everyday treatment of students of colour fell into the category of racial discrimination and race-based harm. For Pollock, this translated into a dilemma – does she condone the denial of academic opportunity to children of colour? There follows an analysis of contemporary debates concerning the definition and achievement of racial equality and opportunity within contemporary North American education.

Section one – Rebuttal 1: Harms to Children of Colour Cannot Be Proved – explains the process of investigating discrimination complaints at the Office for Civil Rights. This transmits into a process of collecting 'evidence' pertaining to 'harm' in schools on account of race. It is of no surprise to learn that such an undertaking is complex, elusive and, ultimately, contradictory and controversial.

Section two – Rebuttal 2: Harms to Children of Colour Should Not Be Discussed – explores the resistance of local community and government to the Office of Civil Rights' 'prescribing' of assistance to children of colour during the process of complain resolution.

Section three – Rebuttal 3: Harms to Children of Colour Cannot Be Remedied – examines internal debates concerning the Early Learning Project, which explored daily opportunity provision to students of colour.

Lastly, section four – Rebuttal 4: Harms to Children of Colour are Too Small to Fix – describes how the efforts of the Office for Civil Rights were dismissed as doing little to deter counter structural or systematic inequality. The conclusion – 'Arguing toward everyday justice in the New Civil Right era' – shows how the New Civil Rights Era, also known as the Post-Civil Rights Era, characterises an era in which white Americans in particular resist specific measures to equalise opportunity for people of colour, even while sharing equal opportunity beliefs.

BLACK BOYS CAN MAKE IT: HOW THEY OVERCOME THE OBSTACLES TO UNIVERSITY IN THE UK AND USA
CHERON BYFIELD

In this timely and necessary work, Cheron Byfield reverses the overwhelming attention which has been paid to the underachievement of Black boys to instead focus on the notion of academic success. Breaking away from the negative stereotyping and the self-fulfilling prophecies created by this overly cited linkage, Byfield instead celebrates the ways in which Black male students overcome social barriers in order to enter into higher education. Interviewing forty university students from the UK and the USA, Byfield sets out to explore the factors influencing their academic success, their choice of and access to university and a breakdown of any social barriers faced. The book concludes with some suggested recommendations for schools and education policy makers.

Part one starts out by defining the keywords used ('race', 'Black' and 'social class') and outlining the proposed theoretical framework (which takes as its starting point Pierre Bourdieu's theory of Cultural Capital). There follows a summary of the UK and US educational systems. In Part two the obstacles encountered by the students are broken down into the following areas – social class (in the form of neighbourhood experiences and the quality of the schools attended) and parental involvement with the school system as well as the participants' own experiences of racism and the ways in which they negotiate their racial identity. There follows an in-depth exploration of the quandaries and self-managing effects of being a minority in a White dominated society, including the participants' own misbehaviour and negativity, and which lead to the development of a number of survival strategies.

Part three centres on the factors which have contributed to the students' educational successes such as parental involvement and encouragement both in terms of learning at home and interacting with the school system, the students' own personal qualities (drive, hard work and determination etc) and, lastly, the role of teachers, community projects and religion in the students' lives. Whilst Byfield draws attention to the importance of positive representations and community support, the issue of religion is celebrated as an essential aspect of success but there is no attempt to question the ways in which this aspect may limit participant engagement. For example, whilst Byfield strives to represent the participants as a heterogeneous group in order to move away from the homogenising effects of negative stereotyping she comes close to reproducing the basis for this very resistance and fails to consider other factors which may conflict with religion or, as it is expressed here, Christianity – such as cultural affiliation or sexual orientation.

In Part Four attention is paid to the ways in which the participants navigate the university system, focusing on their perceptions and experiences, and drawing parallels between UK and US divisions of elite universities (such as Oxford and Harvard) and less selective institutions (Wolverhampton and Central Florida). The book closes by summarising the barriers faced, the strategies adopted and the factors which have contributed to the academic successes of the participants in order to identify areas of best practice within social policy development. This is a clear, concise and accessible piece of research which pulls no punches in starting to address the sheer public misconception and negative stereotyping surrounding young black male students and involvement in the UK/US education system.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Economics and Globalisation
History
Politics and Government

BOTH SIDES NOW: THE STORY OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION'S GRADUATES
Amy Stuart Wells, Jennifer Kellison Holme, Anita Tijerina Revilla, and Awo Korantemaa Atanda
Publisher: Berkeley, University of California Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 386pp
ISBN: 9780520256781
Price: £16.95

'*Both Sides Now*' comprises stories of former desegregation school students from a range of racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds. The book is based on interviews with US graduates who attended desegregated high schools more than twenty-five years ago, between the mid 1960s and early 1980s – as well as the educators and community leaders who were responsible for the desegregation policies. Claiming that the story of school desegregation in the US remains largely untold, the authors address this issue and chart both the benefits and limitations of such a move. In this way, the authors reverse the claim that school desegregation represents a failed social experiment to instead highlight the positive experiences of former students.

The remaining chapters highlight the desegregation school "experiment" of enrolling children from different racial backgrounds into the same schools. The White middle class graduates had mainly positive experiences to recount; but in contrast, the Black and Latino graduates found that mixing with White middle class students only served to emphasise the racial divide. Despite the good intentions behind the program, graduates of colour found the experience to be optimistic, yet ultimately disheartening as they became aware of the reality of racial difference and White privilege. Many graduates of colour claimed that this contrast became starker upon leaving the 'bubble' of racial harmony for the reality of racial prejudice and discrimination. As such, the book serves as window through which to examine the current state of racial politics in the US – the progress made and the distance still to go.

All former students told how the racial mix that they had been exposed to was merely confined

to the school setting and did not extend into other aspects of their daily lives. They told of their shock and disappointment when they realised that their experiences within desegregationist schools were not sustained into adulthood. They cited the difficulties they faced adjusting to the outside world after being submerged in such an environment. In the main, however, the former students had mostly positive experiences and had much praise for the schools. They cite numerous anecdotes about how the experiences changed their attitudes and assumptions about racial and cultural differences. However, all former students acknowledge the limits of desegregation policies in terms of the failure to address the wider ramifications of racism and racial prejudice.
Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
History
Politics and Government

MULTILINGUAL LEARNING: STORIES FROM SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES IN BRITAIN
Eds. Jean Conteh, Peter Martin and Leena Helavaara Robertson
Publisher: Stoke on Trent, Trentham Books
Year: 2007
Pagination: 168pp
ISBN: 9781858563985
Price: £17.99
Drawing on extensive consultations with both teachers and learners, 'Multilingual Learning' explores the affect of multilingualism in schools and communities across contemporary Britain.

Section one summarises the key issues and debates of key educational policies from the Second World War to the present. The remaining chapters in this section show the ways in which different communities respond to these policies and the specific teaching and learning spaces which have resulted. Of interest is the discrepancy between the celebration of diversity within government policy and a homogenising ideology which permeates within contemporary society. Key here is an analysis of the powerful ideological messages concealed within and which underpin legislative terminology. There follows an examination of the impact of language diversity on the development of community schooling and resulting contradictory responses to multilingualism in schools.

Section two – Learning in Three Languages in Home and Community – draws on learners' own experiences of being multilingual and contains the following case studies:
An interview with thirty-six children in a Gujerati Muslim community in North-East London in order to survey the daily experiences of children speaking in three languages – Gujerati, Urdu and English. A story of five bilingual children who are in the process of learning to read for the first time.

An example of the successful education of ethnic minority children and how Chinese minority children in particular become prominent among the high achievers of the British education system.

A survey comparing the experiences of Portuguese children taking Portuguese language classes with the experiences of Portuguese children in English mainstream schools.
A multi-language learning story in two Gujarati Complementary schools in Leicester
An example of the work of teachers in Complementary classes in Bradford, which aims to develop bilingual children's' knowledge of their home and community languages in order to raise their achievements in mainstream schooling.
Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
History
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience
Politics and Government

RACE AND CLASS MATTERS AT AN ELITE COLLEGE
Elizabeth Aries
Publisher: Philadelphia, Temple University Press

Based on interviews with fifty-eight students at Amherst College during the 2005-6 academic year, '*Race and Class Matters at an Elite College*' traces student attitudes towards racial and economic diversity. Noting the diverse experiences of students from a range of class and racial backgrounds, the book examines the impact of social class and race on the college experience.

Chapter one charts the increasingly diverse nature of Amherst College, in terms of the changing demographics of its students; and yet, the author points out a marked discrepancy – whilst half of the current community of students can afford the $40,000 a year fees, the remainder seek financial help from the institution. This is the starting point for an examination of the impact of class differences and race relations among an increasingly diverse student body, the result of recent changes in admission policies. The book seeks to address whether this growing diversity has resulted in an increased understanding of difference. In other words: what were the students' experiences of entering this environment?; what challenges did they face? Did such an environment challenge their assumptions of students from other class and racial backgrounds?

Chapter two describes how the participants were selected in terms of their backgrounds and prior experiences dealing with race and class issues. The remainder of the chapters present the results of the survey. After noting the students' varying levels of expectation and initial experiences of campus life, the author goes on to examine how students coped with class differences and being confronted daily by great disparities in wealth. A few themes emerge here – namely, the extent to which students desired to hide their class backgrounds and differences of attitude between lower and higher income groups. Chapter five explores the degree to which students separated themselves along class and racial lines and the extent to which they formed cross-race and cross-class relationships. There follows a look at shared values and how students negotiated class discrepancies.

The book moves on to explore the benefits students gained from diversity both inside and outside of the classroom. Whilst chapter six focuses on race, chapter seven views this in the context of class. In so doing, the author pays attention to whether, as a result of their experiences of campus life, students gained a new understanding of their own racial or class group and with other races or classes. Moreover, the author is keen to assess whether informal interactions helped to break down prior stereotypes and assumptions of class and racial difference. The book closes with an interesting reversal of the college's policies of race and class - whilst students are asked to adjust to the culture of Amherst College, can the College, in turn, adjust in order to incorporate a more diverse student body?

RACE AND EDUCATION: POLICY AND POLITICS IN BRITAIN
Sally Tomlinson

'*Race and Education*' discusses the key education issues in Britain from the 1960s to the present. The author claims that, at present, both policy makers and the British media place unwarranted attention upon the dress codes of particular faith and religious communities rather than focusing on urgent problems in the realms of education, housing and employment. According to the author, issues surrounding segregation, social poverty, national identity, racism and multiculturalism should be at the forefront of educational policy concerns. The author goes on to state that attempts by the education system to incorporate racial and ethnic minorities are contradictory and flawed, and reflect a broader climate of racial ambivalence and hostility. The concerns of British education systems are set within a wider framework of recent social changes and political events. Key here is the need to address the success rate of integration and education around ethnic and racial diversity within British

education.

The introduction summarises the waves of immigration in Britain from the 1960s to the present, which can be divided into two distinct groups – the first comprising settlers from the former British Empire who answered the demand for British labour immediately following the Second World War; the second consisting of people seeking asylum following war, civil strife and human rights violations in their home countries as well as economic migrants who have been arriving since the mid 1990s. According to the author, developments of this kind account for the fact that the British education system currently lacks political support and the relevant policies for enabling a more diverse and fair society.

The chapters are divided according to decade (ranging from 1960 to 1997) and cover the following issues: ideology and politics; general educational policy and educational issues; and practices relating to race and ethnicity. Chapter one summarises the political ideologies which have led to the assimilation of immigrants at the lower levels of a capitalist economy and which have given rise to the situation that immigrants are forced to undertake work which white workers are reluctant to do. The next chapter examines anti-immigrant agitation. Chapter three explores the economic, social and racial divisions which gave rise to the riots of Hackney (London), Toxteth (Liverpool) and Handsworth (Birmingham). here follows a discussion about legislative control concerning migrants and asylum seekers. Chapter five examines the impact of New Labour on race relations and racial tensions in Britain between 1997 and 2003. Chapter six concerns the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and the resultant increased antagonism between Muslims and non-Muslims in contemporary Britain, which has led to the scrutiny of Islamic dress within British schools. The book concludes by summarising the current political and educational situation surrounding the absorption of minority youth into a majority society.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
History
Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience
Politics and Government

HEALTH AND SOCIAL CARE

HISTORY

HARRIET TUBMAN: MYTH, MEMORY AND HISTORY
Milton C. Sernett
Publisher: Durham, Duke University Press
Year: 2007
Pagination: 424pp
ISBN: 9780822340737
Price: £75.00

This book investigates the interplay of history and myth within the collective American memory and, in particular, the numerous retellings of the story of Harriet Tubman (1822 – 1913). Tubman, a conductor on the Underground Railroad, has become a international icon and is today widely celebrated as a symbolic Black leader, a figurehead for a politics of anti-slavery, and role model for both feminist and African-American communities alike. Known by her contemporaries as 'the Moses of her people' and a 'Black Joan of Arc', Tubman unsuccessfully sought compensation for her years of service as a Union Army spy and nurse during the American Civil War.

In this unconventional biography, Milton Sernett strives to separate the Tubman the 'lady' from Tubman the 'legend' in order to focus on the processes by which this woman became a cultural icon. In so doing, Sernett plucks fact from fiction in an attempt to highlight the myths which prop up the legend and which fuel the collective American imagination. As such, Sernett is interested in the difference between biographical details and collective memory - namely the ways in which

Tubman has been remembered. Of particular interest here is the way in which Tubman has become 'overdetermined' and the ways in which a historical figure, such as Tubman, is mediated by recent and contemporary bias. In other words, attention is given to the ways in which Tubman has been used by 'special interest groups' in order to lend a historical trajectory to contemporary (identity) politics.

Although the chapters are constructed thematically, the structure of the book mimics the chronology of Tubman's life.
Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Politics and Government

MIGRATION, IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEES

ASIAN DIASPORAS: NEW FORMATIONS, NEW CONCEPTIONS
Eds. Rhacel S. Parrenas and Lok C. D. Siu
Publisher: Palo Alto, Stanford University Press
Year: 2007
Pagination: 320pp
ISBN: 9780804752435
Price: $24.95 (USD)

This collection of essays examines the movement and migration of Asian populations on a global scale through the lens of diaspora. Here, diaspora is defined as an 'ongoing and contested process of subject formation embedded in a set of cultural and social relations'. It is examined in relation to the ways in which different ethnic groups claim Asia as both their 'real' and 'imagined' homeland and site of dispersal. Drawing on a range of historical and ethnographic studies, emphasis is placed on human experiences of diaspora in order to draw attention to the interaction of everyday life and larger systems of social and political control.

Attention is paid to the underlying structures of inequality that create diasporic communities as well as the resultant cultural barriers both by homeland and host country. This feeds into a more general discussion about the broader issues of neo-liberalism, globalization and transnationalism. In sum, the book explores five key issues: the recognition of inter-Asian strife; the persistence of nation state; the salience of race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality; the forces of labour, colonialism and globalisation; and the centrality of culture in considerations of race and ethnicity.

The introduction provides detailed information pertaining to the social and historical conditions which have led to the re-emergence of diaspora, transnationalism and globalisation at the close of the twentieth century. According to the authors, this is, in part, due to dramatic transformations of recent decades: developments in technology/communication; global political and economic shifts, the adoption of neoliberal policies and principles of deregulation, privatisation and materialisation; and a dramatic increase and extensive reach of global migration.

Emphasising diaspora as a process and a form of resistance, *Asian Diasporas'* represents both an intellectual inquiry and a political intervention. The book is structured around two key questions: 'What are the cultural and social factors that enable the production of diasporic identifications?'; and 'What are the specific political and economic conditions that frame these different migrations?' The resultant body of essays examine the following themes in reply: notions of cultural authenticity; psychic injuries of displacement; double displacement and national exclusion; and the intersection of ethnicity, gender and sexuality. The adjoining case studies include: the impact of Chinese labour migration to Latin America; the experiences of Japanese Brazilians in Japan and Brazil; contemporary arranged marriages in Vietnam; and labour migration to the British West Indies.
Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Economics and Globalisation
Politics and Government
Science and Technology

ASYLUM DENIED: A REFUGEE'S STRUGGLE FOR SAFETY IN AMERICA
David Ngaruri Kenney and Philip G. Schrag

Publisher: Bekerley, University of California Press
Year: 2008
Pagination: 360pp
ISBN: 9780520261594
Price: £12.50

'Asylum Denied' tells the story of political refugee, David Ngaruri Kenney, and his experiences of immigration control in the US. The story starts in Kenya with Kenny leading a peaceful protest with his fellow farmers against the Kenyan government's treatment of local tea farmers and the exploitative agricultural policies. He was consequently arrested, imprisoned and tortured. Whilst in solitary confinement, Kenney endured the constant threat of violence, intimidation and execution. Upon release he was subject to increasing levels of police surveillance and consequent threats. The book also details how, with the help of a group of US Peace Corps Volunteers, Kenney fled to the US and considers the additional concern of the human rights violations of immigration controls and the subseuqent and all-too-real impact on the lives of those most in need of its protection.

The book starts by comparing US government's turning away of immigrants who face persecution and death with the US government's refusal to grant asylum to Jewish migrants seeking refuge from the Holocaust, many of whom subsequently died at the hands of Nazi Germany. Such a stark comparison serves to highlight the continued plight of persecuted people who seek refuge and asylum abroad.

Subsequent chapters chart the role of the 1980 Refugee Act, which was designed to accommodate refugees into the US. However, the authors show how, since the 1990s, new amendments have meant that applicants awaiting asylum would not be eligible to work. This was followed by further restrictions on immigration in a post 9/11 climate and increased suspicions about fraudulent applications and the threat of terrorism. Thereafter, book details the sheer bureaucracy which characterises US immigration controls, as found within the Department of Homeland Security, the Board of Immigration Appeals, the US Court of Appeal, and the Department of State.

The book examines Kenney's plight both within Kenya and at the hands of the US government. The following dilemma highlights the ridiculousness of the situation. Here, the authors highlight the fact that governments which abuse human rights often prevent their dissidents from leaving their voluntary because they fear scrutiny from abroad. Thus, victims of persecution – like Kenney – are forced to leave their country by alternative means. However, despite acknowledging the severity of human rights abuses in Kenya, countries like the US have made it a felony to enter any state on an illegal passport even if it was necessary in order to flee torture or persecution. In such cases, asylum is revoked. Thus, the very system of granting asylum fails to understand and address the realities of asylum.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Politics and Government

DIASPORAS
Roger Waldinger, William Rodarmor and Stephane Dufoix (trans. William Rodarmor),

Publisher: Berkeley, University of California Press
Year: 2008
Pagination: 160pp
ISBN: 9780520253605
Price: $21.95 (USD)

'Diasporas' provides a critical introduction to the concept of 'diaspora', charting both its intellectual history and its political relevance; and shows dispora to be more than just an academic tool. Stéphane Dufoix shows how diaspora is lived out as a social practice - a means of enabling state control and,

conversely, a means of enacting social change.

Drawing on a range of case studies of diasporic people - including Jewish, Armenian, African, Chinese, Greek and South Asian Indian – Dufoix develops a conceptual framework for thinking about the relationship between migrants and their homelands (which are here referred to as 'dispersed populations' and 'referent origins'). He claims that current theorising around diaspora fails to describe the relationships between migrants and their referent origins, and urges for the need to establish a broader and more complex analytical framework.

The book starts by discussing the evolution and development of diaspora as viewed through alternate conceptual frameworks. In this context, diaspora emerges as a term with a number of definitions, namely – any phenomenon of dispersion from a place; the organisation of an ethnic, national or religious community in one or more countries; a population spread over more than one territory; places of dispersion and displacement; and a connection with a real or imagined homeland. The discussion then moves on to highlight the changing nature of diaspora and raises a number of questions pertaining to the perceived connections between migrants and their homeland, state and fellow migrants. To this end, the author draws on the examples of both Jewish and African experiences of diaspora within a particular socio-historical context.

Chapter two – 'Space of Dispersion' – highlights the dilemma that dispersion, by its very definition, relies on a unified departure point but that no such common point exists when we talk about dispersed populations in the sense that migrants come from a multitude of referent origins rather than a single homeland. This paradox is explored in more detail in the case of Greek, Indian, Chinese and Armenian migrants.

Towards the end of chapter two, Dufoix breaks the notion of diaspora down into seven stages: A population – namely the statistical ensemble of dispersed people and their descendents; an ethno-cultural community existing in several countries; and ethnic population within a single country; a particular migratory pattern; a historical/psychological condition; a geographical area of dispersion; and a subset of a larger diaspora. There follows a brief discussion of diasporic illusions pertaining to essence, community, continuity, identification, differentiation and historicity.

Chapter three examines the ways in which diasporic people maintain connections when 'abroad', and summarises his findings into four models – 'centroperipheral', 'enclaved', 'atopic', and 'antagonistic'. Thereafter Dufoix examines the notion of nostalgia in relation to homeland before concluding with a discussion about the future of diaspora and diasporic studies.
Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Politics and Government

PROTRACTED DISPLACEMENT IN ASIA: NO PLACE TO CALL HOME
Ed. Howard Adelman
Publisher: Aldershot, Ashgate
Year: 2008
Pagination: 282pp
ISBN: 9780754672388
Price: £60.00

A protracted displacement situation describes the situation in which refugees are held in displacement camps indefinitely and without recourse to basic human rights. Drawing on a number of case studies, 'Protracted Displacement' examines the long-term protracted refugee situations in Nepal, Thailand, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and Iraq.

Chapter one provides in-depth theoretical context surrounding the conceptualisation of refugees as products of membership problems, on one hand, and as universal rights holders, on the other. This provides the necessary background for the remaining chapters.

Chapter two describes the situation in which 105,000 Bhutanese refugees have lived in Nepal for the last eighteen years and that the situation is not set to change in the immediate future and that, despite fifteen sets of negotiation between Bhutan and Nepal, not a single refugee has returned

home. The author explores how the situation of the Bhutanese in Nepal shifted attention away from the development of a durable solution discourse towards a programme of refugee resettlement. Chapter three builds on this discussion to outline the protracted displacement situation on the Thai-Burmese border. The next chapter centres on a debate on whether the forced displacement of people from Burma to Thailand and Bangladesh necessitates the need of intervening military to implement a personal responsibility to protect (R2P). There follows a discussion of the international protraction regime in the case of the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh and the resulting prioritising of certain refugee groups over others.

The situation of Sri Lanka forms the subject of chapter five, which examines the notion of conflict-induced internal displacement and the resulting dilemmas of protection. Related to this, chapter six focuses on Afghan refugees in Iran, Pakistan and those who have been internally-displaced within Afghanistan. Chapter seven focuses on the two million refugees and 2.2 million internally-displaced persons, as produced by the US forces in 2003. The author explores whether resettling abroad would represent a viable and durable solution to this protracted situation.

The concluding chapter (chapter 8) reviews the situation of protracted displacement as it relates to the case studies outlined above. Here, the author emphasises the need to consider the local socio-political situation of each case study rather than seeking universal solutions. Central to this is an examination of the politicised and militarised contexts which give rise to both displacement and its potential solutions. In this regard, the author makes an important question, namely how humanitarian agencies can more effectively respond to protracted displacement and enhance the protection of populations living in prolonged limbo. To this end, three different but interrelated dilemmas are highlighted – between state sovereignty and human security; between natural self-interest and universal morality; and between durable solutions and enduring solutions, which have perpetuated the plight of refugees and internally-displaced persons.
Also relates to:
History
Politics and Government

SLEEPWALKING INTO SEGREGATION?' CHALLENGING MYTHS ABOUT RACE AND MIGRATION
Nissa Finney and Ludi Simpson
Publisher: Bristol, The Policy Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 218pp
ISBN: 9781847420077
Price: £14.99

This book dismisses claims that British society is sleepwalking its way into segregation and conflict, and rejects fears about immigration, racial division and dangerous cultures as nothing more than moral panics. In so doing, Finney and Simpson challenge arguments that Britain is dangerously segregated and that immigration is bad for Britain's existing relations. In short, the authors set out to prove that such pessimism concerns are unfounded.

Re-examining statistics pertaining to immigration, Finney and Simpson show the ways in which data has been manipulated, leading to misleading predictions about race relations and the future of racial integration. They show how, when properly investigated, claims about immigration and race transpire as exaggerations at best. By focusing on evidence which has been ignored in the process of perpetuating these myths, the authors strive to present a more optimistic future for race relations in Britain.

The book starts by discussing how and why ethnicity has come to be defined and measured, 'outing' the historical association between statistics and race eugenics. What transpires is an unearthing of sensationalism, both in terms of how 'ethnicity' is used within the media and this filters through into society, sustained as it is within a climate of xenophobia and racism, naïve conservatism and fears of change, resulting in the scapegoating of minorities during economic recession and war

in Islamic countries. Chapter two questions the meaning and value of race data and, in particular, the historic and continued uses of ethnic group data, before strategising more positive uses.

The remainder of the book attempts to deconstruct the myth that immigration is a 'problem', correcting notions that growing minority populations are creating a housing crisis, that minority populations 'fail' to integrate, and that minority populations contribute to spatial segregation ('ghettoisation'). In the last instance, the authors raise the ides of white-flight and residential separation as leading factors. In a particularly satisfying argument, the authors challenge the notion that cities are becoming 'minority white' by claiming that this very concept is racist, assembling as it does white supremacy and privilege in its allusion of white as 'more' than an ethnic or racial category. The final chapter attempts to understand why these myths are so persistent and suggests alternative ways of thinking about race and immigration.

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Economics and Globalisation
History
Housing and Planning
Politics and Government
Social Theory

SURVIVAL OF THE KNITTED: IMMIGRANT SOCIAL NETWORKS IN A STRATIFIED WORLD
Vilna Francine Bashi

Publisher: Chicago, Stanford University Press
Year: 2007
Pagination: 344pp
ISBN: 9780804740890
Price: £58.50

'Survival of the Knitted' is an ethnographic survey of West Indian Social networks in New York, London and the West Indies. Vilna Francine Bashi examines the ways in which migrant life is structured in order to achieve optimal opportunity and support, both financial and emotional. Bashi develops a new theory of transnational immigrant network organisation, which consists of a "hub-and-spoke" model. Here, a veteran migrant (the hub) provides encouragement, support and mentoring to newcomer migrants (the spokes) during their movement from their home to host country and consequent resettlement. The author stresses the importance of such networks for shaping a newcomer's experiences during the emigrational process. To this end, the research builds on extensive interviews with nearly one hundred newly-migrated Caribbean people in London and New York whose experiences are in keeping with the "hub-and-spoke" migrant networking model.

According to Bashi, to date there is scant information about the formation and perpetuation of migration networks, especially in terms of its ability to explain other factors influencing migration. As such a new theory was required to help explain the phenomenon whereby someone would move to a place they did not feel compelled to visit with someone with whom they had little contact with prior to migrating. Moreover, such a theory would help to then explain why that person feels at home solely on account of the goodwill gestures of other migrants. Here we come to the central thesis of the book, namely the importance of the "hub" – i.e. the person who lends assistance to many others in the network's configuration.

The book outlines the role of the network in the development of migration and mobility. In this sense, the immigrant social network can be viewed as an important catalyst for the initiation and development of new forms of migration. To this end, this piece of research shows how migration is a phenomenon rooted in the decision making processes of networks and in the key connections that are formed between individuals therein. In turn, the formation of valued relationships can be interpreted as an example of social capital on the basis of the significance of the resources that the network connections bring to the network members. Key to this is a 'culture of reciprocity' which is governed through unwritten rules of obligation, gift-giving and repayment. The remainder of

the book highlights network achievements in terms of geographic mobility, mobility within labour markets, mobility in housing, social support, and ethno-racial solidarity-building against racism.
Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Employment
Housing and Planning
Social Theory

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

LIBERATED TERRITORY: UNTOLD LOCAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Eds. Yohuru Williams and Jama Lazerow
Publisher: Durham, Duke University Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 312pp
ISBN: 9780822343264
Price: £16.99

'*Liberated Territory'* is a follow-up to the editors' previous collection of essays – 'In Search of the Black Panther Party', which provided an overview of the Black Panther Party and its legacy. In this collection, Williams and Lazerow focus on the impact of the Black Panther Party across the United States to show how the party's ideologies and strategies were taken up and subsequently modified by a range of local communities. In bringing together this collection of essays, the editors aim to initiate a scholarly body of work pertaining to 'Panther Studies' which takes local history and a historiographical survey as its starting point.

In the introduction, the authors provide a historical overview of the formation of the group and the socio-political climate pertaining to the founding aims and objectives of the group. There follows an in-depth survey of the demographic and ethnographic make-up of the various states in which the group and its consequent splinter groups set-up. The book moves on to examine the strained relationship between party members and the local police which was manifested through police corruption and brutality, violent clashes, lootings and shootings. However, this is kept in brief as a result of the need to shift attention away from any sensationalising of the group in order to instead focus on the ways in which the Panthers fought everyday experiences of racial harassment, prejudice and stigma. In other words, rather than dwelling on the alleged disturbances created by the group, the authors are instead keen to highlight the positive and empowering outcomes of the coming together of the Panthers. In so doing, the authors highlight the national appeal of the Panthers and their putting into practice the notion of 'thinking globally, acting locally'. To this end, contributors' chart the significance of the group and the pro-activity of its members in the areas of housing, employment, education and recreation. Particular attention is paid to the federal initiatives of the group, which can be summarised as contributing to urban renewal, democratic politics, and anti-poverty work.

The first chapter summarises the founding aims and principles of the Black Panther Party. This is followed by geographically-specific considerations which highlight the diverse nature of the group's work - chapter two focuses on Oakland, Boston and New Bedford 'riots' of 1970; chapter three centres on the Alabama Black Liberation Front; chapter four highlights the situation of the Black Panther Party in Detroit; lastly, chapter five focuses on Milwaukee as a case study for signalling the wider ramifications of the group.
Also relates to:
Criminal Justice and Racial Violence
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Politics and Government

SOCIAL THEORY

ETHNICITY AND INEQUALITY IN HAWAII
Jonathan Y. Okamura

Publisher: Philadelphia, Temple University Press
Year: 2008
Pagination: 256pp
ISBN: 9781592137565
Price: $26.95

Here, Okamura shows how ethnicity, rather than race or class, structures social relations in Hawaii. As a result, he attributes greater emphasis on cultural differences among ethnic groups rather than more obvious physical differences, such as hair or skin colour, which, he claims here, have less social significance. In this way, Okamura focuses on ethnicity rather than race to show how the former category is the primary structuring principle of social relations, claiming that the groups which comprise island society – namely, Filipino Americans, Samoans, Whites and Puerto Ricans – are socially constructed as belonging to ethnic rather than racial groups.

Okamura addresses the fact that, since the 1970s, Hawaii has not figured in theoretical discussions of race and ethnicity in the US. The author claims that this is due to historical and contemporary exaggerations about the allegedly tolerant nature of the Island's ethnic relations. He goes on to demonstrate how ethnic stereotypes have been used against ethnic minorities and how these groups have forged new identities in an attempt to challenge their allegedly 'subordinate' position. In so doing, the author challenges the widespread notion that Hawaii shows a model of ethnic equality and harmony to instead show that this is far from true.

The book starts by recounting the decision by the University of Hawaii to increase its tuition fees and the adverse affect this has on underrepresented minorities, such as Filipino Americans and Native Hawaiians. The author claims that such a move contradicts the University's own policy to provide equal access to education. This is explored in more depth in chapter four – "Educational Inequality and Ethnicity" - in which it is stated that that policy decisions like this are manifestations of institutional discrimination against ethnic minorities on the basis that these groups are subject to unequal or unfair treatment through these policies.

In the discussion which follows, Okamura interprets ethnicity as being at the intersection of ethnic identity and social structure and that the difference therein represents the framing of inequality. He moves on to show how ethnic identity formation can be used to subvert ethnic inequality. Whilst chapter two presents demographic information about Hawaii's ethnic groups in order to highlight social and cultural differences, chapters three and four explore the scope and nature of ethnic inequality in Hawaii through an in-depth socio-economic and educational analysis. Chapters five through to seven move on to focus on ethnic identity construction among a range of ethnic groups across Hawaii. Finally, the book concludes with a general analysis of how ethnic inequality is perpetuated in Hawaii, formulating strategies for reducing – eliminating – ethnic inequality through the fostering of a collective socio-economic mobility among disadvantaged ethnic minorities

Also relates to:
Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships
Economics and Globalisation
Education
History
Politics and Government

Ethnicity and Race in a Changing World:
A Review Journal