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

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# Contents

# Editorial Statement

We are pleased to welcome you to the Third Issue of the journal.
This issue has two main essays and two comment pieces.

The first essay is *British Pakistani Muslim Women's Political Empowerment and Boundary Crossings: Case Studies*, by Dr Fazila Bhimji, of the University of Central Lancashire. Dr Bhimji uses informal interviews with three Pakistani British Muslim women to, in part, 'contest some of the dominant discourses surrounding British Muslim Asian women'. She is concerned to examine the ways in which these women 'experience, contest and negotiate a series of spaces in the course of their political engagements'.

These interviews address their interactions and relationships with their families, mosques, members of their own and other communities, including their political engagement. Dr Bhimji is clear in her analysis that although these three women are not representative of Pakistani British Muslim women, their experiences, hopes and dreams are of interest and value and that they widen our understanding of the complexity of the lives, values and activism of women from these communities. These certainly belie the stereotypical views of the mass media and, too often, of academics. As such, the author has provided us with valuable pointers of the form future research should take.

Dr Evan Smith, of Flinders University, Australia, has written the essay, *Conflicting Narratives of Black Youth Rebellion in Modern Britain*. The author compares interpretations of Black youth rebellion in the 1980s developed by the (primarily White) British left – the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Socialist Workers Party – and radical Black activists – associated with *Race Today*, *Race and Class*, and the Asian Youth Movement. The White left saw:

> these rebellious youth as part of the vanguard against capitalism. A potentially revolutionary section of the working class that could provoke a broader movement against the police, the Government and the capitalist system.

According to Dr Smith, the second group, the Black radical activists saw:

> these acts of rebellion as part of a struggle by the black communities to assert a collective identity as *black Britons* in post-colonial Britain, while combating the racism still prevalent in Britain at the time.

Having constructed the binary nature of these responses, he proffers a third approach, that of:

> hybridity, developed by scholars such as Homi Bhabha, can be useful in negotiating between the interpretations, recognising that people and events can reflect a multitude of differing and conflicting ideas and/or motives.

The success of this enterprise will be judged by the value of the provision of the range of contemporary material thirty years after the events of the early 1980s and by readers' judgment of the validity of the characterisation of the nature of these responses and his assignment of particular interpretations to specific organisations and publications.

Dr Saima Latif, a Research Fellow at the University of Manchester has contributed a Comment piece, *Health Inequalities for Black and Minority Ethnic Groups in the UK: What Has Been Done?* Dr Latif summarises the evidence of Health Inequalities produced over the past ten years by a series of high profile reports and then analyses the range of Health Inequalities Policies that grew out of these reports.

She concludes that:

> the most important activity in achieving any of … [these objectives] is to ensure robust data collection of ethnic minority statistics. Unfortunately, the lack of ethnic monitoring being statutory within primary or secondary care represents a serious flaw in developing health care services to address health disparities among BME groups.

Monica White Ndounou, Assistant Professor at Tufts University, has contributed a Comment piece in the form of an extended review of Debra Walker King's *African Americans and the Culture of Pain*. This book is an 'interdisciplinary study of the distinct ways the black body serves as a rhetorical device and political strategy in literature, film and television from 1930 to 2005.'

Dr Ndounou provides a clear and perceptive summary of King's argument and her identification of the complexity of Black experience in the context of American identity and citizenship rights through discussion of the ways Blackpain affects the daily lived experiences of Black people in the United States. Dr Ndounou also discusses King's complex discussion of African American experiences by identifying gendered distinctions in representations of Black bodies in pain  by African American authors. She identifies the importance of a number of concepts developed by King in inspiring and shaping continuous interdisciplinary study into cultural pain studies and the development of counter-hegemonic theories of transference of power – 'King's approach allows readers to assess the role of patriarchy in the representations of blackpain, which encourages active reading.' She concludes that '*African Americans and the Culture of Pain* is a call to action for scholars, artists, teachers and audiences.'

We welcome contributions ranging from Book Review Essays and Comment pieces to Essays, from activists, researchers, scholars, faculty in higher and further education institutions, and graduate students.

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

**British Pakistani Women's Political Empowerment and Boundary Crossings: Case Studies**
*Fazila Bhimji, University of Central Lancashire*

**Conflicting Narratives of Black Youth Rebellion in Modern Britain**
*Evan Smith, Flinders University*

# British Pakistani Muslim Women's Political Empowerment and Boundary Crossings: Case Studies

*Dr Fazila Bhimji*
*University of Central Lancashire*

Abstract
This paper traces the ways in which three Pakistani British Muslim women traverse a series of geographical and ideological spaces in their engagement with social justice issues and electoral politics. The women, all from the northern city of Rawalpindi in Pakistan, have been politically active in Manchester and Blackburn in northern England. Drawing upon in-depth interviews and several informal conversations conducted over a period of four years, I examine how these British Muslim women have resisted some of the constraints upon their lives – including those reproduced through negative media representations – through engagement with a series of spaces: national and regional spaces, geographies of home and family, gendered spaces, racialised spaces and public sites of resistance.

British South Asian Muslim women's identities continue to be associated with veiling, forced marriages, honour killings and non-integrated lives within the dominant culture. This essay aims to contest some of these stereotypical assumptions. In doing so, the paper provides insights into varying expressions among racialised populations as well as contributing to scholarship on the configurations between space and racialised people.

British Pakistani Muslim Women's Political Empowerment and Boundary Crossings: Case Studies
Since the Rushdie controversy[1] in Britain in the late nineteen-eighties, Muslims have attained increased visibility within the British state and society. Muslims have been presented by the media in homogeneous and negative ways despite much diversity among this religious group. For example, in 2006, Jack Straw's comments concerning the full veiling (the niqab) by British Muslim women in his surgery in Blackburn led to weeks of debate in British newspapers, radio shows and prominent television news shows such as the BBC's Question Time. (http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/question_time/5410654.stm) (see also Beckett 2006). Representations of British Muslim women become increasingly narrowed as much of the discussions and debates in the media concentrated on their decisions about how to dress and make visible their religiosity.

Similarly, in early 2008, British Muslim women came into focus once again when the Archbishop of Canterbury commented on the consequences of introducing certain aspects of the Islamic Law (Sharia) in the UK. His comments were immediately equated with the previously discussed views of forced marriages, forced wearing of the veil, and honour killing, and even were echoed British broadsheet newspapers such as the Independent, which had on its front cover an image of a woman with a fully covered face, with only the eyes showing. Such limited representations of Muslim women in the media can only serve to reinforce discourses of exclusion rather than inclusion in British society as well as in the global context.

Such assumptions and preoccupations have since resulted in cultural, social, and political tensions between the wider society and Muslims living in Britain. Over time, such discourses of exclusion have far from dissipated, since the media continues to depict Muslims in monolithic terms; and Muslims are consequently perceived to be living parallel and constrained lives within the white dominant culture. Phillips (2004) argues that discourses of ethnic self-segregation have understated the diversity within the Muslim community and have continued to view ethnic clustering as a problem. Brown (2008), in turn, argues that the state understands Muslim women in Britain as inherently disempowered - needing to be empowered through various government policies and strategies allowing them to work

in wider society in proactively supporting the tackling violent extremism.

British South Asian Muslim women's own sense of empowerment, and their engagement in varying spaces, as this essay aims to illustrate, does not form part of the discourse about them; rather, they continue to be associated with veiling, forced marriages, and honour killings-living non-integrated lives within the dominant culture.

In the last decade, much writing has been devoted to contest the reification of British Muslim Asian women's identities - signalling multiple and/or contradictory notions of belonging, location, and cultural reference points. Brown (2006), in her study of British Muslim women, highlights the fact that British Muslim women's religious understandings of are not acquired in passive and de-contextualized ways; rather the young women make efforts to understand some of the rights, which Islam may provide them with within the context of living their lives as second generation Asian Muslims in Britain. The lives of young British Muslim women are inscribed by gender relations, social inequalities, and the wider societal context of racism (Dwyer 2000).

Scholars have also recognized the diasporic and cosmopolitan identities of British Muslim women. For example, Dwyer (1999) draws attention to complex understandings of the wearing of the veil elucidated by young British Muslim women who assert their rights both through wearing a hijab and wearing Westernized clothing. She suggests that by mixing two cultural codes these young women contest to some extent the traditional values of their parents and measure their own independence. Others have attended to the cosmopolitan identities of British Muslim Asian women (Bhimji 2008; Tarlo 2007). Tarlo examines the cosmopolitan features of veiling of three prominent Muslim women in London: the textile artist Rezia Wahid, the stand up comedian Shazia Mirza, and the councillor and advisor on Muslim affairs, Salma Yaqoob. She argues that their 'stylish' appearance has more to do with the influence of local and global forces than with inherited religious and cultural practices. Rather than viewing second and third generation Muslim women either as British or Asian or Muslim, with more travel opportunities and advancement in technology, it becomes important to understand women's identities and agency in a much more global and cosmopolitan context (Bhimji 2008; 2009). These women manifest simultaneously a sense of belonging towards their nation states as well as cosmopolitanism through travels to various countries including their families' country of origin.

The experience of Muslim women's assertion and agency within spaces of formal education has been discussed in depth. In examining the motivations for pursuing higher education among British South Asian Muslim women, Ahmad (2001) points out that 'agency' for the women she interviewed was a process of negotiation between traditional and Western norms with considerable overlaps. Similarly, Shain (2003) discusses assertions of agency and boundary crossing among British Muslim women in the context of schooling. In her research, Shain brings to the fore the ways in which Muslim young women resist inequalities, racism, sexism and social class within educational spatiality.

British Muslims' political identities have also received some attention. Scholarship has recognised the diverse ways of 'being' a political Muslim:

> '...some prefer to keep their religion private, others work primarily through other identities and/
> or organizations-approaching politics as socialists, Asians or Bangladeshis, for instance, and/or as
> British citizens, Welsh or Scottish nationals, Londoners or Liverpudlians' (Philips and Iqbal 2009: 171).

However, British South Asian Muslim women's engagement with politics has yet to be the focus of scholarly work despite the fact that British Muslim women are increasingly participating in both electoral politics as well as political activism. As Abbas (2009) states, four Muslim women were standing for election in parliament in the British General Election of May 2010.

This essay, in tracing the ways in which British Pakistani Muslim women come to cross spaces while being politically active, contributes to the above mentioned discussions of their assertions of cultural, social, and political rights. I use the term 'politics' here in the way that the research participants understood it, which was participation in electoral politics as well as their engagement in social movements such as anti-war movements, anti-racist, and or anti-deportation movements, which in turn led to furthering their political awareness and political consciousness. More specifically, the study examines ways in which three British Pakistani Muslim women reflect on their engagement with social justice issues and participation in electoral politics, their various affiliations and collaborations and some of the challenges they encounter in the process. In doing so, the article contributes to further insights into political expressions among racialised populations and the ways in which these women experience, contest and negotiate a series of spaces in the course of their political engagements. Brah (1993) discusses how racialised South Asian women in Britain provide their own narrative about the labour market. She emphasises the importance of making distinctions between 'Muslim woman' as a category of discourse and Muslim women as concrete historical subjects with varying and diverse social and personal biographies and social orientations' (p. 443). By demonstrating the ways in which three British Pakistani Muslim women describe their subjective experiences with activism and electoral politics in varied spaces, this study aims to deconstruct the 'Muslim woman' as a reified category within wider British society. Many scholars have noted the varying configurations of space as dynamic, fluid, and mutually constitutive rather than static (Hopkins et. al. 2007; Nagar 2004; Mills 2007; Mohammed 2005). Following this definition, this article will demonstrate British Pakistani Muslim women's engagement with different types of spaces. It also aims to contest stereotypical and fixed assumptions that they are bounded in fixed and limited spaces, as well as furthering the scholarship on intersections between racialised populations and space. Although, some scholarship (Bhimji 2009, Lewis 2009, Mills 2009) has acknowledged the complex relationship between space and British Muslims, it has largely focused on specific spatial communities such as the mosque, fashion retail, and scouting groups. In this study, I explore a series of spaces such as mosques, familial spaces, social spaces, sartorial spaces and the varying ethnic and political spatiality that the three British Pakistani Muslim women experience. In doing so, I illustrate how racialised populations need not always be linked to a limited range of specific spaces, but rather are people who experience a wide array of spaces in dialectical and complex ways.

Meeting the Women in Different Spaces

I selected to interview the three Pakistani British Muslim women for a variety of reasons. One of the obvious reasons was my aim to continue to contest some of the dominant discourses surrounding British Muslim Asian women since the political activities of these women meant that they challenged the stereotypes. Secondly, all three of them were based in the northern England, a region which has been the subject of relatively few studies as much of the academic focus to date has been on London. Thirdly, the women varied in the ways in which they were engaged politically and held different opinions, thus further contesting essentialised perceptions of Muslim women. The interviews took place across a series of spaces which were important to the women's lives.

All three women I interviewed had their origins in northern Pakistan and were born in the UK. Even though they had similar backgrounds they differed from one another in several ways, such as in terms of their political leanings and religious expressions. They also differed in the extent to which they embraced their Pakistani and British identities. This diversity demonstrates the heterogeneity of British Pakistani Muslim women, even amongst those that have very similar backgrounds in terms of places of origin and within such a small sample.

Of the three women I met with, Farhana was the oldest - being in her early forties; Jahandra was

in her mid thirties and Nasrin in her early thirties. Jahandra was married, and to a certain extent her marital status did affect her activism since she was married to a law officer who initially had a different political vision. The other two women were single. All three had postgraduate degrees, were working in professional jobs and were daughters of first generation migrants to the UK. Farhana, Nasrin and Jahandra shared similar class backgrounds, since all three of them grew up in middle class neighbourhoods in Manchester.

Jahandra explained that she spent her childhood years in a predominantly white middle class neighbourhood and went to a school where she was the only student in the class with an South Asian background. Although Jahandra's formative years differed from those of Farhana and Nasrin she shared a their political outlook. Jahandra stated that she acquired political consciousness during her University years.

I met two of the three women during the course of their activism. I first met Nasrin, as a woman in her late twenties, in the spring of 2004 upon encountering an announcement in the weekly Manchester City magazine about a lecture she was giving entitled 'Why Socialists are not in Conflict with Muslims'. I went to her lecture during which she addressed a group of mainly White males and females, some of whom looked like students, though others were older. I later discovered that many of them belonged to the British left alternative party the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Nasrin's lecture was on the French government's ban on the wearing of headscarves by Muslim women in state schools.

Following the lecture, I introduced myself to Nasrin, and told her about my research . She agreed to meet up with me once she had returned from a visit to Jordan. Over the course of the next four years, I met Nasrin in varying spaces and contexts. I attended some local anti-war demonstrations with her held in Manchester and we also met at meetings concerning the Manchester campaign against Guantanamo Bay. On occasions we met socially to watch alternative films or for lunch or dinner. More recently, in 2008, I helped her campaign when she stood as a candidate for the Respect party, which grew out of the anti-war movement. Thus from the very outset, she provided evidence to support my view, that all British Muslim women did not necessarily lead parallel lives but rather engaged with people outside their own ethnic clusters and geographies. I also noticed that over the years in talking to her as well as following her political activism, she was perhaps one of the few Muslim women I had encountered who simultaneously embodied SWP and Muslim identities. In the past she had encountered some differences with activists from the Asian Youth Movement (AYM) who had a more secular outlook and were also to a certain extent critical of the SWP's political agenda since they felt that the party focused primarily on class politics and did not engage with the politics of race. Despite these differences, Nasrin did continue to meet with the former AYM members. For example, in the year 2004, some members of the AYM launched a campaign to free prisoners held at Guantanamo bay and Nasrin attended a number of these meetings - reflecting her continued engagement with varying spaces of activism.

The second participant, Farhana, was extremely well travelled and seemed to regularly cross ethnic and social boundaries over the course of her political activism. I found that Farhana was quite critical of the SWP's political agenda. However, she did respect their activism but told me that she could not absolutely identify with them. I met Farhana when she was in her early forties through the meetings of the Manchester campaign against Guantanamo bay. However, because Farhana frequently travelled to places such as India, the US and Europe, I saw her less frequently than I saw Nasrin. Between 2004 and 2008. I met with her at anti-war demonstrations, various political events, and social engagements. Fahana also moved to London and then to Birmingham during this time period. Farhana was an extremely articulate woman who spoke her mind in a candid fashion.

I met the third participant, Jahandra through Nasrin who told me that Jahandra had been

particularly active in the anti-war movement in Blackburn, but had recently moved to Nottingham. I was particularly interested in meeting somebody from Blackburn since the US Secretary of State, Condoleeza Rice, had put it on the global map after visting it in 2006, following an invite from the then Labour Cabinet member and local MP, Jack Straw - a visit which induced protests. Following Miss Rice's visit to Blackburn,  the city's Muslim residents continued to receive much attention as Jack Straw also made statements concerning his discomfort with veiling practices amongst British Muslim women attending his surgery. Hence, when Nasrin suggested that I meet with Jahandra in Nottingham, it seemed a good opportunity to discuss these events and the subsequent debates with someone who had witnessed them first-hand.

All three women identified themselves as practising Muslims. Of the three, two of them wore headscarves on a regular basis. I had never seen Farhana with a head scarf. Jahandra said she had chosen to wear the headscarf while she was working and living in Blackburn but had ceased to do so when she moved back to Nottingham since she realised that she was not closely attending to the other tenets of Islam and did not wish to cover her head simply for the sake of doing so. Nasrin almost always dressed relatively simply with hardly any make-up usually wearing a long skirt, a blouse, and a plain headscarf which matched her skirt.  Because of this simplicity of dress, Nasrin's sartorial choices conveyed to me an SWP/Islamic identity since most members of the SWP dressed in similar ways. Farhana was much more fashion conscious and she tended to dress more ostentatiously with jewellery and make-up, alternating between Pakistani and British fashion styles. Jahandra dressed in a much more conservative and professional manner, usually wearing trousers or long skirts. The differing styles were significant because they conveyed each of these women's engagements and relationships with diverse spatialities.

The women I met with conveyed their Muslim identities in numerous ways. For example, during the Islamic month of Ramadan, theyall  told me that they spent extended hours at the mosque and that at work they made special arrangements to pray. One of the women wore the Pakistani dress Shalwar Kameez regularly to work during the month of Ramadan, rather than adhering to the British fashion - a gesture which she understood as a way of being expressly Muslim. Although, the three women conveyed differing ways of practicing Islam with some of them becoming more overt in their practice during certain months of the Islamic calendar, all three of them understood their religiosity as a holistic way of being rather than simply following religious tenets.

I use the term British Pakistani Muslims to refer to the women I met with as this is one of the ways in which the women I spoke with self-identified themselves. They also individually self-identified as British Asians, British Pakistanis, British Muslims, Muslim women, Mancunian, and Black.  I too, self-identify in a number of ways: as a lecturer researching British Muslim women's identities, born in Karachi, Pakistan, and as someone who has lived in Los Angeles for a number of years prior to relocating to the UK for work.

The interviewees were quite willing to speak to me, especially since I had known two of the women over the course of several years.

My secular views did not prove to be a hindrance. The fact that we all felt dissatisfaction with  the Iraq War provided common ground with all the women. Being of Pakistani origin also helped connect me with the research participants.

I interviewed Nasrin in a space which was politically quite significant to her; a Palestinian café, where several political groups often met. This was facilitated by the staff as they shared the political views and beliefs of the groups such as the SWP, Stop the War Coalition (STWC), Palestinian Solidarity Group, Respect Party, as well as some student groups from the nearby campus of Manchester

University. I met Farhana in her apartment located in a fairly mixed neighbourhood of Birmingham and thus interviewed her in her own space. I met with Jahandra at a local tea room located outside the Nottingham train station. Thus, even the spaces where I conducted the interviews varied and by no means could be envisioned as segregated spaces in terms of gender, religion, class or ethnicity. The women with whom I had extended conversations proved to be extremely articulate as well as self-reflective, taking great care to answer my questions. Much of the time I let them do the speaking, allowing them to talk about what they considered important and significant to their political lives.

Geographies of Homes and Family
The spaces which facilitated Muslim women's political awareness tended to vary. Jahandra and Farhana highlighted that their familial and domestic spaces played a significant role in their politicisation process. Farhana mentioned to me during the interview that she considered herself to be quite fortunate to have parents who encouraged her political activism. Her mother did not have any experience in politics in her home country of Pakistan, but gained political consciousness upon moving to England and in turn helped politicise her:

> 'I got politicised very early on. Well my father was an intellectual creature, but my mother was involved in the community as women often do. And she knew lots of women in the community and they needed help this that and the other. And she got my dad to help them out. Mostly through her work in the refuge. Mostly voluntary. She was working there as an advocate. She was giving them a lot of emotional support and counselling and through her connections with the refuge. I started to work there as a nursery nurse's assistant in all the summer holidays and Christmas and Easter holidays. That is where I began my politicisation. I saw all the gender politics and domestic violence. I would be often accompanying my mum to demonstrations anything to do with domestic violence or anti-immigrant laws. Mostly because of my mother because I was 14 that I started working in the nursery nurse in the refuge. I graduated to working as an advocate for the women.... I remember going to anti-Hudood law demos that Zia-ul-Haq brought to Pakistan that were very anti-women. My mum came as well and there we were with our loud hailers and coaches coming up to London. (10-7-2008)'

Thus, it was Farhana's mother who paved the way for her political development through her work with women suffering domestic violence.

She describes her father as an 'intellectual creature' who was not always involved with the community, and was encouraged to get involved in the refuge by her mother, as she was. This is significant, since her account depicts the crucial role of gender as well as family in her politicisation process. Mohanty (1991) notes that 'third world women' are often viewed within Western society as 'traditional' and victims and their agency remains unexplored and overlooked. However, in this context, Farhana's mother plays a significantly active role within the Pakistani community in Manchester as well as the political socialisation of her daughter. Moreover, Farhana's varied roles working in the refuge further contributes to the discussion of the extent and types of spaces that lead to politicisation process of Muslim women. In this case, it was family, gender and the women's refuge that helped Farhana gain political consciousness.

Furthermore, it is evident from the extract above that Farhana makes distinctions between political activism for social change and voluntary work - she mentions that her mother was doing mainly 'voluntary work' but became politicised by virtue of her experience in that particular space. Cornelius (1998) discusses some of the strategies that can be employed whilst working in education for socializing young people to social activism. However, working for a refuge is outside the bounds of formal education through which women may develop political consciousness. Thus, it can be argued that the family, as well as some voluntary activity, that can provide an alternative arena for socialising young people to political activism.

Similarly, Jahandra attributes her political awareness to her family and the older generation who she claims were far more politically conscious than her younger generation. In particular she cited her father's political consciousness as a significant influence on her politics:

> 'And I would listen to my dad and linger around when my dad would have meetings. I remember when Zulfiqar Bhutto was hung and there were huge demonstrations across the nation and I remember being involved in those demonstrations with him and being in front of these lines and shouting out slogans. I was five or six at the time though. (5-6-2008)'

Werbner (2002) elucidates how first generation Pakistani immigrants often continued their involvement in Pakistani politics even though they lived in Britain. However, there is little information on the ways in which the first generation Pakistani diaspora's continued links and interests in Pakistani politics impacted their children's political consciousness. In the case of these two women, such continued interest in the politics of their home country certainly contributed to their level of political awareness and consciousness.

Spaces of Resistance

Family and home were not the sole space where women gained knowledge about politics. For Nasrin, who ran as a Respect party candidate for three years, it was the anti-war demonstrations along with her family that helped open the door of politics. She vividly described to me the first anti-war demonstration she went to in Hyde Park in London:

> I got politicised when I was living in London when I went to this anti-war demo before the big one. It wasn't very massive but it was big enough. I remember my sister telling me about it and saying that it would be really, really big and I was yeah right and I thought it was something that the mosque was doing. So I did end up going with her to Hyde Park with her friends and being completely amazed. And my family ended up coming to this demo. It was kind of weird. It was different also because it was all age groups. I remember just walking up and down the demo and people handing out different things, all kinds of leaflets about different events that you never thought about. At one point we were walking up and down and we knew that our dad would be at the demo but we did not know on which coach and he did not have a mobile and we ran into him and saw him handing out leaflets. We were "Dad what are you doing?" And he was like, "somebody just handed them out to me on the coach" and he was "I am doing my bit." Really it was a turning point. But I never expected it to go on for so long. (1-6-2008).

Thus for Nasrin, it was a combination of different factors that led her to the development of her political outlook. First it was the activism against the war in Iraq, followed by her sister's encouragement to go to the particular demonstration, and further and perhaps more significantly, it was the presence of her family members within this public space which was relatively new for her. The above account also suggests Nasrin's willingness and excitement at participating in a sphere that was perhaps not entirely familiar to her and shows that she was not confined to her ethnic grouping, since the anti-war demonstrations included a wide array of people from diverse backgrounds.

Whereas dominant discourses in Britain and in Europe would situate Muslim women in the domestic sphere, it is evident from this account that Nasrin manages to blur the boundaries between the public and private, which reflects the problematic nature of this distinction as noted by various feminist theorists (Fraser 1991, Massey 1994; Silvey 2004). By stating that 'she walked up and down Hyde Park' Nasrin conveys a sense of willingness to participate in the public sphere. However, she also highlights the fact that she saw her father handing out leaflets. Perhaps she felt reassured to see her father especially to participate in the demonstration. This is significant as it further highlights how the public and private sphere can be merged, and also how the blurring of such divisions can become a source of inspiration for women.

It should also be noted that although several spheres contributed to the formation of these women's political identities, the women in turn also changed the spheres they participated in by virtue of their politics. Just as Nasrin's political impetus grew through participating in demonstrations organised by the Stop the War Coalition and the Social Workers Party, Farhana became politicised by being active in movements such as the Asian Youth Movement (AYM), Farhana points out:

> 'I did not want to align myself to any specific party or movement. Although, I definitely did align myself to the Asian Youth Movement that was the only movement that ticked all the boxes. I was formally a part of that group. The criteria that I would be willing to label myself with because it was about Asians, it was about youth, it was about anti-racism, anti-imperialist. Because it was a new movement it did not have any history associated with it, which meant that I didn't feel that I was being labelled. I felt that I was being part of a new creative movement -innovative and maverick like. In many ways that group was predominantly based in the North in the North West and surrounding cities. I felt comfortable with that group of people and felt had many things in common with them- lots of identification factors: they were the same age, they were all British Asians, they were Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus and whatever you know and I think they came the closest with me identifying with them and them identifying with me, which was why I felt okay about being part of that group. Other than that I have not felt comfortable with the politics of any particular group either the Labour Party or the Socialist Party group or the Communist Party. There were always different parts I relate to but never as an entirety. Because of the racism because I as a Black person in this country I never felt enough of a part of SWP. I felt that they were predominantly White. (10-7-2008).'

The AYM for Farhana embodied what she valued by being both anti-racist and anti-imperialist. Furthermore, she was also able to relate to the group because it reflected her additional identities of being Asian and young. However, what is significant is that she does not necessarily remain rooted in her religious identity but rather expresses and articulates varying ideological spheres such as being anti-racist, anti-war, and class conscious through her political activism. It is additionally significant, that among contemporary political parties and movements on the left Farhana is unable to feel comfortable with any of them as she points out that 'because I as a Black person in this country never felt enough of SWP. I felt that they were predominantly White.' Furthermore the SWP has much concentrated on a class-based politics rather than focusing on gender, race or religion. Hence it is understandable that Farhana who self identifies herself as a Black Muslim Asian woman could not completely share the political visions of the SWP. Amos and Pamar (1984) have commented that 'as Black women we have to look at our history and at our experiences at the hands of a racist British state.' Farhana's quote reinforces this point very well, since she defines for herself her own trajectory of political activism based on her own experiences and intersectionalities in terms of race, gender, class, space, and religion

Scholars of new social movement theory (Polleta and Jasper 2001; Touraine 1985; Melucci 1985) have pointed out that activism around issues such as peace, nuclear energy, homosexuality, and feminism cannot simply be explained in terms of class location. These three politicised British Muslim women with were no exception to this issue. They were middle class Muslim women of South Asian origin whose politics embodied multiple ideological spheres. Secor (2001) focuses on how lower and lower middle-class women engage with Islamist politics in Turkey. However, in Britain, Muslim women are not necessarily bound to religious politics but may engage in a more cosmopolitan form of politics, which may encompass broader political goals. Hence, when we think of what crossing boundaries, empowerment, and politics mean for British Muslim women, it does not necessarily translate into crossing from one group and becoming part of another group but rather needs to be conceptualized in terms of these women's search for visionary political spaces which encompass a wide range of values and beliefs.

For Farhana, the AYM was such a site because it transgressed multiple spheres but was primarily a site of resistance for young Asian people. As several social geographers (Massey 1994; Mohammad 2005; Secor 2005) have noted, spaces need to be understood in dialectical ways rather than as disembodied entities. Thus, by participating in different geographical and ideological political spaces, these British-born, second generation, Pakistani, Muslim women also cast their own influence in these spheres by transforming them from sites which had mainly been dominated by British White middle class liberals to ones that were feminine, Muslim, South Asian British, and politicised at the same time.

Negotiating Gendered Spaces of the Mosque

The question of gender became most significant for the three women when they needed to interact with orthodox Muslim male religious leaders and had to find ways to gain their respect in order to move forward with their political goals. For example, Nasrin who was relatively newer to politics than Farhana and Jahandra discovered that it was much easier, in certain instances, working with people outside her own ethnic background than to work with male Muslim figureheads in her own religious and ethnic community. She commented that on several occasions that as a candidate for the alternative party Respect she found it necessary to speak with Imams and gain their support. In one instance, she was denied out the right to address a male dominated audience in the mosque by the imams. However she refused to be defeated and negotiated the situation by involving her father in the process:

> 'And I spoke to my dad and my dad said: "It's nothing to do with me. I don't know these people." "Dad yes you do. You have to go and find out why they won't let me on. It's not like I need different chairs. I can sit on the same chairs they all sit on." He came back to me and said that it's because there is going to be no women there.
>
> So they are not going to have me there because there are going to be no women there. And I was "why are there no women there? Is it because it is a male only meeting?" And he was, "No, no, women don't come." And I was like, "Well I am going." I asked him "Are you coming?" "Do I have to?" I was, "How would you feel if I am going to be on the platform and there is going to be no woman there?" And he was, "Do you have to go?" And I was, "Yes I have to." "Well if you dress respectfully than I'll come along." As if to say that, "You are not going to show me up are you?"
>
> And yeah I was the only female. I mean I sat back and contributed. It wasn't a massively big meeting compared to some of the Stop the War Meeting. At the end of the meeting I spoke to one of the imams who was one of the oldest imams in Manchester. He is the first imam who knows my dad really well. And he was, "Nasrin it is good what you are doing because I don't want to do it." I think that was a shock and my dad was, "You know him?" And I was, "but I know him." So that was good (1-6-2008).'

Scholars of social movement theory have commented on alliance-building and coalitions among multiple and different movements in order to advance their agendas such as Roth (2003), but in this instance the British Pakistani Muslim women had to form links within their own ethnic and religious communities and in that process they had to struggle along gender lines. It is also significant, that Nasrin finds a way to bridge the gap between herself and the Imams at the mosque through reverting to her own familial space by seeking help from her father. In this way, further evidence is shown of the intersection of various spheres such as the religious, the familial and the political, since Nasrin addresses the attendees of the mosque with a political motive with her father present. However, what is interesting here is that she manages to gain approval of a well respected imam who acknowledges her political endeavours. Hence, not only does she manage to blur the boundaries between these spaces but she is highly successful in negotiating these multiple and at times discrete spaces.

Much of the dominant discourse in the media would not necessarily make such links between such

varying spaces, but a closer examination of the political lives of some of these women show that not only do they manage to transgress varying spaces but they also manage to find links and connections between multiple geographical and ideological spheres. Similarly, Jahandra discovered ways to speak to the male Muftis (religious scholars), particularly when she was involved with the Stop the War Coalition in contesting Condoleeza Rice's visit to the mosque in Blackburn. She explained that she discovered when talking 'head-to-head' with them (Islamic religious leaders) that they actually listened to her and she gained respect from them:

> 'I've been in touch with a number of them and they have shown me the same level of respect and have been absolutely fantastic. I now work with the Islamic foundation and they have been great. There is that element of judgement among some scholars of the wider Muslim community but you know you have to just stand up and say that I want to talk to you. (5-6-2008).'

Jahandra continued to form alliances and links with religious leaders within the Muslim community after she realised that the best way to negotiate with them was to insist on speaking to them. In this way, much like Nasrin, she bridged the boundaries between political and religious spheres.

Contesting Racialised Spaces

Whereas Nasrin and Jahandra spoke about the challenges they had to confront in order to gain support from male religious leaders within their own community, Farhana told me how she had to contend with issues of racism as a Pakistani British Muslim woman. She said that her outspoken candid style was often viewed in negative ways, but she fought on believing that members of immigrant communities are inherently fighters:

> 'I am a fighter. A lot of Black people are. We are warriors. A lot of people who come to this country we've got to warrior our way through. We get knocked about. We fight sometimes. We lick our wounds sometimes. We do what we can do to survive. We do what we can to hang on to our integrity and our cultural base. And I think by our very nature of being immigrants we are fighters. You gotta be a bit of a fighter to leave everything you know, get on a plane and go to a completely different country where you don't speak the language and you are not surrounded by your own people. That is somebody who is adventurous. You have to be a bit of a fighter to go to a different country to improve your own life economically or educationally. Those are the things that gave me strength. But I was very fortunate that I had very strong parents. They gave me confidence and self esteem. They gave me political backing, personal backing. (10-7-2008).'

Farhana's account shows that she was affected by wider societies' definitions of racial identities, but then, much like Nasrin and Jarhandra, found strength within herself as well as from her parents to continue with her political and daily battles. More significant, is that these women find ways to contest difficult situations both within and outside their religious and ethnic communities within themselves and their own familial spaces. Accounts such as those of Farhana's also contest discourses which position Asian women's first generation immigrant families as rigid and tradition-bound since, at least in these three instances, familial spaces helped form their political identities as well as helping the women overcome challenging issues around race and gender.

British Muslim women are generally depicted in the British media in homogenous and narrow ways,. To overcome this requires a great deal of determination. Farhana, in her accounts, does not always explicitly state that, as a British Pakistani Muslim woman, she experiences racism, but she does imply that there is always a struggle in terms of battling dominant ideologies concerning her race, gender, politics, religion, and ethnicity.

Crossing/Sharing National Spaces

In the course of their political activism the women crossed boundaries, encountering cultural, national, and political zones that they might not have had experienced were they not in these political spaces. Nasrin spoke about her experience canvassing as a Respect candidate in the Bangladeshi section of the town, where she actually found a great deal of support:

> 'There is a predominantly Bengali community in the ward. There is the language barrier. And they are open to stuff. It would have helped if I had spoken Bengali. When you talked about the housing issue and the lack of schools it all went down really well. It wasn't just the war. I think it also helped that we got the Bengali council elected nationally and they were on Bangla TV helped. So when you are knocking on doors at least they are aware of who you are. And the Bangladeshies seem to live in the worst areas of the ward and the Pakistani community is better off and so they are not open to your politics. So there is that kind of support where class issues play a role. We had a lot support from women who lived on the council estates and women who worked on the group and they were completely open to us more so than the Pakistani community. I think that's because of the politicsbecause they don't see us being closely aligned to the Labour government. I think it does come to a class issue. (1-6-2008).'

In the course of canvassing Nasrin had the opportunity to meet the most disenfranchised group within the South Asian community and managed to cross not only national, ethnic, and cultural boundaries but also class boundaries. In the above excerpt, Nasrin modestly describes the support she received from the Bangladeshi community. However, I noted that Nasrin put increased efforts into canvassing in the Bangladeshi section of her ward. I observed her personally leaflet from door-to-door, making house visits, and engaging in informal conversations with the Bangladeshi people, if they happened to be on the street or working in their front yards. In some sense such levels of boundary-crossings can be viewed as a cosmopolitan experience when one thinks about cosmopolitanism in the broadest sense which includes ways of viewing life and rationalities such as the otherness of others (Beck 2000).

Thus even though Nasrin in her account locates her engagement with the Bangladeshi community in terms of class, it remains significant that over the course of the campaign she successfully interacted with other ethnic minority groups with other national heritages and languages who lived in a section of Rusholme where there was a higher concentration of Bangladeshis than Pakistanis. Furthermore, she states that the Respect Party helped the community gain political representation-thus showing her understanding that minority groups need to overcome structural and racial barriers.

Concluding Comments

This piece demonstrated that the women's political participation led them to cross boundaries and overcome several challenges such as patriarchy, racism, and political battles. Central to this is that they displayed the extent to which they struggled towards empowerment for themselves and for others. In several instances, they had to cross spaces within their own religious and ethnic community in interaction with orthodox and rigid-minded religious clerics and in other cases they had to negotiate with predominantly White middle class liberals. Their political activism additionally led them to experiences spaces other than their own - for example, meeting with working class Bangladeshis, politicians, as well as predominantly White middle-class members of the Socialist Workers Party. However, it is important to consider the fact that in the course of their activism the women crossed spaces that provided them with opportunities to meet people from other nation-states such and interact with White British individuals from the Left. In this regard, we need to question these types of crossings mean? What promises do they hold for the future? Will the opportunity to engage with such diverse spaces be maintained and expanded or limited for these women? Furthermore, to what degree will their small successes and political leaps be recognised by others outside of their existing

space. In this regard, one can look at Salma Yaqoob[2], the vice chairperson of Respect and currently a city councillor in Birmingham whose political career started out through her activism. Yet it can be argued such instances of success are few and far between. However, British Muslim women, or for that matter British Pakistani Muslims, who are on the margins cannot always shoulder this responsibility. The media and wider society need to recognise that many British Muslim women's geographies may be more expansive and complex where religiosity, politics, familial space, race, class, and gender come to intersect. No doubt the British media and to a certain extent the American media on the left did give a fair amount of attention to Salma Yaqoob when she was elected the councillor of Birmingham, however, there remains a number of Muslims who are striving for political change and recognition, and such efforts, however small, should also be acknowledged.

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# Conflicting Narratives of Black Youth Rebellion in Modern Britain[1]

*Dr Evan Smith,*
*Department of History, Flinders University*

### Abstract

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, several clashes between black youth[2] and the police broke out in Britain. As the economic crisis of the 1970s endured and policing tactics in Britain shifted towards more confrontational means, these episodes of rebellion were seen by many in Britain as a prelude to wider revolutionary action. This article will focus on two perceptions of these rebellious acts, which provided often conflicting, but not entirely mutually exclusive, interpretations. One interpretation comes from the (primarily white) British left, who saw these rebellious youth as part of the vanguard against capitalism, a potentially revolutionary section of the working class that could provoke a broader movement against the police, the Government and the capitalist system. The other interpretation is that of radical black activists, who saw these acts of rebellion as part of a struggle by the black communities to assert a collective identity as black Britons in post-colonial Britain, while combating the racism still prevalent in Britain at the time.

This article will examine publications within these two streams to demonstrate how the episodes of youth rebellion were interpreted as acts of class or ethnicity; examining the journals of the British left, primarily those from the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Socialist Workers Party, for the former position and the journals of black activists, primarily those of *Race Today*, *Race & Class* and the publications of the Asian Youth Movements, for the latter. The article will conclude that neither of these interpretations is wholly sufficient and that a hybrid interpretation, based on the work of post-colonial scholars, such as Homi Bhabha, is a more appropriate approach. As the thirtieth anniversary of the 1981 riots draws nearer, this approach can benefit historians as they negotiate these competing interpretations, where the events have become categorised and essentialised by leftist and black radical writers, while those who were involved in the events discussed are, in actuality, unlikely to be contained within a singular narrative.

## The Creation of a Multi-Cultural Britain

Although there is a long and detailed history of black people in Britain, large-scale immigration from within the British Commonwealth began in the late 1940s, as Britain required workers to fill the acute labour shortage created by post-war reconstruction. From the late 1940s to the mid-1960s, when controls against Commonwealth immigration were introduced, hundreds of thousands of black immigrants from the Commonwealth entered Britain.[3] From this time onwards, there was the creation of a consensus between the major political parties in Britain, and perpetuated by many sections within British society, that black immigration was a threat to social cohesion, with more and more controls amassed upon Britain's black population. This is what Robert Miles and Annie Phizacklea have described as the 'racialisation of British politics'.[4]

With the enormous pressure placed upon the ethnic minority communities in the post-war period and the racial discrimination faced by black people in many facets of their lives in Britain, a number of actions of resistance took place, on both a local and national scale, intertwining with other rebellious acts by various peoples across Britain. The 1970s and 1980s saw several of these actions, in the form of riots against the repressive institutions of the state (Notting Hill Carnival, Bristol, Brixton, the July 1981 riots), as well as wildcat strikes (Mansfield Hosiery Mills, Imperial Typewriters, Grunwick). Besides the general viewpoint that most of these actions were spontaneous and without precedent, both the left and black activists have attempted to place these actions into a longer historical context.

The left have viewed these acts of rebellion as examples of a class-consciousness forming amongst the new immigrant communities. On the other hand, black activists have viewed these acts in the development of ethnic identities by the immigrant communities in response to the integrationist and exclusionist debates on 'Britishness' in the post-colonial era.

However in these debates over the historical context, the subjects – the manual worker, the unemployed youth, the local community campaigner, the housewife – are, more or less, 'silent'. Their voices are not publicised. These people were often incorporated into different structures, such as trade unions, community groups, political parties or local government organisations, but rarely given positions of authority or the opportunity to dictate any kind of policy decisions, or even the means to publicise their viewpoint. This has led to the writers of journals, from the left and black activists, to 'speak' for them, to interpret these people's actions as imbued with a definite political purpose.

### The British Left

Since the 1960s, academics have debated over the class structure of the black communities and whether black people were part of the working class. This debate has been structured within a sociologically empirical framework, which has sought to show similarities in occupation, housing, levels of income and other socio-economic factors between the white working class and the black communities. This empirical analysis had led Miles and Phizacklea to state, 'Most West Indians, Pakistanis and Indians… are structurally part of the working class'.[5]  For these Marxist-inspired sociologists, the major area of inquiry was how political activities in the black communities differed from the white working class and why, if there was a similar class base, did black people not make more use of the organisations of the working class, such as the trade unions, the Labour Party and the leftist groups.

In contrast, the left, particularly the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)(prior to 1976, the International Socialists), immediately viewed black immigrants to Britain as part of the working class and 'fellow fighters… against the common enemy' of British imperialism and capitalism.[6]  While the British left was (and remains) a varied and disparate entity, this article will focus upon the CPGB and SWP. The reason for this is that the CPGB and the SWP were the largest autonomous parties to the left of the Labour Party in the 1970s and 1980s and despite any labourist or vanguardist tendencies, were involved in anti-racist activities during this period, unlike the much larger Labour Party.[7]

Established in 1920, the Communist Party had been a significant body within the British labour movement and a prominent anti-colonial/anti-racist organisation throughout the post-war era.[8] However by the mid-to-late 1970s, the Party was at a crossroads, its membership had slumped from over 34,000 in 1964 to just over 20,500 in 1979[9] and the Party was plagued with internal schisms. But it remained an influential leftist organisation due to its size, relative to the rest of the far left, and its publications, the daily newspaper, *the Morning Star*,[10]  and the monthly journal, *Marxism Today*.[11]

On the other hand, the Socialist Workers Party was a much smaller organisation than the CPGB, with membership numbers being a little over 4,000 in the late 1970s,[12]  but its role in the anti-fascist movement had begun to overshadow the CPGB. The IS/SWP was a Trotskyist group that grew in the late 1960s and early 1970s,[13] depicting itself as a revolutionary alternative to the reformist politics of the CPGB and the trade union bureaucracy. As the economic crisis worsened and their industrial ties weakened, anti-racist/anti-fascist activity became a primary concern for the SWP, taking a prominent role within the Anti-Nazi League[14]  and Rock Against Racism.[15]

The CPGB and the SWP saw unity between black and white members of the working class as evident through militant action. As the CPGB stated in a 1971 pamphlet, white and black workers were 'allies in a struggle against a common class enemy' – the bosses and the Conservative Party.[16]  For the left, the

emphasis upon a united struggle by black and white working class people against the common enemy demonstrated that class-consciousness could be defined through action, rather than empirically. The riots and confrontational acts against the authority of the state have been viewed by the left as spontaneous demonstrations of an emerging class-consciousness amongst the black communities. This idea of class-consciousness roused through rebellious actions can be traced back to Lenin, who wrote that, 'riots expressed the awakening of consciousness to a certain extent'.[17] But for Lenin, this was only a consciousness in 'an *embryonic* form', and such actions needed to be guided by a party that would '*organize*... [and] become the vanguard of the revolutionary forces'.[18] The CPGB and the IS/SWP both saw themselves as the vanguard party to combine the rebellious actions of the black workers with the wider struggles of the labour movement. The CPGB declared in the late 1960s, 'The Communist Party is the only political organisation that consistently opposes all manifestations of racialism and at the same time works for the ending of capitalism'.[19] The International Socialists also maintained that, 'The central task we face is the building of a revolutionary socialist party... with the aim of overthrowing capitalism' that would 'unite black and white workers in this common struggle'.[20]

However the involvement of the left in the anti-racist movement in Britain was limited and mostly conducted on the terms of the left, often subordinated by the immediate economic issues of industrial militancy. While it was important for the left to join the fight against racism, this fight was seen as part of a wider struggle against capitalism. This position of 'class before race' had a negative effect on black people, as Trevor Carter cited:

> My impression was always that the left was genuinely concerned to mobilise the black community, but into *their* political battles. They never had time to look at *our* immediate problems, so it became futile to refer to them. So blacks ended up in total isolation within the broad left because of the left's basic dishonesty.[21]

The left failed to effectively address the problems faced by Britain's black population and this failure saw a rise in autonomous (and confrontational) black politics.

## Black Radicalism in the 1970s

In the mid-1960s, British black politics, and wider anti-racist politics, was beginning to shift from a focus on anti-colonialism to domestic anti-racism and saw the emergence of broad-based and moderate black organisations, such as the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination, the United Coloured Peoples Association and the Institute of Race Relations. However the ineffectiveness of the official legislation, the Race Relations Act, to combat racism in British society and the increasing bipartisan consensus within the British Government that black immigrants were the 'problem' produced a more militant black political awareness, inspired by black power from the United States, Pan-Africanism and anti-colonial politics in the former British Empire. Black power in Britain was partially a reaction to the dissatisfaction felt amongst black activists with the existing anti-racist organisations; a belief that the labour movement had subordinated issues of 'race' for the class struggle and that the official race relations bodies were compromised by a tendency towards conciliation, rather than effective anti-racist actions. Black power - the idea that 'black people needed to redefine themselves by asserting their own history and culture to project an image which they would develop without white people'[22] – inspired many disaffected activists, buoyed by the actions of African-Americans in the US and the widespread cultural radicalism of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Black activists in Britain established their own political organisations, with the proliferation of radical publications and bookstores providing the structural centres for many black British militants. They were able to produce a number of radical publications, which advocated a black power position and often combined with a Marxist framework. These publications were often distributed out of black-owned bookstores, which became hubs for black radicals and important landmarks for the black

communities, functioning as what Colin A. Beckles has described as 'Pan-African sites of resistance'.[23] This article will focus upon two of the most prominent journals published by black radicals in Britain in the 1970s, *Race Today* and *Race & Class*, which both emerged from the Institute of Race Relations as it became more radicalised. In addition, this will be complemented by an examination of the publications of the Asian Youth Movements (AYMs) which provide a grassroots view of black radicalism in the late 1970s.

Beginning in 1958, the Institute of Race Relations (IRR) had been established as a moderate and scholarly organisation to address 'race relations' and black politics in Britain and by the early 1970s, had two significant journals dealing with these issues – *Race Today*, which was a monthly magazine [24] and *Race*, which was a academically-minded journal published quarterly. However by this time, there was an increasingly vocal section within the IRR that the Institute needed to be much more pro-active in its discussion of 'race relations', rather than merely an 'impartial' scholarly body. As A. Sivanandan, one of the major critics of the 'old' IRR and founding editor of *Race & Class*, wrote:

> We did not want to add to the tomes which spoke in obfuscatory and erudite language to a chosen few, we no longer believed in the goodwill of governments to listen to our reasoned arguments.[25]

In 1973, *Race Today* became a separate entity from the IRR under the editorship of Darcus Howe, a black radical journalist, forming the *Race Today* Collective. Influenced by the work of Trinidadian Marxist C.L.R. James, Howe rejected the view that it was necessary to 'build a vanguard party to lead Blacks to some emancipation'[26] and the journal became a beacon for black political journalism, intertwining libertarian Marxism with a radical anti-racism. Max Farrar has described this position as 'black self-organisation for socialism which is *autonomous of*, but not cut off from, the white majority'.[27] (My emphasis). Following the departure of Race Today from the IRR, the 'old' IRR shrank to three staff, who revitalised the Institute as a 'servicing station for oppressed peoples on their way to liberation'.[28] The quarterly journal *Race* was changed to *Race & Class* in mid-1974 and conceptualised as a 'campaigning journal, "a collective organizer", devoted not just to thinking... but to thinking in order to do', linking 'the situation of black workers in Britain and the liberation struggles in the underdeveloped world'.[29] These journals promoted the idea that the black communities in Britain were not simply part of the British working class, but an autonomous political entity, which had different agendas, strategies, histories and points of entry to the traditional labour movement. Although an integral part of post-colonial British society, the black communities experienced 'discrimination and exclusion' in many aspects of life, which led to the development of 'networks of black people organising, primarily without the help of white people, against the racism of employers, unions, police, local authorities, political parties and others'.[30] Their inspiration came partly from radical Marxism and class-based politics, but was just as informed by anti-colonial politics from Africa, the Caribbean and the Indian sub-continent, which intertwined to present a black British identity with a colonial legacy, rather than merely colonial subjects in the 'Mother Country'. This article does not assert that *Race Today* and *Race & Class* saw ethnicity and class as completely separable entities (indeed the title *Race & Class* denotes an acknowledgement of the importance of class), but their main focus was on building autonomous black working class politics, with the debut editorial of *Race & Class* stating that the concern of the journal was 'the oppression of black people in Britain', primarily 'the place of black workers'.[31] And importantly, in their interpretations of the episodes discussed in this article, they emphasised that these were acts of rebellion by black youth, reflecting the concerns of Britain's black communities.

The sentiment of developing a black British identity can also be seen in the Asian Youth Movements that emerged in the late 1970s and reflected in their self-published journals, such as *Kala Tara* and *Kala Mazdoor*. As the economic crisis worsened in the mid-1970s, fascist far right parties, such as the National Front (NF) and the National Party (NP), attempted to exploit the downturn to fuel hostility towards black immigration and intimidate black people already residing in Britain. Although the NF

contested elections, managing to record some relatively 'disturbing electoral successes',[31] the main focus of the NF was now on occupying the streets and launching a campaign of intimidation, which saw an increase in violence against Britain's black population, with several deaths and 'scores of other similar incidents of unprovoked and savage racist attacks'.[33]

On June 4, 1976, Gurdip Singh Chaggar, a Sikh youth was stabbed to death by a gang of NF-inspired white youths in Southall.[34] A reaction to this murder and increasing racial violence saw a new militancy amongst the immigrant communities with defensively militant organisations emerging, first the Southall Youth Movement (SYM) in London, then the Asian Youth Movements across Britain. The support for the traditional approach of relying on the police and the local government to act seemed to diminish as the police looked more likely to prosecute black Britons, rather than protect them. As the Bethnal Green and Stepney Trades Council wrote, 'there is considerable doubt within the immigrant community as to the interest and impartiality of the police handling complaints of racist attacks'.[35] The youth of Southall now 'openly expressed their distrust of white authority and called on the community to practise self-defence'.[36] The young Asian militants wanted direct action to protect themselves against racist attacks by individuals and discrimination by the authorities, rather than relying on the State. For the SYM, 'the racist attacks against young black people [made] black people feel it [was] not safe to go out at night' and after Chaggar's murder, 'whilst leaders were saying keep calm and trying to play down "isolated incidents"... [w]e knew it was time to organise ourselves'.[37] Thousands of young Asians were attracted to the AYMs, who, as Anandi Ramamurthy has written, 'fought to defend their communities against fascist attacks; against police violence and racism; against the violence of state racism that separated mothers and children through increasingly tight immigration laws'.[38] The AYMs published journals, such as *Kala Tara*, *Liberation* and *Kala Mazdoor*, which reflected this militancy; and promoted their own agenda, rather than being subsumed by the publications of the far left. The first AYM publication, *Kala Tara,* began in Bradford in 1979,[39] and was recently archived and digitised as part of the Tandana-Glowworm project.[40] *Kala Tara* forms an important source for this article in comparison with the other black radical journals and the publications of the far left.

## The Militancy of Black Youth

The clashes between the police and black youth correlate with the increasingly confrontational nature of the police in the mid-to-late 1970s and throughout the Thatcherite era. At the heart of this confrontation was the 'criminalisation' of black youth.[41] Both Afro-Caribbean and Asian youth faced many of the hardships that had been experienced by their migrant parents, but they also had grown up in Britain, which altered their experiences, particularly in terms of cultural identity and their expectations. The children of post-war black migrants had experienced similar developments in their young lives as their white contemporaries and in many ways, shared closer ties with white British society than to the culture of their parents' homeland, but were still divorced from many of the opportunities offered by a white identity. Chris Mullard wrote of this as the 'black Briton's dilemma':

> He will be British in every way. He will possess understandable values and attitudes; he will wear the same dress, speak the same language, with the same accent; he will be as educated as any other Englishman; and he will behave in an easy relatable way. The only thing he will not be is white.[42]

Popular racist sentiment may have demanded for immigrants to return to where they came from, but for the children of black migrants, Britain was their 'home'. The realisation that they would have to defend their right to remain where they had been for most of their lives led to a militant attitude amongst many black youth. Bhopinder Basi, a radicalised Asian youth in Birmingham, remarked, 'we started with such simple slogans as, "Here to stay. Here to fight"... Our parents may have entertained some myth of going back to the pind, but we didn't.'[43] The acts of rebellion throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s were, thus in part, the violent reaction to a decade long history of harassment and

violence against the existence of black youth in Britain.

The first generation of Commonwealth migrants were viewed as potential agents for significant political, and revolutionary, action. These migrants were not encumbered by the 'labourist' and 'economistic' approaches of the left and trade union movement[44] and were, as demonstrated at strikes at Mansfield Hosiery Mills, Imperial Typewriters and Grunwick, willing to organise autonomously. At the same time, however, there was a tendency to gravitate towards the traditional non-militant community organisations, and a sense of grudging timidity to accept the conditions of migrant life coupled with some yearning to return to one's homeland. This is what Edward Said described as 'the paradox of the exile', where the 'positive benefit of challenging the system' by the migrant's position was always countered by a de-habilitating sense of loss and exclusion - 'between the old empire and the new state'. [45]

Some on the left felt that the sense of exile and entrapment between two cultures would also exist in the second generation of black Britons. In a 1974 discussion of youth culture in the CPGB journal *Marxism Today*, Imtiaz Chounara claimed that 'most young coloured people are caught in between two cultures – that of Britain and that of their parents'.[46] Chounara appealed for the CPGB to incorporate black youth (not just black workers in the industrial sector) into the Party, to counter the appeal of 'black power', which the CPGB believed to share an affinity with 'deviant' versions of Marxism, such as Maoism and Trotskyism.[47] Chounara suggested:

> We must therefore fight for black youth to mix culturally with white youth but at the same time to retain their own cultural identity. This is an important part of the fight for black consciousness – to get respect for black people and their culture, not only amongst young white people but also amongst black people themselves. This cannot be done in a "black power" manner, putting black above white, but in a true Marxist manner, fighting for the rightful place of black workers alongside their white brothers as equals.[48]

However the CPGB had to compete with other groups on the far left, such as the IS/SWP, and radical black activists, who both saw black youth as a far more positive force for revolutionary political action. For them, black youth were deemed to have the same divorced position from the organised labour movement, but were less closely associated with the traditional organisations of the black communities and more likely to be involved in militant actions. This willingness to confront the perpetrators of racial violence and the state led many to idolise their spontaneity and militancy. Ian Macdonald declared in *Race Today* that black youth were 'the vanguard of a world-wide proletarian movement'.[49] Cathie Lloyd points to the fetishisation of the rebellion of black youth seen through The Clash's punk song *White Riot*, which 'expressed admiration for combative black youth at [the Notting Hill] Carnival '76'.[50] 'While black workers were still seen as victims', Lloyd wrote, 'there was also admiration and a feeling that they [especially black youth] were at the forefront of a challenge to the established social order'.[51]

For the IS/SWP, the revolutionary potential of black youth was realised as their acts of rebellion, such as the Notting Hill Carnival riot in August 1976 and the formation of the Southall Youth Movement, coincided with the Party's campaign strategies. In a 1976 internal bulletin, the Party declared that 'the twin themes of fighting racialism and fighting for the right to work now dominate our immediate perspective',[52] attempting to incorporate those affected by racism and unemployment, which were both experienced by black youth. Acts like the riot at the Notting Hill Carnival were seen by the IS/SWP as the beginning of a series of events that 'highlighted the question of the political role of black youth', where the seemingly spontaneous rebellion presented 'new opportunities' for socialists.[53] Tony Bogues, in the journal *International Socialism*, defended the actions of those at the Carnival as not mere lawlessness or the deeds of the 'lumpenproletariat', declaring that these youth were 'part of the strata in the working class that is exploited and oppressed'.[54]

The same sentiment was expressed in the relationship between the IS/SWP and the Asian Youth Movements. The IS/SWP celebrated the creation of the Southall Youth Movement as the 'inevitable conclusion to the spontaneous youth *movement*' that emerged from the anger against the racist attacks occurring at the time, which was independent of any leftist intervention.[55] John Rose wrote in *International Socialism* that the formation of the SYM 'took the entire local left by surprise', writing that they had 'already given chase to the racists on the streets… and ultimately they will give the racists chase in the factories'.[56] However the IS/SWP felt that the 'only long-term chance that the SYM has for growth and development is if the leadership comes to decisively adopt revolutionary socialist politics'.[57]

The AYMs experienced difficulties in maintaining their own identities when dealing with the left, with the leftist groups often depicting the AYM campaigns as unorganised and lacking leadership. Balraj Puriwal, explained:

> Every time we tried to protest and give our own identity the left tried to take it over… they gave us their slogans and placards… our own identity was subsumed, diffused and deflected.[58]

There was sympathy for the left amongst those involved in the AYMs, but not at the substitution of their own identity. As Nermal Singh wrote:

> The white left tell us only the working class as a whole will be able to smash racism by overthrowing capitalism and setting up a socialist state.
> This maybe so, but in the meantime are we, as one of the most oppressed sections of the working class, to sit by idly in the face of mounting attacks. No! We must fight back against the cancerous growth of racism.[59]

Tariq Mehmood, part of the AYM in Bradford, expressed a similar critique about the interventionist tendencies of the organised left in the political actions of black youth, 'I wanted a socialist world… [but what] I understood by socialism… [were] things different to my white colleagues'.[60]

While the left, radical black activists and black youth continued to interact with each other, to varying degrees, throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, this already tenuous relationship became more fractured after the 1979 General Election, as the left's anti-fascist campaign, which had brought the greatest amount of interaction between the left and Britain's black communities, declined after the electoral defeat of the National Front. Although the explicit fascism of the National Front had been curtailed, racism was still a widespread phenomenon in British society. Britain's black communities still faced many problems – harassment by the police, much higher unemployment rates under the Conservatives, continuing racial discrimination in the workplace, housing and social services and further restrictions on citizenship under the 1981 British Nationality Act. But most of the British left, already demoralised by the electoral victory of Thatcher and the amount of trade unionists who voted Conservative, seemed to focus on the distinctly class-orientated aspects of Thatcherism and promoted a traditional and industrial-based response. That is, until the summer of 1981, when riots broke out across the inner cities of Britain.

## The 1981 Riots as Social Protest

The first term of Margaret Thatcher's Prime Ministership saw extensive rioting by black youth, first in Bristol in 1980, then in Brixton and across Britain in 1981. For commentators, academics and activists on the left and within the black communities, these riots have been viewed as either part of a wider malaise by the lower classes against the neo-liberal policies of Thatcherism, or the unstructured

reaction by black youth to years of racial harassment and discrimination that continued on from the black struggles of the 1970s.

For the left, the 1981 riots were indicative of a widespread antipathy towards the socio-economic policies of the Conservative Government, which saw a reaction by the 'most oppressed group in the inner city areas' – black youth – who 'drew into the struggle the slightly less oppressed' – white youth.[61] The Communist Party stated that the riots were 'explosive' reactions to long term problems in the inner cities, the 'deep crisis affecting [the economy] since the 1970s and the 'particular consequences of Thatcher's policies'.[62] As black youth were amongst the most affected by these economic conditions, coupled with the more immediate burdens of police harassment and the impact of institutional racism, they were the most likely to react, albeit in a manner that was outside the organisation of the left. As the CPGB stated, 'Anarchically – yes. Negatively – yes. Individualistically – yes. But nonetheless in struggle'.[63]

The SWP were adamant that the 1981 riots were '*class* riots' and not '*race riots*'.[64] Colin Sparks stated the riots were the work of 'a mainly *working class* community against the symbols of oppression and deprivation'.[65] The riots were the 'common result of unemployment and crisis', exacerbated by the experience of racism and the unequal distribution of economic hardship upon black youth.[66] What demonstrated the class aspect of the riots was, Chris Harman wrote, the fact that 'in *virtually all* the British riots there has been significant white involvement alongside blacks, and the involvement has not just been of white leftists, but of white working class youth'.[67] For Harman, the 'immediate background of the riots lies... in a huge increase in unemployment',[68] with the result being a common experience of repression and economic hardship that contributed to the lower class rebellion. Harman portrayed the riots as a modern incarnation of previous rebellions by the lower classes in Britain. While there was a strong narrative of resistance flowing from the black industrial struggles of the 1970s and the disturbances at Notting Hill and Bristol, Harman linked the riots to previous unemployment struggles in 1886-87 and in 1931-32.[69] For the left, the riots were seen as a starting point for resistance to Thatcherism. The SWP declared that the riots were the symptoms of a 'bitterness brewing... from the experience of Tory government and economic crisis', which would 'sooner or later... explode in the factories as well as on the streets'.[70] It was up to socialists to 'seize the opportunities to build unity in struggle'[71] that would present themselves as Thatcherism emboldened its attacks upon the 'subversive' elements of society.

While not denying the common economic causes of the riots or the involvement of white youth, black activists and journalists emphasised the role of black youth and the racial discrimination and harassment experienced by the black communities that were integral factors in the outbreak of the rioting. For the journal *Race & Class*, the reasons for the riots were clear, quoting a black youth interviewed for the *Sunday Telegraph*: 'It is not against the white community, it's against the police'.[72] The journal emphasised the repressive nature of the police and the continual harassment faced by black people in everyday life. The repeated harassment by the police formed a long narrative that heightened with the events of the late 1970s, before exploding with the riots of the early 1980s. The journal tried to emphasise the continuity between the events, stating, 'In many ways what happened during and after the 1976 Carnival was a premonition of the later "riots"'.[73]

The journal also drew a historical continuity between the hundreds of racial attacks that had occurred since the mid-1970s - a process through which black people were 'attacked,... criminalised... and rendered second-class citizens' - and the rioting. Such riots represented a violent response against the racists and the police, who had failed to adequately protect the black communities.[74] Quoting the Hackney Legal Defence Committee, the journal portrayed the riots as the long awaited reaction to this continual racism:

Black youth took to the streets to defend our communities against police and racial violence. From Brixton to Toxteth, Moss Side to Southall black youth said: "No more: enough is enough!"[75]

Both *Race & Class* and *Race Today* portrayed the riots as the result of a lack of a political voice for Britain's black communities in conventional party politics. As A. Sivanandan was quoted, 'The black community is a community under attack and, increasingly, a community without redress'.[76] Looking at the political situation for black Britons throughout the 1970 and the early 1980s, both journals saw black communities attempting to work within the system, but still facing exclusion – from the mainstream political parties, trade unions, local government and the left, amongst others. The journals believed this exclusion had burst into spontaneous acts of rebellion. The riots were a forceful recognition of the limited space in which black people in Britain could enter the political sphere, as well as an unplanned reaction to years of racial discrimination, police harassment, violence and economic hardship. The left and black activists recognised that these riots had a political dimension, but there was disagreement as to whether this dimension was characterised by notions of 'class' or 'race'.

## The Influence of 'History From Below'

Both the leftist and black radical writers were influenced by the theory of 'History from Below', which was developed by Marxist historians such as E.P. Thompson, Eric Hobsbawm and George Rudè, to demonstrate that these acts of rebellion by black youth in the 1970s and 1980s had a distinct political significance that fitted into wider histories of rebellion rather than being mere wanton displays of destruction. As Harvey Kaye has noted, the major purveyors of 'history from below' had a 'decided emphasis on resistance and rebellion', demonstrating that these acts of resistance were not 'merely apolitical hysteria, criminal activity or deviance'.[77] In understanding the acts of rebellion that happened in the 1970s and 1980s, the left and black activists used history to demonstrate the wider context as to why these actions had taken place and to emphasise that they were not 'something new and sinister in [a] long national history', as MP John Stokes had described the Brixton riots of 1981.[78] However the left and black activists disagreed on the political outlook and historical lineage of these acts. For the left, the rebellious actions were placed in a narrative of the common people and class struggle in British history. For black activists, they were part of a history of black people attempting to assert their place within a post-colonial Britain, resisting the discrimination and hostility they faced and taking inspiration from the colonial struggles in their home countries, as well as from radical politics in Britain.

Commentators from both sides evoked the work of Marxist historians to demonstrate that these acts were part of a wider history of rebellion. In *Race & Class*, Frances Webber portrayed the riots as part of a long history of lower class revolt against the ruling classes and the state, beginning with the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 and recounted numerous rebellions throughout British history up to the 'Battle of Cable Street' in 1936. Like these previous occurrences, the 1981 riots had been preceded by the disillusionment of part of the lower class, tired of being harassed and excluded, without access to the official political discourse. As Webber explained:

Riot and revolt has been, for the past six centuries, a traditional way of expressing and redressing the grievances of the poor and the powerless – a method of last resort, after petitions and pleas had fallen on deaf ears.[79]

In their major study of the 1980 Bristol riot, Harris Joshua and Tina Wallace, fellow travellers of and contributors to *Race & Class*, saw the work of Hobsbawm, Rudè and Thompson as 'powerful support' for the view that riots, as the focus of 'collective violence', could be identified as the 'political struggle and protest conducted by ordinary people in pursuit of identifiable and agreed goals'.[80] They saw a connection with the 'violent crowds of 18th Century England' and quoted Hobsbawm at length on the

political aspect of popular rebellion:

> The classical mob did not merely riot as protest, but... expected to achieve something by its riots... For the mob was not simply a casual collection of people united for some ad hoc purpose, but in a recognised sense, a permanent entity, even though rarely permanently organised as such.[81]

In the Communist Party journal *Marxism Today*, George Rudè himself wrote an article on the similarities between the 1981 riots and those that occurred during the French Revolution and the revolutions of 1848, stating, '[t]here is no question, of course, but that riots, whether today's or those of pre-industrial times, have much in common'.[82]

While it is useful to adapt the methodologies and approach of the British Marxist historians' work on eighteenth and nineteenth century labour history to the modern struggles of black Britons, it is problematic to see these struggles as merely part of a continuous narrative of lower class rebellion in Britain. A significant reason for this is that this narrative would reduce or obscure the important colonial origins of 'race relations' in Britain and how the colonial project informed how the white working class related to black workers, with many black activists seeing the colonial hierarchy replicated in domestic labour politics.[83]

Another reason for the problems of a continuous narrative is that one may assume that political motivations or formation of identities are in some way a-historical or static. Social historians, like those involved in progressive politics in the last thirty years, have had to negotiate the essentialism of identity and class politics, where different groups have attempted to form contained narratives to construct an exclusive identity. Those involved in the black struggles of the 1970s and 1980s did not entirely act out of working class solidarity or identify exclusively as a member of a black ethnicity, with experiences of both class and race informing their actions. Any attempt by the left or by black radical activists to reduce the actions of those involved in the riots, uprisings and revolts of the late 1970s and early 1980s to distinctly separate narratives based on class or ethnicity would neglect the complexities of those involved in the struggles.

## Bhabha and the Hybrid Nature of Popular Rebellion

Homi Bhabha has addressed how popular rebellion is contextualised by certain groups seeking to claim 'ownership' over the political consciousness of those involved in the rebellion. Political positions, such as class-based politics and those based around ethnicity, cannot claim total possession of popular rebellion. The reason for this need to identify rebellious actions within an essential political framework is, as Bhabha states, '*because there is no given community or body of the people whose inherent, radical historicity omits the right signs*'.[84]  The construction of competing narratives by the left and black activists demonstrate there is no 'pure avenging angel speaking the truth of a radical historicity'[85] and the categorisation of popular struggle into one position, of either class consciousness or ethnic identity, negates the fact that the motives of all those involved are never identical. As Bhabha states:

> Our political referents and priorities – the people, the community, class struggle, anti-racism, gender difference, the assertion of an anti-imperialist, black or third perspective – are not there in some primordial, naturalistic sense. *Nor do they reflect a unitary or homogeneous political object.* They... are always in historical or philosophical tension, or cross-reference with other objectives.[86] (My emphasis)

In the history of popular struggle, the objectives and intentions of those involved is '*neither the one nor the other*' and is always contested.[87]

The concept of hybridity has been developed by numerous scholars over the last twenty years, such as Pnina Werbner and Tariq Modood, who have skilfully used the term 'cultural hybridity' to analyse

the status of ethnic communities in multi-cultural Britain.[88]  However within their analysis, the term seems to implicitly suppose that identity, while not essentialised as either black nor white or Afro-Caribbean nor Asian nor English (and so forth), is still significantly determined by ethnicity, albeit in hybrid forms. Ramamurthy uses this notion of 'cultural hybridity' in her article on the AYMs, describing the culture of the AYMs as a hybrid culture, 'encouraging co-operation between the various nationalities of the [Indian] sub-continent', tied to a recognition that they were not merely Asian migrants in Britain, but deeply 'rooted in Britain'.[89] Nevertheless, Ramamurthy's use of 'cultural hybridity' still seems to assume the primacy of ethnicity in the politics of the AYMs. Bhabha's notion of hybridity is a useful theoretical tool for analysing the acts of rebellion and resistance explored in this article as it moves beyond the framework of 'cultural hybridity', outside interpretations based on ethnicity (even in hybrid forms) and/or class. Nikos Papastergiadis has noted that a number of scholars, such as Gayatri Spivak, have criticised the notion of hybridity for glossing over divisions caused by class, gender and ethnicity,[90]  however the notion is used within this article not to gloss over divisions, or homogenise the history of these episodes of rebellion and resistance, but used to highlight (and unravel) the essentialisms embedded within the traditional narratives of these events. In the history of post-colonial Britain and the struggles of its black communities, Bhabha's concept of hybridity can be an effective tool in analysing the interpretation of popular rebellion by the left and of black activists, taking into account that these actions were not just the latest in a long history of lower class rebellion nor merely episodes in the formation of an ethnic identity in Britain, or even the direct continuation of anti-colonial resistance in the post-colonial sphere.

Since the time period discussed in this article, there have been further spontaneous acts of rebellion and resistance by Afro-Caribbean and Asian youth in Britain, significantly in clashes between Asian youth, the police and fascist agitators in Oldham and Bradford in 2001. Although several of the organisations and publications discussed in this article are no longer present, the divergence in contemporary modes of interpretation, primarily constructed around ethnic or class-based identities, are very similar to the narratives created in the 1970s and 1980s. Similar to the analysis by Chris Harman and Colin Sparks for the SWP of the 1981 riots, Hassan Mahamdallie in the SWP journal *Socialist Review*, emphasised the class aspects of the riots in Oldham and Bradford in 2001, that the 'principal roots of the riots lay in the decades-long economic decline of those ex-milltowns, and the all-encompassing poverty that bred resentment and fed hostility'.[91] On the other hand, the journal *Race & Class* focused on the riots as a reaction by young Asians in the north of England to concerns specific to them, which:

> signalled the rage of young Pakistanis and Bangladeshis of the second and third generations, deprived of futures, hemmed in on all sides by racism, failed by their own leaders and representatives and unwilling to stand by as, first fascists, then police officers, invaded their streets.[92]

For Arun Kundnani, the riots of 2001 were distinctively a response by young working class Asians, primarily young Muslim males, who had grown up in Britain, 'discarded for their class, excluded for their race, stigmatised for their religion, ghettoised and forgotten'.[93]  A comparable process of categorisation of either 'race' or class can be seen in how these organisations and publications interpreted the acts of rebellion and resistance in the 1970s-1980s and in the twenty first century. Using Bhabha's notion of hybridity, contemporary historians should recognise that just as 'neither the one nor the other' are wholly satisfactory to explain the events of thirty or so years ago, analysis of the events of recent times should also recognise the tension between the contested narratives.

## Conclusion

For historians analysing the clashes between black youth and the institutions of the state in the late 1970s and early 1980s, it is important to look at how these events were interpreted in the radical press at the time. Unlike the mainstream media, the journals discussed in this article showed that far from being random acts of vandalism and violence, the acts of rebellion had specific political characteristics.

However as demonstrated in this article, these political characteristics were disputed and the acts were seen as parts of wider, and differing, narratives of political struggle. For the left, they were the latest incidents in the history of lower class rebellion in Britain and the black youth involved were viewed as potential revolutionaries that could be integrated into the class struggle. For black radical activists, these acts were episodes of resistance by black communities against the pervasive nature of racism in British society and a robust promotion of a resilient and autonomous black British identity.

While these interpretations are very useful for historians of post-colonial Britain, it is important to recognise that these often conflicting interpretations can only provide part of the history. Commentators from the left and black radical press have sought to encompass those involved in the riots, the clashes and the uprisings into their own political spheres, but this overlooks the fact that not everyone involved would have had clearly identifiable political motivations or motives that can be categorised by either class or ethnicity. The idea of hybridity, developed by scholars such as Homi Bhabha, can be useful in negotiating between the interpretations, recognising that people and events can reflect a multitude of differing and conflicting ideas and/or motives. The leftist and black radical interpretations, presented in the publications of the CPGB , the IS/SWP and the journals of *Race & Class* and *Race Today*, as well as those of the Asian Youth Movements, are important for understanding the history of black youth rebellion in modern Britain, but historians should acknowledge the limitations their interpretations and the complex political nature of these events.

## References

1. This article is based on a paper presented at the Social History Society Annual Conference, held in Rotterdam in late March 2008. I would like to thank Matt Fitzpatrick and the attendees of the Flinders University Department of History Seminar Series for their comments on previous versions of this article.
2. The term 'black' is used in this article to describe both Afro-Caribbeans and South Asians as in most of the literature from the period studied, this is the term used, although it is recognised that the use of this term does not allude to a homogenous community between non-white Britons. The term 'Asian' is used in this article to describe South Asians from the Indian sub-continent, primarily those of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin. See: Fryer, Peter. *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain*. London: Pluto Press, 1984; Ramdin, Ron. *The Making of the Black Working Class in Britain*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1987; Goulbourne, Harry. Aspects of Nationalism and Black Identities in Post-Imperial Britain, *in* Cross, Malcolm. & Keith, Michael. (eds), *Racism, the City and the State* . London: Routledge, 1993, pp. 177-192; Kalbir Shukra, *The Changing Pattern of Black Politics in Britain.* London: Pluto Press, 1998; Satnam Virdee, England: Racism, Anti-Racism and the Changing Position of Racialized Groups in Economic Relations, in Gareth Dale, G. & Cole, Mike. (eds), *The European Union and Migrant Labour.* Oxford: Berg Publishers , 1993, pp. 69-89.
3. For figures, see: *Hansard*, 18 March, 1965, col. 311-312; Hiro, Dilip. *Black British, White British: A History of Race Relations in Britain.* London:Paladin, 1992, p. 331.
4. Miles, Robert & Phizacklea, Annie. *White Man's Country: Racism in British Politics.* London: Pluto Press, 1984, p. 38.
5. Miles, Robert. and Phizacklea, Annie. Class, Race Ethnicity and Political Action. *Political Studies*, **25**(4), December 1977, p. 491.
6. Pollitt, Harry. *Britain Arise.* London: Communist Party, 1952, p. 18.
7. Militant, although a significantly large leftist group during this period, will not be discussed. This is because Militant were still an entrist group within the Labour Party at this stage and were not overtly involved in any major anti-racist campaigning, often rejecting any involvement with broad-based anti-racist movements like the Anti-Nazi League. See: Crick, Michael. *Militant.* Trowbridge: Faber and Faber, 1984, p. 72.
8. The Communist Party of Great Britain was formed in 1920 by several socialist and labour groups inspired by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and from the 1930s onwards, it was the largest political party to the left of Labour. The Party was heavily involved in numerous labour movement campaigns throughout the inter-war period, primarily the Anti-fascist and Unemployed Workers Movements, which brought it a high level of support in the late 1930s and during the Second World War. However the Party was steadfast
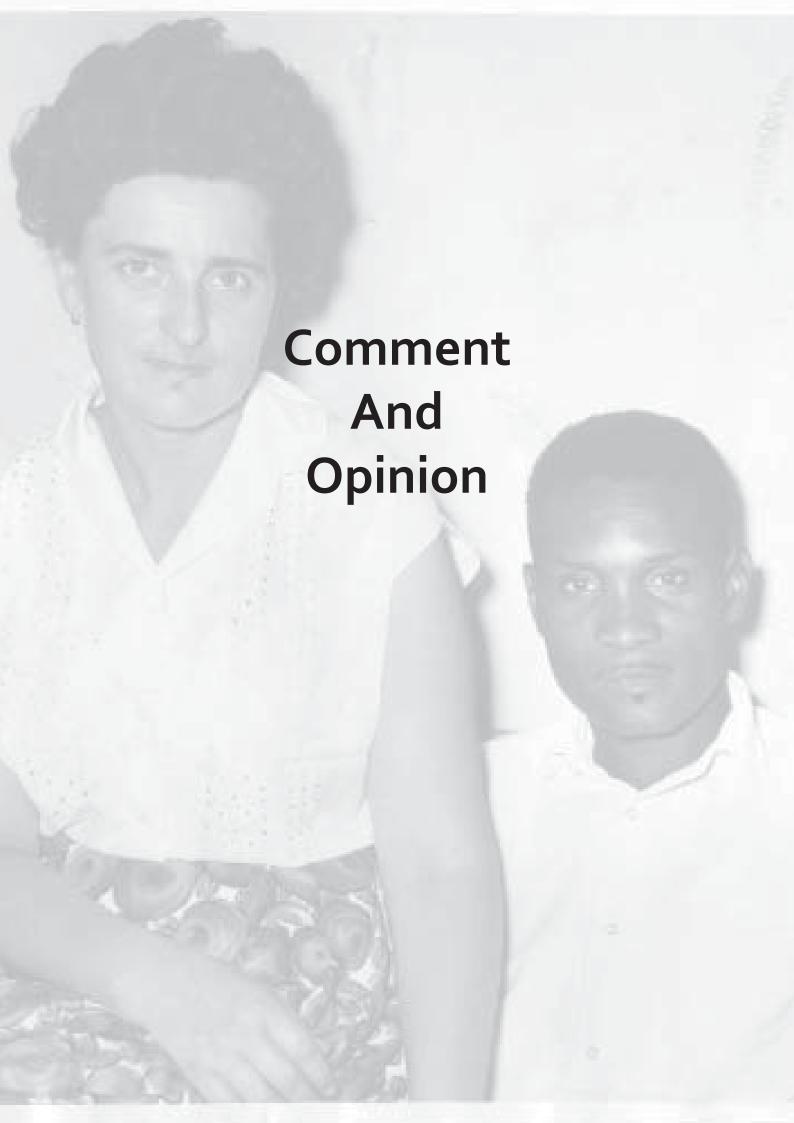
in its support for the Soviet Union (and Stalin during his time in power), which proved a hindrance in the Cold War era. The CPGB was a significant force in the trade unions during the industrial militancy of the late 1960s and early 1970s, but was unable to maintain this level of support, as other leftist groups and new social movements competed for influence. After a series of internal schisms and declining membership numbers during the 1970s and 1980s, the Party dissolved itself in 1991. See: Thompson, Willie. *The Good Old Cause: British Communism 1920-1991*. London: Pluto Press, 1992; Eaden, James, & Renton, David. *The Communist Party of Great Britain since 1920.* Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002; Andrews, Geoff. *Endgames and New Times: The Final Years of British Communism 1964-1991*. London: Lawrence And Wishart Ltd, 2004.

9.   Thompson (ref. 8, p. 218)

10.  *The Morning Star* began as *The Daily Worker* in 1930 (changing its name in 1966) and remains the only daily paper of the left in Britain. Despite the transference of ownership from the Communist Party to the People's Press Printing Society in 1946, the paper 'remained the acknowledged voice of the CP until the factional disputes' of the 1980s. It is currently aligned to the Communist Party of Britain (CPB), which was established by a splinter group from the CPGB in 1988. See: Morgan, Kevin. The Communist Party and the Daily Worker 1930-1956, *in* Andrews, Geoff, Fishman, Nina & Morgan, Kevin (eds). *Opening the Books: Essays on the Social and Cultural History of the British Communist Party*. London: Pluto Press, 1995, pp. 142-159; Beckett, Francis. *Enemy Within: The Rise and Fall of the British Communist Party.* London: John Murray Publishers Ltd,1995, pp. 190-211.

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# Comment
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## Health Inequalities for Black and Minority Ethnic Groups in the UK: What has been done?

*Dr Saima Latif, Research Fellow, University of Manchester*

Over the last twenty years, there has been a growing interest in the health of different communities in the UK as a result of ever increasing research evidence highlighting the disadvantaged health experiences of people from Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) Groups in the UK compared to the population overall.[1, 2] Differential disease patterns in health experiences for these groups particularly concern cardiovascular disease (CVD) diabetes, chronic kidney disease (CKD), cancer and mental illness, although there are many other areas which are also affected.  However, there is more variation in the rates of the before mentioned diseases by ethnicity than by any other socio-economic factors.[3] Nevertheless, socio-economics also play a significant factor in defining the differential statistics of inequality in health.[4] Socio-economics include the poverty, the long-term impact of migration, racism and discrimination, poor delivery and take-up of health care, differences in culture and lifestyles and genetic susceptibility.

In the past 10 years, the Department of Health (DH) have brought the agenda of health inequalities to the forefront with a number of high profile reports, in an attempt to increase the understanding of health inequalities and provide suggestions on how to reduce them amongst the UK population. These include *The Acheson Report*,[5] *The Darzi Report*[6] and even more recently *The Marmot Report*.[7] These reports have been fundamental in highlighting inequalities in health in the UK and addressing ethnic inequalities. The more recent *Marmot Report* has been heavily criticised for paying little attention to the issue of ethnic inequalities in health.

These reports have been the foundation for a range of government initiatives to tackle health inequalities to include; *Tackling inequalities in health: A programme for action*,[8] *Health Survey for England,*[9] *Race for Health*,[10] *Spearhead Primary Care Trusts* [11] and *Health Challenge England*.[12]

This paper will comment on the extent these government reports and initiatives have been successful in tackling health inequalities, what has been done so far to reduce disparities and where the focus needs to be placed for further improvements.

**What is the evidence for Health Inequalities?**
There is evidence to show that health inequalities exist for BME groups with particular reference to CVD, diabetes, kidney disease and mental illness. These are further described below:

CVD
South Asian groups living in the UK have a higher prevalence of CVD conditions than the general population of England. However, there are also intra-ethnic differences with Pakistani and Bangladeshi men having rates of CVD that are 60% to 70% higher than men in the general population. The figures for women are similar, with Pakistani (45%) and Bangladeshi (43%) women having higher rates of CVD conditions than women in the general population.[13]

Diabetes
Type 2 diabetes is up to six times more common in people of South Asian descent and up to three times more common among people of African and Caribbean origin. According to the Health Survey

for England,[14] doctor-diagnosed diabetes is almost four times as prevalent in Bangladeshi men, and almost three times as prevalent in Pakistani and Indian men compared with men in the general population.

Amongst women, diabetes is more than five times higher amongst Pakistani women, at least three times higher in Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean women, and two and a half times higher in Indian women, compared with women in the general population.

CKD
A further complication of diabetes is CKD, a major cause of end-stage renal failure (ESRF). In England, 4.2 % of the South Asian community and 3.7 % of those from African-Caribbean backgrounds [15] were reported to have CKD. Furthermore, UK data shows that South Asian people with diabetes are up to ten times more at risk of developing ESRF compared to the white population [16]. Thus, not only are South Asian people and African-Caribbean people more prone to diabetes than white British people, they are more likely to develop ESRF as a consequence.

Mental Illness
Ethnic differences in mental health are controversial. Most of the research surrounding ethnic mental health is based on treatment rates, which show that BME people are much more likely to receive a diagnosis of mental illness than White British people.[17] Research studies have shown that new diagnosis of psychosis among Black Caribbean people are up to seven times higher than among the White British.[18] There is evidence of ethnic differences in risk factors that operate before a patient comes into contact with the health services, such as discrimination, social exclusion and urban living. Research has also shown that psychiatrists diagnose potential symptoms of mental illness differently depending on the ethnicity of the patient.[19]

**Health Inequalities Policies**
Sir Donald Acheson's *Independent Inquiry into Inequalities in Health* [20] was a key initiative for putting the health inequalities onto the policy agenda. This report placed a strong emphasis on the effects of wider inequalities, poverty and social exclusion on health inequalities.

*The Acheson Inquiry* made three recommendations for reducing health inequalities. This report recommended that policies should reduce socio-economic inequalities and consider the needs of BME groups, services should be sensitive to the needs of BME groups and promote awareness to their health risks and the needs of BME groups should be specifically considered in planning and providing health care.

Up until this report came into the public arena, ethnicity had not been a focus of health inequalities policies to date. This report is a critical reference point in the health inequalities debate and a turning point for reform and action.

Lord Darzi's final review, *High Quality Care for All* [21] was another significant milestone in the Health inequality and policy arena. In this review, Lord Darzi drew out four overarching themes for the NHS in a ten year plan. He described the vision of a health care system that is fair, personalised, effective and safe with world class commissioning central to achieving the vision. Darzi's wish was to remedy health inequalities and make services more accessible for ethnic minorities was greatly welcomed by all.

Further on from this, the more recent high profile *Marmot report*,[22] another addition to the government's more recent efforts to tackle the persistent problem of health inequalities has been something of

an anti-climax. In an attempt to focus on redressing deep-rooted socioeconomic inequalities it has paid little attention to ethnic inequality. Whilst the report includes passing reference to the social and health disadvantage experienced by particular ethnic groups in a number of places, it fails to give any meaningful attention to this key dimension of identity and division of modern British society.

*The Marmot review* fails to highlight the systemic factors that persistently reproduce inequitable experiences and outcomes in healthcare for BME groups, including: poor patient-provider communication; a failure of programmes to address issues of most concern to minority people; a lack of visible BME presence among staff; discriminatory attitudes and behaviour by staff; feelings of exclusion and mistrust by BME groups; a lack of cultural sensitivity in provision of services and a lack of funding and resources.

In order to remedy health inequalities, there are two intersecting factors which need to be addressed; the availability of data on ethnicity and the legal obligations towards racial equality.

### Ethnicity Data
The availability of ethnicity data is pertinent if we are to address health inequalities effectively. Large-scale surveys are currently the most useful source of data on ethnic health. The Health Survey for England measures ethnic health inequalities every five years. Unfortunately, as ethnicity is not recorded at death, an individual's mortality can only be estimated by their country of birth. There is also a lack of regular and accurate data to monitor ethnic variation in the use of NHS services. Currently the collection of ethnicity data is only mandatory in secondary care. The DH's Quality of Outcome Framework introduced a small financial incentive to GP practices that have complete ethnicity data on their patient profiles. Nevertheless, patchy ethnicity data in primary care undermines planning and evaluation of policy and precludes the monitoring of changes over time. The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) has recommended that the DH moves forward more quickly with ethnic monitoring. The proposed electronic patient record in secondary care should make this somewhat easier. In addition, the Audit Commission has highlighted the need to understand better how evidence can be used to bring about change in racial equality. The London Health Observatory has produced a tool to guide NHS bodies in using ethnic data for health impact assessment.[23]

### Legal Obligations
Under the Race Relations Amendment Act,2000[24] public organisations have a legal obligation to stop racial discrimination and promote equal opportunities by; producing a Racial Equality Scheme; performing Race Equality Impact Assessment on all policies and monitoring outcomes by each ethnic grouping. However, a King's Fund review of 300 Primary Care Trusts (PCTs) in 2007 found that a third did not comply with the Act.[25] Unless all organisations take the role of race relations seriously, and try to eliminate racism, the drive for equality in health care will remain even more difficult to achieve.

Since *the Acheson report* and related policy recommendations, a number of government initiatives have been introduced in an attempt to reduce inequalities in the UK society. These have mainly targeted health care and NHS funding. Besides issues of poor health provision in deprived areas, policies have explicitly focused on achieving equity for different BME groups. The main approach has been to identify good practice in racial equality and to mainstream these strategies throughout the NHS.

### Delivering Equity in Health Care for BME Groups
The government's commitments to improving health service use by BME groups are laid out in the DH's Race Equality Scheme 2005-2008 [26] which sets out specific goals. The majority of change in ethnic health inequalities is taking place in mental health services.

### Good Practice

The DH has commissioned a number of initiatives to generate or collate good practice in race equality, such as Pacesetters [27] Race for Health[28] and the NHS Specialist Library for Ethnicity and Health,[29] tackling problems such as barriers to access, language and cultural competence. However, this is something of a 'Catch 22' situation for the lack of baseline data on ethnicity makes it difficult to evaluate the impact of these projects, which in turn makes it hard to identify good practice.

## Redirecting Funds

In 2002, the DH decided to redirect funds towards areas with larger BME populations and deprived groups whose needs were not being met. This has helped to fund activities in the Spearhead Areas,[30] more specifically BME interpreting and translation services.

## Reducing Poverty and Social Exclusion

Initiatives aiming to reduce poverty and social exclusion have the potential to tackle the root causes of health inequalities. However, a Social Exclusion Unit review of initiatives has questioned whether BME groups have benefited from the drive to reduce social exclusion. Rather than explicitly targeting BME groups, policies tend to assume that BME groups will benefit by virtue of their relative poverty and concentration in deprived areas.

## Financial Poverty

Financial poverty is one factor that persistently helps to widen the health inequality gap in society. Several policies have aimed at reducing income poverty in recent years, through benefits levels, tax credits, and welfare to work programmes. However, there has been little ethnic targeting of welfare policies to date, despite persistently high levels of poverty in some BME groups.[31]

## Interventions in Life

The targets on child poverty and initiatives like Sure Start aim to improve child development, to prevent the continuation of social deprivation and vulnerability to ill health between generations. However, despite high levels of child poverty in some BME groups, there has been no ethnic targeting in the policies to redress child poverty. For instance, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation has recommended changes to benefits and tax credits, which still favour small families above the larger families which are mostly represented by BME groups.[32]

## Area-based Initiatives

Health Action Zones, Neighbourhood Renewal, the New Deal for Communities, Sure Start, and most recently, the Spearhead Area initiatives are all aimed at reducing health inequalities and social exclusion by targeting deprived areas. They involve partnerships between PCTs, local authorities, voluntary sector organisations and industry. Although they may have benefits for health, evaluating the impact of area-based initiatives is difficult. The initiatives focus on areas which often have high BME populations. However, the lack of ethnic monitoring means it is not possible to examine BME involvement in the activities, or examine outcomes by ethnic group.

## Conclusion

This paper discusses the main areas of health inequalities that persist for BME groups in the UK, the governmental policy documents that have aimed to increase awareness of health disparities and the government initiatives that have been brought out to address health inequalities in practice.

Health inequalities do exist for minority ethnic groups, and there is a complexity of underlying reasons. BME groups generally have worse health than the overall population, although the patterns of ethnic health inequalities are very diverse. Ethnic health inequalities result from many interlinking factors. Policy responses cover a wide spectrum and incorporate initiatives to improve the use of health services by BME groups, as well as tackling broader socioeconomic inequalities between ethnic groups. The current system reforms in the NHS should offer the opportunity to develop services

specific to local communities' needs.[33] Alongside the system reform agenda is the introduction of the DH's Race Equality Scheme which clearly places an obligation on NHS organisations to 'do more to deliver services which meet the particular needs of black and minority ethnic groups.' [34]

However, the most important activity in achieving any of this is to ensure robust data collection of ethnic monitoring statistics. Unfortunately, the lack of ethnic monitoring being statutory within primary or secondary care represents a serious flaw in developing health care services to address health disparities amongst BME groups. It remains to be seen, however, whether the introduction of the QOF and any similar schemes will encourage such practices.

It is possible, via Local Strategic Partnerships and utilising current NHS system reform, to improve the health of minority ethnic groups. There remains an urgent need to improve data collection relating to ethnic monitoring so that the reality and the scale of the challenge in reducing health inequalities is better understood.

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# The Illinois Documentary History of Black Studies: Toward a new approach to the history of Black Studies

http://www.ideals.illinois.edu/handle/2142/14912
*Abdul Alkalimat*

The history of Black Studies in the US has been on the research agenda ever since Black Studies became the most important result of the Black Power Movement. However, the history of Black Studies has been captured by a two part narrative, socially constructed by the national media around high profile, elite schools on both coasts. Part one is that a nationalist struggle emerged to create a Black Power initiative within educational institutions. Part two is that the nationalists were failing and the situation had to be rescued by an academic postmodern elite. This polarity is the usual dialectic imposed on Black history: nationalism versus integrationism. It has been socially constructed and defended, with limited empirical investigation. But it is an oversimplification of a very courageous process that took place in every setting of higher education in the United States. It negates the diversity of Black Studies. It silences a great deal of talent. And we are now developing a tool for solving this problem, the Illinois Documentary History of Black Studies (http://www.ideals.illinois.edu/handle/2142/14912), and we invite you to join us.

## Black Studies starts to study itself

Recent Black Studies scholarship has demonstrated the utility of case studies, for instance Bradley (2009) on Columbia University; comparative studies, such as Rojas (2007)on University of Chicago and University of Illinois at Chicago and Small (1999) on Harvard and Temple; and discipline-wide datasets such as Alkalimat (2006, 2007, 2007). We know a lot, but we do not have a sufficiently large enough sample of detailed case studies to firmly anchor this field of study in the kind of data required to sustain serious scholarship.

Part of our problem is that we have fallen victim to edutainment by the public intellectuals who launch from the elite bastions of higher education. Many have been led to believe that what these high profile individuals think about what happened in the history of Black Studies is more important than the facts of what happened in more than 500 institutions of higher education. So our focus today is on how to re-value the actual founders of Black Studies, campus by campus—the wise community elders and the campus warriors, intellectuals and diplomats among faculty and students. In order to liberate this history and construct a resource or tool that many others can use to do so, we go into the libraries and archives, we return to the source.

## Constructing a tool for the broad study of the history and sociology of our own field

In these times, when one thinks of a project one then thinks of where the funding is going to come from. In returning to the source we also have to reinvent how to do things, how to get things done without a grant, without asking for permission. So our overall strategy is to turn the classroom from a site of intellectual consumption to a site of production. Thousands of hours of student labor can be used productively. Carrying out actual research is in fact a better pedagogical approach than aiming for the passive acceptance of existing knowledge.

We started this process at the University of Illinois, anticipating having our proposal approved for a new PhD degree program in Black Studies to launch in 2012. Our first results come from a small graduate seminar in Fall 2009 where four students produced four documentary case studies of the history of Black Studies:

1. Northwestern University
2. University of Illinois at Springfield
3. South Suburban Community College
4. Loyola University

For all four students this was an engaging, practical and realistic course project that woke them up to Black Studies and to scholarship generally. They also got published! Everyone liked seeing their name in print.

## Research methods

Each student's goal was to reproduce the basic documents that contain the empirical data needed to study the history of the academic program at the school they selected. In each instance, the student began by downloading and printing the existing web site of the program. Next, he or she examined the library website for information on campus archives. Following this the next stop was the media, on and off campus, to see what was available online and what might be found in hard copy archives. The goal was to gather as much as possible before making contact with people on campus and alumni, so that the students would be looking for specific information and not merely staying in the realm of the general.

We planned full day campus trips, mainly to photocopy material since the focus was to gather primary documents. Key to this were the current unit head (director or chair), the departmental secretary, the key archivist or Black Studies librarian, and any officials on campus with a past history connected to the program. The use of email was essential in making contact with people in advance, and giving people ample time to respond was critical as well.

When on campus collecting data, the first task was to copy the official college catalog material concerning Black Studies, covering the 1960s to the present. This is self-reported information by the campus, and is their official legal document. Next stop was the campus archives to find and copy the official documents of the founding of the program and all possible written communications: early demands and the official campus response from the faculty, administration, and board of trustees; course syllabi, all possible written communications. This gave key dates that could be used to search media archives for local reporting on and off campus. This process enabled us to get a list of the key actors in the origin and subsequent leadership of the program. Finding contact information and soliciting help also proved to be useful as people were friendly and contributed information and material to the projects.

## Research results

Once all of the material was sorted and organized into sections of a volume, with an introduction and other explanatory material, we photocopied it and simultaneously created a PDF file. This became a limited edition of a printed and bound volume and a digital ebook at the same time. Three official hard copies were produced, one for the school in question, one for the Vivian G. Harsh Research Collection of Afro-American History and Literature at Chicago Public Library, and one to the reference collection of the African American Research Center (AARC) of the History, Philosophy & Newspaper Library. The ebook is permanently available at IDEALS, a free and public digital repository such as many research universities are now building:

> IDEALS collects, disseminates, and provides persistent and reliable access to the research and scholarship of faculty, staff, and students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Faculty, staff, and graduate students can deposit their research and scholarship - unpublished and, in many cases, published - directly into IDEALS. Departments can use IDEALS to distribute their working papers, technical reports, or other research material. (http://www.ideals.illinois.edu/)

By using IDEALS as well as sharing hard copy with several institutions, these four volumes containing the campus-by-campus historical documentation of the history of Black Studies will be permanently available for research.

**Next steps: Calling all scholars and students**

We invite everyone to start to use these four volumes, since they are available locally and globally via the internet. But we are making a broader call because these four volumes are but a start, in four important ways:

1.  Working together, we can assemble more documents from the four campuses where we began. Each program has had at least three generations of leadership and faculty and many syllabi and publications, so each campus deserves multiple volumes.

2.  Working together, we can document many more Black Studies programs in the US and produce additional volumes. The formula we have worked out in this first go was a success, and we are sharing it here. Choose a campus, use our approach, get in touch with us, and your hard copy and online volume will materialize. Partners have already stepped forward from California, Georgia, New York, and elsewhere in Illinois.

3.  We are also interested in documenting Black Studies programs outside the US—in Europe and the UK, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and Africa—that were inspired by the US Black Power movement.

4.  The volumes are primary documents, our level 1 data, the raw stuff. One way to start using them is to produce level 2 data, which would include a coded database that shrinks things down into manageable information. Quantitative and factual information (e.g., names, dates, numbers, specific decisions, etc.) can be easily coded and placed in a commonly used database structure for general use. Qualitative analysis will require experimenting with computer assisted tools in order to have a tool to accompany the data that can be used by researchers at all levels. That level 2 data can be published as well, in hard copy and on IDEALS, with full authorship.

What we are seeing is that each volume immediately becomes required reading for people currently building each academic program. They will likely be among the first users and their use will make the Documentary History of Black Studies more valuable to everyone. Any weaknesses they find will guide future work. Alumni and former faculty are also taking notice and making their contributions as well.

If you are interested in creating or using a volume or contributing in any way, please get in touch.

# Extended Review

# Extended Review

## AFRICAN AMERICANS AND THE CULTURE OF PAIN.
## Debra Walker King
University of Virginia Press, 2008. 224 pages, 6x9, 3 b&w illustrations,
Cloth 978-0-8139-2680-3 • $55.00, Paper 978-0-8139-2681-0 • $20.00
### *Review By Monica White Ndounou, Tufts University*

Debra Walker King's *African Americans and the Culture of Pain* is an interdisciplinary study of the distinct ways the Black body served as a rhetorical device and political strategy in literature, film and television from 1930 to 2005. King's revealing and adept analysis engages cultural pain studies, critical race and literary theory as well as theatre and film studies. The book exceeds its primary objective "to expose the symbolic properties of Black pain hidden beneath America's love-hate relationship with the black body" (p. 11). The combination of elevated scholarship and testimony makes it accessible to academic and popular audiences.

*African Americans and the Culture of Pain* expands King's investigation of body politics, explored in her edited collection *Body Politics and the Fictional Double* (2000). The collection of essays in *Body Politics* illuminates "the challenges women face when their externally defined identities and representations as bodies—their body fictions—speak louder than what they know to be their lived experiences (p. vii)." The body, more specifically the Black body is also the central focus of her current project, which is organized into three parts examining Pain's Legacy, Diminution and Expulsion. King employs a web-like, analytical approach to introduce and explore the concept of Blackpain, "the visual and verbal representation of pained Black bodies that function as rhetorical devices, as instruments of socialization, and as sociopolitical strategy in American popular culture and literature" (p. 16).

King's project critically examines three critical hypotheses. The first finds that "the pain-free, white American body exists easily in the cultural imagination and cultural productions of social agents within the United States" (p. 5). In contrast, Black bodies in pain positions African Americans as "failed" Americans or un-American.

The second posits

> "the juxtaposition of ...*Jasper, Texas* (2003) and the *Dateline* special[1] on Laci Peterson (2002) exposes popular culture's (as well as our own) denial of and collusion with a value-laden social hierarchy that commodifies the pained black body, rendering it 'a representational sign for the democratizing process of U.S. culture itself (Wiegman, *Black Bodies,* p. 325)'" (King, p. 6).

The distinct portrayal of each murder and the verbal and visual description of the bodies represent a recurring devaluing of Black people. Black bodies are used as symbols of what is not American in order to provide a sense of comfort and stability for Whites Americans. The third thesis states "the black body is always a memorial to African and African American historical pain" (p. 6). The Black body needs only to appear to convey meaning, which typically infers pain or suffering. King's comparative analysis of the specific instances in which Black bodies are used in American popular culture significantly contrast with ways Blackpain is explored in African American authored works.

King's interdisciplinary research supports her striking, intersecting observations throughout the book. In the Introduction, King identifies the role race and cultural perspective has historically played in a spectator's ability to achieve distance or identification with a Black body in pain. King describes her inability to achieve enough distance to enjoy the film *Jasper, Texas*, which depicts the horrific murder and mutilation of James Byrd, Jr., an African American. The juxtaposition of this film and a *Dateline* special

covering the murder and decapitation of Laci Peterson (a White woman) illustrates the ways visual images and discourse in American popular culture facilitates the psychic distancing or identification with the subject according to race. King's use of psychology, visual theory, cultural studies and personal experience offers a penetrating analysis of the cultural politics of repeatedly using Black bodies to serve as symbols rather than human beings with a history and a voice.

King's historical analysis illustrates the ways that the legacy of overt and symbolic violence, racial hurt and soul murder inform contemporary representations of 'Blackpain'[2] in American popular culture. As a result, Part One accomplishes the stated goal of distinguishing between:

> the experiential and political structure of black pain as a product of human vulnerability and a reminder of human mortality from the symbolic function of verbal and visual representations of the black body in pain (p. 16).

In Chapter Two – Racial Hurt and Soul Murder, King discusses the economic advantages as well as the physical and metaphysical consequences of using Blackpain. For King, Billie Holiday and her performances of "Strange Fruit" exemplifies the ways that Blackpain can be used to galvanize people into action while simultaneously being appropriated, misinterpreted and misused by cultural and industry gatekeepers and audiences. Her analysis of *the Green Mile* (1999) also proves to be one of her most eloquent examples of the ways Black bodies in pain are represented as un-American in mainstream American cinema. By analyzing this broad range of examples, King demonstrates the ways individual experiences become collective patterns of wounding.

The structure of King's project facilitates an examination of the long-term racial, cultural and cognitive implications of denying African Americans individuality in popular narratives. The three critical hypotheses and related analyses are interwoven with recurring textual examples that are more fully and uniquely explored each time they arise. For example, King identifies Emmett Till as a well-known representation of Blackpain in Chapter Three – Personal Protests and War. She outlines Mamie Till's strategy of using her son Bobo's broken body as "an instrument of social activism, personal protests and war" (p. 59). By referring to Emmett Till as Bobo, the nickname provided him by his mother, King humanizes him, casting him as an individual with a history and a voice thereby exposing the popular ways his story and his body has been historically used to symbolize the Civil Rights Movement.

King's project concisely identifies the legacy and presence of Blackpain while also identifying coping strategies developed within African American culture that consciously and unconsciously counteract the effects of Blackpain. In Chapter Six – Expressing, Sharing and Healing Black Pain, King offers solutions for the individual and collective wounding that address physical as well as metaphysical suffering. In this chapter, she identifies the various ways African Americans experience and confront pain through organized religion (church service rituals) as well as more folk cultural spiritual traditions and humour. Although King references Sigmund Freud in other relevant areas of her study, she does not include his work on jokes and laughter. This does not impede her highly engaging analysis of laughter as her critique of the use of the word "nigger" and the problems of comedy and ethnic humor provide rich insights into existing debates amongst artists and scholars interrogating the significance of the word for African Americans. This chapter also exemplifies King's subtle fusion of critical analysis with personal experience: i.e. the story of her grandmother's strategies for surviving racial hurt along with her incorporation of theatre studies and the story of Bert Williams[3] as an example of the far reach of racial hurt and soul murder, resulting from overt and symbolic violence.

King's investigation of the collective experiences of African Americans successfully avoids reinforcing monolithic notions of Blackness. She accomplishes this in two specific ways. King identifies the complexity of Black experience in the context of American identity and citizenship rights by

discussing the ways Blackpain affects the daily lived experiences of Black people in the United States. This specific focus on African Americans within the context of national discourse is expanded in her analysis of *Amistad* (1997) in Chapter One and Chapter Six. This compelling analysis facilitates her discussion of the popular representation of Africans in American cinema and its affects on African American audiences.

King also accomplishes a complex discussion of African American experiences by identifying gendered distinctions in representations of Black bodies in pain by African American authors. In Chapter Four – Silent Mobility, King identifies Black male explorations of hurt and pain and the ways silence or different responses to racial hurt and soul murder redefines masculinity and humanity in terms of Black and White culture. In Chapter Five – Writing in Red Ink, King focuses specifically on the ways that Black women writers incorporate Blackpain into their narratives as a way of debunking the Black superwoman myth. She finds that their work exposes the destructive impact of racial hurt and psychic wounding upon Black women. She identifies Black women authors like Toni Morrison and Gloria Naylor's methods of using such experiences as opportunities to illuminate ways of transcending racial and gender hurt imposed upon Black women. It is notable that this chapter is a revised version of King's essay of the same title in her edited collection, Body Politics and the Fictional Double.
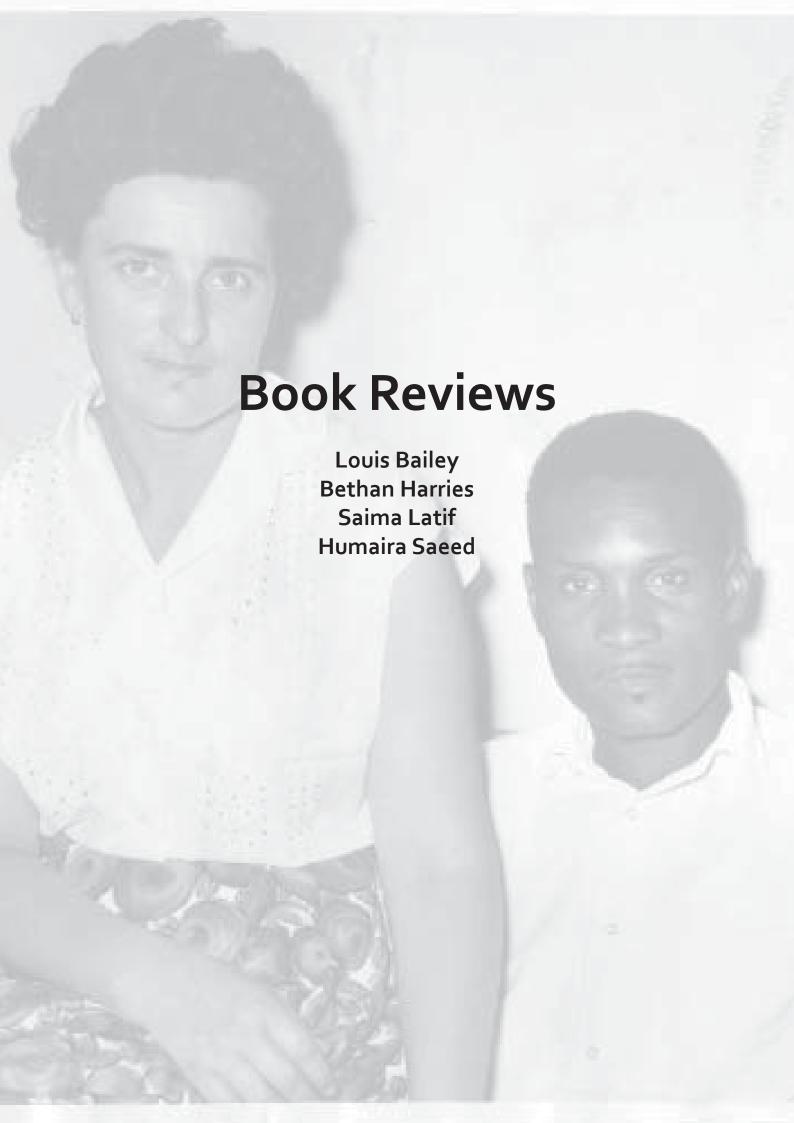
There are two concepts that may inspire continuous interdisciplinary study to expand King's keen observations. For instance, the concept of the "pain-free White body" juxtaposed with Blackpain may offer additional insight into cultural pain studies. King argues that the pain-free White, American body exists easily in the cultural imagination and even the most horrific wounding experiences are allowed invisibility (p. 5). However, the mutilation of White bodies in horror or action films may inspire further studies of the cultural and cognitive implications of this invisibility and its possible influence on audience reception of Blackpain. King's analysis of the White father-Black son transference of power may also inspire future studies. She describes this in her analysis of subject texts that "use violence to mask the exchange of power and patriarchal partnerships […as] naturalizing processes that support White patriarchal hegemony and its racially organized 'logic of socialization' (Tate 195)" (King 72). King's analysis of *Rosewood* (1997), Carroll Case's novel *The Slaughter* (1986) *Glory* (1989) and *Men of Honor* (2000) exemplify the exchange of patriarchal power between White men and Black men. King identifies Men of Honor as a progressive transfer of power in contrast to the most of the other examples. Extended studies may offer counter-hegemonic theories of transference of power. As it stands, this concise analysis of the White father-Black son transference of power effectively investigates the film's representation of Blackpain. King's approach allows readers to assess the role of patriarchy in the representations of Blackpain, which encourages active reading.

*African Americans and the Culture of Pain* is an insightful and engaging study that will appeal to a broad audience. King's illuminating investigation of the active resistance of Black artists in their exploration of racial hurt distinguishes this paradigm shifting study that encourages a balanced assessment of explorations of Blackpain. In her brief yet concise analysis of Spike Lee's *Bamboozled* (2000), King investigates the role of institutionalized racism in violence against Blacks yet also investigates the roles individuals play in their own victimization. King's performance analyses engage existing studies in theatre and film theory and practice. For example, King offers visual descriptions and examples of ways that silent mobility and inert silence are performed. The chapter explains silent mobility as choosing one's battles carefully, exposing racial hurt and using silence strategically for mobility. Inert silence involves playing the role of the "good nigger" in order to access the place prescribed for Black people in White society. Descriptions of actors performing in specific scenes, for example Oprah Winfrey's performance of the role of Sofia in *The Color Purple* (1986) broadens our understanding of what Blackpain "looks" like in its various forms.

*African Americans and the Culture of Pain* is a call to action for scholars, artists, teachers, and audiences. In the conclusion, King offers three steps for moving beyond Blackpain: 1) Verbal and

visual oppositional readings that expose Blackpain's soul-murdering potential, 2) Focusing on hurt for meaningful interpretation and analysis as opposed to Blackpain which denies Black people humanity (unlike the focus on racial hurt), 3) Release weakness and decide how we respond to hurt (racial hurt which is caused by racism). Action is required to move beyond the horror of Blackpain, and the paralysis caused by racial hurt, soul murder as well as overt and symbolic violence. King's study introduces a necessary and productive model for mobility.

1. *Dateline* is a US weekly television magazine.
2. The book introduces the term 'Blackpain', defining it as a tool of national mythmaking and as a source of cultural and symbolic capital that normalises individual suffering until the individual disappears.
3. Bert Williams was a legendary comedian who died in 1922.

# Book Reviews

**Louis Bailey**
**Bethan Harries**
**Saima Latif**
**Humaira Saeed**

# Reviews

## ARTS, LITERATURE AND SPORT

### THE MEMOIRS OF ALTON AUGUSTUS ADAMS, SR.: FIRST BLACK BANDMASTER OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY
**Ed. Mark Clague**
Publisher:  University of California Press
Year: 2008
Pagination: 388pp
ISBN: 978-0520251311
Price: £35

Alton Augustus Adams Sr. (b. 1889 - 1987) was the first Black musician to attain bandmaster status in the US Navy.  The framing biography charts Adams' life, from his entry into the US military in 1917 to his initiations into music to his extensive writing career – both in terms of music journalism and, later, his memoirs, which are edited here and contextualised by Clague.

The book starts with a foreword by Samuel A. Floyd Jr. who describes his friendship with Adams from the 1970s until the bandmaster's death in 1987.  Here, Floyd Jr. highlights the importance of this kind of testimony - documents, he says, that all too often get relegated to the backrooms of history.  Thereafter, Clague discusses Adams' relationship with W.E.B DuBois and the ways in which they were united through a shared passion for racial equality, education and political justice.

Chapters one and two focus on Adams' upbringing, told mostly in his own words.  He describes growing up in St Thomas in the Virgin Islands – then a former Danish colony – and his early work education, firstly as a carpenter and then a shoemaker.  He details his forays into music and literature and the early nourishment of his dream to be a professional musician.  There follows a discussion of the various bands he became a part of and his entry into the formalised study of music.  These early experiences led to the formation of the Adams Juvenile Band in 1910, described in more detail in chapter four.

The major episodes of Adams' life are described in detail in chapters five to eleven.  Particular attention is paid to Adams' entry into the US Navy and the subsequent setting up of the Navy band.  The 'early years' of the band – namely, 1917 – 1923 – are described in some depth in chapter five.  The band's 'glory years' are described in chapter six.  Here, the action centres on the band's tour of the United States in 1924.

Chapters seven and eight move away from the US Navy completely to focus on Adams' life in the 1920s.  In chapter nine, the series of tragedies that beset Adams' life in the early 1930s are told in detail: the demise of his band and the death of two of his two daughters, firstly Merle, and later Hazel, who was killed in a house fire which also destroyed many of his music manuscripts, books and publications. Chapters ten and eleven reveal the ways in which Adams attempted to rebuild his life – moving into music publishing and working in the tourism industry by building and managing a guest house in St Thomas.
*Also relates to:*
*Arts, Literature and Sport*
*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*
*History*
*Politics and Government*


### "BAAD BITCHES" AND SASSY SUPERMAMAS: BLACK POWER ACTION FILMS
**Stephane Dunn**
Publisher: University of Illinois Press
Year: 2008
Pagination: 192pp
ISBN: 978-0252075483
Price: £12.99

Here, Dunn examines the portrayal of women, especially Black women, in a range of action films – from low-budget 'blaxploitation' films to more 'radical' independent films. The author charts the influence of the Black Power movement and feminism on more progressive films, and the impact of less-progressive films on contemporary hip-hop culture.

Examining the relationship between power and the image, Dunn undertakes a critical analysis of the 'blaxploitation' genre and urges for more scholarly discussion on the impact and significance of Black film history. Employing critical spectatorship in the arena of race, gender and sexual politics, Dunn analyses the ways in which Black women, and their bodies, are represented within these films. Deconstructing the representational strategies and politics of the image, Dunn interrogates what she sees as, problematic imagery relating to Black femaleness within the action film genre. Building on existing critiques of film as contributing to proliferation of negative Black imagery, Dunn highlights how Black female spectatorship varies generationally and how 'blaxploitation' character icons both appeal to and repel Black female spectators. To this end, she takes aim at, what she interprets as, the voyeuristic pleasure of female sexual objectification as disguised as entertainment, and instead urges for the pleasures of mutual engagement and transformative representation.

The first half of the book traces the legacy of the 'blaxploitation' film and its influence on contemporary hip-hop. Defined here as a 'studio-supported 1970s ghetto-action film', the 'blaxploitation' genre is characterised through its representation of men as hyper masculine and women as subordinate sex objects; 'bitches' and 'hos' to male patriarchal bravado. Examples of this genre include *Shaft*, *Super Fly* and *Foxy Brown*, all of which are discussed in depth, and in relation to notions of Black cultural memory and nostalgia.

The final sections of the book examine the impact of the Black Power movement on the development of the popular Black film era and considers the political implications of such fantasy spectacles. Dunn shows how the representation of Black women as 'baad bitches' and 'sassy supermamas' in, for example, the characterisation of 'Cleopatra Jones' and 'Foxy Brown', was the direct result of radical political activism, which itself challenged dominant American ideology and subsequent power relations.

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

## LEARNING AT THE MUSEUM FRONTIERS: IDENTITY, RACE AND POWER'
### Viv Golding

Publisher: Ashgate
Year: 2009
Pagination: 246pp
ISBN: 978-0754646914
Price: £55

*Learning at the Museum Frontiers* analyses the notion of the anthropology museum – its collections, curators and intended audience – and the colonial tendencies therein. The book examines the social responsibilities of museums, highlighting the potential for museums to be major agents of social change, to tackle social injustice and exclusion, and to promote awareness and understanding of diversity and difference. The author urges museums to review their policies and to adapt to change through an emphasis of collaboration and diverse programming.

Viv Golding, a leading museum educator, draws on a wide range of material for her analysis – from critical studies of 'race' and gender, to post-colonial discourse, and Black feminist theory. In keeping with the recent work of social geographers, *Learning at the Museum Frontiers* examines concepts of space, place and knowledge in its discussion of access, learning and power. The resulting text combines recent theoretical critiques and understandings with best practice implementation in the realm of museum and gallery work to produce a pedagogy of museum education.

Section one – 'The Spatial Politics of the Museum Frontiers' – explores issues of race, knowledge and truth. Delving into the history of the museum, the author highlights the problematic

relationship between knowledge and power as manifested through imperialism, colonialism and post-colonialism.  In this vein, chapter one is a re-examination of the Enlightenment period, exploring notions of race and racialisation and, in particular, the formation of 'them/'us', Western 'norm'/ racialised 'other' within ethnographic thinking.  The chapter moves on to highlight recent anti-racist responses to the historical and theoretical framings of museums.  Chapter two is the result of the author's collaborative research with the 'Caribbean Women Writer's Alliance' (CWWA) and looks at the role of Black women's writing to engage wider and excluded communities.

Section two – 'Including New Voices and Forms of Practice' – examines the detachment of traditional exhibitions and the resultant exoticisation and framing of the racialised 'other'.  Chapter three presents case studies of recent exhibitions that have challenged the notion of the 'museum', including re-enactments by indigenous groups within the spaces of the museum.  Chapter four examines the historical shifts of power in South Africa and its affect on the power structures of museum organising.

The chapters comprising the final section – 'Critical Collaborative Museum Pedagogy' – examine the role of the museum in addressing issues of low self-esteem in Black children; the roots of Black underachievement as explored through holistic approaches; and cross-cultural and embodied forms of knowledge.

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

## THE HERITAGE SERIES OF BLACK POETRY, 1962 – 1975: A RESEARCH COMPENDIUM
## Ed.  Lauri Ramey

This anthology celebrates the *Heritage Series of Black Poetry*, which was founded and edited by Paul Breman and which published a total of 27 volumes of poetry between 1962 and 1975.  Taken together, these publications comprise an impressive and important body of work.  According to this collection's editor, Lauri Ramey, this body of work represents 'the twentieth-century's most important and influential poets'.  This research compendium has two aims – firstly, to document the prolific output of a particularly progressive publishing house and, secondly, to celebrate Black poetry in the twentieth century.

In the introduction, Ramey discusses the circumstances which led to the situation in which a young Dutchman by the name of Paul Breman began collecting and disseminating African American poetry during the 1960s and 70s, at first independently and, later, through *The Heritage Series*.  There follows a discussion of the socio-political climate of the post-World War Two era – the connections formed between Holocaust survivors and African American intellectuals, and the key figures who emerged out of a backdrop of Civil Rights and Black Power – including W.E.B. Du Bois, Audre Lorde and James W. Thompson.

The text itself is divided into four sections: 'Essays'; 'Memoirs and Reflections'; 'Statements on Poetry and Poetics'; and 'Poems'.  In the 'Essays' section, a raneg of theorists consider a range of topics including: publisher and literary connections; Harlem Renaissance poetry; memory, consciousness, faith and spirituality in the work of Audre Lorde, Dolores Kendrick and Owen Vincent Dodson. The next section contains excerpts of memoirs pertaining to *The Heritage Series*, as written by active participants.  Section three contains some critical reflections by some of the key poets involved with the movement.  The final section covers the main contributions of African American poets who were published by *The Heritage Series.*

*Also relates to:*

# CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND RACIAL VIOLENCE

## LEGACY AND LEGITIMACY: BLACK AMERICANS AND THE SUPREME COURT
**Rosalee A Clawson and Eric N Waltenburg**
Publisher:  Temple University Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 232pp
ISBN: 978-1592139033
Price: £16.99

Examines Black Americans' interactions with the US Supreme Court, both in terms of their perceptions of the legal process as well as the Court's influence on people's judgements of social policies. The book starts by detailing significant historical landmarks, which came to define the year 1954 – from military intervention in Southeast Asia to the outlawing of the Communist Party in the United States and, most importantly for the purposes outlined here, the elimination of second-class citizenship for Black Americans.  The latter point was decided by the Supreme Court during the case of Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka.  According to Clawson and Waltenburg, the decision of the Supreme Court in this case proved instrumental not only in opening up public education to Black Americans but also for ensuring equal citizenship, at least in principle.  However, a third, and often over-looked outcome, claim the authors, was the renewed respect accorded to the Supreme Court among African Americans.  This forms the starting point of this survey into the attitudes of Black Americans towards the Court and, in turn, the high court's interaction with Black political and legal interests.

In sum, the authors set out to define African American attitudes towards the US Supreme Court, as explained through a framework of Legitimacy Theory.  To this end, societal attitudes are defined as the result of historicity and regulated experiences which, in turn, produce credibility and justification of legal interventions and processes.

In terms of structure, the book starts by drawing attention to the importance of the Court in both securing and maintaining equality and justice for African Americans and, more importantly, the significant yet often overlooked role played by Black Americans ensuring the many court victories. The resulting phenomenon of Black American support for legal justice is explored in the context of the 1940s through to the 1970s.

Chapter two enforces Legitimacy Theory to highlight the ways in which the Court should legitimise policies among African Americans. In chapter three this central tenet is opened up to examine the influence of the Court more generally to highlight the need to move away from bureaucracy and towards 'affirmative action policy'.  Chapter four focuses on press coverage pertaining to the Adarand v. Pena decision and the different responses elicited according to racial lines.  This is expanded upon in chapter five.  The final three chapters examine the discrepancies between Black American support to showing how Black affirmative action is in keeping with Court policy and that this serves as a reciprocal arrangement.
*Also relates to:*
*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*
*Politics and Government*

## WHAT IS GENOCIDE?
**Martin Shaw**
Publisher: Polity Press
Year: 2007
Pagination: 232pp
ISBN: 978-0745631837
Price: £15.99

As the title infers, the author returns to the origins of 'genocide' as a means of shifting attention away from an emphasis on individuality (namely, the identities of the perpetrators and victims)

and towards an understanding of genocide as a form of war directed against civilians. This shift in interpretation forms the mainstay of the book, which takes issue with the ways in which genocide has been theorised and understood both within 'genocide studies' and wider social studies. From the outset, the book presents a conceptual framing of genocide. However, the author tries, where possible, to link theoretical debate with historical and contemporary instances of genocide.

The book starts by justifying the study of genocide. Here, the author counters claims that such studies are 'unhealthy' and 'unjust' to instead show why such investigations are important to the wider social and political understanding of conflict and violence. Thereafter, the book is divided into two sections. The first part explores the 'Contradictions of Genocide Theory' whilst the second section examines the 'Sociology of Genocide'.

The first chapter of section one returns to the work of social theorist Raphael Lemkin who, the author claims, invented the term 'genocide'. According to Shaw, Lemkin was also responsible for getting the United Nations to pass a convention recognising genocide as an international crime against humanity. The chapter sets outs Lemkin's founding principles and sociological treatise on genocide. Chapter three applies Lemkin's framework of genocide to the Holocaust, which, he claims, has come to represent the only form of genocide within current understandings of political violence. Shaw sets out to address this discrepancy. There follows a critique of the phrase 'ethnic cleansing' and, in particular, the ways in which it has been used as a substitute for genocide. The last chapter in this section explores the nuances of genocide in terms of the various 'isms' that are used to specify its proliferation.

The second section presents a theoretical overview of genocide as being both an intentional action and a 'structural concept formation', moving towards an understanding of the social relations of genocide. Taken together, claims Shaw, social intention and social relations together constitute the structure of social conflict underpinning genocide. Chapter seven illustrates how this works, by exploring the nature of social groups and the progression of group conflict and exclusion into social destruction and war. Chapter eight builds on this to discuss the role of the civilian during genocide. The section concludes with a glossary of terms relating to genocide.

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

# CULTURE, IDENTITY, GENDER AND RELATIONSHIPS

### AFRO-BRAZILIANS: CULTURAL PRODUCTION IN A RACIAL DEMOCRACY
**Niyi Afolabi**

Publisher: University of Rochester Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 440pp
ISBN: 978-1580462624
Price: £45

*Afro-Brazilians* starts by stating that racial democracy does not exist in Brazil; exposing as myth the image of Brazil as an inclusive and diverse Latin American country. This is shown, claims Afolabi, by the country's treatment of Afro-Brazilians who, he claims, remain marginalized within contemporary Brazilian culture. Drawing on his own experiences as a Nigerian student studying in Brazil, Afolabi claims that the psychology of slavery still exists, both in terms of societal attitudes towards Blackness and in the mindsets of Afro-Brazilians themselves. This forms the starting point for this exploration of the challenges faced by Afro-Brazilians from the 1800s to the present.

In introducing the book, Afolabi cites, what he sees as, the contradictory nature of Brazil in terms of its segregationist stance towards Afro-Brazilian people. Behind the nation's bid for 'harmonious relations', claims Afolabi, is a get-out clause for apathy with regards to racism and the maintenance of White Supremacy. In order to counter this tendency, the author instead draws attention to the

survival strategies of Afro-Brazilians. Described by the author as 'vital forces', these strategies convert forms of ancestral knowledge and awareness into tools of healing and cultural production. The various forms of cultural production – visual, verbal, social and political – are analysed by the author as evidence of the vitality of Afro-Brazilian culture from the nineteenth century onwards.

In summary, chapter one explores the nature of racial democracy as it relates to Brazilian culture in general and Afro-Brazilian culture, in particular in terms of social justice and social policy, as well as literary history and other forms of cultural production. Chapter two builds on this to draw attention to 'Quilombhoje' – a cultural collective centred on Afro-Brazilian literature. Chapter three sheds further light on the importance of literature for establishing a sense of Afro-Brazilian identity by analysing the work of women writers in this realm. This is followed by a discussion of the work of Antonio Olinto, a Yoruba diaspora writer (chapter four) and Gilberto Gil, a musician (chapter five). Thereafter, chapter six focuses on the potential of the Afro-Brazilian carnival as an agent of socio-cultural change. The genre of film forms the subject matter of chapter seven. The remaining chapters (eight through to ten) explore the tension between modernity and tradition in modern-day Afro-Brazilian culture over the last two centuries. The book closes with a discussion of the interaction of ancestry, memory and citizenship in the everyday life experiences of Afro-Brazilian communities (chapters eleven – thirteen).
*Also relates to:*
*Arts, Literature and Sport*
*History*
*Politics and Government*

## ISLAMS AND MODERNITIES
**Aziz Al-Azmeh**
Publisher: Verso
Year: 2009
Pagination: 234pp
ISBN: 978-1844673858
Price: £12.99

First published in 1993, *Islams and Modernities* is here updated and expanded to include a discussion of the current position of Islam in a post 9/11 climate. Al-Azmeh here provides a historical overview of the relationship between Islam and 'the West' in order to challenge the notion of Islam as a fixed and unchanging entity.

The majority of essays of which *Islams and Modernities* is comprised, were written in the 1980s and 90s with the exception of chapters two and nine, which contain a recent essay on Osama Bin Laden and an updated account of the global situation of Islam. In this third edition, Al-Azmeh responds to the original publication and the wealth of discussion generated. Particular attention is paid to 'the Muslim question' as examined through contemporary Islamic thought, historical analysis, and post/modernist perspectives.

Chapter one – 'Culturalism, Grand Narrative of Capitalism Exultant' – examines the notion of cross-cultural conversations. The author takes issue with, what he sees as, fixed assumptions pertaining both to monolithic positioning and dated notions of culturalism as regards to both Islam and the West. This cultural hegemony, claims the author, takes as its starting point a language of primitivism. The next chapter – 'Civilization, Culture and the New Barbarians' – continues this line of thought and expands the discussion to focus on the 're-barbarization' of Islam. The chapter includes a discussion of civilisation in light of ideas pertaining to 'disenchantment', 'reactionary ideals', the Enlightenment and degeneration.

Chapter three – 'The Religious and the Secular in Contemporary Arab Life' – is more self-reflexive in tone, bringing to the picture a discussion of contemporary Arab life as it is negotiated on a personal and experiential level. There follows a discussion of Islam as it relates to a range of secular traditions pertaining to significant events over the course of modern Arab history. The next chapter – 'Islamism and the Arabs' – discusses the notion of 'Islamism' in relation to ideas of Neo-Orientalism, politicisation and democracy.

The remaining chapters explore the notion of Islamic revivalism as it relates to the Enlightenment (chapter five), the influence of the Koran on Modernist Reformism (chapter six) and the diversity of notions of utopia within contemporary Islamic political ideology (chapter seven). Chapter eight presents an overview of the Wahhabite movement – namely, the social and power dynamics of a particular tribal group - and, according to the author, Western incomprehension and misunderstanding pertaining to its multi-faceted tenants. The book finishes with a discussion of the role of Islamic Studies in Western academic thought and, in particular, post-modern discussions of 'The Muslim Question'.

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

## ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE JEWISH DIASPORA: ORIGINS, EXPERIENCES AND CULTURE, VOL. 2
### Ed. M. Avrum Ehrlich
Publisher: ABC - CLIO Ltd
Year: 2008
Pagination: 1254pp
ISBN: 978-1851098736
Price: £190

This resource is the second of three volumes pertaining to the history and geography of the Jewish Diaspora. According to the editor, this series is the first of its kind. Taken together, the three volumes explore the founding of the nation of Israel and consequent Judean conquests. Building on from volume one, which contained numerous essays about the Jewish Diaspora experience, volume two concerns the spatial aspects of Jewish Diaspora – examining the geographical spread and migration of generations of Jewish people as a result of conflict, opportunity and collective identity.

The volume contains both overviews of the major historical events and dominant communities of Jewish people world-wide as well as in-depth case studies that explore the nuances of specific communities. It is divided into three parts. The first part highlights the phenomena associated with the Jewish experience, introducing readers to the history of Diasporic Jews. Here, various issues are tackled – persecution, religion, languages, biology and medicine, ethnicities and culture, and gender. The second part is divided into five geographical locations – Africa, Australasia, North America, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Middle East. Here, the authors discuss community identity and formation in both hyper-visible sites as well as lesser-known sites of Jewish Diasporic formation. The final part builds on the methods employed in section two to zoom in on individual experiences and community stories in a wide range of places, from Western Europe and Scandinavia to East Asia and the Baltic States.

The introduction highlights the importance of Diaspora Studies and, in particular, the study of Jewish diasporic people. Here, the author cites the urgency of such studies, not only to understand the nuances of this phenomenon, but in order to prevent future atrocities linked with the turbulent processes of forced migration. Linked to this, the author claims, is the fact that Jewish diasporas have remained hidden, largely as a result of forced assimilation (whether direct or indirect) within their host societies. The author concludes that this makes surveys of this kind all the more urgent.

*Also relates to:*
*Arts, Literature and Sport*
*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*
*Education*
*History*
*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*
*Politics and Government*

## VIOLENCE AND GENDER IN THE GLOBALIZED WORLD: THE INTIMATE AND THE

## EXTIMATE
### ed. Sanja Bahun-Radunovic and V.G Julie Rajan
Publisher: Ashgate
Year: 2008
Pagination: 244pp
ISBN: 978-0754673644
Price: £55

This collection examines, from an academic context, the often sidelined issues of gender and violence which translate into global discussions of violence against women. The contributions, written by academics and activists, focus on male-female violence specifically and the resultant gender constructions and power dynamics. The complex and nuanced relationship between women's agency and notions of victimisation is set in a wider historical and socio-political context. The transition of gender-based violence from local matter to global concern and its consequent recognition as a human rights violation and tool of war is accompanied by the consideration of gender in human rights work and the use of international human rights within women's groups world-wide.

The essays which comprise the first section – 'Revealing the Gaps' – point to the 'gaps' in scholarship pertaining to gender dynamics and gendered violence. The case studies here focus on indigenous women's experiences in Nicaragua and Kenya; faith-rights feminists in Malaysia; and the effects of microcredit on women in Kerala, India.

Section two – 'Enclosures and Exposures' – highlight examples of gender violence in both a local and global context. The essays here include a survey of the Palestinian women's movement; an examination of the position of Algerian adolescents as both victims and perpetrators during the Algerian civil war; the deconstruction of misogynist discourse in the former Yogoslavia; and gender violence in post-apartheid South Africa.

The essays of section three – 'Bordered Subjectivities, Global Connections' – looks at the interaction of borders in understanding gender violence in the context of US legislation and the global trafficking of women, with case studies pertaining to the latter focusing on South Korea, Central Europe and Eastern Europe.

The final section – 'Aesthetics and Gendered Transformations' – explores the transformative and healing potential of women's artistic practice. The resultant essays juxtapose selections of Chicano women's writing with factual information pertaining to Chihuahua. The final essay in the collection discusses *the V-Day Project* by playwright Eve Ensler.
*Also relates to:*
*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*
*Economics and Globalisation*
*Employment*
*History*
*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*
*Politics and Government*

## NEW GEOGRAPHIES OF RACE AND RACISM
### Ed. Claire Dwyer and Caroline Bressey
Publisher: Ashgate
Year: 2008
Pagination: 326pp
ISBN: 978-0754670858
Price: £65

This anthology brings together the work of geographers who explore the social practice and cultural politics of 'race', ethnicity and racism. Drawing on case studies from the UK and Ireland, the resultant collection of essays explore themes pertaining to identity, intersectionality, whiteness, community cohesion, and sense of place, nation and everyday experience. Together, the editors' argue, these themes form the new geographies of 'race' and racism. Employing ethnographic, visual and historical analysis, the authors examine the theoretical, experiential and political frameworks of 'race' and ethnicity. This translates into an exploration of the framing of 'race' within politics and policy

discourses as well as the specifics of geographical locality.

The book is structured into three sections. The essays, which comprise the first section - 'Racing Histories and Geographies' – build on the existing body of work on the social construction of 'race' and the shifting political and discursive contexts there-in, to examine the historical geographies of 'race'. This translates into an exploration of the 'historical imaginaries' of 'race' and racism. To this end, the areas covered include a survey of Western Whiteness, which connects nineteenth-century Colonialism to contemporary neo-liberalism; and a discussion of how arguments against 'political correctness' serve to suppress the historical presence of Black people in Britain.

Section two – 'Race, Place and Politics' – emphasises the importance of locality when considering ethnicity. The resultant essays which comprise this 'place-based study' consider the framing of 'race' within policies of immigration and multiculturalism, and issues pertaining to community cohesion, identity politics, cultural values and sense of nation.

The final section – 'Race, Space and Everyday Geographies' – represents an ethnographic exploration of 'race' and ethnicity. The essays here-in focus on the experiential aspects of racial encounters, from the experiences of British Asians at a gay club in Birmingham to the dynamics of inter-ethnic interaction and youthful expressions of ethnicity.

The book closes with an afterword by Peter Jackson, a scholar of social geography, which charts how the discipline has changed over the last twenty years and which re-interprets the significance of *New Geographies of Race and Racism* accordingly.

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

## BLACK SKIN, WHITE MASKS
**Frantz Fanon**
Publisher: Pluto Press
Year: reprinted 2008
Pagination: 256pp
ISBN: 978-0745328485
Price: £12.99

Originally published in 1952, this highly influential text is here reprinted with a foreword by Ziauddin Sardar in addition to a foreword written by Homi K. Bhabha for the 1986 edition.

In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon undertakes a psychoanalytic study of the crushing inadequacy experienced by Black people as a result of sustained and endemic racism. Here, Fanon traces the development of, what he terms, an inferiority complex in Black people, tracing its origins to the continued affect of colonialism in modern times. He draws attention to the notion of the divided self which, he claims, is a result of a severed connection with one's cultural ancestry and homeland. The result, stresses Fanon, is internalisation of the cultural codes of the colonizer by the colonized, namely Black people in contemporary 'Western' societies.

Fanon's manifesto urges Black people of the Western world to combat the oppression inflicted on them by White-dominated and White-supremacist societies. The resultant call to arms is designed to inspire a collective struggle and, by extension, political autonomy. Fanon takes as his starting point his own journey of self discovery, employing subjectivity as a means of encouraging self-awareness, self-respect, confidence and dignity in his readers.

Employing emotive language, Fanon's delivery is fast-paced and his tone urgent. This is in stark contrast to his crucially painstaking analysis of the language and visuality which underpin social codes, and consequent hierarchies, of Blackness and Whiteness. The result, claims Fanon, is conflation of Blackness with inferiority, on the one hand, and the marriage of Whiteness with superiority, on the other.

*Also relates to:*
*Economics and Globalisation*

*History*
*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*
*Politics and Government*
*Social Theory*

## A SUITABLE ENEMY: RACISM, MIGRATION AND ISLAMOPHOBIA IN EUROPE
### Liz Fekete

Publisher:Pluto Press
Year:2009
Pagination: 259.pp
Price:£17.99,
ISBN: 9780745327931

This timely book by Liz Fekete, executive director of the Institute of Race Relations, engages in a detailed analysis of the complexities and dehumanising effects of racism across Europe to investigate how it operates today; through Islamophobia, xeno-racism and the security state.

The book's introduction gives a historical backdrop, discussing the concept of 'nativism' and looking at how racist trends tend to go hand in hand with the urge to create a cohesive nationhood in the face of globalisation. Here Fekete refers specifically to attitudes towards Roma communities in Italy to discuss how discourses of fear around 'alien' values in mainstream politics lead to racist measures. The rest of the book is split into three sections, each with two chapters.

Part 1 addresses the concept of xeno-racism, to discuss how racism has become non-colour coded in order for increased state security measures and tightened immigration controls. Through this racist patterns and profiling are used against asylum seekers, regardless of colour. This section discusses how these attitudes mirror different forms of racism that have existed throughout history, the current form targeting those from the poorest countries. This analysis continues with an engagement with responses to 9/11, specifically their Islamophobic dimension that has taken the form of religious profiling and the policing of 'suspect' communities (ie Muslim). The role of the media is also discussed, as well as rulings on state-imposed dress codes such as the wearing of the hijab.

Part 2 explores how Islamophobia has been written into law; in particular Fekete considers family reunification and marriage rights in the Netherlands, Germany and Denmark to highlight how legal mechanisms construct Islamic and European values as irreconcilable, and in turn how this creates Islam as homogenous. This discussion extends to the role of western feminist discourse in furthering racist ideas and the section concludes with a chapter that draws comparisons with McCarthyism in discussing the current monitoring of Muslims. Fekete draws this discussion back into the formulation of xeno-racism to show how 'western' Islam is constructed as a good Islam, whereas the Islam of 'elsewhere' is seen as a threat.

Part 3 focuses on the detention and deportation of asylum seekers to consider the idea of the failed asylum seeker, looking at the denial of humanitarian protection and what happens when those seeking asylum are sent back. The discussion also outlines the appalling conditions in detention centres and the resulting effects on detained children. The next chapter analyses cases when there have been attempts to fast-track deportations due to a perceived national security risk that is assessed in relation to 'western' or 'democratic' outlooks rather than in relation to regular public laws.

Part 4 begins with focusing on detained children to highlight how rights for asylum children are denied. This leads into an outline of the grassroots resistance movements that have emerged to protect children from this treatment. The final chapter of the book considers the effects of xeno-racist laws and Islamophobia on Muslim youth – in particular the effect on feelings of self worth.

Overall, Fekete's research is concerned with the developments in popular and institutionalised racism since 2001, as well as its multiple dimensions; looking at how 'the nativism of extreme right and anti-immigration movements came to be written into European immigration and security laws'(1). Through this the mainstreaming of extremist racist parties across Europe is analysed and the book looks at both popular and political discourses as well as resistance movements.

## COMPLYING WITH COLONIALISM: GENDER, RACE AND ETHNICITY IN THE NORDIC REGION
### Ed. Suvi Keskinen, Salla Tuori, Sari Irni and Diana Mulinari
Publisher: Ashgate
Year: 2009
Pagination: 288pp
ISBN: 978-0754674351
Price: £60

Examines the concept of 'colonial complicity' to draw attention to the role of Nordic countries in contributing to sustained colonialism – or, post-colonialism in the present. In so doing, the editors debunk the notion of the Nordic region as removed from the persistence of colonialism and imperialism. As such, the ties between European colonialism are here extended to include systemic 'colonial complicity' within Northern Europe.

Particular attention is paid to the ways in which Nordic countries impose their own models of welfare and gender equality; reinforcing the idea that European values are allegedly more advanced. As a result, the authors show how gender equality is promoted at the expense of race relations and national ties.

The first section – Post-colonial histories/Post-colonial presents – charts the location of Nordic countries both historically and in the present, with regards to the issue of global dominance. Here-in, the essays range from an exploration of the 'Nordic Colonial Mind' to an investigation of 'Myths of Origin and Genealogy' of White Supremacy. Case studies include an examination of the experiences of Bosnians living in contemporary Finland; and the impact of a take-over by the Swedish transnational corporation VOLVO on workers at a plant in Mexico.

The essays which comprise section two – Welfare State and its 'Others' - scrutinise the existing welfare state policies of Nordic countries and the eurocentric tendencies and, by extension, the aspects of perceived Western superiority. This area is examined in relation to the adoption system, domestic advertising, migration and ageing. The final section – section three – examines the state regulation of sexuality and reproduction, and the ways in which the resulting gender equality policies 'other' migrants to Nordic countries, especially in the realm of the education system.

*Also relates to:*
*Economics and Globalisation*
*Education*
*Health and Social Care*
*History*
*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*
*Politics and Government*
*Social Theory*

## THE MULTI-CULTURAL FAMILY
### Ann Laquer Estin
Publisher: Ashgate
Year: 2008
Pagination: 604pp
ISBN: 978-0754626480
Price: £135

This 575-page anthology explores 'the family' as it relates to familial ties, family conflicts and family law. Taken together, the twenty-five essays that comprise this collection, explore the multiplicity, the nuances and plurality of family as tied to multiculturalism and law. The book is divided into two parts. The essays that comprise the first section – Marriage and Divorce – examine the foundational principle of family law.

Part one - Marriage and Divorce - examines the challenges brought forward by multiculturalism. Here, the editors divide countries according to three models – a liberal democracy, which is maintained through the interaction of religious minority groups and a secular family law system; and a pluralistic legal system, which separates family law from religious and cultural matters. The third model arises

when tensions develop between dominant family law and the specific needs of minority groups.

The essays that comprise section one explore the tension between secularism and religious/ legal tradition and, in particular, the conflicts presented to the Islamic and Jewish communities of Australia, Canada, England, the United States, France and Belgium. Some essays examine the unique cultural and religious traditions underlying marriage, tempering this with a look at the legal disputes surrounding custody and divorce. Other essays critique Eurocentric and monocultural approaches to international family law. Elsewhere, scholars examine the relationship between Islamic family law and women's rights, with case studies focusing on the situation in India, Morocco, South Africa and Israel. The section closes with a look at indigenous and customary law.

Part two examines the situation of international family law as it relates to children. The essays of this section draw attention to the different cultural interpretation of what is in a child's best interests and the multi-cultural conflicts that result. Lastly, the essays of section three focus on processes of dispute resolution and the corresponding cultural sensitivity and conflict management needed.

*Also relates to:*
*onships*
*History*
*Politics and Government*
*Social Theory*

## QUESTIONING THE VEIL: OPEN LETTERS TO MUSLIM WOMEN
### Marnia Lazreg

Publisher: Princeton University Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 184pp
ISBN: 978-0691138183
Price: £15.95

Written by Marnia Lazreg, a prominent authority in Middle East women's studies, *Questioning the Veil* challenges the wearing of the veil by Muslim women. The author examines what she claims are inconsistent and inadequate reasons for women wearing the veil.

The book is structured around a series of letters which are based on the author's own experiences growing up in a Muslim family in Algeria as well as interviews conducted with other Muslim women. Each letter, written from a woman's perspective, tells a deeply personal story. However, taken together, the letters provide a window through which to examine the place of women in contemporary Islam. As such, the highly subjective nature of the book provides a human dimension to an otherwise highly theorised and detached academic debate. This is not to say that the book has no theoretical premise. Far from it, the book itself is the result of extensive academic research into the principles and practices of Islam.

The author avoids taking sides in the pro versus anti-Islam debate and instead criticises the way in which the war on Afghanistan and Iraq was hailed as a means of liberating the 'oppressed' women of Islam. By drawing attention to the veil – a subject which the author claims has been dismissed as 'unimportant' given the wider political climate, *Questioning the Veil* instead shows how discussions of the veil illuminate our understanding of the contemporary role of Islamic society and its relationship with the 'West'.

The letters are intended for Muslim women who wear the veil or who are thinking about wearing it, as well as anyone interested in the relationship between women and Islam and the nuances of women's relationship with the veil. The author claims that this issue is especially urgent given the recent increase in the numbers of Muslim women and girls who have taken up the wearing of the veil, which, the author claims, is largely the result of protest against the negative media attention towards Islam. Simultaneous to this, Lazreg claims, is the rise of conservativism in the Muslim world, highlighted both through the promotion of women's 'place' in the home and men's sudden interest in women's dress and deportment. In this text, Lazreg speaks out against the ways in which the veil has been used by men to control women. The resultant chapters explore the veil as a sign of women's lack of self-determination and independence, as a tool of oppression and as a means of curtailing

women's advancement.
*Also relates to:*
*History*
*Politics and Government*
*Social Theory*

## REPRESENTING BUSHMEN: SOUTH AFRICA AND THE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE
**Shane Moran**
Publisher: Univeristy of Rochester Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 222pp
ISBN: 978-1580462945
Price: £45

*Representing Bushmen* traces the origins of racism and racial discrimination in post-apartheid South Africa to early colonialist ideology and language. Here, attention is drawn to the impact of language formation on current understandings of racial and cultural categories, community formation and national identity as they relate to indigenous people and, in particular, the Bushmen of South Africa. Guided by the work of Jacques Derrida, Edward Said and Martin Bernal, Moran conducts an in-depth study of the ways in which language has been used against the indigenous people of South Africa over the last two centuries.

The book starts by scrutinising the position of both the colonial and post-colonial intellectual. There follows an analysis of the work of nineteenth-century linguist, W.H.I. Bleek and, in particular, *On the Origin of Language*. Chapter two traces the impact of Bleek's work on future generations of Enlightenment scholars as a means of highlighting the literary dissemination of colonialist ideas and influence. Chapter three explores the philosophical treatise in the opening pages of *On the Origin of Language*. This is followed, in chapter four, by a discussion of the rise of ethnocentrism and semiology and its impact on Bleek's thinking in the nineteenth century.

The representation of the Bushman forms the focus of chapters five and six. The former chapter highlights the ways in which Bleek figures the Bushman – both in terms of comparison with various animal and bird species and as an indexical sign. The latter chapter picks up this issue to highlight the ways in which a sense of evolutionary race and language is developed within Bleek's text. Chapter seven zooms in on this aspect in order to draw out Bleek's exploration of Zulu language and culture.

The book ends with a discussion of Bleek and Lloyd's *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* and, in particular, how its literary colonialism has contributed to concerns of commemoration within post-apartheid South Africa.
*Also relates to:*
*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*
*History*
*Politics and Government*

## CARIBBEAN DIASPORA IN THE USA: DIVERSITY OF CARIBBEAN RELIGION IN NEW YORK CITY
**Bettina E. Schmidt**
Publisher: Ashgate
Year: 2008
Pagination: 208pp
ISBN: 978-0754663652
Price: £55

This study on *Caribbean Diaspora in the USA* presents an account of culture as fragmented, repetitious and contradictory. Bettina Schmidt explores inaccuracies in the assumption of cultural coalescence among Caribbean migrant community in New York, despite the camaraderie experienced at social events. This volume offers new theoretical insight into inter-disciplinary studies on Latin American and the Caribbean, as well as to stimulate debates on the complexity of Caribbean culture. By

illustrating the transcendent nature of Caribbean culture, the author demonstrates that culture and identity are not static productions but in constant flux, which requires renegotiation over time. In order to effectively demonstrate cultural dynamism, the author focuses on the densely populated city Brooklyn, New York, a site that has a high concentration of Latin American, Anglophone and Francophone Caribbean migrants. Through the use of ethnographic data the author traces the sociological composition of grouped Caribbean migrants. By so doing, patterns of group formations demonstrate the technique deployed as survival strategy and inclusion among Caribbean migrants. Nevertheless, it is the author's intention to problematise institutions and conventions as they become pervious within plural societies. Schmidt's theoretical framework features Creole culture as unstable and identity fragile. Central to this study is the contradictions surrounding Caribbean integration and common Creole heritage. While culture can be manifested in various forms, the author expounds cultural diversity from the viewpoint of the actor/ spectator, the emic (native)/ etic (external) perspectives. The point diversity was reiterated through ritual, which Caribbean New York annual carnival demonstrates the superficiality pan-Caribbean integration as actors and spectators form revel in the performance and cultural aesthetic. Notably, cultural hierarchy is being obscured during such cultural exchange. Nevertheless, it is to religion within which the author explores Caribbean cultural dynamism and effects caused by dispersion. The study incorporates the concept of religious bricolage as a Caribbean model to explain consciousness and self-representation, tenets that are invisible but crucial to choice and independence.

The author indicates the illogicality of taming culture as it becomes adaptable with each generation moving further away from the centre and interacting with alien practices. The study investigates the new phenomenon that promotes partially, self-representation (personal interest) and self-actualisation instead of authentication. Schmidt argues against Caribbean cultural consensus, and advances the view that cultural aestheticism is personal and one may modify the existing convention as desired. Nontheless, Caribbean culture has breaks which affect diasporan homogeneity such as social belonging, gender, social situation, living conditions and location. Caribbean diaspora has found its place at the cultural border as studies have revealed religious communities such as Cuban/ Puerto Rican Santeria, Haitian Vodou, Trinidad and Tobago Shango and Brazilian Pentecostal church have experienced transition in ritual format. The author attributes these changes to cultural fluidity through time and space and believes they become evident through individual response. This study brings to focus the process of change affecting practice and how individual interpretation impinges on established models. It is within this sphere that individual adjustment gives rise to cultural dynamism, as each generation of Caribbean migrants personalise the ritual as they see fit.

*Also relates to:*
*History*
*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*
*Social Theory*

## THE MAP OF ME
**Various**
Penguin
2008
Pagination:
ISBN:

'The Map of Me' contains fourteen auto-biographical short stories concerning individuals whose parentage is from different cultural backgrounds. These true stories are the result of an open competition to new writers produced by Penguin in collaboration with 'Decibel', the ethnic diversity unit of the Arts Council.

The fourteen stories vary in their life experiences, throughout there is a common diasporic theme of striving for a sense of self and identity. Whilst longing for a sense of purpose in life, the fourteen short stories highlight the experiences of mixed heritage; difficulties, challenges, sadness, happiness, honesty, anger and hurt. However, as complex as each authors life may seem, towards the end of each story they result in understanding their identity and what it means to them, by connecting the

past to the present and the future.

This book was a very interesting read and can be enjoyed by anyone from any background, not necessarily those from a mixed-heritage background only. The stories are themed around cars, recipes, hairstyles, music and letter writing. The overarching theme of being different, travelling through different countries and continents and finding oneself comes through in each of the tales.

Most of the stories are amusing and entertaining such as the story by Tina Freeth (Growing up on Lard) concerning her experiences as a young Chinese girl adopted by White British parents who feed her greasy fry-ups and fattening food which result in her weighing ten stone at the age of ten years! Her connections with Chinese culture being an occasional visit to a Chinese restaurant to eat rice with chopsticks, which she hates and can never get the hang of !

But amongst the collection were stories of frustration and anger, such as the one by Rashid Adamson (Torn) which describes the experiences of a young boy who has a White British mother and Pakistani Muslim father. Reminiscent of the 'East is East' script, as the title suggests, he constantly feels torn between the two cultures. He does not agree with much of what his father says or does, but through a sense of loyalty is even prepared to have an arranged marriage at the age of sixteen, even though his heart tells him this is wrong. His father looks to Rashid as his saviour in life and strive to connect back to his Pakistani roots after a life of 'Westernisation'. The momentary point in his life when he realises he could see 'a lot more clearly', is after the futile death of his cousin Talib over a dispute over some land in a village in Pakistan. In an instant he beings to hate his father's culture and religion and everything it stands for.

Some of the stories have a romantic and reminiscent quality of life, proving that however difficult life may have been, memories of family life and growing up are filled with affection and sentiment such as the story by Radhika Praveen (The Amruthur Iyengar family) concerning inter-caste marriages. The author cleverly weaves a string of delicious Indian recipes throughout the story highlighting the importance of food and social gatherings in South Asian culture.

This book is worth reading, throughout each story we hear the 'voice' of honesty that tells us what it is really like being Irish and Muslim, English and Pakistani, Chinese and Brummie and much more.


# ECONOMICS AND GLOBALISATION

## THE TROUBLE WITH AID: WHY LESS COULD MEAN MORE FOR AFRICA
**Jonathan Glennie**

Publisher: Zed Books
Year: 2008
Pagination: 192pp
ISBN: 978-1848130401
Price: £12.99

*The Trouble with Aid*, claims Jonathan Glennie, is that it has served to worsen rather than better the economic plight of Africa. Instead of throwing money at the problem, Glennie instead urges us to take action to encourage financial independence for the nation of Africa.

The opening chapter – 'Time to Think Again' – describes 2005 as the year which saw more campaigns than ever targeting the eradication of poverty, including the *Make Poverty History campaign* in the UK and the *ONE* campaign in the US. The author claims that campaigning of this sort was successful in mobilising public support to put the issue of ending poverty in Africa on the political agenda and, by extension to increase government aid to poorer countries. However, argues Glennie, such campaigns were naïve and fundamentally flawed, failing as they did to understand the full complexity of the political situation.

The book sets out to show how, rather than increasing aid to African countries, the government should instead be reducing the amount of official aid offers. His ambivalent view is in keeping with African policy analysts rather than Non-Government Organisations (NGOs), who, he claims, are too

simplistic in their strategising for international development. African NGOs, it is claimed here, have urged for drastic revisions to understandings of aid and development in light of the current political situation. Indeed, the author goes as far as stating that the giving of aid has served to worsen the economic and political situation of Africa as a result of over-dependence and the reduced accountability of African governments.

The chapters that comprise *The Trouble With Aid* examine the reasons why so many Africans are against the notion of giving more aid. Employing an approach which he terms 'aid realism', Glennie highlights the importance of remaining objective in the face of mass hysteria which, he claims, is not only ineffective but damaging to survival and growth. The bulk of the book thus presents evidence of the highly fraught and complex nature of aid, power struggles, international relations and economic development in recent decades.

*Also relates to:*
*Employment*
*Health and Social Care*
*Politics and Government*

## TRAVELLING LIGHT: ON THE ROAD WITH AMERICA'S POOR
**Kath Weston**

Publisher: Beacon Press
Year: 2008
Pagination: 262pp
ISBN: 978-0807041376
Price: £24

Here, writer and anthropologist Kath Weston chronicles her experiences travelling through the US by bus for a total of five years. Informed by Weston's own experiences of growing up working class, the resultant collection of stories and statistics provide a snapshot of people's experiences of poverty and the poverty trap in 'the world's wealthiest nation'. The result, claims Weston, is to translate and highlight the contradictions of the widening gap between rich and poor in an age of globalisation. No better place to capture all this, she claims, than the bus and the image it presents – chance encounters, mobility, stagnancy, change, tension, survival and humanity.

Weston employs an anthropological lens with a twist, presenting in-depth social observation infused with empathetic conversation with the people she meets. The resultant stories and anecdotes serve to illustrate an otherwise abstract and dehumanising statistics pertaining to poverty and inequality. Claiming that concepts of 'rich' and 'poor' are misleading, Weston complicates notions of poverty and class to instead articulate the prominence of self-perception and the art of survival when describing systems and languages of poverty. To this end, the author speaks about 'living out' rather than 'living in' poverty, and the creativity and despair found there-in. She applies this theory to the reality of bus-riding and the idea that riding the bus in the US is akin to a social performance which may enable class mobility through the accumulation of social networks and cultural capital.

The book is split into five parts. The first part describes the first leg of her journey and the various incidents which unfold – from the barriers and punishments dished out to low income travellers and people of colour at border control to the careful planning of lunch in lieu of money. Particular attention is paid to the contrast between cut-throat survival when tempers raise and money is scarce and moments of empathy when a passenger, or passengers, comes to the assistance of a fellow underdog.

In section two, we learn of single mothers crossing states in search of better lives for their children and the long-term unemployed uprooting themselves from their homelands and all they have known in search of work elsewhere. Section two highlights moments of humanity and a temporary crossing of racial lines in an otherwise bleak post-colonial American landscape. This is expanded on in part three, which draws attention to the forging of liminal community in an otherwise isolating and punishing post-9/11 climate of Middle-America suspicion.

*Also relates to:*
*Employment*

## MORE THAN JUST RACE: BEING BLACK AND POOR IN THE INNER CITY
**William Julius Wilson**
Publisher: WW Norton and Co Inc
Year: 2009
Pagination: 208pp
ISBN: 978-0393067057
Price: £17.99

*More Than Just Race* addresses three most-pressing racial problems currently facing the US – namely, the persistence of the inner-city ghetto, the plight of low-skilled Black males, and the rupture of the African American family. With this in mind, the author examines the broader socio-economic climate which both sustains and perpetuates these problems, highlighting how forces of global and national change have been especially hard-hitting for vulnerable inner-city Black communities. There follows an open and honest dialogue about why poverty and unequal opportunity persists in the lives of African Americans.

Chapter one engages a multiple approach to exploring racial inequality, focusing both on the structural processes and the cultural forces at work. Here, the author states that it is a combination of structural racism and cultural attitudes which have led to limited economic and social opportunities for young Black males. The fallout of this has been a disproportionately high rate of poverty, crime and incarceration which, it is claimed here, informs negative cultural responses towards young black males. This is tied to the continued legacy of historic racial subjugation, which is manifested through a range of complex factors that both create and reinforce racial inequality. The author makes a convincing case for the need to consider cultural factors in addition to social analysis.

Subsequently there is an analysis of structural forces that contribute to the social processes informing racial group outcomes, which have tended to be overlooked. In other words, the cultural forces – such as community views and beliefs – have tended to be ignored for fear of 'blaming the victim'.

Chapter two focuses on the forces which shape concentrated poverty in urban areas. This is followed by a consideration of the economic plight of inner-city black male. Chapter four discusses the fragmentation of poor Black families. The book concludes by summarising the issues pertaining to structure and culture.

*Also relates to:*
*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*
*Employment*
*Health and Social Care*
*Housing and Planning*
*Politics and Government*

# EDUCATION

## RECASTING RACE: WOMEN OF MIXED HERITAGE IN FURTHER EDUCATION
**I. A. Dewan**
Publisher: London. Trentham Books Ltd
Year: 2008
Pagination: 164pp
ISBN: 9781858564050
Price: £19.99

In her book, Indra Angeli Dewan challenges theories of race and mixed race identity found in sociological literature and examines discourses around personhood and equity evident in recent Further Education (FE) policy. Dewan questions whether women's identity constructions correspond

with academic theories and popular discourse around mixed heritage identity. She also explores the extent to which women's experience of, and views on, education, correspond with UK government discourses on education.

The research is based on data from interviews with forty mixed heritage women studying in FE colleges in ethnically diverse and mainly working class areas of London. She uses discourse analysis to explore how dominant discourses such as essentialism, postmodernism and individualism are embedded within the women's praxis of language.

Dewan has an antiracist feminist agenda and adopts the standpoint that racialised identities are the constructed product of historical, social and political processes. She argues that unequal power relations tend to make mixed heritage women marginalised and discriminated against. She aims to show how women's experiences may inform theory and how theory can be used to further feminist and antiracist projects, in particular those that seek to advance quality and justice for women of mixed heritage.

Identifying sociological literature on mixed race, Dewan begins by outlining how discourse has 'drawn largely on postmodern notions of identity to highlight the socially constructed, fluid and highly complex nature of mixed heritage identities'. However, she argues that the theory of postmodernism is difficult to sustain in light of her findings. She demonstrates that, whilst many of the women advocated the idea of defining themselves as mixed race, they drew strongly on notions of fixed racial heritage. Thus, Dewan concludes that their talk does not reflect the commonly held assumption that people of mixed heritage epitomise the postmodern subject.

Dewan also finds that the women revealed how discourses of individualism and race essentialism could exist together, contrary to the view that individualised identities are at odds with essentialist formations of selfhood. She argues then, that the discourses of essentialism, pluralism and individualism are mutually inclusive rather than competing with each other, and were drawn upon by the women in a variety of interconnecting ways.

Dewan's exploration of the women's experience of, and views on, F E shows that the women's talk reflected policy. Dewan concludes that they had 'bought into government discourses' as they reiterated the discourse on the value of education, learning as investment, equality of opportunity and the belief in a meritocratic vision of society.

The book is structured in nine chapters. It begins by explaining the research process and by providing a review of existing sociological and feminist studies around mixed heritage identity. It goes on to discuss in detail the women's reflections on identity, followed by a discussion that compares education policy and government discourse and the women's views on education. Finally, the book concludes by drawing together the key themes around identity and education and considers the implications of the findings for policy and antiracist feminist projects.

*Also relates to:*
*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*
*History*
*Social Theory*

## IT'S NOT JUST ABOUT BLACK AND WHITE, MISS: CHILDREN'S AWARENESS OF RACE
**Sally Elton-Chalcraft**
Publisher: Trentham Book Limited
Year: 2009
Pagination: 176pp
ISBN: 978-1858564371
Price: £18.99

*It's Not Just About Black and White*, Miss draws on extensive interviews with primary school children. The research itself was conducted with a sample group of nine and ten year-olds across four schools – two of which had a predominately White student population and two of which had a more mixed student population. As such, the research centres on the attitudes and opinions of the children themselves as a means of investigating what children today have to say about cultural and racial diversity. In sum, the book highlights the importance of listening to children's views, especially with

regards to race equality policy and practice.

The research revolves around four key questions: Are children in some types of schools more racist than others?  Are some children born racist and others naturally antiracist?  Are children less racist than adults?  What do children think about their own and other cultures?  In each case, Elton-Chalcraft is interested in the connection between children's attitudes and the knowledge that informs their opinions.

The introduction sets the educational backdrop for the research, exploring how key racist incidents have served to shape education policy and practice.  In addition, the author connects these changes in policy to the ways in which the National Curriculum is both taught and received.  As a result, connections are made between the ways in which children are taught about racial and cultural diversity and how this contributes to their attitudes towards race and racism.  In sum, the book begins with an overview of the National Curriculum and the ways in which knowledge is imparted to children within the British school system.  She also explores the impact of the media on children's perceptions of race and racial difference.

Chapters two and three present the discussions with the children from across the four schools.  Thereafter, chapter four highlights the children's attitudes about Britishness, cultural identity and skin colour.  The children's conversations about racial difference forms the topic of chapter five.  Here, the author divides the reactions into the following categories – colour blindness, political correctness, and White privilege.  Chapter six builds on this to explore the relationship between cultural knowledge and anti-racist attitudes.  Lastly, chapters seven and eight examine the impact of teaching on children's attitudes towards race and, in so doing, formulate a methodology of best practice for educators and policy makers.

*Also relates to:*
*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*


## MULTILINGUAL EUROPE: DIVERSITY AND LEARNING
**Ed. Chairman Kenner and Tina Hickey**
Publisher: Trentham Books
Year: 2008
Pagination:  208pp
ISBN: 978-1858564234
Price: £19.99

Explores the ways in which children and young people grasp language, both in terms of acquiring language and honing understanding.  By drawing on multilingual programs in a range of European countries, the authors construct, what they deem to be, successful pedagogies of learning for the creation of the optimal multilingual educational setting.

The first section – Communities and Identities in multilingual Cities – explores the formation of self and community in the identities of children growing up in Utrecht, Sheffield and Barcelona, which are here interpreted as ;'multilingual cities'.  In addition, the editors examine the negotiation of identity in the case of the diasporic Tamil community.  Here, the authors examine the employment of theatre, carnival and photography as tools to aid children's understanding of their national.

The next section – Home, School and Community – looks at learning at the intersection of home, school and community, paying particular attention to the connections between schools and families at a range of schools in Europe.

Finally, part three – Learners, Teachers and Schools – posits a series of learning pedagogies aimed at educators. Here, the authors place emphasis on the context of learning for a child – namely, cultural and national community and experience.

*Also relates to:*
*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*
*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*

## GENERATING GENIUS: BLACK BOYS IN SEARCH OF LOVE, RITUAL AND SCHOOLING

Tony Sewell
Publisher: Trentham Books
Year: 2009
Pagination: 160pp
ISBN: 978-1858563688
Price: £18.99

Author Tony Sewell here describes the 'Generating Genius' programme, which was started in 2005 to raise the aspirations and achievements of African Caribbean schoolboys. The programme comprised a summer school which ran for five years, both at the University of the West Indies and at Imperial College London. The boys, mainly from deprived areas and failing schools in London and the South-East, were offered the chance to nurture their existing passion and skills in science, technology, engineering and medicine.

Alongside a rigorous academic programme, students were encouraged to participate in a wide-range of activities – sports, music, drama, dance, counselling and discussions – in order to develop their social and emotional skills. Emphasis was placed on teaching the boys about becoming responsible men with a strong work ethic, a well-rounded masculinity, and a healthy, empathetic and responsible attitude to life.

*Generating Genius* shows how genius is not innate but instead is the product of attitude, hard work and cultural legacy, which, the author argues, allows for the possibility of nurturing genius through the right conditions. The programme is not without political implications – 'genius', as it is here understood, is made more accessible and less elitist, becoming less about eugenics and more about cultural influence. Although the author notes the influence of race and racism on the underachievement of Black boys in UK schools, he claims that the pressures of home and peer group present a tougher challenge to young Black males achieving success. To this end, chapter two examines the affect of family patterns on the academic performance and social mobility of African Caribbean boys in the UK. Chapter three charts the role of history on the formation of contemporary Black male sexuality and the attraction of gang culture. Chapters four and five present case studies of the programme's success in a secondary school in Samoa and a primary school in Jamaica. The book concludes with a section on 'The Making of Genius', which discusses the overriding aims and outcomes of the 'Generating Genius' programme.

*Also relates to:*
*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*
*Employment*

# HEALTH AND SOCIAL CARE

## ISLAM AND SOCIAL WORK: DEBATING VALUES, TRANSFORMING PRACTICE

**Sara Ashencaen Crabtree, Fatima Husain and Basia Spalek**
Publisher: Policy Press
Year:  2008
Pagination: 198pp
ISBN: 978-1861349477
Price: £18.99

*Islam and Social Work* urges policy makers to consider faith identities and, in particular, the faith identities of minority ethnic communities in a post 9/11 climate. To this end, the book examines the centrality of Islamic principles in the lives of Muslim communities in Western societies. The text is written to inform and guide social work practitioners who work with, or who are interested in working with, faith communities, especially Muslim communities.

The book begins by claiming that although much has been written about 'race' and ethnicity in relation to social work practice, there has been nothing exploring social work with Muslim

communities.  The authors registers their surprise that this is the case, especially given an increased focus on Muslim minority ethnic groups in the West in recent years.

*Islam and Social Work*  examines, and ultimately negates, the notion that there is an irreconcilable conflict between Western cultural values and practices and the cultural backgrounds of Muslim minority ethnic communities.  Focusing on a UK context, attention is paid to the UK government's heightened focus on young South Asian men and their alleged inability to assimilate into UK society.  The authors go on to claim that recent debates about assimilation miss out key issues concerning British Muslim identities – namely, the high levels of socio-economic deprivation among this demographic which, for young men, translates into a 'strong' Islamic identity and the desire for global rather than local affiliations.

This text, the first of its kind, provides social workers with the necessary information pertaining to Islamic principles so they can develop culturally sensitive strategies and practical applications.  The book starts by providing a general overview of the topic and a useful synopsis of all terms used throughout.  Chapter two concerns the diversity of the Muslim 'ummah' (diaspora) – its foundational principles and application in a global context as well as its application for migrant and settled minority ethnic communities in the UK and Western Europe.  Chapter three connects this discussion with an examination of the training needs of social workers in the UK.  The next chapter moves on to explore the centrality of the family within Islam and what this means in the context of the everyday for Muslim families and communities.  Chapter five continues this strand of thought by raising awareness around domestic violence and child abuse, giving training advice for social work interventions.  Whilst chapter six examines the health concerns of Muslim families – disability, mental health and female genital mutilation – chapter seven highlights the impact of Islamophobia and crime on the social needs of Muslim communities across the UK.  The book concludes with some good practice guidance for social practitioners, highlighting the need for sensitive and professional practice.
*Also relates to:*
*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*
*History*
*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*
*Politics and Government*

## BLACK ISSUES IN SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIAL CARE
**Mekada Graham**
Publisher: Policy Press
Year: 2007
Pagination:  195pp
ISBN: 978-1861348456
Price: £18.99

Here, Mekada Graham employs an African-centred approach to the study of social policy as well as the 'doing' of social work.  As such, *Black Issues in Social Work* brings Black perspectives to the fore, citing the importance of studying Black and Minority Ethnic communities in-depth in order to bring about true anti-discriminatory practice and social change.

The book starts by providing a brief introduction to the history of social work and its links to social justice.  Graham shows how, within a British context, social work has tended to neglect the welfare needs of Black communities.  *Black Issues in Social Work* sets out to address this issue, educating social workers and students, policy makers and professors about the needs and issues facing Black communities in contemporary Britain.

Graham spends some time familiarising the reader with the theories and debates surrounding Black Studies as it has emerged and developed in recent years.  There follows a brief note about terminology.  This leads to a discussion about anti-discriminatory practice within social policy and social work.  Chapter two presents an historical overview of this practice, taking into account social theories of race and their impact on social work.  Chapter three builds on this to discuss the relevance of post-modern theories more generally within social work.

Moving on, chapter four centres on the experiences of Black families and, in particular, the

issues presented by young Black people and children in care. The focus of the next chapter is mental health and particular attention is paid to instances of institutional racism and the ways in which such instances have served to further isolate an already marginalised group. Solutions, explored in more depth in chapter six, detail spiritual and holistic approaches to improving the mental health of Black people in this context. Here, the author brings out important cross-overs between a Black-centric approach and a social model of disability as it has evolved in recent times.

Ageing forms the focus of chapter seven and, more specifically, social policies as they impact on older black people. In its place, the author highlights the need for social workers to understand the specific cultural nuances of an older Black community, as brought to the fore through oral history projects. In the final chapter, the author pulls together the various strands of social work discussed as they relate to the Black community in order to communicate best practice to social workers and future possibilities for social policy research.

*Also relates to:*
*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*
*Education*
*Employment*
*Housing and Planning*
*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*
*Politics and Government*
*Social Theory*

## BOUNDARIES OF CONTAGION: HOW ETHNIC POLITICS HAVE SHAPED GOVERNMENT RESPONSES TO AIDS

### Evan S Lieberman

Publisher: Princeton University Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 368pp
ISBN: 978-0691140193
Price: £16.95

This survey represents the first comparative analysis of government responses to HIV/AIDS, which, the author claims, have varied greatly, especially with regards to Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. Drawing on case studies undertaken in Brazil, India and South Africa – countries with a similar demographic and where the AIDs epidemic is rife - the author explores the impact of ethnic divisions on government politics and policy-making. It is no mere coincidence that ninety percent of the world's HIV infections are contained in low and middle-income countries. This statistic makes research of this kind all the more urgent.

*Boundaries of Contagion* shows that in societies with strong ethnic boundaries, the government response to HIV/AIDs is weaker than in countries where ethnic divisions are not so fiercely drawn. In the latter case, the epidemic is more likely to be perceived as a shared national threat which demands urgent action and thus a greater mobilisation of resources. The crux of the book is the question of why some governments have responded to the AIDs crisis more quickly than others. Attempts to answer this question must start by examining why HIV/AIDS has hit some countries harder than others. The challenge of attempting to explain government responses to AIDS touch on the political origins of government efforts and differences in the provision of public policies and resources more generally.

The book starts by exploring the international dimension of policy-making and the active dissemination of the Geneva Consensus by richer countries. Drawing on theories of ethnic policy, social identity and the construction of risk, the author makes a key point that AIDS has proven to be central to the development of South Africa. Chapter two develops theories about how and why governments have responded to the AIDs epidemic in different ways. The next chapter sets the scene for individual government response by analysing the globalised environment of the AIDs epidemic. Chapters four, five and six concern the politics of policy-making in Brazil, India and South Africa; whilst Brazil is shown to be an overperformer, South Africa and India are highlighted as underperformers. The book concludes with a positive empirical analysis of the ways in which these findings resonate

with debates about identity politics.
*Also relates to:*
*Economics and Globalisation*
*Politics and Government*

# HISTORY

### MEXICANOS: A HISTORY OF MEXICANS IN THE UNITED STATES, (2ND EDITION)
**Manuel G Gonzales**
Publisher: Indiana University Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 424pp
ISBN: 978-0253221254
Price: £14.99

As the subtitle states, this revised and updated edition serves as a short history of Mexican experiences and culture in the United States. Here, Gonzales charts the influence and development of Mexican culture within US society, both historically and as continued in the present.

Gonzales starts by tracing the development of Chicana/o Studies – namely, the study of Mexicans in the US – and the ways in which it was dismissed by the hegemonies of academe. Whilst Gonzales shares with Chicana/o Studies the need to trace the historical roots of the 'Chicanismo' movement, he also cites the need for more objective and rigorous forms of intellectual inquiry. *Mexicanos*, he claims, addresses this need, lending scholarly consideration and weight to an otherwise overlooked and undervalued area of focus.

Chapter one charts the emergence of the term 'Mexican American' in 1848. Central to this inquiry is an investigation of Spanish history, and the conquests of Christopher Columbus and Hernán Cortes. There follows a look at the beginnings of 'Amerindian' culture. The Spanish Frontier of 1521-1821 forms the basis of chapter two, which examines the growth of the Spanish front and consequent settlement in New Mexico. Chapter three moves on to chart Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821 to 1848 when Mexico lost its northern territories to the US. The newly-termed American Southwest forms the basis of chapter four, which examines an otherwise overlooked period of Mexican history, namely the decades of 1848-1900, a time when the Mexicano population was severely marginalised and oppressed. The next chapter traces the 'Great Migration' of 1900 to 1930, which saw a dramatic rise in the number of Mexicans migrating to the US.

Whilst chapter six examines the effects of the US depression of 1930-40 on the Mexicano population, chapter seven shows the ways in which the aftermath of the Second World War served to both integrate and separate Mexicano communities from US society. This historical inquiry forms the basis for further inquiries into the rise of the Chicano movement between 1965 and 1975 (chapter 8), to its development between 1975 and 1994 (chapter 9) and its continuation, i.e. from 1994 to the present (chapter 10).
*Also relates to:*
*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*
*Economics and Globalisation*
*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*
*Politics and Government*

### ENTANGLED BY WHITE SUPREMACY: REFORM IN WORLD WAR I-ERA SOUTH CAROLINA
**Janet G Hudson**
Publisher: The University Press of Kentucky
Year: 2009
Pagination: 400pp
ISBN: 978-0813125022
Price: £49.50

Returning to World War I-era South Carolina, historian Janet Hudson explores the complex nature of White supremacy and the impact of World War I on White supremacist organising in South Carolina.

She shows that whilst South Carolina's White reformers drew on an improved economy to better the state's educational system and infrastructure, Black reformers utilised this time of new-found optimism to challenge the very structures of White supremacy. As such, Hudson goes on to trace the resultant clash between Black and White reformers, and the incompatibility of White supremacy and progressive reform.

The author starts by discussing the importance of reconsidering the politics of South Carolina in the World War era. Although World War I is not considered to be an important turning point in Southern history because it did not trigger substantial economic, political or social change, Hudson makes a convincing case for the importance of re-examining the impact of war on Southern dialogue and reforms. Hudson describes 1917 as a year of optimism for the reformers of South Carolina who anticipated immense change as a result of the new economic opportunities of a post-war era. However, Hudson shows that these opportunities were short-lived, eroded by agricultural depression. Nevertheless, she urges the reader not to dismiss this research as inconsequential and instead highlights the necessity of studying this brief window of optimism.

Particular attention is paid to challenges that Black reformers presented to White supremacy and, by extension, White supremacist organising. Hudson shows how a new-found sense of freedom generated hope among Black reformers, which, in turn, threatened the existing racial hierarchies of White supremacy. White citizens are here shown to be especially anxious because they had formerly held power as a minority in a Black-majority state. Thus, the challenge presented to White supremacist organisers was two-fold – firstly, they were forced to include Black reformers within their program and secondly, they were directly confronted by Black reformers. These indirect and direct measures served contributed to the social and political turmoil of 1917 South Carolina.

The book is divided into two parts. The first section examines the challenge that World War I posed to White supremacy, and moves on to trace the interplay of White and Black reformers in the immediate post-war era. Chapter one sets the scene by examining the economic and demographic structure of the state of South Carolina, and the pervasive poverty and oppressiveness there-in. The next chapter introduces the core premise of White supremacy as dictated through its institutional construction. Thereafter, chapter three explores the hope of Black reformers during this time and the ways in which African American activists responded to war and White supremacy. Chapters four and five highlights the tensions of White supremacy in terms of the White reformers' desire for Black co-operation during war-time and the white resistance to African American post-war reform initiatives. The final chapter in this section gives further insight into the violent clashes which resulted, fuelled as they were through African American migration and the resultant labour shortages.

Section two focuses in the internal dynamics among Whites in the context of white supremacist politics and the impact of black activism on these debates. Whilst chapter seven shows the ways in which labour shortages served to highlight economic differences among whites, chapters eleven and twelve highlight the problem of an illiterate and under-educated population. The remaining chapters look at the woman suffrage debate and the political complexities of undertaking tax reform.

*Also relates to:*
*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*
*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*
*Politics and Government*

## REMEMBERING SCOTTSBORO: THE LEGACY OF AN INFAMOUS TRIAL
### James A Miller

*Remembering Scottsboro* illuminates the events surrounding the Scottsboro trial, in which nine young black men were falsely charged with raping two White women in Scottsboro, Alabama in 1931. The author makes a case for considering the Scottsboro case as marking the beginning of the Civil Rights

Movement. In this regard, the author shows how this instance of injustice has had a profound effect on the American cultural imagination. Re-examining events leading up to the trial as well as documents from the trial itself, Miller shows the ways in which this historical event informed representational practices and daily life in the US.

The book opens with an examination of the framing of the Scottsboro case and the emerging conflict between the 'International Labor Defense' (ILD) and the 'National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People' (NAACP) over how best to represent the young men involved. There follows a discussion of the publicity surrounding the case and public debates pertaining to Black masculinity and civil rights. Chapter two centres on the ways in which the prison, in this context, functioned as a site of pilgrimage for a range of artists, writers and journalists, who were moved by the injustice they witnessed, aligning the suffering of the 'Scottsboro Boys' with that of Christ. The author shows how the subsequent artistic and literary interpretations served to mobilise an entire generation towards the cause of civil rights.

A case in point is the analysis of Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960) in which the author draws attention to the blurring of fact and fiction in the representation of the Scottsboro case.
*Also relates to:*
*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*
*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*
*History*
*Politics and Government*

# MIGRATION, IMMIGRATION AND THE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE

## IMMIGRATION AND NATIONAL IDENTITY: NORTH AFRICAN POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL FRANCE

**Rabah Aissaoui**

Publisher: Tauris Academic Studies
Year: 2009
Pagination: 320pp
ISBN: 978-1845118358
Price: £56.50

*Immigration and National Identity* explores North African nationalist movements in France, from the Interwar period to the late 1970s. Attention is paid to the themes of immigration, nation, 'race', ethnicity and identity and the place of Maghrebi migrants during this period. By comparing the socio-cultural context of 1925-1939 with the events occurring during the 1970s, Aissaoui traces the development of the Algerian Nationalist Movement in the context of colonial and post-colonial France.

Aissaoui shows how the interpretation of Maghrebi immigration in France as being 'at odds with French culture' ignores the complex history of colonialist ties between France and North Africa. He shows Maghrebi immigrants as central, rather than irrelevant, to France's national and cultural history. As such, the book charts the political mobilisation of the Algerian Nationalist Movement in France, which took the form of the 'Etoile Nord-Africaine' (ENA) and the 'Parti du Peuple Algerien' (PPA), from their beginnings during the Interwar period to their influence on the 'Mouvement du Travailleurs Arabes' in the 1970s.

Part one analyses the North African Nationalist Movement during the Interwar period – the beginnings of the ENA and the PPA, exploring notions of Maghrebi Diaspora and the concept of Maghrebi as an ethnic group and ethnicity with a unique nationality (what is here termed 'nation-ness'). There follows a discussion of the interplay of racism, colonialism and universalism and the resultant affects on North African nationalism.

Part two goes on to track the development of Algerian nationalism from its beginnings during the Second World War to its significance for Algerian Independence. There follows a description of the emergence of the 'Mouvement pour le triomphe des libertes democratiques' (MTLD) and the conflict between the Messalist and Centralist factions of the MTLD. Part three draws on the experiences of

North African migrants in the post-colonial period to highlight the impact of North African nationalist movements and actions on the wider political arena.
*Also relates to:*
*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*
*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*
*History*
*Politics and Government*


## RIOTOUS CITIZENS: ETHNIC CONFLICT IN MULTICULTURAL BRITAIN
### Paul Bagguley and Yasmin Hussain
Publisher: Ashgate
Year: 2008
Pagination: 200pp
ISBN: 978-0754646273
Price: £55

*Riotous Citizens* examines the Bradford riots of July 2001 which, the authors claim, have been largely omitted from academic study. They claim that these riots mark a significant turning point in the history of race riots in Britain, occurring as they did at a time when the BNP gained increase visibility and support in some areas. As such, the media interpretation of the events of 2001 cast young South Asian Muslim men in a particularly negative and dangerous light, marking a societal shift from multiculturalism to community cohesion, the authors claim. This was sealed, they argue, by the extremely strict sentencing of the Bradford rioters under a 'tough on crime' New Labour government. Despite rioting in Oldham and Burnley in 2001, the authors here turn their attention to the Bradford riots due to the seriousness of the event and its significant impact on the local South Asian community.

Chapter one introduces a range of theoretical approaches to understanding the historical and cultural meanings of riots. The next chapter places the riots in context, providing an in-depth explanation of how the riots occurred and the consequences that followed. A more detailed analysis of the Bradford events is given in chapter three, which draws on interviews with the local Pakistani community, including eyewitness accounts. The following chapter provides a profiling of the rioters, highlighting the diversity of the crowd both in terms of demographics and behaviours. The Bradford riot is placed in a broader socio-political context in chapter five, building on interviewees' opinions of local and national media coverage of the events. Chapter six moves on to examine the wider impact of the Bradford riots and the 9/11 and 7/7 attacks in terms of increased racism and Islamophobia against Britain's South Asian communities. Chapter seven examines the harsh punishments and sentences given to the South Asian men who were caught up in the riots. This leads to a discussion of citizenship in chapter eight and a look at consequent changes of policy in chapter nine. The book ends with a number of social commentaries exploring riots and collective violence.
*Also relates to:*
*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*
*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*
*History*
*Housing and Planning*
*Politics and Government*
*Social Theory*


## IMMIGRATION AND MIGRATION
### Rayna Bailey
Publisher: New York, Infobase publishing
Year: 2008
Pagination: 325pp
ISBN: 978081607
Price: £40.50

This book is part of the *Global Issues* series and is intended as an introduction to the key issues relating to immigration and migration. It explores some of the challenges raised and places these within context. Whilst the focus is largely on the United States (US), the book incorporates case studies

from four other countries: France, South Africa, Mexico and the Philippines. Many of the challenges illustrated by these case studies will be relevant to those interested in migration and immigration in other parts of the world.

The book is divided into three sections. The first begins by defining what is meant by migration and immigration, outlining different types of migratory movements, with a particular focus on involuntary migrants. It goes on to briefly describe a history of migration and immigration, from the earliest known migrations around two million years ago up until the present day, and outlines the consequences these movements have for the countries of origin and destination. Part one continues with a focus on the US, providing a historical context and considers the benefits and challenges associated with inward migration to the country. It then goes on to summarise legislation in the US, referencing the key historical moments during which legislation was introduced. Finally, part one examines the four case studies to provide a global perspective.

Part two presents significant US and international documents, which include legislative documents, presidential speeches and scholarly papers and speeches.

Part three includes a number of research tools to assist those interested in doing research on migration and immigration. It gives advice to students on how to narrow down their topic of research and how to go about collecting information. It suggests sources of information for students researching in the US and in the case study countries included in this volume, with cautionary advice as to how to evaluate the reliability of available information. Finally, part three provides useful information, incorporating facts and figures, listing the key international political players referenced in the book and providing the names and contact details of various US research organisations, legal agencies and support groups. It also lists international organisations and agencies, and anti-immigration and migration organisations. It provides an annotated bibliography of books, articles and reports on international immigration and migration, as well as literature which specifically covers the US and the four case study countries. The book concludes with a chronology of significant events relating to international immigration and migration in the US and case study countries.

The book is largely an introductory guide to international immigration and migration and is therefore most likely to be of use to students new to the topic. However, because it provides a useful reference guide, it also would be useful to professionals, as a readily accessible resource.

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

## ACROSS GENERATIONS: IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN AMERICA
**Ed. Nancy Foner**
Publisher: New York University Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 235pp
ISBN: 978-0814727713
Price: £14.99

This collection of essay examines the relationships between immigrant parents and their US-reared children. The ethnographic case studies therein focus on a myriad of issues faced by immigrant families and, in particular, second generation children. As such, it presents a more nuanced view of inter-generational relations and the resultant tension between homeland and the challenges of a 'new' world. Drawing on in-depth interviews with families from a range of countries and cultures – including parts of Latin America, Asia, the Caribbean and Africa – the book touches on a number of issues relating to parental expectation, discipline, youthful rebellion, belonging, adjustment and cultural affiliation. In turn, the authors connect each strand to themes of race, gender, class and power struggle.

The resulting research highlights the migration pathways of national-origin groups and socio-

cultural patterns of each home country. Here, the authors show how teenage rebellion is intensified when parents of second generation children disapprove of dominant American values and practices. The authors highlight differences with regards to expectation, especially with regards to discipline and respect. Central here is the notion of nostalgia - the nostalgia for one's home country – and how this serves to intensify traditional values and customs. When children fail to show parents the levels of respect normally expected of them in their parents' homeland, parents responds by disciplining their children in ways which the American legal system deems to be abusive. Whilst second generation children view their parents as authoritarian, their parents view them as disrespectful and 'non-ethnic', chastising them for rejecting their ethnic and cultural roots. Moreover, the authors claim that immigrant parents tend to be stricter with their daughters, especially when it comes to sexual relations, and the notion of arranged marriage contrasting sharply with the American ideology of free love.

Other pressures – such as educational and occupational success – and the expectation that children owe their parents for the numerous sacrifices made in order to rear them in the US, are here explored in full. The authors move on to explore the notion of parental dependence on their children and the ways in which children manipulate this reliance for their own ends; how language barriers and the need for translation results in children being enlisted to interpret legal documents and communicate with English-speaking officials on their parents' behalf.

As well as highlighting the tensions and conflicts of intergenerational relations, the authors also show how immigrant families co-operate and empathise with one-another, how resistance to change exists alongside a willingness to develop a complex sense of identity and cultural affiliation which merges homeland with a new-found sense of place.
*Also relates to:*
*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*
*History*

Reluctant Refuge : The Story of Asylum in Britain
Eds. Edie Friedman and Reva Klein
Publisher: British Library, London
Year:
Pagination: 148pp
ISBN:9780712308878
Price:£14.95

This book attempts to show how current attitudes towards refuge link into a general and historically consistent attitude of ambivalence towards the disaffected of the world, drawing attention to how refugees have been vilified and created as global scapegoats. This important historicisation explains how refugees are not new in this country and animosity towards them is not either. The book aims to convey the human realities of seeking asylum and focus on the narratives of asylum seekers themselves as too often they are erased from discussions as the focus becomes centred on political rhetoric. Contextualised within the portrayal of refugees and asylum seekers in the British media, the gap between myth and reality is explored as is the influence of anti-asylum attitudes on government policy. The writers highlight how immigration controls have become more important than the urgency of humanitarian protection, emphasising what it means for a national collective that can turn its back on human suffering. Through this the writers challenge the citizens of a rich nation like Britain 'to consider our attitudes to those who need protection from persecution' (x).

The introduction gives the authors' relationships to refuge and also outlines the concept of the refugee and gives an overview of the ideas that will be explored further in the book. The proceeding chapters are as follows:
Chapter One begins to set up the historical context surrounding asylum and looks at two of the major refugee communities that settled in Britain in the first half of the twentieth century, outlining reasons for migration and experiences of settlement.
Chapter Two focuses on the Jewish diaspora, looking at the vilification of Jewish communities in the popular press across two waves – 1880-1914 and 1933. This chapter aims to challenge the saviour

attitude that Britain has of its role in World War II when in reality Jews were largely not welcomed, the hostile environment and formation of several anti-Semitic groups in response to the refugees is also outlined.

Chapter Three looks at post World War II refuge, focusing on stories of refugees from Ugandan Asians, Somalis and Roma communities in their own words. The chapter incorporates much contextual detail and also looks briefly at Polish, Hungarian, Chilean and Afghan refugees.

Chapter Four outlines the legal specificities of claiming asylum in the UK, looking at the UN Refugee Convention, UK and EU law. Chapter Five centres on an analysis of the British system that aims to deter refugees from trying to claim asylum in the country. The discussion considers how this system, rather than directly contravening the Geneva convention, subverts its intention through excessive bureaucracy and penalising refugees. The chapter examines categories of status, detention, lack of access to support services and forced removal.

Chapter Six is made up of several case studies of children seeking asylum analysing how, in the process of seeking asylum they are not entitled to services they would be if granted citizenship. The chapter considers education, detention and the specific situation of unaccompanied children. Chapter Seven looks at the public imagination and anti-immigration sentiment in the popular press. It proceeds to look at the effect of media representations on public opinion and finally looks at the effects of this on refugees and asylum seekers themselves.

The conclusion engages with anti-asylum rhetoric as a coded and acceptable from of racism, urging for the need for the UK government to revisit the UN Refugee Convention and incorporate it effectively and with compassion.

## IMMIGRATION POLICY AND SECURITY: US, EUROPE, AND COMMONWEALTH PERSPECTIVES
**Ed. Terri Givens, Gary Freeman and David Leal**
Publisher: Routledge
Year: 2009
Pagination: 232pp
ISBN: 978-0415990837
Price: £21.99

Examines the impact of national security concerns on immigration policies in Europe, the US, and the Commonwealth in a post-9/11 climate. Linked to this is an in-depth study of the impact of migration on national policies, and whether immigration poses a risk to national security.

The introductory essay explores the impact of terrorism on attitudes towards immigration and on international policies of immigration. It starts by measuring the impact of the terrorist attacks on London and Madrid on both national security and military conflicts worldwide. This is followed by a summary description of the resultant policies which have been brought about in a bid to tighten border controls and encourage police aggressiveness.

Part one focuses on the national interests and immigration policies of the US, both in terms of historical evidence and contemporary debate. It is comprised of various case studies exploring the impact of US immigration policy on Latino communities and Muslim communities, as well as an examination of unintended consequences of National Security Strategies on graduate placements.

In part two, Europe is put under the microscope. The first essay in this section challenges the linkage of terrorism with migration to instead argue that national security controls are largely unaffected by the prevailing anti-terrorism agenda. In contrast, the next essay highlights the dramatic affect anti-terrorist measures have had on immigration policies in contemporary Britain. This is followed by a comparison of pre and post-September 11 Europe and, expanding discussion with an exploration of the effects of 9/11 on EU immigration policies. The remaining essays in the second section examine issues of cooperation and surveillance, and collectivity in the twenty-first century and beyond.

Part three examines the impact of immigration and anti-terrorism policies on former British Commonwealth countries – Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

*Also relates to:*
**Criminal Justice and Racial Violence**
**Politics and Government**

## WHERE WE LIVE NOW: IMMIGRATION AND RACE IN THE UNITED STATES
**John Iceland**

Publisher: University of California Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 240pp
ISBN: 978-0520257634
Price: £13.95

*Where We Live Now* examines the impact of immigration on the distribution of racial and ethnic groups within contemporary US neighbourhoods. Attention is paid to the extent to which immigrant groups have become residentially integrated and how current rates of segregation vary across ethnic and racial groups. In addition, the author sets out to highlights the affects of factors - such as English-language ability and socio-economic standing - on the residential segregation of immigrant families. As well as examining immigrant groups, Iceland also focuses on the segregation patterns of native populations of the US. Lastly, the author analyses the stability of residential areas both in terms of ethnic distribution and race relations.

The author starts by highlighting some of the main trends that have emerged out of this research but is keen not to draw any conclusions from these findings. Instead, he turns our attention to key definitions and models for understanding residential segregation and its consequences. Thereafter, in chapter two, the author presents an historical overview of the main immigrant settlement patterns as they have emerged from the start of the colonial period in 1607 to the present. The resultant strands are here interpreted through theories of 'immigrant residential incorporation'.

In chapter three, Iceland describes the changing face of US residential areas in relation to shifting racial and ethnic populations in the post-1965 period. Here, the author links the impact of new immigration laws to the distribution, and consequent segregation, of certain racial and ethnic groups. Chapter four puts assimilation theory to the test in its investigation into the linkage of immigration and segregation among various groups – such as Asian, Black, Hispanic . In addition, attention is paid to different rates of segregation between native-born and foreign-born groups.

Moving on to chapter five and we are presented with a case study examining the impact of race on residential distribution. This is translated into a study of racial difference within various Hispanic sub-groupings and the impact of racial affiliation on rates of residential segregation and assimilation. Chapter six addresses the impact of racial diversity on residential grouping, showing how segregation is linked more to immigration status (and, in particular, newly immigrant status) than racial and ethnic grouping. The concluding chapter notes the key issues which have emerged from these findings and which have the potential to inform future research.

*Also relates to:*
**Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships**
**Economics and Globalisation**
**Education**
**Employment**
**Health and Social Care**
**History**
**Housing and Planning**
**Politics and Government**

## THE CUBANS OF UNION CITY: IMMIGRANTS AND EXILES IN A NEW JERSEY COMMUNITY
**Yolanda Prieto**

Publisher: Temple University Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 224pp
ISBN: 978-1592132997

Price: £58

Undertaking an ethnographic survey of the Cuban community in Union City, New Jersey, Yolanda Prieto investigates the factors that initially drew this community there during the 1940s. There follows an examination of the conflict between Cuba and the United States in the 1950s and the resultant Cuban Revolution of 1959, which saw another wave of Cuban migration into the area. Rather than citing struggle, Prieto instead emphasises how improved relations between the United States and Cuba in the post-revolution period led to the successful integration of generations of Cuban families living in Union City. What emerges is a personal account of Cuban life in Union City; the author takes her own experiences of being a Cuban and immigrating to the US as a starting point for her exploration of the intricacies of Cuban immigration and community.

Chapter one introduces the reader to the Cuban community of Union City and provides a detailed account of Cuban-US migration in a post-1959 context. Chapter two provides a comparative account of pre-revolutionary Cuban life with post-revolution life – both during the sixties and more recently - as a means of charting the growth and development of this community of immigrants. This exploration is continued in chapter three. Chapter four provides a critical analysis of gender relations and the role that women played in determining immigration. The next chapter examines the role of religion and, in particular, the contributions of the Catholic Church in both securing and enabling immigrant life in the US. The remaining chapters of the book examine the role of politics in Cuban life. Whilst chapter six focuses on the relationship between ethnicity and politics, chapter seven explores the generational differences governing political involvement and activity.

In summary, *The Cubans of Union City* sets out to show how an empathetic immigration policy leads to successful integration. Starting with an account of the author's own journey from Cuba to the United States in the late 1960s, Prieto goes on to connect her own experiences with the wider trends pertaining to Cuban immigration from the 1960s to the present. The book ends by connecting the lived experiences of Cuban immigration to US immigration policies, highlighting the importance of drawing on the experiential when enforcing otherwise abstract concepts.

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

# POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

## FROM CO-EXISTENCE TO CONQUEST: INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE ORIGINS OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT, 1891 – 1949

**Victor Kattan**
Publisher: Pluto Press
Year: 2009
Pagination: 544pp
ISBN: 978-0745325781
Price: £29.95

This account of the Israel-Palestine conflict is written from a Palestinian perspective and contributes to legal historical knowledge of the situation. The book concerns the question of what happened between 1947-9 when Palestine was placed under a League of Nations Mandate after war broke out between the Zionists and the Palestinian Arabs. Here, the author is more interested in the reasons behind the initial conflict rather than linking that historical event with the present Arab-Israeli conflict. In what follows, the author links the Arab-Israeli conflict to Colonialism and European expansion which, in its second stage, remodelled the area now known as the 'Middle East'. Kattan shows how Zionism mimicked the European practice of colonialism in order to gain control over much of Palestine.

Chapter one – 'Anti-Semitism, Colonisation and Zionism' – uses these words to summarise the situation which led to the creation of Israel and the conquest of Palestine in 1948. The resulting argument charts the history of Zionism in relation to colonialism. The next chapter charts the growing importance of the Middle East as an area of strategic significance for the 'Great Powers', especially the military and financial interests of 'Great Britain'. In this regard, Kattan shows the extent to which the British facilitated the Israeli-Arab conflict for their own socio-economic advantage and gain. Chapter three concerns the Palestinian opposition to Jewish immigration and political Zionism prior to 1917 and the publication of the Balfour Declaration. Thereafter, the author traces the British crackdown on the Arab revolt and the resultant culmination of a Jewish state in 1948. This is mapped in full in chapter five, which also examines the development of British policies towards Palestine. The remainder of the book touches on the partition of Palestine (chapter 6), the Arab-Israeli Conflict (chapter 7), the British promise to Palestine - as famously recorded in the 'Hussein-McMahon correspondence' (chapter 8) and, lastly, on the creation of Israel (chapter 9).

*Also relates to:*
*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*
*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*
*History*

## RACE AND AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
### Eds. Joseph E. Lowndes, Julie Novkov and Dorian T. Warren

Publisher: Routledge
Year: 2008
Pagination: 368pp
ISBN: 978-0415961516
Price: £90

The editors of this anthology bring together a collection of essays exploring the impact of race on American political development, both in terms of political identity and public policy. Taken as a whole, the essays which together comprise *Race and American Political Development* provide in-depth analysis of the changes and challenges of American politics from the early eighteenth century to the present-day. Importantly, taken together, the essays challenge the history of race as it has been received within contemporary North American culture and argue against a natural progression of political development within the United States. To this end, the editors and contributors jointly believe that the notion that the United States has progressed in terms of embracing racial equality and inclusion is false. The resulting set of essays explore why.

The book is organised in chronological order with the first essay charting the expansion of the early Republic and the consequent racial division and exclusion that occurred – White settlement, Black enslavement and the forced migration of Native Americans from their ancestral homelands. This is followed by a look at the ways in which race was used as a means of dividing American opinion and communities in the early nineteenth century. The issue of federalism is taken up in more depth in chapter three in the context of both Pennsylvania and South Carolina. Here, the author traces the development of surveillance and police power in the United States, from the slave trade to the public and legal scrutiny of African-American communities.

The issue of racial injustice as institutionally-tied forms the theme of chapter four. Here, the authors draw attention to the ways in which White supremacy creates 'racial orders' which govern every aspect of social and political life. Thus, far from being an occasional blip, racism has solid and systemic roots. On a similar note, chapter five discusses the concept of American expansionism in the context of nineteenth-century post-colonialism. These concepts are explored in relation to the migration and settlement of generations of Mexican Americans.

Moving on, chapter six examines the notions of revolution and reconstruction in relation to theories of race and the history of racial politics. Elsewhere, chapter seven concerns various policy reforms, such as the Jim Crow and New Deal reforms of the southern states. Meanwhile, chapter eight examines the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people's (NAACP) confrontation with the labour movement of 1940-65.

The remaining chapters explore a wide range of topics – from a survey of the long-lasting legacies of slavery as linked to political development, to a look at the relationship between Lyndon Johnson and the Civil Rights Movement.  The book concludes with an essay about how a watered-down view of racial liberalism has replaced the quest for progressive racial justice, and a look at the interaction of race and religion during the development of American politics.

*Also relates to:*
*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*
*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*
*History*

## ETHNIC PROFILING IN THE EUROPEAN UNION: PERVASIVE, INEFFECTIVE AND DISCRIMINATORY

**Open Society Institute**

Publisher: Open Society Institute
Year: 2009
Pagination: 208pp
ISBN: 978-1891385889
Price: £13.95

Here, the Open Society Justice Initiative argue against ethnic profiling, which they define as the targeting of specific ethnic groups through stop-and-search practices, raids and general surveillance tactics.  The authors examine ethnic profiling by police in Europe and, in particular, in the context of the UK, France, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands, showing how such practices have increased drastically since 9/11.

The authors provide an introductory overview of ethnic profiling before critiquing the ways in which its very purpose – namely, to counteract terrorism – ultimately fails.  They show how ethnic profiling – far from being an effective way to identify terrorist suspects – actually endangers the very people it is designed to protect.  There follows an account of the contributions of ethnic profiling to the perpetuation of stereotypes based on ethnicity, race, nationality and religion.  The authors deem the practice as discriminatory and counter-productive – over-looking criminals who do not fit certain ethnic profiles and arresting innocent people who do, leading to a great sense of injustice and the stigmatising of certain communities who could otherwise assist police with the reduction of crime and prevention of terrorism.

The authors propose a number of alternatives to ethnic profiling.  Drawing on statistics pertaining to this practice, including qualitative data on the ethnic profiling of stop-and-search practices, they show behavioural analysis to be more effective than ethnic profiling.  As such, the Open Society team highlight the ways in which a profiling based on 'race', nationality and religion is not only superficial but also unlawful.  To this end, the authors monitor and measure police practices, highlighting the need to eliminate ethnic profiling and initiating a new dialogue about more effective policies and implementation strategies.

*Also relates to:*
*Criminal Justice and Racial Violence*
*Culture, Identity, Gender and Relationships*
*History*
*Migration, Immigration and the Refugee Experience*
*Social Theory*

## LIBERATED TERRITORY: UNTOLD LOCAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

**Ed. Yohuru Williams and Jama Lazerow**

Publisher: Duke University Press
Year: 2008
Pagination:  312pp
ISBN: 978-0822343264
Price: £14.99

*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*
*History*
*Social Theory*

# SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

## MATHEMATICS IN ANCIENT IRAQ: A SOCIAL HISTORY
**Eleanor Robson**
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Eleanor Robson continues her work on historicising maths with this volume that traces the origins and development of maths in the Middle East. She situates her discussion between the prominent mathematical approach that considers old Babylonian maths as the original 'pure' maths but also to as simply a forerunner to classical Greek maths; and histories of Iraq that consider maths to be marginal to the mainstream concerns within the socio-economic history of the region.

By placing the book in relation to these two threads, Robson argues that the complexity of the maths from this region (Ancient Iraq, also known as Babylonia, Mesopotamia or Sumer) has been underestimated. She aims to examine maths within its broader socio-historical and religious context to show that it was a key component in structuring society, and reclaim it from the historical assumptions that cite the maths of ancient Iraq as a simplistic precursor to Greek maths. Her discussion centres on analysis of cuneiform tablets that were used to record quantitative data, and is thus based on archaeological discoveries of clay tablets from the time that have since been deciphered and translated.

The book situates itself within the constructivist stance to maths that emerged in the 1970s and began to consider the way maths was created by social groups and why mathematical ideas and techniques were understood in certain ways rather than others. In short, she questions how the society affected mathematical ideals and practices.

The book is split into seven historical sections, plus an introduction and epilogue. The

historical chapters are set out chronologically and cover a period of 500 years each to make clear the developments emerging through time. The first three deal with Early Mesopotamia – the time of territorial empires; the final three with Later Mesopotamia – the time of great empires. These all address the south of the region where most archaeological discoveries have been made. In between there is a chapter on Assyria that considers the northern areas. Each section begins with a map that shows the locations where the tablets being discussed were found.

In the methodological introduction, Robson discusses the cuneiform tablets and their use by scribes to ask a series of questions regarding who wrote these tablets and under what circumstances. She engages in textual analysis of the tablets through looking closely at their materiality – the shapes and sizes of the tablets are as relevant as what is written on them. This emphasises the central concern of the book which is on contextualising the mathematical history of the region in order to reappraise three millennia of ideas around maths in the context of Iraq's 'rich cultural contexts and on its own terms' (263).

The discussion closes with the epilogue that takes all the above chapters together to give a historiographical overview in order to make the connections between ancient maths and the modern world. The discussion is contextualised through ideas of orientalism and highlights how Iraqi maths has been denied complexity.

There are useful and detailed tables throughout the book that give an overview of maths in Ancient Iraq through charting dates, political history and mathematical developments. There are also many images of the cuneiform tablets that help contextualise the discussion, and demonstrate the layout of writing on the tablets and the types of tablets being used. The Appendixes feature tables on metrological systems and an extensive table of published mathematical tablets, and the volume has an extensive bibliography.

## MATHEMATICS IN INDIA
### Kim Plofker

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The book aims to present the main arguments regarding the development of Indian mathematics. In describing conflicting points of view between scholars Plofker aims to give both sides of the debate and outline the areas where direct supporting evidence is lacking.

The introduction outlines the context of the book, locating the discussion within larger historiographies of maths from the subcontinent. Here Plofker considers the impact of colonisation on the development of understanding around Indian mathematics and the historiographic difficulties that surround it. The discussion also extends to the role of maths in Sanskrit learning.

The rest of the book is divided into 8 chapters, ordered chronologically to focus on various historical approaches rather than according to mathematical topics:

'Mathematical Thought in Vedic India' considers the mathematical concepts in the earliest Indian texts and the connections of this with astronomy. This chapter also considers the contentious history of connections between maths in Vedic India and Ancient Mesopotamia.

'Mathematical Traces in the Early Classical Period' focuses on early sources starting in the first millennium BCE; the development of written number forms such as decimals and the communication of these ideas between India and its neighbours. It also addresses mathematical ideas within the disciplines of astronomy, astrology and cosmology, as well as in grammatical structures and Buddhist texts.

'The Mathematical Universe' explores the first surviving complete Sanskrit texts in the medieval tradition of mathematical astronomy. It engages with maths as a textual genre and considers the problems in historicising this from a more modern perspective that has particular rules about how we approach science.

'The Genre of Medieval Mathematics' furthers the discussion from chapter 4 to discuss the development of maths as a textual genre and its continuing relevance to astronomy through looking closely at siddhāntas, the Bakhshālī manuscript and the Ganita-sāra-sangraha.

'The Development of "Canonical" Mathematics' begins to engage with the social and intellectual context of work on mathematics to consider the individuals who were studying and writing about maths and how this related to the development of a canon. This goes on to consider mathematicians and their roles in society and looks specifically at the work of Nārāyana Pandita.

'The School of Mādhava in Kerala' continues the discussion of individuals by looking closely at the famous Kerala school which is the best known of the pedagogical lineages in Indian maths. This chapter outlines the background of the school, its approach to mathematical methodologies and how these ideas were communicated.

'Exchanges with the Islamic World' centres around the impact of contact between India and Islamic maths during the second millennium, it also contextualises this with a discussion of maths in the West; this leads into

'Continuity and Changes in the Modern Period' which surveys some of the developments that gave way to the shift from Indian maths to Indian participation in modern maths through shifts in how maths was being taught.

The volume is supplemented by two appendixes – a guide to key features of Sanskrit, and biographical resources on Indian mathematicians. This volume is supported by illustrations of manuscripts and artefacts throughout.

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